Kapauku

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SIL-UND

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TEXT recorded by Marion Doble

LANGUAGE - Kapauku

INFORMANT - Zacheus Pakage
Wisselmeren, Netherlands New Guinea

Udi Onido
Crayfish Dive

1. Abata okei ako oge wido koma po jaké uwii. 2. Ti-jake
Morning they mutual friend three canoe pole-having go. Do-having
me ida ana kidi ki koma oo jaki-tou. 3. Me ida wija
person animate-one that canoe for-them-hold-stay. Person animate two
kei okejai udi ojaa oo onido. 4. Okejai udi
those they-two crayfish freely for-them-dive. They-two crayfish
aa jakai wedaba. 5. Ti-jake meuka amo jato okejai koma-
dual subj. catch many. Do-having sun downward place they-two canoe
ida wado-ke aa jaké okei wido ada idai.
place up-ward dual subj. become-having they three land-place go-ashore.
6. Ti-jake okei udi dakimai ne kidi, me ida ana ki
Do-having they crayfish mound-cook-wish that, person animate one that
mogo motii. 7. Me ida ana ki bodiija oo jake tai.
rocks get. Person animate one that fire for-them-make do.
8. Me ida ana ki pija oo wagii ma, ije oo duwai ma.
Person animate one that wood for-them cut and, leaves for-them-get and.
99. Ti-jake okei duwa jo jawii. 10. Duwa jo jawii-
jake ko udi ida wido-udo kei ke okei odii no, egaa no tai
having that crayfish animate (j-each) those they roast-eat, fast eat-do
dani. 11. Ti-jake duwa kiwa jake ko okei ije mukii.
one. Do-having cook-stones heat-having that they leaves spread.
12. Ije muka jake ko okei duwa ibo dani-ido adi jake
Leaves spread-having that they cook-stones large one s take-out having
ije maida makii. 13. Ti-jake wado-uga ije katagi jake udi ido
leaves on place. Do-having up-motion leaves cover-having crayfish s
kodo makii. 14. Mijo mogo ino dani kei adi goo na, udi
those put. Little stones other some those take-out-on-on #, crayfish
duba amo ti-jake. 15. Ti-jake okei dakimii jake nota jo makai.
in down do-having. Do-having they mound-cook-having potatoes cook-perf.
Potatoes cook-perfect having they after-while crayfish those take-out.
17 Okei mogo podomi- makai. They stones take-out-perfective. 18 Ti-jake ino dani okei nai. Do-having other like they eat.

19 Ino dani ko okei avii. 20 Ti-jake uwaataa to ko okei. Other like that they put-away. 21 Ti-jake koma crayfish- s those with carry-having house- to go. Do-having canoe kodo itei- da kodaa miji- jake okei udi- ido kodo ma doki- jake that shore-place that moor-having they crayfish- s those with carry-having owaa- pa wii. 22 Ti-jake udi kodo ino dani ko okei-ja ka house- to go. Do-having crayfish those other like that thei-r belong mene- tai bagee- pa menii., 23 Ino dani ko okei-ja ka give-customarily people- to give. Other like that thei-r belong owaa- pa wudi- jake uno wija no- goo. house- to distribute-having night two eat-on.

FREE TRANSLATION  Crayfishing

1 In the morning the three friends pole the canoe (out from the shore.)
2 Then one fellow holds the canoe for them. 3 Two fellows freely dive for crayfish. 4 The two of them get a lot of crayfish. 5 Then when the sun is starting down the two of them get back in the canoe and the three of them go to shore. 6 Then wanting to make a cooking mound one fellow gets rocks. 7 Another one makes a fire. 8 One gets wood and leaves for them. 9 Then they heat the stones. 10 Having put the stones to heat they roast and eat three crayfish each, the ones they want to eat immediately. 11 When the stones are hot they spread leaves. 12 When the leaves are spread they take out the big stones and put them on the leaves. 13 Then they cover that with leaves and put the crayfish on. 14 They take some of the little stones (from the fire) and put them among the crayfish. 15 When the mound is made they cook potatoes. 16 When the potatoes are cooked after awhile they open the crayfish (mound). 17 They remove the stones. 18 They eat some crayfish. 19 The rest they put away. 20 In the afternoon they take the crayfish and go home. 21 Mooring the canoe at the shore they take the crayfish home. 22 Some of the crayfish they give to those with whom they have exchange relationship. 23 The rest they
distribute at home and go on eating them for two nights.

MARGINAL MORPHEME INVENTORY] Assimilated forms have basic form shown in parenthesis. The number indicates the sentence of the first appearance.

Affixes

1 ako- (aka-) prefix of reciprocity
   -jake subordinating verb suffix 'having done'

2 ida- (ida) animate noun number classifier, phonologically conditioned fusion to following word
   -ana (ena) 'one', phonologically conditioned fusion to antecedent
   co- verb prefix of cooperation

4 aa- dual subject verb prefix

5 -ida noun and nominalizing locative suffix
   -we 'ward', as in 'upward', etc.

6 -ne verb suffix of intention

9 -jawii perfective verb suffix

10 odi-no and no-tai close-knit verbal sequences

12 -ido noun and nominalizing suffix of plural and generality

13 -uga (-iga) noun suffix of motion

14 -goo verb suffix of keeping on

15 -makai perfective verb suffix

20 -pa (-epa) 'at, to', noun marker, phonologically conditioned fusion to antecedent

22 -ja noun suffix of possession

Particles

2 kidi ki noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, masculine and general

3 kei plural of the above
   ida animate noun number classifier
   ojaa 'freely' attributive to verb

4 wedaba 'much, many'
5 amo 'down, in'

jato place marker, attributive to antecedent

8 \ldots ma\ldots ma connective of two or more items of the same class

10 egaa 'fast'

dani 'like'

12 maïda 'on'

16 odiga 'after a while'

18 ino 'other'

ino dani 'some, the rest'

20 ma connective, attributive to antecedent

23 ka connecting words of different class, indicating possession, agent, or instrument
TEXT recorded by Marion Doble

LANGUAGE - Kapauku

INFORMANT - Isak Kotooki
Wisselmeren, Netherlands New Guinea

1 Komoopa make abata inai a- uwe- etigo owaa wedaba to- omeg-
Komoopa from morning we-two two- go- ing house many present-were-
ai. 2 Me umina. 3 Me ida wijia okejai tiga ita a- uwai.
they. People many. Person animate two they-two first trail two-went.

4 Me wedaba nemouga ne- epe- emeg- ai. 5 Inai ita
People many behind us-follow-past- subject substitute. We-two trail
a- uwe- etigo owaa okogo- ona kou- pa wadojo. 6 Okejai tiga
two-go- ing house cluster-one that- to enter. They-two first
a- uwi- ta wijia kede ma okei mana wegai, 7 Kei jamo
two- go-past perfect two those with they speech talked, "Those down
Ogai- pa ka joka me- ete kojoka." 8 Kou- da make okejai
devil-at belong boys com- ing because." That-place from they-two
tiga aa- me- ta wijia kede okejai tiga a- uwai.
first two- come-past perf. two those they-two first two- go.

9 Ti- jake inii uwii. 10 Inii uwii- jake me ino nemouga
Do-having we go. We go- having person other behind
ne- epe- emeg- ai. 11 Inii ita uwe- ete uwo kebo- uda
us-follow- past- subj. subs. We trail go- ing water area- place
wadojo. 12 Wadojo ke- etigo Hou wijia ma jagamo wijia ma okei
enter. Enter become- ing Noni two conn. woman two conn. they
wii ma inii akado. 13 Ikii kaija joka? eni- jake, Inii
four conn. we met. "You where boys?" say-to-us-- having, "We
kei Badauwo ka joka, etii. 14 Aki ma tuma joka?
these Badauwo belong boys," say-to-them. "You what clan boy?"
eni- jake, Ani Mou-Gobai joka, etii. 15 Inai
say-to-me--having, "I Mou-Gobai boy," said-to-him. We-two
ni- gii- pig- ai ti- jake. 16 Kou- da make me- ido
us-kill- will now-subj. subs. think-ing. That-place from people- plural
mei. 17 Kou- da make inai ni-gii- ne umina. 18 Ti- jake
came. That-time from we-two us-kill-intent much. Do- having
kou jagamo kodaa, Kei ke ani- ja' Mou-Gobai joka kojoka; te naa-wagii,
that woman agent, "Those I-poss. Mou-Gobai boys because, don't for-me kill,"
As we went on from Kcmoopa in the morning there were many houses.

2 There were lots of people. 3 Two folks were going ahead of us on the trail.

4 A lot of people were coming along behind us. 5 As we were going along we came upon a village. 6 The people there talked to the two that had gone ahead of us. 7 "Those boys coming there are the devil's (foreigner's) boys."

8 From there the two that were going ahead of us went on ahead again. 9 So we all went on. 10 As we were going on some people were following behind. 11 Going on along the trail we came to a river source. 12 Entering this area we met two Monis and two women, those four we met with. 13 "Where are you from?" having asked us, we replied, "We're Badauwo boys." 14 They asked us, "What clan are you?" and we told them, "We're Mou-Gobai boys."

15 We said that because we were afraid they might kill us. 16 Then a lot of people were gathering. 17 From that point they were really going to kill us. 18 Then the woman said, "Don't let's kill my Mou-Gobai boys," she said, then
a chief appeared. 19 When this chief appeared, "Those aren't Gobai boys," he said. 20 "Those aren't Gobai boys. 21 Let's kill those boys," he said. 22 Then that woman said to us, that we ought to quickly get into the bush. 23 Running quickly through the bush my gourd having broken we considered shooting. 24 Thinking of shooting, "The Tuan will be angry with us; don't let's shoot, don't let's shoot," we said. 25 So we really hit the trail, as fast as we could, and so came on back down.

MARGINAL MORPHEME INVENTORY The number shows the sentence of first occurrence.
Affixes . Basic forms in parenthesis.

1 a- (aa-) dual subject verb prefix with loss of a vowel before a vowel-initial stem
   -etige subordinating verb suffix 'while doing'
   -omeg- (-emeg-) past tense verb suffix
   -ai subject substitute verb suffix 3rd plural
4 ne- direct object 1st plural verb prefix
5 -ona (ena) 'one'
   -pa (-epa) 'to'
6 -ta past perfect verb suffix
7 -ete present progressive verb suffix
8 aa- dual subject verb prefix
9 -jake subordinating verb suffix 'having done'
11 -uda (-ida) place, time noun and nominalizing suffix
15 ni- allomorph of direct object 1st plural verb prefix
   -pig- immediate future verb suffix
16 -ido plural or generalizer noun and nominalizing suffix
17 -da (-ida) time and place noun and nominalizing suffix
   -ne verb suffix of intention
18 -ja possessive noun suffix
   naa- 1st sing. relational verb prefix
   -ana (ena) 'one'
21 nee- 1st pl. relational verb prefix 'Let us'
   -ei hortatory and imperative plural verb ending
22 -uga (-iga) noun suffix of movement
24 -tag- remote future verb suffix
   -i 3rd sing. subject substitute verb tense suffix

   Particles

1 make   'from'
3 ida    'animate numeral classifier'
   tiga   'first', attributive to preceding noun
5 kou    noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, feminine and large
6 kede   noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, plural, closing
   ma     connective 'with'
7 kei    noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, plural, introducing
   ka     agent, or 'belong'
   kojoka cause
12 ...ma...ma connects items of the same class
kodaa   agent
18 kei ka same as kei in #7 above
   te     prohibitive, attributive to preceding verb
22 to    'only, just'
24 no    emphasis, exclamatory