

# **ENDANGERED LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC RIM**

Shigeru TSUCHIDA ed.

## **Kanakanavu Texts (Austronesian Formosan)**

**カナカナブ語（台湾オーストロネシア語族）テキスト**  
**（「環太平洋の言語」成果報告書A3-014）**

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**KANAKANAVU TEXTS**  
**(Austronesian Formosan)**

Compiled by

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March 2003

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# I Introduction

## 1 Background

Kanakanavu [kanakanáβu(?)] is an Austronesian language in Taiwan. It belongs to the Tsouic language group, which is comprised of Tsou and Southern Tsou, the latter of which includes Saaroa and Kanakanavu. Politically these three ethnic groups are counted as Tsou, and therefore no exact population of the Kanakanavu people is available, but most likely it is less than two hundred. They live at Min-sheng Village (民生村) and Min-ch'uan Village (民權村) in San-min County (三民鄉), Kao-hsiung Province (高雄縣), Taiwan. As the result of the Bunun migration beginning in the 1930's, the Bunun people have become dominant in this area. The number of the Kanakanavu who can understand their own language is perhaps about thirty, but those who can still speak it freely are less than ten today. All Kanakanavu people can understand and speak Bunun fluently, but the Bunun people rarely understand Kanakanavu. Kanakanavu children cannot speak their own language except for the simplest expressions.

It was early 1969 when I first visited Min-sheng village, known as /tangánua/ in Kanakanavu, staying there for about two months. Because it was during the dry season a truck could take me to the village, but while I was staying in the village the rainy season started, so I had to walk down the mountain on foot, and it took more than eleven hours. When I visited the same village in 2000, a beautiful bus road had been constructed, and it took only one hour to get there. Villages were dramatically changed. Thirty years ago there was no toilet but in the elementary school and in a small local police station on the hill, but now they have a nice and clean flush toilet in every house. There was no electricity, either, and thus we worked under a small, dark kerosene lamp or even a candle in the evening. When I revisited the area in 2000, all my former informants had passed away, but fortunately a couple of competent speakers were still available. I could check the Kanakanavu texts collected thirty years ago with Pani, the best informant today. He has been in Min-ch'an village. Therefore there might be a slight dialectal difference in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. In this book I deal only with phonology and texts of Kanakanavu. Although a detailed grammatical explanation is necessary to understand the meanings of abbreviations, such as

AF (Actor Focus) or PF (Patient Focus) etc., my tight schedule did not allow me to make one in time.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the following Kanakanavu people, who helped me study their language, and who were so patient: 翁車 (Angaiána Páa'u, also known as Sumio in Japanese), 翁照 (Angaiána Paepúli, also known as Akamatsu), 藍嘉波 (Pa'angái Naucingána, also known as Nakapo, or Nakamura), 孔江櫻花 (Pí'i Tikími, Sumio's mother-in-law), and 蔡能喜 (Cuapuána Páni, also known as Hisashi Naono). The first four all passed away by now, and thus I had to rely on Mr. Tshai in 2000 and 2001. I am also indebted to 翁孔翠娥 (Sumio's wife) and 翁博學 (Sumio's son), who were very helpful when I visited the village in 2000. I like to express my special thanks to my former advisor Professor Isidore Dyen, who financially supported to make my first trip in 1969 possible; and to Professor Paul Jen-kuei Li, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, and to Professors MIYAOKA Osato, IKEDA Takumi, KITANO Hiroaki, who made me revisit the Kanakanavu area to conduct field work on this language after thirty years later.

## 2 Notations And Abbreviations

2.1 A compound word is indicated by =: *cau=vuá'ini* 'the iris of the eye' (*cáau* 'person', *vuá'ini* 'eye').

2.2 An enclitice particle is indicated by a preceding plus sign, whereas a proclitic particle by a following plus sign. Thus *+ku* 'I, 1st singular nominative pronoun', *+cu* 'already' in the following are enclitics, whereas *tiá+* 'future marker' a proclitic:

*kumakaéne +ku* 'I eat.'

*kumakaene +cú +ku* 'I was already eating.'

*kanakanávu +ku* 'I'm a Kanakanavu.'

*tiá+ +ku kumakaéne* 'I'll eat.'

2.3 A prefix, suffix, and reduplications are indicated by a hyphen, whereas an infix, which occurs immediately after the first consonant and before the first vowel of the stem, is indicated by slanting bars / /:

*apa-kaéne* 'let eat'

*kaén-a* 'food'

*k/um/áene* 'to eat'  
*k/um/a-kaéne* 'be eating'.

- 2.4 All Kanakanavu words end in a vowel. A final vowel other than *a* in most words with more than three syllables is a supporting vowel if that vowel is the same vowel as that in the preceding syllable. Thus final *i u e* in the following examples are supporting vowels: *anísi* 'tooth', *ramúcu* 'hand', *nakéve* 'clothes'.

A final *e* preceded by *a* in the immediately preceding syllable is also a supporting vowel: *cará'e* 'blood', *'ucáne* 'rain'.

A supporting vowel drops when a suffix is attached (see *kaén-a* 'food' above). A final vowel in some words is not a supporting vowel, and does not drop when suffixed: *navúngu* 'head', *m-asu-navúngu* 'put something in the hair', *p-asu-navungú-a* 'id. (imperative)'; *íiri* 'left', *t/um/-í-iri* 'turn left', *t/um/-i-irí-a* 'id. (imperative)'.

A form, which is left after being stripped of all the affixes, the supporting vowel, and a stress, is a base form. A base form is indicated by braces { }: {kaen} 'eat', {anis} 'tooth', {cara} 'blood', {'ucan} 'rain', {navungu} 'head', {iri} 'leftside'.

- 2.5 Most of the base forms in Kanakanavu are composed of two syllables, and a few of three syllables. Among the latter there are those which consist of doubling of a monosyllabic root with an intervening like-vowel of the root. Such a base is called an R-base. The intervening vowel is *e* if the vowel of the root is *a*. Thus:

*varévare* 'blade', {varevar} whose root is *var*,  
'evé'eve 'scabbard of a machete', {'eve'ev}, root *'ev*,  
*nikíniki* 'armpit', {nikinik}, root *nik*,  
*pusúpusu* 'dandruff', {pusupus}, root *pus*.

- 2.6 Thus a dissyllabic base ending in a vowel is realized with doubling of the first vowel: {cani} [tsá:ni] 'song', {vuku} [βú:ku] 'belt'. The originally double-vowel base is also realized with doubling of the vowel: {vuur} [βú:ru] 'a bow (weapon)'. Although morphophonemically they are different (*vukú + ini* 'her belt' vs. *vuúr + ini* 'his bow'), when they are pronounced isolatedly, the length of the vowel is phonetically the same. Therefore they are interpreted here with doubling of the vowel in both cases: /vúuku/ 'belt' and /vúuru/ 'bow'.

2.7 Abbreviations are as follows:

AF: Actor Focus  
fut: future  
Imp: Imperative  
LOC: LOCative  
NOM: NOMinative  
OBL: OBLique  
PF: Patient Focus  
TOP: TOPic



### 3 Phonology

The phonemes of Kanakanavu are /p m t n k ng ' c v s h l r a i u e/ and a stress /´/. A final vowel may be freely separated from a following pause by a non-phonemic glottal stop.

#### 3.1 Consonant Phonemes

The consonant phonemes are /p m t n k ng ' c v s h l r/. All the consonants are palatalized when followed by /i/, and are accompanied by lip-rounding when followed by /u/.

- 3.1.1 /p/ is voiceless bilabial stop [p]:  
/púutu/ 'Cantonese',  
/ráape/ 'seeds'.
- 3.1.2 /m/ is voiced bilabial nasal [m]:  
/múumu/ 'breasts of a woman',  
/néeme/ 'six'.
- 3.1.3 /t/ is voiceless apical stop [t]:  
/túutu/ 'kernel, as of a mango fruit'.
- 3.1.4 /n/ is voiced apical nasal [n]:  
/núuka/ 'small tumor',  
/aánu/ 'honey bee'.
- 3.1.5 /k/ is voiceless velar stop [k]:  
/kúucu/ 'head louse',  
/veéke/ 'pus'.
- 3.1.6 /ng/ is voiced velar nasal [ŋ]:  
/ngurúsu/ 'lip',  
/uúngu/ 'mushroom'.
- 3.1.7 /'/ is voiceless glottal stop [ʔ]:  
/ʼaánu/ 'cut-up-meat',  
/ve'ére/ 'kidneys'.
- 3.1.8 /c/ is voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ] when followed by /i/, and [tʃ] elsewhere, a voiceless alveolar affricate which is slightly palatalized:  
/cúuma/ [tʃú:ma] 'father',  
/cíina/ [tʃi:na] 'mother',  
/naúcu/ [naútʃu] 'diaphragm'.

- 3.1.9 /v/ is voiced bilabial fricative [β] among the older people of over fifty years (in late 1960's), and voiced labiodental fricative [v] among the younger people:  
 /vuútu/ 'squirrel'.  
 It is a voiced bilabial stop [b] after /me/ [m:]:  
 /urúkucu tameviná'e/ [urúkutsu tam:biná?i] 'praying mantis'.
- 3.1.10 /s/ is voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] when followed by /i/, and [s] elsewhere, a voiceless alveolar fricative which is slightly palatalized:  
 /súuvu/ [ʃú:βu] 'a type of millet disease',  
 /si'ípi/ [ʃi?ípi] 'arm',  
 /na'usu/ [naúʃu] 'clavicle'.
- 3.1.11 /h/ is voiceless glottal fricative [h]. It occurs only freely varying with /s/ in certain words, in certain interjections, and in loan-words:  
 /taanáaha/ as an alternant form of /taanáasa/ 'house',  
 /hua/ or /ha/ as an alternant form of /sua/ or /sa/ 'a marker',  
 /háu/ 'interjection to start a carabao to move',  
 /hóokia/ 'rich people' (from Taiwanese *ho-giah* 好額 'rich')
- 3.1.12 /l/ is voiced tongue-tip flap [ɾ]:  
 /luúcu/ 'pig food',  
 /veéle/ 'fish guts'.
- 3.1.13 /r/ is voiced alveolar trill [r], often with frication:  
 /rúuvu/ 'bubu-type bamboo pot for catching shrimps',  
 /véera/ 'husked rice'.
- 3.1.14 /f/ is voiceless labiodental fricative [f]. It occurs only in one interjection:  
 /fuáu/ 'an exclamatory word used when one wishes some miracle'.

## 3.2 Vowel Phonemes

The vowels are /a i u e/. Besides these, /o/ and /ɛ/ appear in loan-words or in exclamatory words.

### 3.2.1 /a/

3.2.1.1 /a/ is mid-open front unrounded [ɛ] when immediately followed by /i/ and not immediately preceded by /a/:<sup>1</sup>

/’áisi/ [ʔéifi] ‘there is’, /paípai/ [peípei] ‘a type of snare’;  
or when preceded by /i/ and a non-stressed /a/:<sup>2</sup>  
/miapací/ [miepatʂei] ‘kill’.

3.2.1.2 It is mid-close unrounded [e] when preceded and followed by /i/: /kaipaipái/ [ka:ipeipéi] ‘make a fence’.

3.2.1.3 It is low back rounded [ɒ] when immediately preceded or followed by /u/:

/vuá’ini/ [βuóʔiŋ:] ‘eye’,  
/ce’érau/ [tʂiʔíru] ‘Look at it!’.

3.2.1.4 It is high back rounded [o] when preceded and followed by /u/:

/tuápuru [tuópuru] ‘sit’,  
/kucúau/ [kutʂúou] ‘Take off the lice!’.

3.2.1.5 It is mid-central unrounded [ʌ] when immediately followed by /e/:

/kaéna/ [kʌína] ‘food’,  
/veá’e/ [βiáʔi] ‘orange (mandarin)’.

3.2.1.6 And it is low central unrounded [a] elsewhere:

/váava/ [βá:βa] ‘ribs’.

3.2.2 /i/ is high front unrounded [i] except in the environments described in 3.7: /ílipi/ [íripi] ‘shade’.

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<sup>1</sup>When immediately preceded by /a/, it is [a]: /aaf’i/ [a:ʔi] ‘take back’.

<sup>2</sup>When stressed, it is [a]: /piála/ [piára] ‘plate’.

3.2.3 /u/ is high back rounded [u] except in the environments described in 3.7:

/túuku/ [tú:ku] ‘small hoe’.

3.2.4 /e/ is high central unrounded [i] except in the environments described in 3.7:

/téেকে/ [tí:ki] ‘ear’.

3.2.5 /o/ is mid-open back rounded [ɔ]. It occurs only in loanwords as /oo/:

/hóokia/ [hó:kia] ‘rich’ (Taiwanese *ho-giah* 好額 ‘rich’),

/loociáni/ [rɔ:fiéŋ:] ‘a gun-trap’

(Taiwanese *lok-cheng* 鹿銃 (or *lo-cheng* 路銃?)).

3.2.6 /E/ is mid-open front unrounded [ɛ]. It occurs only in loanwords:

/hooliEŋtáu/ ‘string-beans’

(Taiwanese *ho-len-tau* or *ho-lan-tau* 和蘭豆),

/cukúE/ [tʃukúɛ] ‘a table’ (Japanese *tsukue* 机),

/tÉ/ [tɛ] ‘an interjection used to pull back a cow or a water buffalo’

(Taiwanese *the* 退).

### 3.2.7 Weakening of Vowels

3.2.7.1 Unstressed /i u e/ in word-final position after a nasal consonant vary freely with length. Like vowels the length of the nasal consonant may be followed by the non-phonemic glottal stop. A nasal consonant is palatalized before final /i/, and labialized before final /u/:

/’aláme/ [ʔarámi(ʔ), ʔarám:(ʔ)] ‘meat’,

/vuáne/ [βuáni(ʔ), βuán:(ʔ)] ‘moon’,

/ucáni/ [utʃáni(ʔ), utʃán:(ʔ)] ‘one’,

/ma’acúnu/ [maʔatʃúnu(ʔ), maʔatʃúnʷ:(ʔ)] ‘to flow’,

/cepéŋge/ [tʃipíŋi(ʔ), tʃipíŋ:(ʔ)] ‘mind, thinking’,

/tuungíŋgi/ [tuŋíŋi(ʔ), tuŋíŋʲ:(ʔ)] ‘rat’,

/navúngu/ [naβúŋu(ʔ), naβúŋʷ:(ʔ)] ‘head’.

3.2.7.2 /e/, when preceded by /n/ and followed by any consonant but /k ng h/, or when preceded by /ng/ and followed by any consonant but /h l r/, or when preceded by /m/ and followed by any consonant but /s h l r/, is realized as the length of the nasal consonant. Few examples are given:

- /ténete/ [tín:ti] 'a type of tick'
- /'anéname/ [ʔanínam:] 'berry'
- /kineváala/ [kin:βá:ra] 'siblings'
- /manémane/ [maníman:] 'hot pepper'
- /nikulenelenéa/ [nikurin:rinía] 'ate all'
- /mirangepáu/ [miraŋ:póu] 'to float'
- /pangétane/ [paŋ:tan:] 'pineapple'
- /ngekáu/ [ŋ:kóu] 'monkey'
- /malingeceiná/ [mariŋ:tʂiníi] 'paper mulberry'
- /tamémi/ [tamími] 'sweet potato'
- /tametasai/ [tam:taséi] 'star'
- /naméname/ [namínam:] 'ginger'.

3.2.7.3 /i u e/, when preceded by a nasal consonant and followed by a homorganic consonant, vary freely with length. The nasal consonant is palatalized before /i/, and is labialized before /u/:

- /vanítuku/ [βaŋ:ítuku] 'money'
- /'aníci/ [ʔaŋ:íʃi] 'burnt rice'
- /maritunutunúngu/ [maritun<sup>w</sup>:tunúŋ<sup>w</sup>:] 'to nod many times'
- /kunúcu/ [kun<sup>w</sup>:tʂu] 'body hair'
- /cungúkucu/ [tʂuŋ<sup>w</sup>:kutsu] 'bridge'
- /mupáu/ [m<sup>w</sup>:póu] 'to drill the fire-drill'
- /tamúmaku/ [tam<sup>w</sup>:ímaku] 'my grandparent'
- /samepilíngi/ [sam:piríŋ<sup>j</sup>:] 'a type of orchid'
- /tamémi/ [tamími] 'sweet potato'
- /urúkucu tameviná'e/ [urúkutsu tam:bináʔi] 'praying mantis'.

3.2.7.4 /i u e/, when preceded by /n/ and followed by /s/, vary freely either with length, or together with /n/, with a nasalized vowel. A nasal consonant before /i/ is palatalized and labialized before /u/. /i/ and /u/, however, vary with a nasal-

ized vowel only when preceded by /i/ and /u/ respectively, whereby the preceding /i/ or /u/ is also nasalized. Thus, /i/ preceded by /a/ in /anísi/ 'tooth' never varies with a nasalized vowel. In normal speed a nasalized-vowel variant occurs most commonly.

/ta'ínisu/ [tɛʔínisu, tɛʔín̄:su, tɛʔí̄:su] 'spoon'  
 /sunúsunu/ [sunúsun<sup>w</sup>ː, sun<sup>w</sup>ːsun<sup>w</sup>ː, sṹːsun<sup>w</sup>ː]  
 'dried leaves of miscanthus'  
 /tanesavére/ [tanisaβíri], tanːsaβíri, tã̃saβíri] 'a type of snake'.

3.2.7.5 /u/, when preceded by /ng/ and followed by a labial consonant /p m/ which is further followed by /u/, is realized as length of a labialized [ŋ<sup>w</sup>]:

/'ungúpu/ [ʔuŋ<sup>w</sup>ːpu] 'dust',  
 /matamungúmuŋu/ [matamuŋ<sup>w</sup>ːmuŋ<sup>w</sup>ː] 'to drizzle'.

3.2.7.6 /u/ preceded by /ng/ and followed by a glottal stop is realized as length of a labialized [ŋ<sup>w</sup>]:

/tanu'ungu'ínicu/ [tanuʔuŋ<sup>w</sup>ːʔín̄ːt̚su] 'a place name'.

3.2.7.7 Unstressed /e/ preceded and followed by /r/ is realized as length:

/cupingárrera/ [tsj upiŋárːa] 'a type of shellfish'  
 /taumúrrera/ [tɔumúrːa] 'earthen floor'.

3.2.7.8 Unstressed /e/ preceded by a voiceless stop or sibilant consonant /p t k s/ but /' h/ and followed by a different member from the same set of consonants is very often dropped. /e/ in the sequence of /-tes-/ , however, never drops:

/nakesaaiána/ [naksariána] 'the Mainland-Chinese'  
 /tapetu'úsu/ [taptuʔúsu] 'the top of the miscanthus'  
 /masepateéne/ [maspatīnː] 'forty'  
 /nikipátesa/ [nikipátisa] 'did one's best effort'

### 3.3 Stress

3.3.1 Unlike all other Formosan Austronesian languages, a stress accompanying a high pitch is phonemically distinctive, although the

functional load is very low:

- /nipapacé'era/ 'showed' (actor focus perfective form of /apace'éra/ 'to show'),
- /nipapace'éra/ 'looked at each other' (actor focus perfective form of /arupapace'éra/ 'to look at each other');
- /apaékere/ 'to let do tightly and compactly, as in shutting the door tightly' (causative actor focus imperfective form of /maékére/),
- /apaékére/ 'to let hold' (causative actor focus imperfective form of /umékere/).

3.3.2 When suffixed, or when preceded or followed by a particle, the position of stress shifts, as it is seen in the texts. Moreover, when a speaker is much excited, especially in narrations, it very often happens that a very strong stress with a high pitch falls on the first syllable of a sentence, and all other words lose their original stress and are pronounced flat. This seems to be a part of a sentence intonation pattern. Intonation patterns, however, have not been fully studied, so that the matter is left undecided here.

### 3.4 Canonical Structure and Phonemic Distribution

3.4.1 Canonical structure of the Kananavu syllable is (C)V, where C stand for any consonant, V for any vowel, and a parenthesis for optional. The minimum free form in Kananavu except for exclamatory words as /háu/ consists of three syllables:

/caáni/ 'a song'.

3.4.2 There is observed no R-base (i.e.  $*\{C_1V_1C_2-V_2-C_1V_1C_2\}$ ) consisting of one of the phonemes /v t c/ for  $C_1$ , and of /ng r/ for  $C_2$ , and of /i u/ for  $V_2$ , except for one suspicious word: /tingitingi/ 'a measuring steelyard' ( $\{tingiting\}$ ), which is most likely an indirect Taiwanese loanword (Taiw. 秤 *teng* 'steelyard'). Instead,  $\{C_1V_1C_2-a-C_1V_1C_2\}$  occurs if  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  are one of those listed above:

- /vungávungu/ {vungáving} 'flower',
- /vingávingi/ {vingáving} 'coccyx',
- /cingácingi/ {cingácing} 'young shoot of miscanthus or sugarcane plants',
- /tungátungu/ {tungátung} 'jew's harp',

/viráviri/ {virávir} 'earlobe',  
/curácuru/ {curácur} 'a type of tree'.

3.4.3 Within a word the sequences l-l and r-r occur, but the sequences l-r and r-l do not:

/ʼalalipáŋge/ 'centipede',  
/láale/ 'flying squirrel',  
/ʼararíira/ 'land turtle',  
/surúru/ 'spinal bone'.

3.4.4 All possible combinations of two vowels occur as clusters but \*/ei/ and \*/eu/. The sequences of /ie/ and /ue/ have been so far observed only across morpheme boundaries, and never in final position. Double vowels are of the same quality as a single vowel and twice as long. Double vowels /ii/ and /uu/ have not been observed in final position. /iu/ in final position is found so far only in one word and that is a loanword. The following are examples:

/aa/: /ʼaapaláte/ 'lightning', /ngisáa/ 'breath'  
/ai/: /saísi/ 'jaw', /ʼenái/ 'earth'  
/au/: /naúsa/ 'clavicle', /venánau/ 'cataract'  
/ae/: /caéne/ 'grass', /ruvaévae/ 'to go out to fool around'  
/ia/: /piácapa/ 'fishing rod', /tatía/ 'big'  
/ii/: /tavíini/ 'finger'  
/iu/: /ʼaníura/ 'fly (insect)',  
/máaʼiu/ 'kerosene' (< Taiw. 麻油 *moa-iu* 'sesame oil')  
/ie/: /masiepéce/ (< m-asi-epéce) 'to wash clothes',  
/niékera/ (< ni-éker-a) 'held at'  
/ua/: /puále/ 'lame, crippled', /ʼatímua/ 'flea'  
/ui/: /vungúini/ 'mold, mildew', /tutúii/ 'pig'  
/uu/: /ʼicúuru/ 'egg'  
/ue/: /murueséʼe/ (< m-uru-eséʼe) 'to shed tears',  
/makueméte/ (< m-aku-eméte) 'to close one's mouth'  
/ea/: /makakéange/ 'hard', /maátea/ 'same'  
/ee/: /masikeéce/ 'to pinch', /cumée/ 'to kiss'.

3.4.5 In clusters of more than three vowels, (1) there are no clusters including /ie, ue, uu, eu, ei, ee/, (2) there is no cluster of the shape \*/Vea/, (3) there is no cluster of the shape \*/Viu/ except for one example of /iiu/, (4) geminations of the same three vowels are found only for /aaa/ and /iii/, both of which occur either across



morpheme boundaries or as an alternant sloppy pronunciation of a form with an intervening consonant. The following are some examples:

- /aaa/: /paaacápe/ (< pa-a-acápe) 'believe',  
           /sáaaka/ (< sáa-aka) 'bad smelling',  
           /kaaangévange/ 'all' (sloppy alternant of /kaavangévange/)
- /aai/: /ngáai/ 'saliva'
- /aau/: /táaurua/ 'valley'
- /aae/: /maaeréna/ 'to snow'
- /aia/: /laíane/ 'termite'
- /aua/: /nanauáse/ 'slow fellow'
- /aui/: /umauíri/ 'to attack'
- /iaa/: /siaaréare/ 'saw (an instrument)'
- /iai/: /mariaí'i/ 'to do back'
- /iau/: /arakiakiáu/ 'surprised'
- /iae/: /miaéra/ 'yesterday'
- /iii/: /iinganáini/ 'without being noticed'  
           (sloppy pronunciation of /iininganáini/)
- /iiu/: /síiu/ 'small intestings'
- /iua/: /cicíua/ 'a type of bird'
- /uaa/: /taaivúaa/ 'lavatory'
- /uai/: /'uái/ 'rattan'
- /uau/: /apivatúau/ 'Make him come!'
- /uae/: /muaeréce/ 'stand stable'
- /uia/: /'avitutuíána/ 'a type of fat and short (ca. 5cm) earthworm  
           often found in wet ricefield'
- /eai/: /tekeairé'e/ 'loach'
- /eau/: /céau/ 'Kiss her!'
- /eae/: /'angéae/ 'soot'
- /aaia/: /paaíá'i/ 'repent'
- /auau/: /tamaúáu/ 'a type of deer'
- /iuau/: /kaasiusiúau/ 'Squeeze out the small intestines!'
- /uiaa/: /kuiáa/ 'a type of edible, non-sweet melon  
           (*Sechium edule*, Sw.)' (< Taiw. *koe-a* 瓜仔)
- /aaiaa/: /nakesaaiána/ 'the Mainland-Chinese'.



## II Kanakanavu Texts

### 1. Shooting the Sun

(by Angaiana Paepuli (Akamatsu))

Note: Kan II 140-161; V 34  
Tape: A 66-160  
Recorded by Tsuchida S.  
Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *tiá+ +pa +ku paará-'ena pu-a-ísua sua+ ni-palá-anal-a*  
fut. still I inform talk-that OBL originated  
*naparamáci miána, sua+ ni-mu-paná'e taniare. [1-1]*  
Naparamaci ago OBL shot sun  
I shall narrate about the event of Naparamaci who shot the sun long time ago.
- (2) *taavalá'-au sua+ íisi, íi-kamu taa-ti'íng-ai, manasii ka'áne*  
know(PF-Imp) NOM this you small-ones so-that not  
*+kámu ru-aími nu+ 'áisi +pa +kamu nu+ anéan-a. [1-2]*  
you forget if be still you if future  
Know this, you youngsters, so that you won't forget as long as you live in the future.
- (3) *ateneng-áu sua+ maká-sia sua+ íisi +ia, tia+ naka*  
remember(PF-Imp) NOM like-this NOM this TOP, fut.  
*si-pu-'e-'ená +mita sa+ ni-pala-anal-á +neta miá-na. [1-3]*  
thing-recited our NOM habit our ago  
Remember like this that we are going to tell about our ancient event.
- (4) *kanakanávu sua+ íisi na-'éna. [1-4]*  
Kanakanavu NOM this ex-story  
This is the story of the Kanakanavu.
- (5) *sua+ tia+ 'ená +maku +ia, tiá+ +maku pua-mua-muár-ene*  
NOM fut. story my TOP, fut. my talk-about(PF)  
*sua+ nanáke ni-l/um/iú'u miá-na. [1-5]*  
NOM woman fished-by-scoopnet ago  
As for my story, I'm going to talk about a woman who fished with a scoop-net in old days.

- (6) *l/um/a-liú'u +kani sua+ nanáke. [1-6]*  
 fish-by-scoopnet(AF) it-is-said NOM woman  
 The woman was fishing with a scoop-net.
- (7) *para-tea-nené +kani +kiái sua+ sanapisápi. [1-7]*  
 scoop(PF) it-is-said her NOM driftwood  
 She scooped a driftwood.
- (8) *ala-ené +kani +kiái t/um/áini valúvalu canúmu. [1-8]*  
 take(PF) it-is-said her throw-away rapids water  
 She picked it up and threw it away in the rapids of water.
- (9) *tiá+ +kani mara-'ená'ena l/um/iú'u, para-teá-nene*  
 fut. it-is-said scoop-again(AF) fish-by-scoopnet scoop(PF)  
*+kani +kiái. [1-9]*  
 it-is-said her  
 She fished again with a scoop-net, but she scooped the wood.
- (10) *ma-sángai +káni +cu +'inía. [1-10]*  
 tried it-is-said already with-it  
 She got tired.
- (11) *'acú+ +kani alá-ene +kiái masú-vuku sua+*  
 certain it-is-said take(PF) her stick-at-belt(AF) NOM  
*sanapisápi. [1-11]*  
 driftwood  
 She took the driftwood to stick at the belt.
- (12) *mu-caáne +cu maká-asi taanáasa. [1-12]*  
 go already toward house  
 She went home.
- (13) *ara-surúmu 'akía +cu +'inía ha+ káalu sanapisápi.*  
 unawares none already with-her =sua tree driftwood  
*[1-13]*

Without being noticed the driftwood disappeared.

- (14) *ara-surúmu 'áisi ni-pívura nanáke. [1-14]*  
 unawares be pregnant woman  
 Unawares the woman became pregnant.

- (15) *mara-mia-ranáu tare-séete-a, ara-surúmu kaa-manú-manu. [1-15]*  
 pass-awhile a-little unawares make-child  
 After a while she gave birth to a child secretly.
- (16) *kaa-manu-manú-ai + 'inía sua+ úsua manu-saruandí, macái*  
 make-child with-her NOM that child-male die  
*+cu sua+ naa-ciiná +ini. [1-16]*  
 already NOM ex-mother his.  
 When she gave birth to that boy, she (= his dead mother) died
- (17) *mia-cii-cíni +cu, naanáala +cu sua+ úsua. [1-17]*  
 alone already orphan already NOM that  
 He became alone, an orphan.
- (18) *'áisi + 'inía tamú +ini, tamú +ini saruandí.*  
 be with-him grandparents his grandparents his male.  
*[1-18]*

He had a grandfather.

- (19) *(sua maánu úsua ia) ara-anái +cu + 'inía,*  
 (NOM child that TOP) from already with-it  
*ma-a-kari-karí +cu sua+ cáau. [1-19]*  
 consult already NOM people  
 Then, people talked over.
- (20) *pu-a-'e-'éna cakéare, tiá+ +cu pu-a-úsua*  
 talk-over men's-house fut. already talk-that  
*kaa-vuu-vúuru.<sup>1</sup> [1-20]*  
 hunting-ritual  
 At the men's house people talked over about the hunting ritual.
- (21) *ma-a-kari-karí +kani sua+ cáau pu-á-'éna cakéare,*  
 consult it-is-said NOM people talk-over men's-house  
*tia+ pu-a-úsua 'ecépe ma-mánu. [1-21]*  
 fut. talk-that dream children  
 At the men's house people talked over about the dream which youngsters had.

<sup>1</sup>Lit. 'make bows.' Cf. *vúuru* 'a bow.'

- (22) *'akía + 'inía sua+ musé-tea ma-mánenge 'ecép +ini.*  
 none with-them NOM fit good dream their  
 [1-22]

There was no good dream fit for the ritual.

- (23) *maka-ásua +kani +cu sua+ tamú +ini, "náai,*  
 then it-is-said already NOM grandfather his well  
*ki-tanam-ái ki-suanái maánu úisi," mi-sá +kani. [1-23]*  
 ask-try ask(AF) child this say it-is-said  
 Then his grandfather said, "Well, try to ask this child."

- (24) *ki-suanal-ái +kani sua+ cáau sua+ maánu. [1-24]*  
 ask it-is-said OBL people NOM child  
 People tried to ask the child.

- (25) *puu-mua-muar-ái +kani + 'inía. [1-25]*  
 talk-about it-is-said  
 He talked to them.

- (26) *mata-vecekái +kani si-puu-mua-muár +ini 'ecép +ini,*  
 go-middle it-is-said things-talked his dream his  
*pa-tiul-ái +kani sa+<sup>2</sup> tamú +ini sua+ ivíci*  
 make-stop-talk it-is-said OBL grandfather his NOM mouth  
*maánu. [1-26]*  
 child

When he talked half of his dream, his grandfather covered the mouth of the child with his hand to stop him talking.

- (27) *mu-caané +cu sua+ cáau m-aa-vua-vuáre ara-anái*  
 go already NOM people part-with from  
*cakéare maká-asi taanáasa. [1-27]*  
 men's-house toward house

People parted with each other from the men's house to go home.

<sup>2</sup>*Sua* is often pronounced as *sa* in a rapid speech, and besides, *sa* is sometimes pronounced *ha*.

- (28) *tiá+ +cu mu-á-ca tia+ kaa-vuu-vúuru. [1-28]*  
 fut. already go fut. hunting-ritual  
 The hunting ritual was going to be held.
- (29) *maánu +kani úsua sua+ ni-mu-ʔulu-ʔúlu. [1-29]*  
 child it-is-said that NOM went-first  
 The one who went first was the child.
- (30) *mari-páapa sua+ cáau. mu-caané +cu*  
 lure-out-to-go-with NOM people go already  
*kaa-vuu-vúuru ha cáau. [1-30]*  
 hunting-ritual NOM people  
 People went with each other to the hunting ritual.
- (31) *pu-ái'i makai teetasi'ar +ini tia+ +cu aráisi<sup>3</sup>,*  
 return like dawn its fut. already stay-in-mountains  
*tia+ 'apia-péete<sup>4</sup>. [1-31]*  
 fut. do-shooting-ritual  
 About dawn they returned, and stayed in the mountains (for the first time after *kaavuuuuru*) and were going to practice shooting ritual.
- (32) *etea-nái +kani cáau sua+ saísi pa-a-sani-kuvukuvú*  
 find it-is-said people NOM jaw-bone lying-face-downward  
*+kani sua+ cáau. [1-32]*  
 it-is-said OBL people  
 People found a jaw-bone of a wild pig put upside down.
- (33) *nuu+ tiá+ +ini 'apia-péete, maí-ca +kani + 'inía sua+*  
 if fut. his do-shooting-ritual pass it-is-said there NOM  
*maánu naanáala. [1-33]*  
 child orphan  
 If (there is someone who) practiced shooting ritual (*'apia-péete*), it must be the orphan child who passed here.

<sup>3</sup> *Aráisi* means to stay overnight in the mountains for the first time after *kaa-vuu-vuuru*-ritual.

<sup>4</sup> *'Apia-péete* means that when the group members who went hunting together got the first wild animal in their hunting, they put the body of the animal on the ground right side up, and every member, aiming at the body of the animal with the gun (originally a bow and an arrow) makes a kissing noise, says one by one *Marímmu, apa-ala-u pia-kíai mara-kerá-kerápe cainá-ana úsi* 'Please let us take many animals this year!'

(34) *ari-takar-ái +kani +'inía sua+ saísi pa-sani-vauváu.* [1-34]  
 raise it-is-said NOM jaw lying-face-upward  
 They set up the jaw-bone in the normal position.

(35) “*maká-asi nuu+ tia+ +kia 'apia-péete.*” [1-35]  
 like-this if fut. our do-shooting-ritual  
 “It should be like this if we practice shooting ritual.”

(36) “*ka'áne ma-mánenge nuu+ tiá+ +ini s/um/a-sani-kuvúkuvu.*”  
 not good if fut. his put-face-down  
 [1-36]

“It is not good if he put it upside down.”

(37) “*tia+ s/um/a-sani-varúvau sua+ saísi manasi*  
 fut. put-face-up NOM jaw so-that  
*s/um/a-sani-anáne,*” *mi-sái sua+ naparamáci.* [1-37]  
 put-face-rightside may OBL Naparamaci  
 “The jaw-bone should be put in the normal position with the rightside  
 of the jaw up,” said the ancestors.

(38) *ara-anái +cu sua me-téane +cu cepéng +ini sua+*  
 from already =úsua? find already mind his OBL  
*maánu úsua.* [1-38]  
 child that  
 Hence they found what that child thought.

(39) “*tia+ paná'-ene taníare,*” *mi-sái.* [1-39]  
 fut. shoot(PF) sun say  
 “He will shoot the sun,” they said.

(40) *sua+ vuúr +ini +ia, ni-kaa-máneng-a váava tutúi sua+*  
 NOM bow his TOP, made rib pig NOM  
*si-a-'uru-pacá +ini.* [1-40]  
 thing-used his  
 As for his bow, it was made of a pig-rib, which was the thing used by  
 him.



- (41) 'áisi +kani mi-a-kitngávin<sup>5</sup> [tia+ ni-ru-ané'e]. [1-41]  
 be it-is-said < Bun kitngab:begin began  
 It already started.

- (42) tia+ pa-a-naa-náini tia+ mu-a-paná'e sa+ taníare +ia,  
 fut. go-with-provisions fut. shoot OBL sun TOP,  
 ni-mu-'uná +kani taanáasa sua+ ciná +ini  
 existed it-is-said house NOM mother his  
 ara-si'i-si'ína. [1-42]  
 go-gather-firewood

The one who was going to go to shoot the sun had his aunt at home, who went out to gather firewood.

- (43) 'úuna +kani sua+ ara-cakáne api-'ala-'alángo sa+  
 exist it-it-said NOM go-hunting prepare Obl(?)  
 'aláme aavalá'i +máamia. [1-43]  
 meat whatever just

There was the one who went hunting to provide meat of any kind.

- (44) tia+ camá +ini kaén-a, kaa-vangévange káalu, um-ése'e  
 fut. father his food, all tree, store  
 taanáasa. [1-44]  
 house

His uncles collected food, all woods, and stored away in the house.

- (45) "tia+ naumaní +musu sua+ úsua? tia+ +'ai +ikúai  
 fut what-do thy NOM that fut. perhaps (contempt)  
 paná'-ene naparamáci +músu sua+ taníare," ki-sa-ené  
 shoot(PF) Naparamaci thy NOM sun, ask-say(PF)  
 +kani cáau. [1-45]  
 it-is-said people

"What are you going to do with these? Perhaps your Naparamaci is going to shoot the sun?" asked people.

<sup>5</sup> *kitngavin* is a Bunun word. Corresponding Kananavu expression is given in square brackets. Since the Kananavu people are living surrounded by the Bunun people, they often mix up Kananavu and Bunun words, especially when they get excited.

- (46) *ka'áne +kani +máamia malí-vali sua+ ma-ma-arang +íni.*  
 not it-is-said just answer NOM parent his  
 [1-46]

His parent did not answer.

- (47) *"káne tiá+ +kia ara-si'i-si'ína sua+ 'akía si'i-si'ína,"*  
 likewise fut. I gather-firewood because none firewood,  
*mi-sá +kani +máamia. [1-47]*  
 say it-is-said just  
 "All the same I'll store firewood, because there will be no firewood,"  
 he just said.

- (48) *ala-la'únusu sua+ íisua. 'áisi +kani +cu ki-a-talísi.*  
 finish NOM that. be it-is-said already make-rope  
 [1-48]

That ended. He was making a rope.

- (49) *tatiá-na puungáana sua+ ni-ki-talísi +kiái. [1-49]*  
 bigness water-vessel NOM rope-made his  
 The rope he made was as big as a water-vessel.
- (50) *"tia+ naumaní +musu?" ki-sa-ené +kani cáau. [1-50]*  
 fut. what-do thy ask-say it-is-said people  
 "What are you going to do?" asked people.

- (51) *ka'ané +kani +máamia malí-vali. [1-51]*  
 not it-is-said just answer  
 He just did not answer.

- (52) *tia+ +kaní +cu mu-á-ca mata valí +ini. [1-52]*  
 fut. it-is-said already leave with friend his  
 He was going to go with his friend.

- (53) *tia+ +cu paná'-ene +kiái sua+ taníare. [1-53]*  
 fut. already shoot(PF) his NOM sun  
 They were going to shoot the sun.

- (54) *kili-ái +kani +'inía na+ taa-kiríng-a sua+ talísi. [1-54]*  
 tie it-is-said at small-basket NOM rope  
 He tied the rope at a small basket.
- (55) *tara-kari-ái +kani +'inía sua+ tamú +ini." [1-55]*  
 ask it-is-said NOM grandfather his  
 He asked his grandfather.
- (56) *"nu mali-kili-kilíngi +ku mari-a-púsa-ne +ia, 'áisi +kimí*  
 if pull-noise I pull-twice TOP be we(excl.)  
*+ 'ai ma-átea." [1-56]*  
 same.  
 "If I pulled the rope twice and made noise 'kiling', we would be alive  
 the same."
- (57) *"nu mari-ané +ku +máamia +ia, 'akía + 'ai ta-cíni,"*  
 if pull-once I just TOP, none perhaps one-person,  
*mi-sá +kani. [1-57]*  
 say it-is-said  
 "If I pulled it only once, one of us would be perhaps not alive," he said.
- (58) *mu-caáne +kaní +cu um-ávici sua+ talísi, maka-cekéna*  
 go it-is-said already carry OBL rope, arrive  
*na+ ta-paka-tara'ená-a taníare. [1-58]*  
 at rising-place sun  
 They carried the rope with them, and arrived at the place where the  
 sun rises.
- (59) *mu-'úna +'inía mu-rámange sa+ taníare. [1-59]*  
 exist at-it ambush OBL sun.  
 They were ambushing the sun.
- (60) *ala-lakáu +kani ta-paka-tara'ená-a +ini taníare. [1-60]*  
 appear it-is-said rising-place its sun  
 The sun appeared at the rising place.
- (61) *mari-tupúku ta-tu-puru-á +ini sa+ takuis +ini cumái,*  
 hit-dust sitting-place his OBL leather his bear,  
*pana'-ái +kani +'inía. [1-61]*  
 shoot it-is-said  
 He dusted his sitting place with his garment made of bear leather,  
 and shot it.

- (62) *musu-tavére +kani sua+ ni-mu-paná'e. [1-62]*  
 jump-into-water it-is-said NOM shot  
 The one who shot jumped into the water.
- (63) *'acú+ +kani s/in/á-kena nimuru' +ini sua+ naa-valí*  
 certain it-is-said hit-mark(PF) blood its NOM ex-friend  
*+ini. [1-63]*  
 his  
 His friend must have been hit by the blood of the sun. He died.
- (64) *mali-kilingí +kani marí-a-ne +máamia. [1-64]*  
 pull-noise it-is-said pull-once just  
 He pull the rope just once to make noise 'kiling'.
- (65) *ara-anái +cu 'úuna úsua, verenganané +cu. [1-65]*  
 from already exist that, night already  
 Since when it happened, it became dark.
- (66) *kii-paapa-ái +cu +'inía sua+ talísi. [1-66]*  
 go-along already NOM rope  
 He went back along the rope.
- (67) *mati-páapa makáasi mu-caáne haipa pia to [u-pia-ini taniáara]*  
 hold-along toward go < Bunun how-may day  
*veréngana maka-cekéna taanáasa. [1-67]*  
 night arrive house  
 He followed the rope by holding it and after several days and nights arrived at home.
- (68) *'áisi +cu mi-'aranáse si+[sua+] caau. [1-68]*  
 be already trouble NOM people  
 People were in trouble.
- (69) *'akía +cu si'i-si'iná +ini, 'akia +cu kaená +ini. [1-69]*  
 none already firewood their, none already food their  
 There were no firewood, nor foods.

- (70) *ka'áne taavalá'e 'áisi ni-papi-'ala-'alángo sua+ nguáini*  
 not know, be prepared NOM those-ones  
*kaa-vangévange. [1-70]*  
 all  
 People did not know that they [family of Naparamaci] had prepared for all.
- (71) *'akía +cu +máamia i-'aranas-á +ini. [1-71]*  
 none already just trouble their  
 They had no trouble.
- (72) *sira'é 'ai. si'iná-ene +kaní +cu cáau*  
 very-troublesome make-fire(PF) it-is-said already people  
*sua+ naa-ta'áen +ini +kani naa-'anív +ini,*  
 NOM ex-chair their it-is-said ex-wall their,  
*kaa-vangévange +máamia sua+ naa-nau-nau-naumaní*  
 all just NOM ex-everything  
*+ini. [1-72]*  
 their  
 People were in big trouble. They made fire with their chairs, walls, and everything.
- (73) *'áisi paati-'uri-'uríngi +kani arupa-a-'uri-'uríngi. [1-73]*  
 be carry-fire it-is-said each-other-carry-fire  
 People were carrying fire to each other.
- (74) *ngutá +ini mu-a-na'u-na'úvunu, ngutá +ini ma-ala kaén-a*  
 some their go-to-fallow, some their take food  
*aavalá'i +máamia, ngutá +ini mu-a-canúmu. [1-74]*  
 whatever just, some their go-to-water  
 Some of them went to the fallow (to find crops), some brought food of what so ever, some fetched water.
- (75) *'áisi ma-nasásiave sua+ ta-'áisi-a naparamáci ni-mu-paná'e*  
 be rich NOM being-place Naparamaci shot  
*taníare. [1-75]*  
 sun  
 Those who were at the place of Naparamaci who shot the sun were rich.

## 2. Woman Who Married A Hundred-Pace Snake

(by Angaiana Paepuli (Akamatsu))

Note: Kan II 163-167

Tape: A 163-237

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *tiá+ +pa +ku puu-mua-muáre sua+ ni-muru-'úcange*  
 fut. still I talk-about OBL married  
*táamu miá-na. [2-1]*  
 hundred-space ago  
 I'm going to talk about the one who married taamu (hundred-space snake) long time ago.
- (2) *timána-u sua+ úisi, úi-kamu taa-ti'íng-ai kaa-vangévange,*  
 hear(PF,Imp.) NOM this, you small-ones all,  
*manasii taavalá'e +kamu. [2-2]*  
 so-that know you  
 Listen to this, you all children, so that you may know.
- (3) *sua+ ni-muru-'úcange táamu<sup>1</sup> miá-na +ia, ni-ará-anai*  
 NOM married Tamu ago TOP,  
*+kani ara-caíni sua+ 'úusu. [2-3]*  
 came-from it-is-said far NOM 'Usu  
 The one who married Tamu, 'Usu came from far.
- (4) *(muru-'ucánge) sua+ ni-u-'aravang-á +ini +ia, kaa-kae-kaén-a*  
 (marry) NOM place-entered her TOP, make-foods  
*+kani. [2-4]*  
 it-is-said.  
 The family which took wife prepared for wedding.

<sup>1</sup> *Táamu* is the name for a very poisonous snake (hundred-pace snake (百步蛇, *Agkistrodon acutus*), which is much respected as 'grandfather' (= *táamu*).

- (5) *sua+ ni-muru-'úcange +ia, maí-ca +kani caa-caáne. [2-5]*  
 NOM married TOP, pass it-is-said paths  
 The one who married (i.e. 'Usu) passed on the way.
- (6) *'úuna +kání puu-karí-kari taapúu'ai. "caalái +kia 'úusu,*  
 exist it-is-said chirp type-of-bird. pity I 'Usu,  
*ni-muru-'úcange táamu," mi-sá +kani. [2-6]*  
 married Tamu, say it-is-said  
 There was a *taapuu'ai* (a type of bird) chirping, "What a pity I, 'Usu, am! I got married to Tamu!"
- (7) (*mali-valí +kani sua+*) *pu-karí-kari +kani sua+ nanáke*  
 (answer it-is-said NOM) speak it-is-said NOM woman  
*'úusu, "náini sua+ úsua, lavái?" mi-sá +kani. [2-7]*  
 'Usu, what NOM that, friend say it-is-said.  
 The woman, 'Usu, said, "What's that, friend?"
- (8) *"akúni uru-namá-i si+ masí-raru maká-sia*  
 don't be-surprised because do-intentionally like-this  
*taapúu'ai síane," mi-sá +kani. [2-8]*  
*taapuu'ai*-bird here, say it-is-said  
 "Don't worry, for *taapuu'ai*-bird here does always like this," said she.
- (9) *mu-caané +kání +cu makáasi taanáasa, sua+ tia+*  
 go it-is-said already toward house, fut.  
*ta-'áisi-a 'ucáng +ini. [2-9]*  
 place-being spouse her  
 She went to the house where her husband would be.
- (10) *apa-kaen-ái +kani sua+ caú +ini sua+ 'úusu. [2-10]*  
 let-eat it-is-said OBL people his NOM 'Usu  
 Members of his family let 'Usu eat.
- (11) *"ku-vecerek-a," mi-sá +kani kaa-vangévange sua+ caú*  
 eat-full(AF,Imp.) say it-is-said all NOM people  
*+ini, cau piníngi. [2-11]*  
 his, people family  
 "Eat full," said all the members of his family.

- (12) *tala-vaa-valí +kani sua+ 'úusu. "nai-náini sua+ tia+*  
 look-around it-is-said NOM 'Usu. where NOM fut.  
*la'év +aku?" maká-sia mi-sá +kani. [2-12]*  
 husband my like-this say it-is-said  
 'Usu looked around, and said like this, "Where is the one who is going to be my husband?"
- (13) *'akía +kani taavala' +íni sa+ tia+ la'év +ini. [2-13]*  
 none it-is-said know her NOM fut. husband her  
 She could not recognize her would-be husband.
- (14) *masi-lavalavá +kani sua+ 'áisi ta-vaneván-a. [2-14]*  
 speak-last it-is-said NOM be corner-of-room  
 The one who was at the corner of the room spoke last.
- (15) *'áisi +kani t/in/aki-túmul-a táamu ha+ viilúa.<sup>2</sup> [2-15]*  
 be it-is-said coiled-heap Tamu OBL flat-basket  
 There was a Tamu coiling itself in a flat basket.
- (16) *"ku-vecerek-a, 'úusu," mi-sá +kani. [2-16]*  
 eat-full(AF, Imp.), 'Usu, say it-is-said  
 "Eat until satiated, 'Usu," said he.
- (17) *ara-anái +kani +cu +'inía, kúu+ +kaní +cu*  
 from it-is-said already that, not it-is-said already  
*+máamia k/um/áne. [2-17]*  
 just eat(AF)  
 Since that time, she did not just eat.
- (18) *tiá+ +kaní +cu aá-cani cain-ána, mata-ringéten-a*  
 fut. it-is-said already one year, become-skinny  
*+kani. [2-18]*  
 it-is-said,  
 In one year she became skinny.

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<sup>2</sup>From Taiwanese *bi-loa*.



- (19) *ma-painípini +kani +cu +'inía sua+ caí +ini.*  
worry-nervously it-is-said already about-her NOM people her  
[2-19]

The members of her family nervously worried about her.

- (20) *ma-a-kari-karí +kani sua+ caí +ini mata 'ucáng +ini.*  
consult it-is-said NOM people her with spouse her  
[2-20]

Her family members consulted with her husband.

- (21) *"tiá+ +mita kúusa pa-a-ka-éne náanu si+ maká-sia.*  
fut. our on-earth do-how how because like-this  
[2-21]

"How on the earth should we do if it's like this?"

- (22) *k/um/irim-á +pa tia+ cepéngé +su, tiá+ +mita pa-a-ka-éne*  
seek(Imp.) fut. mind thy, fut our do-how  
*náanu si+ maká-sia," mi-sá +kani. [2-22]*  
how because like-this say it-is-said

"Let us see what you think, what should we do if it's like this?" they said.

- (23) *ari-avic-ái +kani sa+ anái +ini sua+ 'úusu*  
take-along it-is-said OBL namesake her NOM 'Usu  
*marí-kusa 'umá-'uma. [2-23]*  
take-toward fields

A woman with the same name as her took 'Usu to the fields.

- (24) *'acu +avá +kani, iá +cu sua+ táamu mu-kúsa*  
certain wonder it-is-said, go already NOM Tamu go-toward  
*sáana napaka'úica na+ nakénake caácani napaka'úica.*  
over-there Napaka'uica at down waterfalls Napaka'uica  
[2-24]

Tamu must have gone down to the waterfalls called Napaka'uica.

- (25) *pa-a-siki-kusa +'inia sua+ navungú +ini. [2-25]*  
 let-drop-toward it NOM head its  
 He let water fall upon his head.
- (26) *pa-a-siki-teve sua+ na-lapáte táamu, mata-ilí +kani.*  
 let-drop-moult old-skin Tamu, pull-out-change it-is-said  
 [2-26]

Tamu molted by letting water fall upon its head.

- (27) *cáau +kani ni-maru-mánenge. [2-27]*  
 man it-is-said became-big-good  
 He became a fine built man.
- (28) *pu-ái'i +kani +cu mia-ruuruvána ara-andái 'umá-'uma*  
 return it-is-said already past-evening from fields  
*makáasi +kani caa-caáne. [2-28]*  
 toward it-is-said paths  
 They (= 'Usu and her friend) came back from the fields in the evening on the way.
- (29) *"puusu-aláal-a tuu-tuu-purú-a sána, lavái," ki-sa-ené*  
 look-around(Imp.) sitting-place overthere, friend ask-say  
*+kani +kiái sua+ 'andái +ni 'úusu. [2-29]*  
 it-is-said her NOM namesake her 'Usu  
 "Look around the resting place over there, friend!" said 'Usu to her friend with the same name.
- (30) *"cáau maka-náanu?" mi-sá +kani sua+ 'anáí +ini.*  
 man what-kind say it-is-said NOM namesake her  
 [2-30]

"What kind of man?" said her friend.

- (31) *"aavalá'i +máamia si+ cáau," ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái*  
 whatever just because man ask-say it-is-said her  
*'anáí +ini. [2-31]*  
 namesake her  
 "Whatever man he may be, it is all right because he is a man," said the friend.

- (32) *ará-cani +kani +cu ta-tu-purú-a. tará-kusa +kani*  
 near it-is-said already sitting-place. look-toward it-is-said  
 + 'inía. [2-32]  
 to-him

They came near the resting place. She looked at him.

- (33) *'áisi +kani + 'inía sua+ cáau ni-ru-ningáse +kani,*  
 be it-is-said there NOM man dressed-best it-is-said  
*ni-ma-tikúru +kani kanasiánge. [2-33]*  
 dressed it-is-said red-male-garment

A man was there dressed in his best, dressed in the red garment (formal dress).

- (34) *maki-tará'ena +kani + 'inía. [2-34]*  
 set-up it-is-said to-him.

She stepped up on the resting place.

- (35) *masi-surúmu +kani, "náai, vuá-i 'ikúa kaakúcu +su,*  
 speak-unconsciously it-is-said, Hi give to-me net-bag thy,  
*'úusu," mi-sá +kani. [2-35]*  
 'Usu, say it-is-said

He spoke to her unconsciously, "Hi, give me your net-bag, 'Usu!"

- (36) *mu-á +kani la'év +ini sua+ úisua. [2-36]*  
 certain it-is-said husband her NOM that.

Most likely that was her husband.

- (37) *makai +kani ni-ara-kícace, ma-manengé +cu cepéng*  
 like it-is-said became-surprised, good already mind  
 +ini. [2-37]  
 her

She looked surprised, but she was happy.

- (38) *ara-anái +cu sua, makáasi +kani +cu taanáasa.*  
 from already that, toward it-is-said already house  
 [2-38]

Then she came home.

- (39) *tala-'ulu-ái +kani +'inía c/um/é'era sua+ viilúa. [2-39]*  
 look-first it-is-said she see OBL flat-basket  
 She looked at the flat basket first.
- (40) *'akía +kani +cu +'inía sua+ táamu. [2-40]*  
 none it-is-said already it NOM Tamu  
 The Tamu was not there.
- (41) *"nguái +avá 'ai," mi-sá +kani pa-cepe-cépenge. [2-41]*  
 that wonder perhaps say it-is-said think  
 "That may be he," she thought.
- (42) *ara-anái +'inía, kúu +kaní +cu +kiái pa-ara-teken-ái*  
 from it, not it-is-said already her let-separate  
*sua+ saruanái. [2-42]*  
 NOM man  
 Since then she did not allow the man leave from her.
- (43) *ka'áne +kaní +cu taavalá'e ara-cakáne. [2-43]*  
 not it-is-said already can go-hunting  
 He could not go hunting (since his wife did not leave him).
- (44) *mu-a-rangáte +kani +cu +'inía sua+ mara-kerápe*  
 come-by-oneself it-is-said already to-him NOM animals  
*tia+ ala +ini, si+ ka'áne +kaní +cu pali-aluma-éne*  
 fut. take his because not it-is-said already let-leave  
*nanáke sua+ saruanái +ini. [2-44]*  
 woman NOM man her  
 The animals came to him by themselves which he took because the  
 woman did not let her husband leave.

### 3. Woman Who Married A Monkey

(By Paa'u Angaiana (UCHIDA Sumio))

Note: Kan II 167-171

Tape: A 240-308

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *tiá+ +pa +ku puu-mua-muáre sua+ ni-alupa-ka-lé'e mata*  
fut. still I talk-about OBJ each-other-loved with  
*ngekáu. [3-1]*  
monkey  
I'm going to talk about the one who loved monkey with each other.
- (2) *sua+ +kani ngacá' +ini +ia, ara-anái*  
NOM it-is-said lower-trunk its TOP, from  
*mia-kana-mine-minéna. [3-2]*  
past-season-scaring-birds  
The story begins from the season of scaring birds.
- (3) *'úuna sua+ kine-váal-a nanáke mata saruanái. [3-3]*  
exist NOM relation-sibling woman with man  
There were a woman and a man who were sister and brother to each other.
- (4) *sua+ nanáke +ia, tane-tane-taníare +máamia mu-kúsa +'inía*  
NOM woman TOP, everyday just go to-it  
*minána. [3-4]*  
scare-birds  
The woman went to scare birds everyday.
- (5) *naatiá+ +kani 'apanaapá-ene saruanái pu-íli mu-kúsa*  
about-to it-is-said do-sometimes man change go  
*+'inía minána. [3-5]*  
to-it scare-birds  
The man sometimes proposed to go there to scare birds.

- (6) *naakáai ka'áne pakí-turu sua+ nanáke. [3-6]*  
 but not allow NOM woman  
 But the woman did not allow.
- (7) *maka-asuá +cu sua+ saruanái palá-a-vau, "tiá+ +pa  
 therefore already NOM man try, fut. still  
 kéece pu-íli mu-kúsa +'inía," mi-sái. [3-7]*  
 hopefully change go there, say  
 Therefore the man tried, "I'll dare to change and go there," said he.
- (8) *mu-u-páala +kani pité'a mu-kúsa +'inía. [3-8]*  
 leave it-is-said dark go there  
 He left very early in the morning to go there.
- (9) *maka-cekéna +kani +'inía na+ taa-minéna. [3-9]*  
 arrive it-is-said there at place-scaring-birds  
 He arrived at the place of scaring birds.
- (10) *mari-a-ne mari-kaéve. selecé +kani +'inía sua+ ngekáu  
 pull-once pull-clapper. appear it-is-said there NOM monkey  
 ta-para-cii-ciní-a. [3-10]*  
 solitary-monkey  
 He pulled the clapper once. A solitary monkey appeared.
- (11) *pana'-ái +kani +'inía sua+ ngekáu, um-ála um-ávici  
 shoot it-is-said there NOM monkey, take carry  
 taanáasa. [3-11]*  
 house  
 He shot the monkey. He took it and brought it home.
- (12) *maka-asuá +cu, tia+ +kaní +cu kaa-'ala-'alám-ene  
 therefore already, fut. it-is-said already make-meat  
 +kiái sua+ ngekáu. [3-12]*  
 his NOM monkey  
 Then he cut the monkey into meats.

- (13) *taka-iisuá +kani sua+ nanáke tu-púru na+ ta-pari-'evé-a*  
 cheat it-is-said NOM woman sit at place-smoking  
*si+ 'áisi aáka cepéng +ini. [3-13]*  
 because be bad mind her

The woman, telling a lie, sat at the smoky place, because she was very sad.

- (14) *mari-sene-senéka +kani. "áisi +kia +pa a-'evé-ene," mi-sa*  
 sob it-is-said. be I still smoke(PF), say  
*+kani si+ 'áisi +kani aáka cepéng +ini si+*  
 it-is-said because be it-is-said bad mind her because  
*'acú+ ni-pána'-a na-kaa-le'-á +ini. [3-14]*  
 certain shot ex- lover her

She sobbed. "I'm being smoked," she said, because she was sad because her lover had been shot.

- (15) *'áisi +áva tara-paapá-ene +kiáí sua+ 'áisi kaa-'ala-'aláme*  
 be wonder look-askance(PF) her NOM be make-meat  
*ngekáu sua+ ni-a-kuung-á +ini +'inía. [3-15]*  
 monkey OBL stored-at-high his there

She was looking askance the one who was cutting the monkey into meat which was stored at a high place.

- (16) *maka-asuá +cu, ara-pa-piningi +cú +'ai ha+*  
 therefore already, go-out already perhaps NOM  
*saruanái, paki-ama-amat-ái +cu +'inía um-ála sua+ 'utíni*  
 man, pretend-not-know already to-him take OBL penis  
*ngekáu masú-vuku. [3-16]*  
 monkey stick-at-belt

So, when the man went out, she secretly took the penis of the monkey and stuck it at the belt.

- (17) *maka-asuá +cu taku-taavala'-ái +cu sua+ kekenang*  
 then already perceive already OBL companion  
*+ini. [3-17]*  
 her

Then her friends perceived it.

- (18) “*áisi +áva ni-pasu-vúku +kiái sua+ ’utíni ngekáu,*” *mi-sái.*  
 be wonder stuck-at-belt her NOM penis monkey say  
 [3-18]

They said, “She is wearing the penis of a monkey at her belt.

- (19) *ari-avic-ái +cu kekenang +íni mu-kúsa cakérane*  
 take-along already companion her go river  
*maka-nangúlu.* [3-19]  
 swim

Her friends took her to the river for swimming.

- (20) *paki-turú +kani sua+ ísua kii-páapa mu-kúsa cakérane.*  
 allow it-is-said NOM that induce go river  
 [3-20]

She consented to go to the river.

- (21) *naatiá+ +kani ka’áne paki-turu maka-nangúlu.* [3-21]  
 about-to it-is-said not allow swim  
 She did not want to swim.

- (22) *ringiring-íni +kani kekenang +íni.* [3-22]  
 compel it-is-said companion her  
 Her friends compelled her.

- (23) *maka-asuá tu[<sup>1</sup>cu]<sup>1</sup>, “sua ka’áne maka-nangúlu +ia, tia+*  
 therefore already, NOM not swim TOP, fut.  
*pati-cuvu-cuvúng-unu r/um/éce +cu canúmu,”*  
 hold-together(PF) throw-into-water already water,  
*ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.* [3-23]  
 ask-say it-is-said their

“The one who does not swim will be carried up by everybody and thrown into the water,” they said.

<sup>1</sup> *Tu* is a Bunun equivalent for Kan *cu*.



- (24) 'acú+ +kani ulúng-unu +kiái sua+ nakév +ini. [3-24]  
 certain it-is-said take-off(PF) her NOM clothing her  
 She took off her clothing.
- (25) musu-tavére +kani +cu canúmu maka-nangúlu. [3-25]  
 jump-into-water it-is-said already water swim  
 She jumped into the water to swim.
- (26) paki-ama-amat-ái +cu kekenang +íni c/um/é'era sua+  
 pretend-not-know already companion her see OBL  
 naa-ni-pasu-vúku +kiái 'utíni ngekáu. [3-26]  
 ex-stuck-at-belt her penis monkey  
 Without being noticed, her friends looked at the penis of the monkey  
 stuck at her belt.
- (27) "kulái +avá +cu," mi-sá +kani. [3-27]  
 worm wonder already say it-is-said  
 "It's infested with maggots," they said.
- (28) alá-i +kani +'inía t/um/áini pita-tavére +cu  
 take it-is-said of-them throw-away throw-into-water already  
 canúmu 'apa-'acúnu. [3-28]  
 water let-drift  
 They took it and threw it away into water to float away.
- (29) maka-asuá +cu tani-ula'-ái +cu +'inía sua+ nanáke.  
 then it-is-said cheat already NOM woman  
 [3-29]  
 Then they cheated the woman.
- (30) "táa +cu 'isá +cu, cangíni!" mi-sái, ara-kia-kiáu  
 let's already go already, enemy say, become-confused  
 mu-caáne. [3-30]  
 go  
 "Let's go! enemy came!" and went away confusedly.

(31) *'áisi +kani +'inía sua+ nanáke úsua musu-táini. [3-31]*  
 be it-is-said there NOM woman that leave-behind  
 That woman was left behind.

(32) *tia+ kiri-kirími +'inía, kúu+ +cu etea-nái. [3-32]*  
 fut. seek to-it. not already find  
 She looked for it (= penis), but could not find.

(33) *mu-caané +cu +máamia kekenang +íni um-ánguru +'inía.*  
 go just companion her escape  
 [3-33]

Her companions had just run away.

(34) *'acú+ +ci +'ái ni-mi-kai-náanu? [3-34]*  
 certain already perhaps how-did?  
 What happened then? (I don't know.)

(35) *nguáci +cu úsua sua+ taavalá'-a. [2-35]*  
 that already that NOM know  
 That is all that is known.

## 4. Woman Who Married A Bottle-Gourd

(By *Angaiana Paepuli* (Akamatsu))

Note: Kan II 172-175

Tape: A 309-389

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *tiá+ +pa +ku paará-'ena sua+ ni-muru-'úcange táavu*  
fut. still I inform OBL married bottle-gourd  
*miá-na. [4-1]*  
ago

I shall narrate about the one who married a bottle-gourd long time ago.

- (2) *sua+ ngacá' +ini +ia, ni-alá-ene +kani sua+ nanáke*  
NOM base its TOP, took(PF) it-is-said NOM woman  
*muru-'ucánge paki-anái ara-caíni. [4-2]*  
marry from far

The beginning is that a woman was taken from far to marry.

- (3) *tia+ +kaní +cu ari-avíc-ini, mu-'aravánge taanáasa.*  
fut. it-is-said already take-along(PF), enter house  
*[4-3]*

She was taken along and entered the house.

- (4) *mu-'aravánge +kani taanáasa, ari-tiumá-i +kani sa+*  
enter it-is-said house, receive-at-once it-is-said OBL  
*caú +ini. [4-4]*  
people its

As soon as she entered the house, the family members immediately accepted her.

- (5) *"tu-puru-á síane, lavái," mi-sá +kani kaa-vangévanqe. [4-5]*  
sit(Imp.) here, friend, say it-is-said all  
All of them said, "Sit down here!"

- (6) *tu-puru +kání na+ taa-rekér-a. ari-tiumá-i +kani sua+*  
 sit it-is-said on mortar. begin-at-once it-is-said OBL  
*navúngu r/um/á'isi sua+ ta-'iic-á +ini. [4-6]*  
 head bite NOM buttocks her

As soon as she sat on the mortar, the Head (= the one who has only a head) immediately bit her buttockss.

- (7) *maku-erékene +máamia, kúu+ +kani +máamia makú-puli.*  
 bite-not-leave just, not it-is-said just bite-release  
 [4-7]

He just does not release his biting.

- (8) *tani-ula'-ái +kani +'inía, "maku-pulí-a pa. tiá+ +pa*  
 cheat it-is-said to-it, bite-release(Imp.) still. fut. still  
*+ku 'api-sanúngu ni-pa-arí-a," ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái. [4-8]*  
 I take-into-house dried-in-sun, ask-say it-is-said her

She told a lie, saying, "Release me of your biting. I am going to take washings into the house."

- (9) *maku-pulí +kani. mu-caáne +kaní +cu um-ánguru.*  
 bite-release it-is-said. go it-is-said already escape  
 [4-9]

He released. She ran away.

- (10) *ara-a-sípare cakérane, pu-kari-karí +kani, "fuóu, íimu*  
 come-cross river, talk it-is-said, Fuaw!, I-wish  
*kásu, pu-túmulu cakérane," mi-sá +kani. [4-10]*  
 thou, liquid-become-many river, say it-is-said

When she came across the river, she said, "Fuou, I wish the river be flooded."

- (11) *surúmu +kani kula-tumúlu +kani cakérane. [4-11]*  
 unconsciously it-is-said full it-is-said river

Gradually the river became full of water.

- (12) *tara-ái'i +kani sipáre cakérane. [4-12]*  
 look-back it-is-said other-side river.

She looked back the other side of the river.

- (13) *'áisi +kani pari-víini +'inía sua+ kaa-páipai navíngu.*  
 be it-is-said follow to-her NOM only head  
*[4-13]*

The Head-Only was following her.

- (14) *pu-kari-kári +'inía sua+ 'úusu, "pita-kusá-u síane*  
 talk to-her OBL 'Usu, throw-toward(PF,Imp.) here  
*vecéranga +músu, "ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái. [4-14]*  
 headband thy, ask-say it-is-said his  
 He said to 'Usu, "Throw your headband here!"

- (15) *ali-ulung-ái +kani +'inía sua+ vecerangá +ini*  
 take-off-headband it-is-said NOM headband her  
*pitá-kusa +'inía. [4-15]*  
 throw-toward to-it

She took off her headband to throw it to him.

- (16) *ra'is-ái +kani +'inía vecéranga. [4-16]*  
 bite it-is-said headband.

He bit the headband.

- (17) *ali-se'el-ái +kani +'inía. [4-17]*  
 pull it-is-said

She pulled it.

- (18) *mata-vecékai +kani na+ valuvalu +ini, pati-puli-ái +kani*  
 come-middle it-is-said at rapids its, hold-release it-is-said  
*+ 'inía ha+ vecéranga. [4-18]*  
 NOM headband

When he came to the middle of rapids, she released the headband.

- (19) *'acú+ +kani ni-ma-'acúnu. [4-19]*  
 certain it-is-said drifted

He was drifted away.

- (20) *'úuna +kani usúru ama-laúcu. [4-20]*  
 exist it-is-said small-fallow downstream.  
 There was a small fallow in downstream.
- (21) *'acú+ +kani ni-ma-kane-raáne +'inía ha+ kaa-paípai*  
 certain it-is-said caught-lie-help to-it NOM only  
*navúngu. [4-21]*  
 head  
 The Head-Only was caught there and helped.
- (22) *mu-caané +kani +'inía mia-teatasí'are c/um/é'era. [4-22]*  
 go it-is-said to-it past-morning see  
 On the following day she went to the fallow to see.
- (23) *'áisi +kani ni-ara-téme +'inía sua+ táavu. [4-23]*  
 be it-is-said grew NOM bottle-gourd  
 A bottle-gourd was growing.
- (24) *kaa-maneng-ái +kaní +cu +'inía pa-ara-tátia sua+*  
 do-good it-is-said already make-big NOM  
*táavu. [4-24]*  
 bottle-gourd  
 She took best care of the gourd to make it big.
- (25) *maka-macú'u +kani 'u-cáni +máamia. [4-25]*  
 bear-fruit it-is-said one just  
 It bore just one fruit.
- (26) *mu-a-kusá +kani +'inía masi-kéece. [4-26]*  
 go-toward it-is-said pinch.  
 She went there and pinched it.
- (27) *ka'áne +kaní +pa ma-arángo. [4-27]*  
 not it-is-said still old  
 It was not ripe yet.
- (28) *pu-ai'í +kani taanáaha. [4-28]*  
 return it-is-said house.  
 She returned home.

- (29) *nuu-teatasi'are mu-a-kusá +kani +'inía masi-kéece. [4-29]*  
 future-morning go-toward it-is-said to-it pinch  
 On the following day she went and pinched.
- (30) *ka'áne +kaní +pa ma-arángo. [4-30]*  
 not it-is-said still old.  
 It was not ripe yet.
- (31) *maka-'ená +kani +'inía masi-kéece ha+ táavu.*  
 come-repeat it-is-said pinch OBL bottle-gourd  
*[4-31]*  
 She pinched the gourd again.
- (32) *iininganáini ma-arángo +kaní +cu. [4-32]*  
 already-unawares old it-is-said already.  
 It was already ripe.
- (33) *a-apun-ái +kani +'inía sua+ táavu um-ávici taanáasa.*  
 take-pluck it-is-said NOM gourd bring house  
*[4-33]*  
 She plucked off the gourd to bring it home.
- (34) *pa-tu-váa-vali pa-tú-puru sua+ táavu. [4-34]*  
 let-sit-around let-sit OBL bottle-gourd  
 She tried to put the gourd here and there.
- (35) *'akía +kani +'inía ta-tu-a-'erec-á +ini. [4-35]*  
 none it-is-said place-sitting-tight its  
 There was no place of putting well.
- (36) *pa-tu-puru-ái +kani +'inía tatanaraú +ini. tu-eréce*  
 let-sit it-is-said canopied-bed her. sit-tight  
*+kani. kúu+ +kaní +cu ma-ngali-ngáli. [4-36]*  
 it-is-said. not it-is-said already move  
 She put it on her bed with a canopy. It sit stable. It did not move.

- (37) *maka-asuá +cu mu-caané +cu mu-úsa 'umá-'uma.*  
 then already go already leave fields  
 [4-37]

Then she left for the fields.

- (38) *pu-ai'í +kani mia-ruuruvána, tará-kusa taanáasa.* [4-38]  
 return it-is-said past-evening, look-toward house  
 In the evening she returned home, and looked at the house.

- (39) *'áisi +kani ni-putu-'énev-a.* [4-39]  
 be it-is-said opened  
 The door had been open.

- (40) *"náini si+ ni-putu-'éneve taanáasa," mi-sá +kani sua+*  
 who opened house say it-is-said NOM  
*'úusu.* [4-40]  
 'Usu  
 "Who opened the house?" said 'Usu.

- (41) *maka-cekéna +kani taanáasa.* [4-41]  
 arrive it-is-said house  
 She arrived home.

- (42) *'áisi +kani t/in/ú-puru +'inía sua+ cáau ni-maru-mánenge*  
 be it-is-said sat there NOM man became-big-good  
*+kani.* [4-42]  
 it-is-said  
 A fine-built man was sitting there.

- (43) *tará-kusa na+ táavu. 'akía +kani +'inía.* [4-43]  
 look-toward at bottle-gourd. none it-is-said there  
 She looked at the place where the gourd was put. There was nothing.

- (44) *"pa-cepe-cepengé +cu, nguai +áva," mi-sá +kani*  
 think already, that-one wonder, say it-is-said  
*+cu sua+ nanáke.* [4-44]  
 already NOM woman  
 "That is the one, I think," said the woman.



- (45) *"kucu-áu +pa kúucu, 'úusu," mi-sa +kani. [4-45]*  
 delouse(PF,Imp.) still louse, 'Usu, say it-is-said  
 "Catch lice, 'Usu!" said he.
- (46) *mu-úsa +kani ta-ta-piníng-a pu-á-'una +'inía*  
 leave it-is-said outside. out-exist  
*arupá-a-kucu. [4-46]*  
 each-other-delouse  
 They went out and there caught lice with each other.
- (47) *"misainitánia sua+ navíngu +músu? núuka," ki-sa-ené*  
 what-happened NOM head thy tumor, ask-say  
*+kani 'úusu. [4-47]*  
 it-is-said 'Usu  
 "What happened with your head? There are tumors," asked 'Usu.
- (48) *"náí, núuka ki-sá-u. kaaniá +'ai ta-pasi-a-kee-keec-a*  
 Hey, tumor ask-say(PF,Imp.). this place-always-pinch  
*+númu," ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái sua+ 'úusu. [4-48]*  
 your, say it-is-said his NOM 'Usu  
 "Hey! Call this tumor! Isn't it where you always pinched?" said he to 'Usu.
- (49) *pa-cepe-cépenge +kaní +cu 'úusu, "nguai +áva*  
 think it-is-said already 'Usu, that-one wonder  
*na-ta-pasi-a-kee-kéec-a táavu miá-na," mi-sa +kaní*  
 ex-place-always-pinch bottle-gourd ago, say it-is-said  
*+cu. [4-49]*  
 already  
 Usu thought, "That is the bottle-gourd which I used to pinch before."
- (50) *sua+ si-puu-mua-muár +aku sua+ úsi +ia, nguáci +cu*  
 NOM thing-talk-about my OBL this TOP, that already  
*ni-pata-lavá-neni. [4-50]*  
 came-last  
 As for what I talked about, that is all.

## 5. Story of Two Orphans

(By *Angaiana Paa'u* (Sumio))

Note: Kan II 176-186; V 35-36

Tape: Uher A 192-339

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *sua+ nganál +aku +ia, angaiána páa'u. [5-1]*  
NOM name my TOP, Angaiana Pa'u  
My name is Angaiana Pa'u.
- (2) *tiá+ pa+ +ku puu-mua-muáre pu-a-ísua sua+ naanáala*  
fut. still I talk-about recite OBL orphan  
*ki-sá-ene. [5-2]*  
say.  
I'm going to talk about the one called orphan.
- (3) *vanál +aku tia+ pa-a-taku-taavalá'e +pa sua+*  
reason my fut. make-understand still OBL  
*a-pari-a-vii-viin-a ma-mánu taa-ti'íng-ai. [5-3]*  
follower children small-ones  
The reason of my doing so is to let the followers, children, small ones, understand.
- (4) *sua+ naanáala ísua +ia, cu-cúlu +ia, káne+ na-'úna*  
NOM orphan that TOP, true TOP, likewise ex-existed  
*+pa ma-maarúrange. [5-4]*  
still parents  
The orphans actually had had also parents like the rest.
- (5) *sua+ ma-maarang +íni +ia, ni-m-ú-ca m-u-'aná-'ana. [5-5]*  
NOM parents his TOP, went travel  
Their parents went for travelling.
- (6) *ka-cáu-a sua+ cáau m-ara-kaca-ka-cáu-a. [5-6]*  
many NOM people go-with-many  
They went with many other people.

- (7) *tía+ +cu pu-ái'i, taku-taavalá'e +cu sua+ kine-váal-a*  
 fut. already return, understand already NOM fellow-siblings  
*tá-sesa.*<sup>1</sup> [5-7]  
 two

They were coming back, the two brothers understood it.

- (8) "*tiá+ +cu i-á-vatu,*" *m-i-sái. m-u-caané +cu sua+*  
 fut. already come, say. go already NOM  
*tá-sesa kine-váal-a. [5-8]*  
 two siblings

"They are coming," they said. The two brothers went.

- (9) "*p-aa-tenése tiá+<sup>2</sup> pa+ sua+ ma-maarangé +ta,*" *m-i-sái. [5-9]*  
 meet fut. still OBL parents our, say  
 "Let's go to meet our parents," they said.

- (10) *m-aka-asuá +cu m-u-cáane p-aa-tene-tenes-ái +cu +'inía*  
 like-that already go meet already  
*sua+ cáau. [5-10]*  
 NOM people

So they went to see the people.

- (11) *ki-a-suanái-ni +kani +kiái to+<sup>3</sup> "áisi +náanu sua+*  
 ask it-is-said their that, be where NOM  
*ciná +maku," m-i-sá +kani. [5-11]*  
 mother my, say it-is-said

They asked, "Where is my mother?"

<sup>1</sup>From *ta-súsa*.

<sup>2</sup>According to Pani, "*Tiá+ pa+ p-aa-tenése sua+ ma-maarangé +ta*" means a simple action in future, whereas "*P-aa-tenése tiá+ pa+ ...*" designates a definite resolution, such as "We have to see our parents."

<sup>3</sup>*To* is a Bunun word, meaning 'that (connective)' in this case.

- (12) “*áisi pari-vii-víini. ka’áne aatu-kaévau sua+ ni-á’unu +kiái*  
 be follow. not can-do NOM carried her  
*kamúsia,” ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái. [5-12]*  
 sugar say it-is-said their  
 They are following. They can’t afford to carry (all of the) candies,”  
 they said. [Because there were too many candies, they can’t carry all.]
- (13) *m-aka-asuá +cu sua+ kine-váal-a úisua m-aa-canga-cangáre*  
 like-that already NOM siblings that glad  
*+kani. [5-13]*  
 it-is-said  
 Therefore the brothers were glad.
- (14) *ara-paná’e +kani tiá+ +cu áasa<sup>4</sup> c/um/a-ce’éra sua+*  
 run it-is-said fut. already want see OBL  
*ma-maarang +íni. [5-14]*  
 parents their  
 They ran with the hope to see their parents.
- (15) *pari-vii-víini +áva sua+ tamú +ini. [5-15]*  
 follow wonder NOM grandparent their  
 Their grandfather came indeed after other people.
- (16) *ala-lakáu +kani sua+ tamú +ini, p-asi-alumá-i*  
 appear it-is-said NOM grandparent their, talk-immediately  
*+kani +’inía. [5-16]*  
 it-is-said to-him  
 As soon as their grandfather appeared, they asked.
- (17) “*áisi +náanu ciná +maku?” ki-sá-i +kani +’inía. [5-17]*  
 be where mother my say it-is-said to-him  
 “Where is my mother?” they said to him.
- (18) *m-ali-valí +kani sua+ tamú +ini. [5-18]*  
 answer it-is-said NOM grandparent their  
 Their grandfather answered.

<sup>4</sup>This is actually a Bunun word. There is reportedly no equivalent word in Kanakanavu.

- (19) "taa+ +máamia. pu-ai'-á +kita taanáasa." [5-19]  
 let's-go just return we house  
 "Let's go. Let's return home."
- (20) "káne+ 'akía +cu ma-maarangé +su." [5-20]  
 likewise none already parents thy  
 "There are no more your parents."
- (21) "acú+ ni-ará-aka," ki-sá-i +'inía. [5-21]  
 certain became-bad, say to-them  
 "They died," he said.
- (22) m-aka-asúa +cu m-u-caané +cu pu-ái'i kii-páapa  
 like-that already go already return go-with  
 tamú +ini makáasi taanáasa. [5-22]  
 grandfather their toward house  
 So they returned home together with their grandfather.
- (23) sua+ kine-váal-a úisua +ia, naanáala +cu. [5-23]  
 NOM siblings that TOP, orphan already  
 Those brothers are now orphans.
- (24) 'akía +cu ma-maarang +íni. [5-24]  
 none already parents their  
 They had no parents any more.
- (25) m-aka-asua +cú +'ai sua+ tá-sesa úisua m-u-caané  
 like-that already NOM two that go  
 +cu m-ara-cuu-cuí-cua c/um/íipi.<sup>5</sup> [5-25]  
 already go-around-by-two lay-cipi  
 So those two brothers went around to lay *cipi* (bird trap) by  
 themselves.

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<sup>5</sup> *Cíipi* is a type of trap to catch birds at the neck as against *raísi* which catches birds at the legs.

- (26) *tiá+ +kani pita-samíng-ini +kiái sua+ ciíp +ini.*  
 fut. it-is-said first-see-trap their NOM bird-trap their  
 [5-26]

They went to see the *cipi*-trap for the first time.

- (27) *tara-kusá +kani ciíp +ini.* [5-27]  
 see-toward it-is-said bird-trap their

They saw the *cipi*-trap.

- (28) *'áisi +kani ni-m-i-ta-tíini +'inía tavenevéne u-cáni veéra,*  
 be it-is-said hooked there banana one fruit  
*u-cáni +máamia.* [5-28]

one just

There was hooked one fruit of banana, just one.

- (29) *m-aka-asúa +cu [si+] 'áisi +cu m-i-'aranáse sua+*  
 like-that already be already trouble NOM  
*tá-sesa úsua si+ 'akía +cu ma-maarang +íni, 'akía*  
 two that because none already parents their, none  
*+cu kaen-á +ini.* [5-29]  
 already food their

So those two were in trouble because they had no parents, no foods.

- (30) *sua+ kana-kana'úa +ia, taavalá'e ma-lé'e sua+ vaái*  
 NOM elder-sibling TOP, know feel-pity NOM sibling  
*+ini.* [5-30]  
 his

The elder brother could feel pity on his brother.

- (31) *kuic-ái +cu +'inía sua+ tavenevéne.* [5-31]  
 peel already to-him NOM banana

He peeled the banana.

- (32) *apa-kaéne kanaruá +nini sua+ verá +ini.* [5-32]  
 let-eat younger-sibling his OBL fruit its

He let his younger brother eat the fruit.

- (33) *kaén-ene +kiái sua+ lapát +ini. [5-33]*  
 eat his NOM skin its  
 He ate the skin.
- (34) *m-aka-asuá +cu pu-ái'i taanáasa. [5-34]*  
 like-that already return house  
 They returned home.
- (35) *pu-ai'-ái +kaní +cu +'inía s/um/érece sua+ ciíp*  
 return it-is-said already see-trap OBL bird-trap  
*+ini. [5-35]*  
 their.  
 They came back to see the trap.
- (36) *tará-kusa na+ ciíp +ini. [5-36]*  
 look-toward at bird-trap their  
 They looked at the *cipi*.
- (37) *'áisi +kani ni-m-i-ta-túini +'inía tavenevéne u-rúcini*  
 be it-is-said hooked there banana two  
*+kaní +cu. [5-37]*  
 it-is-said already  
 There were two bananas hooked.
- (38) *p-aa-cani-ái +cu +'inía k/um/áene. [5-38]*  
 distribute-one-each already eat  
 They distributed them one for each to eat.
- (39) *m-aka-asuá +cu pu-ái'i taanáasa. [5-39]*  
 like-that already return house  
 Then they returned home.
- (40) *pu-ái'i s/um/érece tará-kusa na+ ciíp +ini. [5-40]*  
 return see-trap look-toward at bird-trap their  
 They came back to see the trap.
- (41) *'áisi +kani ni-m-i-ta-túini +'inía u-cáni aváng-a. [5-41]*  
 be it-is-said hooked there one cluster  
 There was a cluster of bananas hooked.

- (42) *m-aka-asúa +cu pu-ái'i taanáasa. [5-42]*  
 like-that already return house  
 Then they returned home.
- (43) *m-aka-'ená +cu +'inía s/um/érece. [5-43]*  
 come-again already to-it see-trap  
 They came again to see the trap.
- (44) *tará-kusa +kani ciíp +ini. [5-44]*  
 look-toward it-is-said bird-trap their  
 They looked at the *cipi*-trap.
- (45) *'áisi +kani ni-m-i-ta-tiini +'inía venévene. [5-45]*  
 be it-is-said hung-hooked to-it venven-bird  
 There was hooked hanging at it a venven-bird.
- (46) *m-aka-asúa +cu sua+ vaái +ini +ia, pu-kari-kári*  
 like-that already NOM sibling his TOP, talk  
*+káni. [5-46]*  
 it-is-said  
 Then his younger brother said.
- (47) *"aa'itái. tiá+ +maku ia-sarái-ni," mi-sá +kani. [5-47]*  
 give-me. fut. my put-in-breast-bag, say it-is-said  
 "Oh, give it to me. I'll put it in my breast bag."
- (48) *paki-turu-ái +kani sua+ kana'uá +nini k/um/íli sua+*  
 allow it-is-said OBL elder-sibling his tie OBL  
*kééke venévene. [5-48]*  
 leg venven-bird  
 The elder brother allowed to tie the leg of venven-bird.
- (49) *kaari-túnunu k/um/íli na+ 'api=sarái +ini. [5-49]*  
 tie-at-breast-bag tie at string=breast-bag his  
 He tied it at the string of his breast-bag to put the bird in the bag.



- (50) *m-ia-sikáre +kání na+ sarái +ini sua+ venévene.*  
 put-into it-is-said in breast-bag his OBL venven-bird.  
*m-u-cáane +kání +cu. [5-50]*  
 go it-is-said already  
 He put the venven-bird in his breast-bag. They left.
- (51) *makáasi +kani caa-cáane puu-kari-karí +kani sua+*  
 toward it-is-said roads talk it-is-said NOM  
*vaái +ini. [5-51]*  
 sibling his  
 On the way his brother said.
- (52) *"vaái, ni-mikai-náanu sua+ salál +aku ma-'icúunu?"*  
 sibling, like-where NOM breast-bag my heavy  
*mi-sá +kani. [5-52]*  
 say it-is-said  
 "Brother, why is my breast-bag so heavy?"
- (53) *ce'erá-i +kani +'inía. kula-tumúlu +kani veéra. [5-53]*  
 see it-is-said his. full it-is-said rice  
 They saw it. There was full of rice.
- (54) *"m-aka-sián +ava," mi-sá +kani. [5-54]*  
 like-this wonder, say it-is-said  
 "It's like this!" they said.
- (55) *m-u-caané +kani m-ari-naa-náase makáasi taanáasa*  
 go it-is-said in-a-hurry toward house  
*um-úlungu sua+ venévene 'áisi na+ sarái +ini. [5-55]*  
 untie OBL venven-bird be in breast-bag his  
 They went in a hurry to home to untie the venven-bird in his  
 breast-bag.
- (56) *pa-tu-puru-ái +kani +'inía na+ taa-rekér-a. [5-56]*  
 let-sit it-is-said on mortar  
 They put it on the mortar.

- (57) *iini-nganáini ara-surúmu kula-tumúlu +kani véera.*  
 already-without-notice unawares full it-is-said rice  
 [5-57]

Before they knew it became full of rice.

- (58) *m-aká-asua +kani +cu kua-kua-kuacapá +ini*  
 like-that it-is-said already instruments their  
*kaa-vangévange ni-pa-tu-vangevange +kani +kiái +'inía*  
 all let-sit-all it-is-said their to-it  
*pa-tú-puru. [5-58]*  
 let-sit

Therefore they put all their containers.

- (59) *ala-túmulu +kani +máamia véera. [5-59]*  
 become-many it-is-said just rice  
 The rice just became much.

- (60) *m-aka-asuá +cu um-ála +kání kenáme pa-ú-ciri.*  
 like-that already take it-is-said miscanthus-peel let-stand.  
*"fuóu," mi-sá +kani. [5-60]*  
 fuou, say it-is-said

Therefore he took a peel of dried miscanthus to let it stand. He made a wish.

- (61) *"apia-máu kuvau +máku úisi," mi-sá +kani. [5-61]*  
 make-wish storing-basket my this, say it-is-said  
 "This be my storing basket!" he said.

- (62) *m-u-círi +kani +'inía kuváu. [5-62]*  
 stand it-is-said storing-basket  
 A storing basket stood there.

- (63) *alá-i +kani +cu +'inía sua+ venévene pita-sikáre*  
 take it-is-said already NOM venven-bird put-into  
*+'inía. [5-63]*  
 to-it

He took the venven-bird to put in the storing basket.

- (64) *surúmu +káni u-kula-tumálu +'inía veéra. [5-64]*  
 unawares it-is-said many to-it rice  
 Without notice it became full of rice.
- (65) *m-aka-asuá +cu aa-lakáu<sup>6</sup> +kani sua+ cáau. [5-65]*  
 like-that already appear it-is-said NOM people  
 Then a person appeared.
- (66) *"apa-suluval-áu +pa 'ikúa," ki-sá-i +kani sua+ cáau. [5-66]*  
 let-borrow still to-me, said it-is-said OBL person  
 "Lend me [rice]," the man said.
- (67) *naa-tiá+ +kani ka'áne pakí-turu, ringiring-ái +kani sua+  
 ex-fut. it-is-said not allow, force-to it-is-said OBL  
 cáau um-ála. [5-67]*  
 person take.  
 Though they were not allowing, the man forced to take rice.
- (68) *m-u-caané +kani m-u-cánumu sua+ ma-mánu úisua  
 go it-is-said fetch-water NOM children that  
 alasainilái cáau ku-a-'úa um-ála. [5-68]*  
 when people steal take  
 When those children went fetching water, people stole and took [the  
 venven-bird].
- (69) *m-aka-asuá +cu alá-i cáau m-ia-pacái sua+ venévene  
 like-that already take people kill NOM venven-bird  
 úisua. [5-69]*  
 that  
 Thus a man took that venven-bird to kill.
- (70) *taku-taavalá'e +cu sua+ kine-váal-a. [5-70]*  
 understand already NOM sibling  
 The brothers understood.

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<sup>6</sup>Should be *ala-lakáu*.

- (71) *"acú+ +kani ni-p-ia-pácai cáau," mi-sái.* [5-71]  
 certain it-is-said killed person, say  
 "The man must have killed it," they said.
- (72) *u-kusá-i +kani +'inía ki-suanái.* [5-72]  
 go-toward it-is-said ask  
 They went to him to ask.
- (73) *"áisi náanu sua+ naa-cu'uán +ini."* [5-73]  
 be where NOM ex-bone its  
 "Where are the bones?"
- (74) *"ka'améece tuuturu-áu +pa +kimía," ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.*  
 willy-nilly teach still to-us, say it-is-said  
 [5-74]  
 "Please teach it to us," they said.
- (75) *"káne ni-pita-kúsa na+ taa-'ucú-a 'isái," mi-sá +kani*  
 likewise threw-away at garbage-place yonder, say it-is-said  
*sua+ cáau.* [5-75]  
 NOM man  
 "I just threw them away at the garbage place over there," said the man.
- (76) *u-kúsa-i +kaní +cu sua+ kine-váal-a úsua tia+ kirími*  
 go it-is-said already OBL sibling that fut. seek  
*úsua na+ ta-ta-'ucú-a.* [5-76]  
 that at grave  
 Those brothers went to look for those [bones] at the grave.
- (77) *'áisi +kani ni-m-usu-ái'i +'inía naa-cu'uán +ini.* [5-77]  
 be it-is-said scattered there ex-bone its  
 The bones were there scattered around.
- (78) *alá-i +kani +'inía pasá-kepe na+ taa-'ucú-a.* [5-78]  
 take it-is-said collect at garbage-place  
 They took them to collect at the garbage place.

- (79) *m-aka-asuá +cu sua+ ni-pasa-képe-a cu'úane venévene*  
 like-that already NOM collected-place bone venven-bird  
*+ia, ni-ará-teme +kani +'inía sua+ mamílíki. [5-79]*  
 TOP, grew it-is-said there NOM peach  
 Then at the place where the bones of the *venven*-bird were collected,  
 a peach tree grew up.
- (80) *ara-tatía +kani sua+ mamílíki. [5-80]*  
 become-big it-is-said NOM peach  
 The peach tree became tall.
- (81) *alá-i +kaní +cu +'inía me-ngétene sua+ mamílíki*  
 take it-is-said already there cut-down NOM peach  
*kaa-manéngé ta'ácuru. [5-81]*  
 make rice-scoop  
 They took the peach tree to cut down and to make a rice-scoop.
- (82) *kaa-manéngé +'inía sua+ ta'ácuru. [5-82]*  
 make with-it OBL rice-scoop  
 They made a rice-scoop with it.
- (83) *m-aka-asuá +cu pa-tu-kecéngé +máamia canúmu sua+*  
 like-that already let-sit-on-hearth just water NOM  
*tá-sesa úsua 'urú-paca ta'ácuru íhúa t/um/ii-tíuru. [5-83]*  
 two that use rice-scoop that stir-continue  
 Then those two just put water [in a pan] on the hearth to use that  
 rice-scoop to stir.
- (84) *surumú +kani +máamia sua+ úuru 'isíngi*  
 unawares it-is-said just NOM cooked-rice hard-boiled  
*kúu+ esé'-ai veéra. [5-84]*  
 not put rice  
 Just without notice, there was hard-cooked rice without putting any  
 rice.
- (85) *m-aka-asuá +cu taku-taavala'-ái +cu cáau to+, "ati*  
 like-that already understand already people that, oh  
*'áisi m-aa-kai-náanu 'urú-paca +máamia ta'ácuru*  
 be do-like-where use just rice-scoop

*t/um/ii-túuru ara-'isingi úuru," mi-sá +kani. [5-85]*  
 stir-continue become-hard rice, say it-is-said

Then people understood. "Oh! How are they doing that they just use a rice-scoop to stir and it becomes hard-cooked rice!?" they said.

- (86) *m-aka-asúa +cu ku'úa-i cáau sua+ ta'ácuru. [5-86]*  
 like-that already steal person NOM rice-scoop

Thus a man stole the rice-scooper.

- (87) *alá-i +káni +máamia cáau sua+ ta'ácuru s/um/i'ina*  
 take it-is-said just person NOM rice-scoop burn-firewood  
*+máamia. [5-87]*

just

The man just took the rice-scoop just to burn.

- (88) *pu-kari-kári +kaní +cu sua+ kine-váal-a úsua. [5-88]*  
 talk it-is-said already NOM siblings that

Those brothers said.

- (89) *"caalái +kia si+ m-aká-sia m-a-a-laváana si+ cáau*  
 pitiful I because do-like-this do-whatever because people  
*t/um/ani-tani-úla'e saa úkia!" mi-sá +kani. [5-89]*  
 bully OBL to-me! say it-is-said

"How pitiful I am, for whatever they do is like this, for people bully me!" they said.

- (90) *mata, "pa-tani-lemé," +kani. [5-90]*  
 and, see-later it-is-said

And, "You'll see."

- (91) *"ce'éra-u tia+ +pa +kamú +'ai cáau t/um/a-tani-tani-ulá'e*  
 see fut. still you man do-mischief-continue  
*+kimía!" [5-91]*

to-us

"You'll see, you folks, who were often bullying us!"

- (92) "m-a-naasé +kani tia+ taku-taavalá'e nu-'indane," mi-sá  
 assure you fut. understand future, say  
 +kani. [5-92]  
 it-is-said

"You'll certainly understand it in the future," they said.

- (93) m-aka-asua +kani +cu, apia-máu +kani pu-kari-kári.  
 like-that it-is-said already, make-wish it-is-said talk  
 [5-93]

Then they made a wish.

- (94) "ara-anái úisia, ma-nakar-a +pá + 'ai, canúmu!" mi-sá  
 from this, be-dry still water! say  
 +kani. [5-94]  
 it-is-said

"From now on, water, be dry!" they said.

- (95) cu-cúlu +kani m-aka-cangí +kani sua+ canúmu  
 true it-is-said do-soon it-is-said NOM water  
 m-ata-nakáre +kani, sua+ 'aapacú + 'ai na+ ni-ala-túmulu  
 get-dry it-is-said, NOM even at much  
 canúmu. [5-95]  
 water

Water soon got dried really even at the deep place.

- (96) m-ata-nakáre +kani sua+ canúmu. [5-96]  
 get-dry it-is-said NOM water  
 The water got dried.

- (97) kaa-manéngé +kani +cu sua+ nguánini kine-váal-a  
 make it-is-said already NOM those siblings  
 'akúvungu si+ 'áisi +cu m-i-'aranáse sua+ cáau.  
 feeder because be already trouble NOM people  
 [5-97]

Those brothers made a feeder-box for people were in trouble.

- (98) *ka'áne +cu 'áisi m-íi-ma canúmu. [5-98]*  
 not already be drink water  
 They were not drinking water.
- (99) *m-aka-asuá +cu sua+ kine-váal-a úisua kaa-manéngé*  
 like-that already NOM siblings that make  
*'akúvungu si-áuru canúmu um-ávici na+ kungukung +íni*  
 feeder scooper water carry on roof-top their  
*apa-ce'éra cáau m-a-cína m-a-cili-cíli. [5-99]*  
 let-see people bathe sprinkle  
 Then those brothers made a feeder-box to scoop water from, brought it up to the top of the roof to show people bathing, sprinkling water.
- (100) *sirá'e +pá +'ai sua+ cáau. [5-100]*  
 terrible still NOM people  
 People were in terrible situation.
- (101) *'áisi +cu aáka si+ ma-cáase taniáara ka'áne +cu*  
 be already bad because long day not already  
*+máamia 'áisi m-íi-ma canúmu. [5-101]*  
 just be drink water  
 It was bad because it was for long time for them not to be drinking water.
- (102) *m-aka-asuá +cu p-a-ciná-i +kani +'inía canúmu 'áisi*  
 like-that already bathe it-is-said water be  
*na+ 'akúvungu. [5-102]*  
 in feeder  
 Then they left the water in the feeder-box, which they used for bathing.
- (103) *pu-kari-kári +káni sua+ kine-váal-a. [5-103]*  
 talk-over it-is-said NOM siblings  
 The brothers talked over.
- (104) *"sua+ tia+ m-íi-ma canúmu úisi +ia, sua+ kala-laválava*  
 NOM fut. drink water this TOP, NOM drink-last  
*+ia, pa-sain-áú<sup>7</sup> +cú +'ai +máamia sua+ anísi!" mi-sá*  
 TOP, push-aside already just NOM tooth! say



+kani. [5-104]  
it-is-said

"The one who drinks this water, the one who drinks last, just push the teeth aside!"

- (105) *mata*, "sua+ m-ii-ma sia +ia, m-i-uruur-a ini anisi +ini!"  
and NOM drink here TOP, fall tooth his!  
*mi-sá +kani.* [5-105]  
say it-is-said

And also, "The one who drinks here lose his teeth!" they said.

- (106) *m-aka-asuá +cu m-ata-'enái +kani sua+ tá-sesa ísua*  
like-that already come-down it-is-said NOM two that  
*alasinilái +cu cáau m-ii-ma.* [5-106]  
when already people drink

Then when those two came down [from the top of the roof], people drank.

- (107) *sua+ kalá-'ulu +ia, tiá+ +kani ia-tu'ús-unu +kiái*  
NOM drink-first TOP, fut. it-is-said about-to-touch his  
*ivíc +ini tia+ m-ii-ma, m-i-urúuru +kani +máamia anís*  
mouth his fut. drink, fall it-is-said just tooth  
*+ini.* [5-107]  
his

As for the one who drank first, as soon as his mouth was going to touch [the water] to drink, his teeth just fell off.

- (108) "tia+ pakaene-náanu si+ 'áisi m-i-'aranáse tia+ +pa +kiái  
fut. do-how because be trouble fut. still I  
+ 'ai aa-taráu<sup>8</sup> sua+ m-aká-asua," mi-sá +kani sua+  
foul NOM like-that, say it-is-said NOM  
*pari-vii-víini.* [5-108]  
follow

"It can't be helped, for if we think this kind (of water) is foul, I'll be in trouble," said the one who drank later.

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<sup>7</sup>Pani thinks this word should be *pa-ciná-u* 'let someone wash.'

- (109) *sua+ kala-laválava +ia, káne pa-a-saín-ini +kaní*  
 NOM drink-last TOP, just-likewise push-aside it-is-said  
*+cu +máamia sua+ anísi, taavalá'e +pa +máamia*  
 already just NOM tooth, know still just  
*m-íi-ma [5-109]*  
 drink

The one who drank last could drink only after just pushing the (fallen) teeth aside.

- (110) *m-aka-asúa m-i-'aranáse +cu +'ai sua+ cáau. [5-110]*  
 like-that trouble already perhaps NOM people  
 Thus people were in trouble.

- (111) *tiá+ +kani m-u-á-ca, si+ ce'era-éne +kiái sua+*  
 fut. it-is-said go, because see their NOM  
*nungúnungu, kula-tumúlu +máamia canúmu. [5-111]*  
 creek full just water

People were going [to creeks], for if they see the creeks, they are full of water.

- (112) *m-u-a-cá +kani sua+ cáau. [5-112]*  
 go it-is-said NOM people  
 People went.

- (113) *"s/um/íuku tia+ m-uu-canúmu," mi-sái. [5-113]*  
 do-secretly fut. draw-water, say  
 "We'll draw water secretly," they said.

- (114) *surumú +kani +máamia ma-nákare. [5-114]*  
 unawares it-is-said just dry  
 Before they knew, the creeks were just dry.

- (115) *m-aka-asúa +cu, "tia+ cí +'ai paakaene-náanu," mi-sá*  
 like-that already, fut. do-how, say  
*+kani sua+ cáau. [5-115]*  
 it-is-said NOM people

Thus, "What shall we do?" said people.

<sup>8</sup>Pani explains that *aa-taráu* means 'accept.'

- (116) *kaa-manéngé +kaní +cu sanángo.* [5-116]  
 make it-is-said already bamboo-cylinder  
 They made a *sanang* (a long bamboo cylinder to carry water).
- (117) *m-u-cáane pusu-a'áne sua+ sanángo s/um/iuku*  
 go carry-on-shoulder OBL bamboo-cylinder do-secretly  
*sua+ canúmu.* [117]  
 OBL water  
 They went to carry the *sanang* on their shoulder to draw water  
 secretly.
- (118) *'áisi +kani ukula-tumúlu sua+ nungúnungu.* [5-118]  
 be it-is-said full NOM creek  
 The creeks were full of water.
- (119) *siuk-unú +kani +kiái pitá-kusa +'inía sua+*  
 do-secretly it-is-said their throw-toward there OBL  
*sanángo.* [5-119]  
 bamboo-cylinder  
 They threw the *sanang* secretly into the creek.
- (120) *"kulungu-kulungu," mi-sá +kani sua+ sanángo*  
 kulung-kulung, say it-is-said NOM bamboo-cylinder  
*ni-m-usu-vi'a-vi'a.* [5-120]  
 broke  
 The *sanang* made a noise, "kulung-kulung," and broke.
- (121) *ni-m-ata-nákare sua+ canúmu.* [5-121]  
 got-dried NOM water  
 The water had become dried.
- (122) *m-aka-asúa +cu sua+ tá-sesa úsua, 'áisi +cu*  
 like-that already NOM two that, be already  
*+máamia ce'era-éne +kiái sua+ cáau.* [5-122]  
 just see their NOM people  
 Thus those two were watching the people.

- (123) *"imu kámu, m-aka-asúa cu-cúlu +kámu t/inem/ani-tani-ulá'e*  
 you you, like-that true you did-mischief  
*+kimía," mi-sá +kani sua+ ma-mánu. [5-123]*  
 to-us, say it-is-said NOM children  
 "Hey you! You really did bully us," said the children.

- (124) *ara-anái +cu +'inía pu-kari-kári +kaní +pa sua+*  
 from already there talk it-is-said still NOM  
*tá-sesa úsua. [5-124]*  
 two that  
 Then those two further talked over.

- (125) *"sua+ taanaasá +ini +ia, tani-tani-ulá'e +máamia cóau."*  
 NOM house their TOP, do-mischief just people  
*[5-125]*

"That house, people always did bully."

- (126) *"sua+ naa-kuacapá +ini +ia, ni-u-ta'i-a aavalá'i +máamia."*  
 NOM ex-tool their TOP, shitted whatever just  
*[5-126]*

"The utensils were all just shitted on."

- (127) *"pa-a-'úic-ini +kiái +máamia sua+ naa-páangi +kára*  
 clean-after-shit their just NOM ex-pestle question  
*aavalá'i +máamia naa-kuacapá +ini kaa-vangévangé." [5-127]*  
 whatever just ex-tool their all  
 "All utensils, (such as) the pestle or whatever, were used for cleaning  
 their anuses (after shitting)."

- (128) *apia-mau +kání sua+ tá-sesa úsua pu-kari-kari +kani.*  
 make-wish it-is-said NOM two that talk it-is-said  
*[5-128]*

Those two made a wish and said.

- (129) *"sua+ kula-kula-kulái kaa-vangévange +ia,*  
 NOM creatures all TOP,  
*m-ata-cuvu-cuvungu-a sia m-ía-cara +kimía," mi-sá*  
 assemble here watch-guard to-us, say  
*+kani. [5-129]*  
 it-is-said  
 "Every kind of creatures, assemble here to watch and guard us!"
- (130) *iininganáini surumú +kani sua+ ta-pa-tara-si-'enev-á*  
 already-unawares unawares it-is-said NOM entrance  
*+ini +ia, ni-m-u-tata'e +káni +'inía sua+*  
 their TOP, stood-both-sides it-is-said there NOM  
*táamu. [5-130]*  
 type-of-snake  
 Before one was aware hundred-pace snakes stood at the both sides of  
 the entrance.
- (131) *aavalá'i +máamia sua+ r/um/a-ra'ísi kulái +ia,*  
 whatever just NOM bite creature TOP,  
*ni-m-ata-cuvu-cúvungu +kani +máamia kaa-vangévange*  
 assembled it-is-said just all  
*m-ía-cara sa+ taanaasá +ini. [5-131]*  
 watch-guard OBL house their  
 All kinds of biting creatures assembled to watch and guard their  
 house.
- (132) *sua+ tia+ m-u-a-sikáre +'inía cáau +ia, ra'ís-ini +kani*  
 NOM fut. come-into there people TOP, bite it-is-said  
*+máamia +kiái m-aku-cuvu-cuvúngu. [5-132]*  
 just their bite-assemble  
 The people who came in were bitten by the creatures who came to  
 bite.
- (133) *'?aanangíni ka'?áne r/um/a-ra'?ísi +ia, i-a-vatú +kani*  
 whatever not bite TOP, come it-is-said  
*sua+ tamú +ini. [5-133]*  
 NOM grandparent their  
 When their grandfather came, they did not bite.

- (134) *naakáai 'aapacú + 'ai nu+ i-vatú +ini sua+ tamú*  
 but even perhaps if come his NOM grandparent  
*+ini +ia, ara-takáre +kani sua+ kulái naatia+*  
 their TOP, stand it-is-said NOM creature about-to  
*m-aku-cuvu-cuvúngu. [5-134]*  
 bite-assemble

But even if their grandfather came, the creatures stood with an intention of assembling to bite.

- (135) *naakáai nu+ pu-kari-kari-ini sua+ kine-váal-a to+, "akúni*  
 but if talk-over OBL siblings that, don't  
*p-aka-asua úsua si+ tamú +mia," mi-sá +kani*  
 do-like-that that because grandparent our, say it-is-said  
*+ia, m-usu-ai'i +kani sua+ kulái. [5-135]*  
 TOP, down-back it-is-said NOM creature

But if the brothers told, "Don't do like that, for he is our grandfather!" the creatures sat down.

- (136) *ka'áne +kani ra'ís-ini +kiái tamú +ini. [5-136]*  
 not it-is-said bite their grandparent their  
 They did not bite their grandfather.

- (137) *m-aka-asuá +cu sua+ naanáala úsua +ia, ma-náase*  
 like-that already NOM orphan that TOP, certain  
*'áisi +cu pa-a-cepe-cepéngé. [5-137]*  
 be already think

Then that orphan was certainly thinking.

- (138) *"tani-lee-lé'-au tiá+ +cu, cáau!" mi-sái. [5-138]*  
 console-oneself fut. already, person! say  
 "Console yourselves, folks!" he said.

- (139) *pu-kari-kari +káni sua+ kana-kana'úa 'úuna +káni*  
 talk it-is-said NOM elder-sibling exist it-is-said  
*pitúka. [5-139]*  
 arm-ring

The elder brother told that there was an arm-ring.

- (140) *"taavalá'-a, íkamú, sua+ ma-mánu na-nénake!"* [5-140]  
 know, you, NOM children women  
 "Know, you, girls!"
- (141) *'úuna +ku pitúka u-cáni +máamia."* [5-141]  
 exist I arm-ring one just  
 "I have just one arm-ring."
- (142) *"tiá+ +maku tanám-ene pa-su-pitúka +kamú-a."* [5-142]  
 fut. my try let-wear-arm-ring to-you  
 "I'll try to let you wear it."
- (143) *"sua+ ta-usu-a-tanep-á +ini +ia, nguái tia+ 'ucáng +aku,"*  
 NOM perfectly-fit her TOP, the-one fut. spouse my,  
*mi-sá +kani.* [5-143]  
 say it-is-said  
 "The one who exactly fits to it will be my wife," he said.
- (144) *sirá'e +kani +pá +'ai sua+ na-nénake makai*  
 extreme it-is-said still perhaps NOM women like  
*+káni t/inem/imána naúmani m-a-canga-cángare.* [5-144]  
 it-is-said heard what happy  
 The girls were terrific as though they heard something happy.
- (145) *"ka'améece m-usu-tanépe +'ikúa," mi-sá +kani.* [5-145]  
 hopefully fit to-me, say it-is-said  
 "I hope it fits to me," they said.
- (146) *tarusia-ana-anái sua+ na-nénake.* [5-146]  
 fight-take NOM women  
 The girls tried to be the first to take it.
- (147) *'úuna +kani sua+ pari-vii-víini.* [5-147]  
 exist it-is-said NOM follow  
 There was one who came late.
- (148) *"ma-náase makai na-cepéngé +kía."* [5-148]  
 certain like no-good-think I  
 "Certainly I'm like a person of no use."

- (149) *ka'áne puutu-a-cepéng kekenang +íni si+ 'áisi*  
 not consider companion their because be  
*a-a-si'i-si'inale tia+ áasa [cu] m-ú-'una +'inía," mi-sái.*  
 take-fight fut. hope [already] exist there, say  
 [5-149]

"The friends are ignoring me, for they are trying hopefully to be the first to take to be there."

- (150) *sua+ ni-m-u-'ulu'ulu +ia, 'akía m-usu-tanépe +'inía. [5-150]*  
 NOM came-first TOP, none fit to-it  
 Those who came early, there were nobody who fit to it.

- (151) *'úuna ta-cíni sua+ p-aki-sai-sáin-ini kekenang +íni*  
 exist one NOM push-aside companion their  
*ni-pari-vii-víini. [5-151]*  
 came-late

There was one who came later and was pushed aside by her friends.

- (152) *pu-kari-karí +kani sua+ kine-váal-a. [5-152]*  
 talk it-is-said NOM siblings  
 The brothers told.

- (153) *'tia+ +cí +'ai ma-a-kai-náanu. 'akía +ava m-usu-tanépe*  
 fut. do-how. none wonder fit  
*+kamúa," mi-sá +kani. [5-153]*  
 you, say it-is-said

"What should we do? There is nobody of you who fit," they said.

- (154) *'úuna +ava +kaní +pa sua+ ni-pari-vii-víini. [5-154]*  
 exist wonder it-is-said still NOM came-late  
 There was still the one who came late.

- (155) *pasa-taná-m-ai +kani +'inía na+ si'íp +ini. [5-155]*  
 put-try it-is-said on arm her  
 She tried to wear it on her arm.



- (156) *m-usu-tanépe +kani +'inía. [5-156]*  
 fit it-is-said to-her  
 It fitted her.
- (157) *sua+ ni-pari-vii-viini úisua +ia, nguái tiá+ +cu 'ucáng*  
 NOM came-late that TOP, the-one fut. already spouse  
*+ini. [5-157]*  
 his  
 The one who came late was the one who was going to be his wife.
- (158) *ara-anái +cu mia-úisua ma-manengé +cu [5-158]*  
 from already past-that good already  
 Since then it was good.
- (159) *ari-'ái-ai +cu +'inía cáau m-ari-manéngé. [5-159]*  
 do-back already people do-good  
 [The two brothers] did well again to the people.
- (160) *ara-anái +cu mia-úisua taavalá'e +cu m-ú-ma canúmu*  
 from already past-that know already drink water  
*k/um/áne. [5-160]*  
 eat  
 Since then they could drink water and eat.
- (161) *m-a-a-canga-cangáre +cu sua+ kaa-vangévange. [5-161]*  
 happy already NOM all  
 All people were happy.
- (162) *ara-anái +cu 'úuna úisua sua+ cáau sua+*  
 from already exist that NOM people NOM  
*taku-taavalá'e +cu. [5-162]*  
 understand already  
 Since that happened, people understood.
- (163) *sua+ naanaalá +ava +ia, ka'áne +ava taavalá'-ene*  
 NOM orphan wonder TOP, not wonder know  
*t/um/ani-tani-úla'e. [5-163]*  
 do-mischief  
 Orphans are not to be bullied.

- (164) *“tiá+ +ava kaa-lé'-ene,” mi-sá +cu sua+ cáau. [5-164]*  
 fut. wonder feel-pity, say already NOM people  
 “They should be pitied on,” said people.
- (165) *ara-anái úsua ma-manengé +cu. [5-165]*  
 from that good already  
 Since then it was good.
- (166) *sua+ karí +maku +ia, nguáci +cu úsua sua+*  
 NOM speech my TOP, the-end already that NOM  
*ni-pa-sulupu-án +ini. [5-166]*  
 came-end its  
 My story came to the end.

## 6. Flood

(By *Pa'angai Naucingana*) (Nakapo)

Note: Kan II:187- III:3; V 36-37

Tape: Uher A:492-B:26

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *tiá+ +ku puu-mua-muáre sua+ naa-ni-p-alá-anal-a miána mia+*  
fut. I narrate OBL ex-originated ago when  
*pu-a-úsua ni-ala-túmul-a canúmu. [6-1]*  
recite became-full water

I shall narrate the beginning [of the world] long ago when it flooded.

- (2) *sua+ ni-ala-túmul-a canúmu +ia, ni-ara-anái +kani na+*  
NOM became-full water TOP, came-from it-is-said from  
*ni-í-vatu +kani sua+ verénga. [6-2]*  
came it-is-said NOM eel

The reason it flooded is that an eel came.

- (3) *kuri-siváte +kani na+ taa-lia-láal-a<sup>1</sup> canúmu. [6-3]*  
lie-across it-is-said on shoal water

It lay down at the shoals of water.

- (4) *a-ara-nái +cu +'inía ha+ canúmu ala-tumúlu. [6-4]*  
from already there NOM water become-much

Because of that water became full.

- (5) *ala-tumúlu +kání sua+ canúmu. [6-5]*  
become-much it-is-said NOM water

It flooded.

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<sup>1</sup> *Taa-lia-láal-a* means 'the place where water falls down from a relatively low place and the water runs very fast.' Cf. *m-ia-láai* 'to tumble down,' *m-usu-láai* 'to fall down from somewhere low.'

- (6) *m-aka-asúa +kaní +cu m-i-'aranáse si+ caumaamáanai*  
 like-that it-is-said already trouble this living-creature  
*kaa-vangévangé. [6-6]*  
 all

Therefore all living creatures were in trouble.

- (7) *'akía +cu tia+ ta-'uná-a +ini. [6-7]*  
 none already fut. place-exist their

There was no place for them to live.

- (8) *m-u-a-cáa +cu um-ánguru tia+ kirími tia+ ta-'uná-a*  
 go already escape fut. seek fut. place-exist  
*+ini. [6-8]*  
 their

They ran away to look for the place to live.

- (9) *'acú+ pari-vín-ini canúmu ala-tumúlu sua+*  
 certain run-after water become-much NOM  
*ta-'aisi-á +nini. [6-9]*  
 place-temporary-exist their

Much water certainly ran after their temporary dwellings.

- (10) *m-u-a-cáa +cu um-ánguru. [6-10]*  
 go already escape

They ran away.

- (11) *r/um/ingíringi makaasí +cu 'úuna tanu'ung'íncu sua+*  
 do-barely toward already exist Tanu'ung'incu NOM  
*ni-p-aka-'ulu-á +nini. [6-11]*  
 arrived-first their

Finally they first arrived at the place where Tanu'ung'incu is.

- (12) *'úuna +cu +'inía ni-ara-tékene cucumaíni m-u-kúsa na+*  
 exist already there departed other-people go-toward to  
*ta-pu-tu'úsu nausurána. [6-12]*  
 top Nausurana

There were other people there who departed [from us] and went to the top of Nausurana.

- (13) *m-aka-asuá +cu m-i-'aranáse +cu sua+ cáau. [6-13]*  
 like-that already trouble already NOM people  
 Thus the people were in trouble.
- (14) *sua+ ni-m-ú-'una nausurána +ia, ni-m-a-a'épe ha+ apúl*  
 NOM lived Nausurana TOP, die-out NOM fire  
*+ini. [6-14]*  
 their  
 Those who came to live at Nausurana lost their fire.
- (15) *m-aa-kari-kari +kaní +cu sua+ cáau. [6-15]*  
 talk-over it-is-said already NOM people  
 People talked over.
- (16) *"tiá+ +ci +kíta maakai-náanu? náini tia+ ta-p-u-anal-a*  
 fut. we do-how what fut. place-originate  
*+néta apúlu?" mi-sái. [6-16]*  
 our fire say  
 "What shall we do? Where shall we take fire from?" they said.
- (17) *"náini tia+ ikáre +ta," mi-sá +kani sua+ cáau. [6-17]*  
 what fut. hire our, say it-is-said NOM people  
 "Whom shall we hire?" said people.
- (18) *"ikar-áu tia+ ta'úrungu parí-kusa tanu'ung'incu apa-ála*  
 hire fut. pygmy-deer let-out-toward Tanu'ung'incu let-take  
*apúlu," mi-sá +kani sua+ cáau. [6-18]*  
 fire, say it-is-said NOM people  
 Let's hire a pygmy-deer letting him go to Tanu'ung'incu to make him  
 take fire," said people.
- (19) *ikar-ái +kani +'inía sua+ ta'úrungu parí-kusa +'inía.*  
 hire it-is-said NOM pygmy-deer let-out-toward there  
*[6-19]*

They hired a pygmy-deer to let him go there.

- (20) *m-aka-nangúlu +kani sua+ ta'úrungu makáasi*  
 swim it-is-said OBL pygmy-deer toward  
*tanu'ung'incu. [6-20]*  
 Tanu'ung'incu.

The pygmy-deer swam to Tanu'ung'inco.

- (21) “*vuá-u +ku apúlu,*” *ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái sua+ cáau.*  
 give I fire, say it-is-said by-him NOM people  
*[6-21]*

“Give me fire,” he asked to the people.

- (22) *paati-ranuvú +kani sua+ cáau um-émene na+ 'u'úngu*  
 hold-torch it-is-said NOM people tie at horn  
*ta'úrungu. [6-22]*  
 pygmy-deer

The people held a torch to tie at the horn of the pygmy deer.

- (23) *avic-ái +cu sa+ ta'úrungu m-aka-nangúlu sua+*  
 take-with already OBL pygmy-deer swim NOM  
*ranúvu. [6-23]*  
 torch

The pygmy deer took the torch with him by swimming.

- (24) *'acú+ +kani ni-m-ú-cunu m-usú-lava na+ 'u'úng +ini*  
 certain it-is-said burned burn-to-end on horn his  
*ará-cici. [6-24]*  
 become-hot

It certainly burned to the tip of his horn, which became hot.

- (25) *tavér-ai +'inía sua+ 'u'úng +ini. [6-25]*  
 soak NOM horn his

He soaked his horn in the water.

- (26) *ara-anái +'inía ará-piku sua+ 'u'úngu ta'úrungu.*  
 from there become-crooked NOM horn pygmy-deer  
*[6-26]*

Since then the horn of pygmy deer became crooked.

- (27) 'acú+ ni-á'epe +kiái sua+ apúlu. [6-27]  
 certain died-out NOM fire  
 He apparently extinguished the fire.
- (28) pu-ái'i makáasi nausurána. 'akía apúlu. [6-28]  
 return toward Nausurana. none fire  
 He came back to Nausurana. There was no fire.
- (29) "tiá+ +ci +cu maakai-náanu," mi-sá +kani sua+ cáau.  
 fut. already do-how, say it-is-said NOM people  
 [6-29]

"What should we do now?" said the people.

- (30) pari-'ena-'ená-i +'inía pali-akúma sua+ ta'úrungu. [6-30]  
 let-go-again let-drive-away NOM pygmy-deer  
 They let the pygmy deer go once again.
- (31) "um-alá-a +'ai sua+ pau=káalu," ni-ki-sa +káni +kiái.  
 take OBL fire-drill=wood, said it-is-said by-them  
 [6-31]

"Take the fire-drill wood" they said.

- (32) m-u-cáane sua+ ta'úrungu m-aka-nangúlu pu-ái'i  
 go NOM pygmy-deer swim return  
 tanu'ung'incu. [6-32]  
 Tanu'ung'incu  
 The pygmy deer went back swimming to Tanu'ung'incu.
- (33) "vuá-u +ku pau=káalu," ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái sua+  
 give I fire-drill=wood, say it-is-said by-him NOM  
 '?áisi tanu'?'ung'?'incu. [6-33]  
 exist Tanu'ung'incu  
 "Give me the fire-drill wood," he said to those who were at  
 Tanu'ung'incu.

- (34) *emén-ai + 'inía na+ 'u'úng +ini sua+ pau=káalu. [6-34]*  
 tie at horn his NOM fire-drill=wood

They tied the fire-drill wood at his horn.

- (35) *avic-ái +cu sua+ ta'úrungu m-u-kúsa nausurána. [6-35]*  
 take-with already OBL pygmy-deer go-toward Nausurana

The pygmy deer took it with him to Nausurana.

- (36) *m-aka-cekéna + 'inía. a-tiumá-i +cu sua+ cáau. [6-36]*  
 arrive receive already OBL people

He arrived there. The people received it.

- (37) *"tiá+ p-aka-pene-náanu sua+ úisi pa-ulu-apúlu," mi-sá +kani [6-37]*  
 fut. do-how OBL this make-fire, say it-is-said  
*sua+ cáau. [6-37]*  
 NOM people

"How shall we do with this to make fire?" said the people.

- (38) *pu-kari-kari +káni sua+ ta'úrungu. [6-38]*  
 talk it-is-said NOM pygmy-deer

The pygmy deer talked.

- (39) *"tiá+ +kani p-a-a-ka-así-ini," mi-sá +kani. [6-39]*  
 fut. it-is-said do-like-this, say it-is-said

"You should do like this."

- (40) *m-u-páu hua+ káalu[-at]. [6-40]*  
 drill-fire OBL wood

He drilled the wood to make fire.

- (41) *ara-anái +cu + 'inía pau-ái sa+ cáau sua+ káalu [6-41]*  
 from already there drill-fire OBL people NOM wood  
*m-ulu-apúlu. [6-41]*  
 come-out-fire

So the people drilled the wood at which fire came out.



- (42) *paki-anái +cu +'inía apúl +ini naapái +máamia*  
 from already there fire their first-time just  
*taavalá'e pa-'úcipi k/um/áene. [6-42]*  
 know cook eat  
 With the fire [they got] for the first time they knew how to cook to eat.
- (43) *ara-anái +cu +'inía m-aa-kari-karí +cu sua+ cáau*  
 from already there talk-over already NOM people  
*kaa-vangévange. [6-43]*  
 all  
 Then all the people talked over.
- (44) *"tiá+ +ci +kíta m-a-akai-náanu si+ "ara-súusuru*  
 fut. we do-how because swell-gradually  
*+kaní +cu." [6-44]*  
 it-is-said already  
 "What shall we do, for the water will rise gradually."
- (45) *"tiá+ ala-tumúlu sua+ ta-'áisi-a cáau." [6-45]*  
 fut. full NOM place-exist people  
 "The place where people are staying will be full of water."
- (46) *"naúmani nganáí +ini tia+ ikáre +ta parí-kusa +'inía,"*  
 what name its fut hire our let-out-go-toward to-it,  
*mi-sá +kani sua+ cáau. [6-46]*  
 say it-is-said NOM people  
 "Whom shall we hire to let go there?" said people.
- (47) *naa+ ni-m-u-'ulu-'ulú +kani sua+ 'apase=talámane. [6-47]*  
 but went-first it-is-said NOM crab-Talaman  
 The Talaman-crab went first.
- (48) *m-u-kúsa +'inía naa-tiá+ +kani paati-a-'arating-íni +kiái*  
 go-toward there about-to it-is-said hold-scissors by-him  
*ku-ngíra'e sua+ verénga. [6-48]*  
 bite-fall NOM eel  
 He went with the intention of pinching with his claws to cut the eel.

- (49) *kúu+ +kani +kiái ku-akená-i, pu-ái'i sua+*  
 not it-is-said by-him bite-succeed. return NOM  
*'apáse=talámáne. [6-49]*  
 crab-Talaman  
 He could not do, and the Talaman-crab came back.
- (50) *"ka'áne +avá +kiai ku-akéna!" mi-sá +kani. [6-50]*  
 not wonder I bite-succeed, say it-is-said  
 "I cannot!" he said.
- (51) *m-aa-kari-kari +cu sua+ cáau. [6-51]*  
 talk-over already NOM people  
 People talked over.
- (52) *"ikar-áu tia+ vavúlu parí-kusa +'inía," mi-sá +kani.*  
 hire fut. wild-pig let-go-toward there, say it-is-said  
*[6-52]*

"Send a wild pig there," they said.

- (53) *pu-kari-kari +kání sua+ vavúlu. [6-53]*  
 speak it-is-said NOM wild-pig  
 The wild pig told.
- (54) *"nuu+ ikú-ini tia+ m-u-úsa +'inía +ia, apa-kaen-áu +'ai*  
 if by-chance fut. go-toward there TOP, let-eat  
*tanéke=na'ívase sua+ ma-mánu +máku," mi-sá +kani. [6-54]*  
 a-type-of-taro NOM children my, say it-is-said  
 "If I got there by any chance, please let my children eat wild taro," he  
 said.
- (55) *"é'e," ki-sa-ené +kani cáau. [6-55]*  
 yes, say it-is-said people  
 "Yes," said the people.
- (56) *m-u-cáane +kaní +cu m-aka-nangúlu sua+ vavúlu*  
 go it-is-said already swim NOM wild-pig  
*m-u-kúsa na+ verénga. [6-56]*  
 go-toward at eel  
 The wild pig went to the eel, swimming.

- (57) *m-ari-tiva-tiváse k/um/áene ku-ngíra'e sua+ verénga. [6-57]*  
 pull-tear-off-little eat bite-fall OBL eel.

He bit off a little the eel to eat.

- (58) *ara-anái +cu +'inía m-i-cíli +cu ha+ canúmu*  
 from already there spill already NOM water  
*m-i-úkuru. [6-58]*  
 flow

Then the water spilled to flow away.

- (59) *ara-nakáre +cu sua+ remér-a. [6-59]*  
 become-dry already NOM mountain

The mountains became dry.

- (60) *ara-ce'erá-ene +kaní +cu sua+ 'enái mata sua+*  
 become-seen it-is-said already NOM earth and NOM  
*ngutúsu taenékai káalu. [6-60]*  
 tip tree-top tree

The earth and the top of the trees became visible.

- (61) *ara-anái +cu +'inía m-ata-nakáre +cu sua+ canúmu.*  
 from already there get-dry already NOM water  
 [6-61]

Since then the water subsided.

- (62) *ma-púnare +kaní +cu sua+ taa-ma-nakar-án +ini.*  
 wide it-is-said already NOM place-dry its  
 [6-62]

The land which became dry was wide.

- (63) *"tiá+ +ci +kíta m-a-aka-asi náanu," mi-sá +kani*  
 fut. we go-toward(Imperfect) where, say it-is-said  
*sua+ caumaamánai. [6-63]*  
 NOM living-creatures

"Where shall we go?" said the living things.

- (64) *ara-anái +cu sua+ m-aa-kari-karí +cu. [6-64]*  
 from already that talk-over already  
 Then they talked over.
- (65) “*tiá+ +kaní +cu [arupa-a-ra-teke-tekéne] m-aa-vua-vuáre*  
 fut. it-is-said already each-other-separate depart  
*mata kula-kula-kulái kaa-vangévange.*” [6-65]  
 with wild-creatures all  
 “We shall depart from all wild creatures.”
- (66) *mata sua+ mara-kerápe +ia, tiá+ +cu*  
 and NOM animals TOP, fut. already  
*m-aa-vua-vuáre mata naa-kanakanávu. [6-66]*  
 depart with ex-Kanakanavu  
 And the animals departed from the Kanakanavu people.
- (67) *m-u-caáne +cu sua+ mara-kerápe makáasi remér-a*  
 go already NOM animals toward mountain  
*makáasi ’?ita-’?itáne. [6-67]*  
 toward cliffs  
 The animals went to the mountains and cliffs.
- (68) *sua+ kanakanávu +ia, ni-mi-ká-asi nacúnga. [6-68]*  
 NOM Kanakanavu TOP, went-toward Nacunga  
 The Kanakanavu went to Nacunga.
- (69) *ara-anái +cu +’inía ara-tanáse nacúnga[-at] ...*  
 from already there become-village Nacunga ...  
*ara-anái +cu naa-nacúnga sua+ cáau ... [6-69]*  
 from already ex-Nacunga NOM people ...  
 Since then Nacunga became a village. From Nacunga people ...
- (70) *ara-anái +cu +’inía ara-cakáne m-u-kúsa tinaváli.<sup>2</sup> [6-70]*  
 from already there hunt go-toward Tinavaali  
 Then they went hunting to Tinavaali.

<sup>2</sup>Near Gani-sha of the Saaroa area. According to Pani, however, it is on the east side of 老人溪.

- (71) *sua+ ta-u-kusa-á +ini ta-'áisi-a taru'án +ini*  
 NOM place-go-toward their place-stay mountain-hut their  
*+ia, 'aravange +káni váatu. [6-71]*  
 TOP, inside it-is-said stone  
 Their temporary dwelling in the mountains in that area was the  
 inside of stones (i.e. a stone cave).
- (72) *m-aká-asua +káni m-u-kúsa +'inía ara-cakáne. [6-72]*  
 like-that it-is-said go-toward there hunt  
 Thus they went hunting.
- (73) *'úuna +káni tacáu ari-paapa-éne m-u-úsa remér-a. [6-73]*  
 exist it-is-said dog taken-with go-toward mountain  
 There was a dog which they took along with when they went to the  
 mountains.
- (74) *ni-pi-vurá +kani sua+ tacáu. [6-74]*  
 pregnant it-is-said NOM dog  
 The dog was pregnant.
- (75) *m-u-úsa +káni +'inía ara-cakáne. pu-ái'i taanáasa. [6-75]*  
 go-toward it-is-said there hunt. return house  
 They went hunting. They came back.
- (76) *'acú+ +kani ni-m-usu-táini sua+ tacáu na+ 'aravange*  
 certain it-is-said remained NOM dog in inside  
*váatu. [6-76]*  
 stone  
 The dog apparently remained in the stone cave.
- (77) *m-u-kúsa taanáasa sua+ caú +ini. [6-77]*  
 go-toward house NOM people its  
 Its master came home.
- (78) *"aani +cí +'ai tacáu," mi-sái. [6-78]*  
 where-gone dog, say  
 "Where is the dog?" he said.

- (79) *pu-ái'i + 'ai + 'inía tiá+ kirími. [6-79]*  
 return there fut. seek  
 He returned to look for it.
- (80) *'acú+ +kani ni-kaa-manu-mánu sua+ tacáu na+ 'arávange*  
 certain it-is-said made-child NOM dog in inside  
*váatu. [6-80]*  
 stone  
 The dog apparently gave birth in the stone cave.
- (81) *m-aká-asua +kaní +cu alá-i sa+ caú +ini sua+*  
 like-that it-is-said already take OBL person its NOM  
*tamatúitu um-ávici taanáasa. [6-81]*  
 puppy take-with house  
 Thus its master took home the puppy with him.
- (82) *m-u-'úna +kání + 'inía síane. [6-82]*  
 exist it-is-said there here  
 They were here (in their house).
- (83) *ara-miá-'e +kání mia-teatasíare c/um/é'era sua+ tacáu.*  
 get-up it-is-said next-day see OBL dog  
*[6-83]*  
 On the next day he woke up to see the dog.
- (84) *'akía +kani sua+ tamatúitu mata tacáu. [6-84]*  
 none it-is-said NOM puppy and dog  
 The puppy and the dog were not there.
- (85) *'acú+ +kani ni-a-ái'i ciná +ini um-ávici na+*  
 certain it-is-said took-back mother its take-with to  
*'arávange váatu. [6-85]*  
 inside stone  
 Apparently its mother took it back to the stone cave.

- (86) *m-aka-asúa +cu sua+ caú +ini a-ai'i-ni +kiái*  
 like-that already NOM person its taken-back by-him  
*um-ávici taanáasa. [6-86]*  
 take-with house

Thus its master took it back home.

- (87) *'acú+ a-ai'i-ni tacáu sua+ manú +ini um-ávici na+*  
 certain taken-back dog NOM child its take-with to  
*'arávange váatu. [6-87]*  
 inside stone

Apparently the dog took back its child again to the stone cave.

- (88) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu sua+ caú +ini. [6-88]*  
 like-that it-is-said already NOM person its  
 Thus its master said.

- (89) *"nuu+ m-aka-así +ini tacau +míta +ia, kii-paapa-áu tia+*  
 if like-this its dog our TOP, go-with fut.  
*kéece kaa-usu-usúru," mi-sá +kani. [6-89]*  
 hopefully make-small-field, say it-is-said  
 "If our dog is like this, we'll go together with it to make a small field  
 in the mountains."

- (90) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu sua+ caú +ini m-u-kúsa*  
 like-that it-is-said already NOM person its go-toward  
*+ 'inía kaa-'umá-'uma m-a-ti-ti'íngi kaa-tane-tanáeve + 'inía.*  
 there make-fields make-little make-field-shelter there  
*[6-90]*

Therefore its master went there to make fields a little and build a field  
 shelter.

- (91) *m-aka-asúa +kani sua+ cáau pari-víini + 'inía. [6-91]*  
 like-that it-is-said NOM person follow to-him  
 Thus people followed him.

- (92) *ara-a-ka-cáu-a +kaní +cu sua+ cáau makáasi*  
 become-crowd it-is-said already NOM people toward  
*naa-taanáasa ki-sá-ene. [6-92]*  
 ex-house say

People became many, [houses] extending up to old Taanaasa, so it is called.

- (93) *ara-anái +cu +'inía ara-a-tanáse +'inía sua+ cáau.*  
 from already there become-village there NOM people  
 [6-93]

Then people build a village there.

- (94) *ara-anái +kaní +cu +'inía ha+ cáau ara-ka-cau-á*  
 from it-is-said already there NOM people become-crowd  
 +cu. [6-94]  
 already

Then people became many.

- (95) *nu+ ca'ani-á +ini ara-ciáse +'inía. [6-95]*  
 if daytime its become-light there

In the daytime, it became light there.

- (96) *nu+ ara-pa-pining +ini sua+ caú +ini +ia, ala-'ele-'éleme*  
 if come-out their NOM people its TOP, become-black  
 +kání pii-piníngi sua+ kanakanávu. [6-96]  
 it-is-said outside NOM Kanakanavu

[But] if the people came out [from the houses], the outside became a little dark with the Kanakanavu. [So many Kanakanavu people were living there.]

- (97) *ara-anái +cu +'inía aru-nganá-ni +cu sua+ 'enái*  
 from already there given-name already NOM earth  
*úsua naa-taanáasa ta-'éleme ki-sa-ene +kaní +cu. [6-97]*  
 that ex-house black say it-is-said already

Therefore that place was given the name 'Black House', so it is called.



- (98) *m-aka-asúa +cu sua+ cáau ara-tanáse +'inía. [6-98]*  
 like-that already NOM people become-village there  
 Thus people built a village there.
- (99) *tatía +cu sua+ tanáse. [6-99]*  
 big already NOM village  
 The village was big.
- (100) *kaa-ipa-ipál-ai sa+ cáau tu-'acánge sua+ namuliúngu  
 make-fence OBL people pile-stone=wall NOM around  
 taanáasa. [6-100]*  
 house  
 People made stone walls around houses.
- (101) *ni-kaa-manéng-ane +kání sua+ ta-pa-tara-si-'enéve-a u-cání  
 made it-is-said NOM gate one  
 +máamia. [6-101]*  
 just  
 They made just one gate.
- (102) *nu+ ruuruvana +ia, pi-'eneve-éne t/um/úkucu. [6-102]*  
 if evening TOP, close lock  
 In the evening they closed it to lock.
- (103) *m-aka-asúa +kání u-cání ruuruvána sua+ naatiá+  
 like-that it-is-said one evening NOM about-to  
 pi-'éneve +'inía +ia, 'acú+ +kani ni-ru-áimi. [6-103]*  
 close TOP, certain it-is-said forgot  
 Thus one evening the one who was supposed to close it apparently forgot.
- (104) *kúu+ +kani pi-'eneve-ái. [6-104]*  
 not it-is-said close  
 He did not close it.
- (105) *i-vátu +kani sua+ pakísia tia+ t/um/a-tani-ulá'e sa+  
 come it-is-said NOM Chinese fut. do-mischief OBL  
 cáau. [6-105]*  
 people  
 The Chinese came to do mischief on the Kakanavu people.

- (106) *pari-taná-s-ai sa+ pakísia sua+ cáau ni-m-ú-'una na+*  
 drive-away-village OBL Chinese NOM people existed at  
*tanáse ta-'éleme ki-sá-ene. [6-106]*  
 village black say

The Chinese people drove away from the village the people who were living at so-called 'Black Village'.

- (107) *a-aranái +cu 'úuna úsua mia+ paka-paca-pacái +ini mata*  
 from already exist that when kill-each-other with  
*pakísia. [6-107]*  
 Chinese

Since that happened, the Kanakanavu and the Chinese people killed each other.

- (108) *m-u-caané +cu sua+ cáau a-ara-anái naa-taanáasa*  
 go already NOM people from ex-house  
*alá-vali makáasi emeemére. [6-108]*  
 remove toward Emeemere

People migrated from Naa-Taanaasa to Emeemere.

- (109) *sua+ cucumáini ni-m-aa-na'é +kani makáasi*  
 NOM other-people split-into-two it-is-said toward  
*tavárana.<sup>3</sup> [6-109]*  
 Tavarana

Some people split into two and went to Tavarana.

- (110) *sua+ ni-m-ú-'una tavárana +ia, pari-'ena-'ená-i sa+*  
 NOM existed Tavarana TOP, let-out-again OBL  
*pakísia pari-tanáse sua+ kaa-tavárana. [6-110]*  
 Chinese drive-away-village NOM one-from-Tavarana

Those who lived at Tavarana were driven away again by the Chinese from the village.

- (111) *pu-ái'i sua+ ni-m-ú-'una tavárana alá-vali na'eveána.<sup>4</sup> [6-111]*  
 return NOM existed Tavarana remove Na'veeana

Those who were at Tavarana removed back to Na'veeana.

<sup>3</sup>The backside (western side?) of 表湖.

- (112) *sua+ ni-m-ú-'una na+ emeemére +ia, ni-ala-váli ang'uána.*  
 NOM existed at Emeemere TOP, removed Ang'uana  
 [6-112]

Those who were at Emeemere removed to Ang'uana (紅花仔).

- (113) *m-aka-asúa +cu sua+ cáau sua+ ni-m-ú-'una na+*  
 like-that already NOM people NOM existed at  
*na'eveána +ia, ni-m-i-káasi tané'ece.* [6-113]  
 Na'eveana TOP, go-toward Tane'ece

Then those who were at Na'eveana removed to Tane'ece.

- (114) *mia+ ni-'uná-a cáau na+ tané'ece +ia, m-aka-asúa +pa*  
 when resided people at Tane'ece TOP, like-that still  
*mia+ úsua i-vátu ha+ pakísia pari-tanáse sa+*  
 when that come NOM Chinese drive-village NOM  
*naa-tané'ece.* [6-114]  
 ex-Tane'ece

When people were living at Tane'ece, at that time again the Chinese came to drive away the Tane'ece people from the village.

- (115) *m-u-cáane sua+ cáau mia+ 'alaala'ungus +íni sua+*  
 go NOM people when time its NOM  
*pakísia.* [6-115]  
 Chinese

When the Chinese came [to drive us away], people went.

- (116) *u-kúsa-i sua+ cáau sua+ m-u-cáan +avá +kani*  
 go-toward NOM people that go wonder it-is-said  
*sua+ na-'angái caépe makáasi m-u-kúsa kicáne tia+ kirími*  
 NOM ex-Angai Caepe toward go-toward Kizan fut. seek  
*lipúnu.* [6-116]  
 Japan

People went with Angai Caepe to Kizan to look for the Japanese.

<sup>4</sup>A place name between Tanganua (民生村) and Vangacun (民權村).

- (117) 'áisi +kani kicáne lipúnu. [6-117]

exist it-is-said Kizan Japan

The Japanese were at Kizan.

- (118) t/um/wutúru lipúnu, "ni-pari-tánase +kimía pakísia," mi-sái.  
inform Japan drove-village us Chinese, say  
[6-118]

They informed the Japanese, "The Chinese drove us away from the village."

- (119) "ni-namaré +kani pakísia sua+ naa-taanáaha tané'ece."  
burned it-is-said Chinese OBL ex-house Tane'ece  
[6-119]

"The Chinese burned the houses at Tane'ece."

- (120) pu-kari-kari +káni sua+ lipúnu. [6-120]  
talk-over it-is-said NOM Japan

The Japanese told.

- (121) "ara-andái úsia si-pitú-unu +ia, c/um/e'erá + 'ai 'úuna  
from this seven-nights TOP, see exist  
+kara +kamú + 'ai tara-namá-a," mi-sá +kani sua+  
question you see-strange, say it-is-said NOM  
lipúnu. [6-121]  
Japan

"In seven days from today you may see something strange."

- (122) si-pitu-unu +káni ara-pite'é +kani sua+  
seven-nights it-is-said become-dark it-is-said NOM  
ka-kaángeca. [6-122]  
skies

Oh the seventh day the skies became dark.

- (123) 'acú+ +kani ni-námare lipúnu sua+ tanáse kananavúru.  
certain it-is-said burned Japan OBL village Kananavuru  
[6-123]

Apparently the Japanese burned the village of Kananavuru (大埔, a Chinese village).

- (124) *m-aka-así +cu ara-anái +cu +'inía m-aa-vua-vuáre*  
 like-this already from already there depart  
*+cu sua+ ni-m-ú-'una tané'ece m-u-kúsa 'ang'uána.*  
 already NOM existed Tane'ece go-toward Ang'uana.  
 [6-124]

Thus since then those who lived at Tane'ece departed for Ang'uana.

- (125) *pu-kári sua+ kaa-'?ang'?uána pu-u-ráane sa+ cáau*  
 call-for OBL those-from-Ang'uana call-for-help NOM people  
*ni-m-ú-'?una tané'?'ece. [6-125]*  
 existed Tane'ece

Those at Ang'uana called for help the people who were at Tane'ece.

- (126) *ara-anái +cu na+ tané'ece m-aa-vua-vuáre +cu sua+*  
 from already at Tane'ece depart already NOM  
*naa-kaa-tané'ece makáasi taacukúra. [6-126]*  
 ex-one-from-Tane'ece toward Taacukura

Those at Tane'ece departed from Tane'ece to Taacukura.

- (127) *ha+ cucumáini makáasi raancúrunga.<sup>5</sup> [6-127]*  
 NOM other-people toward Raancurunga  
 Some people went to Raancurunga.

- (128) *ara-anái +cu na+ raancúrunga makáasi naa-taacukúra.*  
 from already at Raancurunga toward ex-Taacukura  
 [6-128]

From Raancurunga they came to Taacukura.

- (129) *m-ata-'enáí +cu cakérane ninginingíningí cakérane úisi.*  
 come-down already river flat-place river this  
 [6-129]

They came down to the river, (to the) level place of this river.

<sup>5</sup>表湖. Cf. *nucúrungu* 'a sp. of tree, 山黄麻 (*Trema orientalis*)'

- (130) *tiá+ +cu apa-emék-ene lipúnu puusiáme sua+ cáau.*  
 fut. already make-plant Japan rice OBL people  
 [6-130]

The Japanese were going to let people plant rice.

- (131) *vuá-i sua+ lipúnu raápe m-aa-caní-cani viicúini<sup>6</sup> sua+*  
 give OBL Japan seed one-each measure NOM  
*cani=piníng-a.* [6-131]  
 one=family

The Japanese gave seeds of one measure to every family.

- (132) *ara-anái +cu +'inía k/um/árai puusiáme.* [6-132]  
 from already there cover-with-earth rice

Then they covered rice [seeds] with soil.

- (133) *m-aka-así +cu raapinía.*<sup>7</sup> [6-133]  
 like-this already Raapinia

Therefore [the place is called] Raapinia.

- (134) *m-u-'úna raapinía.* [6-134]  
 dwell Raapinia

They lived at Raapinia.

- (135) *ara-anái +cu raapinía makáasi cipáku.*<sup>8</sup> [6-135]  
 from already Raapinia toward Cipaku

From Raapinia They came to Cipaku.

- (136) *ara-anái cipáku makáasi tangánua, makáasi +cu na+*  
 from Cipaku toward Tanganua, toward already to  
*tanáse ma-mísa tangánua úsi.* [6-136]  
 village now Tanganua this

From Cipaku to Tanganua (民生村), to the present village Tanganua here.

<sup>6</sup>From Taiwanese 米升 ?

<sup>7</sup>The opposite side of the river between 民生村 and 民權村. Cf. *raape* 'seeds.'

<sup>8</sup>The name of the mountain opposite of Tanganua (民生村).

(137) *cu-cúlu pa-cepe-cepéngē +kía sua+ cepéngē ma-mísa +ia,*  
 true think I OBL mind now TOP,  
*'úuna +kía [ka-a-canga-cangár-a ma-kangéce] tatía*  
 exist I [gladness few] big  
*ni-ka-canga-cangár-a sa+ ni-a-cará-a lipúnu sa+*  
 was-happy OBL watched-guard Japan NOM  
*caumaamánai. [6-137]*  
 living-creatures

If I really think about my present mind, I have a great happiness that the Japanese people watched us carefully to guide and lead.

## 7. Six-Toed Child

(By *Pa'angai Naucingana*) (Nakapo)

Note: Kan III:4-11; V 37-38

Tape: Uher B:47-127

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *sua+ tiá+ 'ʔená +maku +ia, tiá+ +ku pu-a-íisua*  
 NOM fut. story my TOP, fut. I recite  
*na-kanakanávu +káni miána. [7-1]*  
 ex-Kanakanavu it-is-said ago  
 I'm going to talk about a Kanakanavu of old days.
- (2) *néeme +kani nganáí +ini. [7-2]*  
 six it-is-said name his  
 His name was Neme (six).
- (3) *sua+ nganáí +ini néeme ki-sá-ene +ia, enéme +káni*  
 NOM name his six say TOP, six it-is-said  
*sua+ tavíini 'acíp +ini. [7-3]*  
 NOM finger foot his  
 [The reason] his name was called Neme (six) is [that] his toes were six  
 [= he had six toes].
- (4) *sua+ +kani naa-néeme +ia, ni-m-ú-usa +kani*  
 NOM it-is-said ex-Neme TOP, went-toward it-is-said  
*napálanga m-u-cúmuku m-u-'aravángo. [7-4]*  
 Napalanga go-ripened enter-house  
 Neme went to Napalanga to enter a family as an adopted son.
- (5) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu mia+ 'aisí +ini napálanga +ia,*  
 like-that it-is-said already when be his Napalanga TOP,  
*tani-tani-ulá'e +kani napálanga sua+ naa-néeme. [7-5]*  
 bully it-is-said Napalanga OBL ex-Neme  
 Thus, when he was at Napalanga, the Napalanga people bullied Neme.



- (6) *m-i-'aranáse +kaní +cu ha+ naa-néeme. [7-6]*  
trouble it-is-said already NOM ex-Neme  
Neme was embarrassed.
- (7) *"tiá+ +ci +kía m-a-akai-náanu," mi-sái. [7-7]*  
fut. I do-how where, say  
"What should I do?" he said.
- (8) *sua+ +kani si-pa-p-i-'aranáse +'inía napálanga +ia,*  
NOM it-is-said way-causing-trouble to-him Napalanga TOP,  
*p-aka-asú-unu +kani +kiái. [7-8]*  
do-like-that it-is-said their  
How the Napalanga people bullied him is like that (as following).
- (9) *"pusu-a'án-a +pa 'úucu!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái. [7-9]*  
carry-on-shoulder still pillar, say it-is-said by-them  
"Carry a pillar on your shoulder!" they said.
- (10) *pusu-a'an-ái +kani +'inía. [7-10]*  
carry-on-shoulder it-is-said by-him  
He carried it on his shoulder.
- (11) *i-ta-tiin-iní +kani napálanga m-i-táta'e sua+ ngutús +ini.*  
hang it-is-said Napalanga hang-both NOM tip its  
[7-11]

The Napalanga people hanged on the both ends of the pillar.

- (12) *pusu-a'an-ené +kaní +cu +kiái um-ávici taanáasa.*  
carry-on-shoulder it-is-said already his take-with house  
[7-12]

He carried it on his shoulder to take home.

- (13) *m-aka-asúa +kaní +cu k/um/a-kirími +cu ha+*  
like-that it-is-said already seek already NOM  
*napálanga tia+ si-pa-p-i-'aranáse +'inía. [7-13]*  
Napalanga fut. way-causing-trouble to-him  
In that way the Napalanga people looked for how to bully him.

- (14) *"m-i-ívu-á +pa!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái. m-i-ívu +káni.*  
 urinate still, say it-is-said by-them. urinate it-is-said  
 [7-14]

"Urinate!" they said. He urinated.

- (15) *"ka'áne +pa! s/um/i-tatía +pa m-i-ívu!" ki-sa-ené*  
 not still. bodily-function-big still urinate, say  
 +kani +kiái. [7-15]  
 it-is-said by-them

"Not yet! Urinate more!" they said.

- (16) *m-i-ívu +káni s/um/i-tatía. [7-16]*  
 urinate it-is-said bodily-function-big  
 He urinated more.

- (17) *m-a-a-'acu-'acúnu +kaní +cu sua+ tarekúuka mata*  
 drift it-is-said already NOM chicken and  
*ma-mánu tutúí. [7-17]*  
 children pig

Chickens and piglets were flown away.

- (18) *"m-u-ta'i-á +pa!" ki-sa-ené +kani napálanga. m-u-a-ta'í*  
 shit still! say by-them Napalanga. shit  
 +kani. [7-18]  
 it-is-said

"Shit!" said the Napalanga people. He shitted.

- (19) *"ka'áne +pa!" m-aka-asúa, "s/um/i-'ena-'ená-a +pa*  
 not still, like-that, bodily-function-repeat still  
*s/um/i-tatía!" ki-sa-ené +kani napálanga. [7-19]*  
 bodily-function-big! say it-is-said Napalanga

"Not yet! Shit more again!" said the Napalanga people.

- (20) *s/um/i-'ena-'ená +kani s/um/i-tatía. [7-20]*  
 bodily-function-repeat it-is-said bodily-function-big  
 He shitted more again.

- (21) *"pa-'ucip-á +pa tanéke u-cáni táalisi ni-m-aku-víli!"*  
 cook still taro one cauldron lay-with-open-mouth!  
*ki-sa-ené +kani napálanga. [7-21]*  
 say it-is-said Napalanga

"Cook taros in a big cauldron!" said the Napalanga people.

- (22) *pa-'ucípi +kání paasi-túmulu táalisi ni-m-aku-víli.*  
 cook it-is-said cook-many cauldron lay-with-open-mouth  
*[7-22]*

He cooked many taros full of the big cauldron.

- (23) *"kaen-á +cu ku-vangevánge!" ki-sa-ené +kani napálanga.*  
 eat already eat-all! say it-is-said Napalanga  
*[7-23]*

"Eat all!" said the Napalanga people.

- (24) *ka'áne +kání +cu +kiái ku-vangevánge sua+ tanéke.*  
 not it-is-said already by-him eat-all NOM taro  
*[7-24]*

He could not eat all the taros.

- (25) *"nu+ káa+ +kasu ku-vangevánge +'inía +ia, tiá+ +kasu*  
 if not thou eat-all TOP, fut. thou  
*p-ia-pacái-ni," ki-sa-ené +kani napálanga. [7-25]*  
 kill, say it-is-said Napalanga

"If you don't eat all of them, you'll be killed," said the Napalanga people.

- (26) *m-aka-asúa +kání +cu m-i-'aranáse +cu. [7-26]*  
 like-that it-is-said already trouble already

Thus he was embarrassed.

- (27) *"m-u-caan-á +pa! '/um/anup-á +pa!" ki-sa-ené +kani*  
 go still! hunt-with-dogs still! say it-is-said  
*napálanga. [7-27]*  
 Napalanga

"Go and hunt with dogs!" said the Napalanga people.

- (28) *m-u-á-ca +kani 'um/ánupu. [7-28]*  
 go it-is-said hunt-with-dogs

He went hunting with dogs.

- (29) “*nuu+ pa-ra'isí +kasu vavúlu +ia, p-ati-ngusunú +'ai*  
 if catch(H) thou wild-pig TOP, catch-by-hand  
*um-émene 'uíci pusu-a'áne,*” *ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.*  
 bind rattan carry-on-shoulder, say it-is-said by-them  
 [7-29]

“When you catch a wild pig, catch it with your hands, bind with a rattan and carry it on your shoulder!” they said.

- (30) “*akúni um-ávici nemáne!*” *ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái sua+*  
 don't take-with hatchet! say it-is-said by-them NOM  
*naa-néeme. [7-30]*  
 ex-Neme

“Don't take a hatchet with you!” they said to Neme.

- (31) *m-u-á-ca +kaní +cu ha+ naa-néeme 'um/ánupu.*  
 go it-is-said already NOM ex-Neme hunt-with-dogs  
 [7-31]

Neme went hunting with dogs.

- (32) *pa-a-ra'is-ái +'inía sua+ maruanísi. [7-32]*  
 catch(H) NOM male-wild-pig

He caught a wild boar.

- (33) *p-ati-sáa'-ai +'inía um-émene 'uíci sua+ keké +ini mata*  
 catch bind rattan NOM legs its and  
*ivíc +ini. [7-33]*  
 mouth its

He caught it with his hands, bound its legs and its mouth with rattan.

- (34) *pusu-a'an-ái +cu +'inía um-ávici taanáasa. [7-34]*  
 carry-on-shoulder already take-with house

He took it home carrying on his shoulder.

- (35) *pu-kari-ái + 'inía sua+ napálanga. [7-35]*  
 speak NOM Napalanga  
 He said to the Napalanga people.
- (36) "*m-ata-cuvu-cuvúng-a cakéare nuu+ m-aka-cekená +cu*  
 assemble men's-house if arrive already  
*+ku +ia, m-ata-cuvu-cuvúng-a cakéare kaa-vangévange!"*  
 I TOP, assemble men's-house all  
*ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái ha+ napálanga. [7-36]*  
 say it-is-said by-him NOM Napalanga  
 "When I come back, assemble at the men's house, all of you!" he said  
 to the Napalanga people.
- (37) *paki-turú +kani napálanga m-ata-cuvu-cuvúngu cakéare.*  
 permit it-is-said Napalanga assemble men's-house  
*[7-37]*
- The Napalanga people agreed to assemble at the men's house.
- (38) *pusu-a'án-ai + 'inía ha+ vavúlu pitá-kusa*  
 carry-on-shoulder NOM wild-pig throw-toward  
*vee-vecekái +ini. [7-38]*  
 center its  
 He carried the wild pig on his shoulder to throw at the middle of the  
 men's house.
- (39) *ara-ngeténe +káni sua+ si-a-eméne keké +ini. [7-39]*  
 become-cut it-is-said NOM thing-used-bind leg its  
 The binding of the legs was cut.
- (40) *sanganal-ái sa+ vavúlu sua+ napálanga. [7-40]*  
 scare OBL wild-pig NOM Napalanga  
 The wild pig scared the Napalanga people.
- (41) *um-ánguru sua+ napálanga pu-vangevángé. [7-41]*  
 escape NOM Napalanga escape-home-all  
 The Napalanga people all ran away back to home.

- (42) *p-ati-sáa'-ai +cu +'inía taka-cú-cini si+ "nuu+ káa+*  
 catch already alone because if not  
*+kasu taatukávau +'inía +ia, tiá+ +cu +kásu*  
 thou can-do TOP, fut. already thou  
*p-ia-pacái-ni," ki-sa-ené +kani napálanga. [7-42]*  
 kill, say it-is-said Napalanga

He caught it with hands by himself, because the Napalanga people said, "If you cannot do it, you'll be killed."

- (43) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu sua+ naa-néeme. [7-43]*  
 like-that it-is-said already NOM ex-Neme

Neme was like that.

- (44) *"m-i-láva +ci +kia m-i-'aranáse si+ ap-i-lavá-ene*  
 do-extreme already I trouble because make-extreme  
*+ci +kia napálanga úsi ap-i-'aránase[-at]." [7-44]*  
 I Napalanga this cause-trouble

"I'm extremely embarrassed because these Napalanga people bully me too much."

- (45) *"tiá+ +ci +kia +cu m-a-akai-náanu," mi-sái sua+*  
 fut. I already do-how, say NOM  
*si-'aranas +ini. [7-45]*  
 trouble their

What shall I do?" said the one in trouble.

- (46) *"m-u-caan-a +ci +kia kéece +máamia um-ánguru," mi-sá*  
 go I hopefully just escape, say  
*+kani sua+ cepéng +ini. [7-46]*  
 it-is-said NOM mind his

"I'll just run away," he thought.

- (47) *m-u-caáne +cu pu-ái'i kanakanávu. [7-47]*  
 go already return Kanakanavu

He returned to the Kanakanavu.

- (48) *m-u-'úna +'inía m-ia-ranáu. [7-48]*  
 live there do-for-long

He stayed there for a long time.

- (49) *makauári, "pu-ái'-a +pa +kía +'inía c/um/é'era sua+*  
 after-while, return still I there see OBL  
*taa-ti'ing-ai mata na-nénake," mi-sá +kani sua+ cepéng*  
 small-ones and women, say it-is-said NOM mind  
*+ini. [7-49]*  
 his  
 After a while he thought, "I'll go back to see children and women."
- (50) *pu-ái'i +'inía. uavakái +'inía m-ai-ca ta-u-canúm-a, 'áisi*  
 return there exactly there pass place-draw-water, be  
*+kani si-áuru canúmu sua+ naa-'ucáng +ini. [7-50]*  
 it-is-said draw-water water NOM ex-spouse his  
 He returned there. Precisely when he passed by the place to draw  
 water, his wife was drawing water.
- (51) *p-ia-pacál-ai +'inía. [7-51]*  
 kill  
 He killed her.
- (52) *m-ara-ceváke ha+ ta-sikar-á +ini, r/um/a-tavére na+ nimúru*  
 cut-belly OBL entrails her, step-soak in blood  
*sua+ 'acíp +ini r/um/a-cakíare na+ váatu. [7-52]*  
 OBL foot his step-trace on stone  
 He cut her belly to take out her entrails, stepped and soaked his feet  
 in the blood to make a footprint on the stone.
- (53) *ara-anái +cu +'inía ha+ naa-néeme m-u-cáane*  
 from already there NOM ex-Neme go  
*um-ánguru. [7-53]*  
 escape  
 Then Neme ran away.
- (54) *m-aka-asúa +kaní +cu sua+ napálanga m-arí-tara*  
 like-that it-is-said already NOM Napalanga impatient-wait  
*sa+ nanáke c/um/a-canúmu. 'akía. [7-54]*  
 OBL woman fetch-water. none  
 Thus the Napalanga people impatiently waited for her wife fetching  
 water. She did not (come back).

(55) *u-kúsa-i + 'inía tiá+ kirími. [7-55]*

go-toward fut. seek

He went to look for her.

(56) *'áisi ta-u-canúm-a ha+ naa-nanáke ni-p-ia-pácal-a[-at].*

be place-draw-water NOM ex-woman killed

[7-56]

At the place to draw water his wife had been killed.

(57) *ce'erá-i +kani + 'inía sua+ 'acípi ni-ra-cakíar-a na+ váatu.*

see it-is-said NOM foot footprinted on stone

[7-57]

He saw footprints marked on the stone.

(58) *"a-nge-nguái +ava néeme si+ ni-m-ia-pácai + 'inía." [7-58]*

the-one wonder Neme for killed her

"It must be Neme who killed her!"

(59) *"nuu+ m-aka-así +ci +ia, a-u-kusá-ene +cu*

if like-this TOP, will-go-toward already

*m-ia-senge-sengéce nuu+ i-vatú +pai," mi-sá +kani sua+*  
kill-thoroughly if come still, say it-is-said NOM

*kári napálanga. [7-59]*

word Napalanga

"If it's like this, I'll kill him thoroughly when he comes," said the Napalanga people.

(60) *makauári kaa-pa'i-pa'íci +kaní +cu sua+ napálanga.*

after-while make-liquor it-is-said already NOM Napalanga

[7-60]

After a while the Napalanga people made liquor.

(61) *pu-kári sa+ naa-néeme. "tiá+ +cu p-ia-pacái-ni," mi-sá*

speak OBL ex-Neme. fut. already kill, say

*+kani sua+ napálanga. [7-61]*

it-is-said NOM Napalanga

He said to Neme, "I'll kill you."



- (62) *i-vátu +kání sua+ néeme mia+ pu-karí +ini +'inía sua+*  
 come it-is-said NOM Neme when speak its to-him NOM  
*napálanga. [7-62]*

Napalanga

Neme came when the Napalanga people told to him.

- (63) *p-aka-asú-unu +kání napálanga sua+ naa-néeme. [7-63]*  
 do-like-that it-is-said Napalanga NOM ex-Neme

The Napalanga people said like that to Neme.

- (64) *"tiá+ +cu +kásu p-ia-pacái-ni," ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.*  
 fut. already thou kill, say it-is-said  
*[7-64]*

"I'll kill you."

- (65) *m-ali-valí +kani naa-néeme. [7-65]*  
 answer it-is-said ex-Neme

Neme answered.

- (66) *"m-á-akai-náanu. p-ia-pacal-áu +cu +ku kéece!" mi-sá*  
 do-how. kill already I hopefully! say  
*+kani sua+ néeme. [7-66]*  
 it-is-said Nom Neme

"What can I do?(= I don't care.) Just kill me!" said Neme.

- (67) *kara-pa'íci +kání kara-rane-ranáu. [7-67]*  
 drink-liquor it-is-said drink-all-for-long

They drank liquor together for all day long.

- (68) *m-aka-asúa +kání +cu sua+ naa-néeme. [7-68]*  
 like-that it-is-said already NOM ex-Neme

Neme was like that.

- (69) *"nuu+ tiá+ +cu +kámu m-ia-pacái +'ikúa taniar-a saúni*  
 if fut. already you kill me day today  
*+ia, m-ata-cuvu-cuvúng-a +pa cakéare kaa-vangévange."*  
 TOP, assemble still men's-house all

[7-69]

"If you kill me today, all assemble at the men's house!"

- (70) "nuu+ tiá+ +ci tu-a-ruu-rúuvana +ia, tuuturú-unu +kamú  
if fut. become-evening TOP, teach you  
+ 'ai nu+ tiá+ +ci m-atá-tea tia+ ta-p-ia-pacal-á +nemu  
if fut. arrive-hit fut. time-killing your  
+ 'ikúa," ki-sa-ené +kani naa-néeme. [7-70]  
me, say it-is-said ex-Neme

"If it becomes evening, if the time of your killing me came, I'll teach you [how to kill me]," said Neme.

- (71) m-aka-asúa +kaní +cu sua+ napálanga  
like-that it-is-said already NOM Napalanga  
m-ata-cuvu-cuvúngu cakéare kaa-vangévange ara-uku-ukúnu.  
assemble men's-house all sit-together  
[7-71]

Thus the Napalanga people all assembled at the men's house to sit together.

- (72) pu-kari-karí +kani sa+ naa-néeme. "ce'era-en +akú + 'ai  
speak it-is-said NOM ex-Neme. see my  
sua+ taníare." [7-72]  
NOM sun  
Neme said. "I'll see [the last] sun."

- (73) "nu+ ma-ata-téa +ci sa+ tia+ ta-p-ia-pacal-a +nému + 'ikúa  
if arrive-hit NOM fut. time-to-kill your me  
+ia, tuuturú-unu +kamú + 'ai." [7-73]  
TOP, teach you  
"When the time came when you kill me, I'll tell you."

- (74) "m-aa-ma'ali-á +pa +kíta ara-uku-ukúnu!" ki-sa-ené +kani  
do-a-little still we sit-together! say it-is-said  
naa-néeme sua+ napálanga. [7-74]  
ex-Neme NOM Napalanga

"Let's sit together a little more!" said Neme to the Napalanga people.

- (75) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu tara-tai'an-ái +kani +'inía*  
 like-that it-is-said already see-last it-is-said  
*sua+ taniáre. [7-75]*  
 NOM sun  
 Thus he took a last look at the sun.
- (76) “*áisi +kara +cu +kámu kaa-vangévange?*” *ki-sa-ené*  
 be question already you all? say  
*+kani +kiái sua+ napálanga. [7-76]*  
 it-is-said by-him NOM Napalanga  
 “Are you all here?” he said to the Napalanga people.
- (77) “*aváini,*” *mi-sái +kani sua+ napálanga. [7-77]*  
 yes, say it-is-said NOM Napalanga  
 “Yes, we are!” said the Napalanga people.
- (78) “*nu+ m-aka-asua +'ái +ini +ia, sua+ taa-ti'ing-ai +pa*  
 if like-that it TOP, NOM small-ones still  
*ma-manu ma-'úla apa-eker-áu +'ai tapíningi, [tia+*  
 children small let-hold knife, [fut.  
*kaa-vangévange] tia+ si-a-'urú-paca +nemu +'ikúa*  
 all] fut. tool-used your me  
*m-aki-maénau nu+ m-ia-pacái +cu +kamu +'ikúa,*” *ki-sa-ené*  
 stab-little if kill already you me, say  
*+kani naa-néeme. [7-78]*  
 it-is-said ex-Neme  
 “Then, let small children hold a knife with which you stab me a little  
 when you kill me!” said Neme.
- (79) *m-atá-tea +kani +cu tia+ engécal-a taniáre tia+*  
 arrive-hit it-is-said already fut. height sun fut.  
*ta-p-ia-pacál-a +'inía napálanga. [7-79]*  
 time-kill to-him Napalanga  
 The sun came to the height when the Napalanga people would kill  
 him.
- (80) *u-kusá-i +kani +'inía sua+ caú +ini*  
 go-toward it-is-said NOM people his  
*naa-ni-u-'aravang-án +ini. [7-80]*  
 ex-family-adopted his

He went to the people of the family which he entered as an adopted son.

- (81) *"tu-képe-a + 'ái, úkamu, 'ara-'arávange."* [7-81]  
 sit-gather you, in-house  
 "You, sit in a group in the house!"
- (82) *"akúni + 'ai m-ia-necáu!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kidi.* [7-82]  
 don't peep-out! say it-is-said  
 "Don't peep out!" he said.
- (83) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu ara-pa-píningi c/um/é'era sua+*  
 like-that it-is-said already come-out see NOM  
*taniáre.* [7-83]  
 sun  
 Then he came out of the house to look at the sun.
- (84) *pu-tair-ai +kani + 'inía sua+ cakéare.* [7-84]  
 kick it-is-said NOM men's-house  
 He kicked the men's house.
- (85) *pu-tai'áne pu-punu'ái sua+ cakéare.* [7-85]  
 kick-finally kick-fall NOM men's-house  
 He finally kicked down the men's house to fall.
- (86) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu sa+ napálanga mia+ m-i-tear*  
 like-that it-is-said already NOM Napalanga when fall-down  
*+íni sua+ cakéare, arupaka-paca-pacái +cu*  
 its NOM men's-house kill-each-other already  
*alupaka-ili-ilí'i.* [7-86]  
 oneself-each-other  
 Thus when the men's house fell down, the Napalanga people killed themselves with each other.
- (87) *sua+ tia+ um-a-angúru +ia, m-i-nganáí +kani sua+*  
 NOM fut. escape TOP, fly it-is-said NOM  
*'acáre na+ alúvu m-ata-cekéceke kuukuwúá +ini.* [7-87]  
 miscanthus-tip on roof throw-stab back their  
 As for those who ran away, sharp-pointed tips of miscanthus grass on the roof flew to stab at their back.

- (88) *pu-ái'i +kaní +cu sua+ m-aka-asua c/um/ákepe*  
 return it-is-said already NOM like-that stab  
*kekenang +íni. [7-88]*  
 companion their

The tips of miscanthus flew back to stab their companions.

- (89) *m-aka-asua +kaní +cu sua+ tia+ um-a-angúru +ia,*  
 like-that it-is-said already NOM fut. escape TOP,  
*m-i-nganáí +kaní sua+ 'acáre m-aki-a-cúnuru*  
 fly it-is-said NOM miscanthus-tip stab-follow  
 + 'inía. [7-89]  
 to-them

Thus as for those who ran away, sharp-pointed miscanthus tips followed them to stab them.

- (90) *uru-ai'-íni +cu +kiái sua+ kekenang +íni m-ia-pacái.*  
 hate-back already their NOM companion their kill  
 [7-90]

They hated back and killed their companions.

- (91) *si+ sua+ '?áisi m-aki-a-cúnuru + '?inía '?acáre*  
 because NOM be stab-follow to-them miscanthus-tip  
 +ia, cáau '?áisi c/um/a-caképe mi-sái, si+  
 TOP, people be stab say, but  
 '?uríngi +áva ha+ '?áisi c/um/a-caképe + '?inía.  
 dried-miscanthus wonder NOM be stab to-them  
 [7-91]

Because the one who were following to stab with sharp-pointed miscanthus tips were, they thought, people who were stabbing, but actually it was dried miscanthus that was stabbing them!

- (92) *m-aka-asúa +kaní +cu m-ata-sáini sua+ naa-néeme.*  
 like-that it-is-said already stand-aside NOM ex-Neme  
 [7-92]

Thus Neme stood aside [to watch].

- (93) *mia+ m-utu-vangevánge +ci sua+ napálanga +ia, u-kúsa-i*  
 when die-all NOM Napalanga TOP, go-toward  
*+kani +'inía sua+ ni-u-'aravang-án +ini naa-caú +ini*  
 it-is-said NOM entered-as-adopted their ex-people his  
*m-e-verevére. [7-93]*  
 shake

When the Napalanga people all died, he went to the shaking people whom he entered as an adopted son.

- (94) *"ce'erá-u +pa m-aka-asia." [7-94]*  
 look still like-this  
 "Look like this!"

- (95) *"m-aka-asua si+ t/in/ani-tani-úla'-a +nemu +'ikúa," ki-sai*  
 like-that because bully your me, say  
*+kani +'inía sua+ naa-caú +ini. [7-95]*  
 it-is-said by-him NOM ex-people his

"Because you treated me badly, it is like that," he said to his former relatives.

- (96) *m-ata-lavá +cu 'úuna úsua sua+ tia+ 'ená +maku.*  
 arrive-last already exist that NOM fut. story my  
*[7-96]*

My story came to the end.

## 8. Revived Mother and the Origin of the Chinese

(By *Angaiana Paepuli* (Akamatsu))

Note: Kan III:13-16; V 38

Tape: Uher B:127-173

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *sua+ tia+ 'ená +maku +ia, tiá+ +ku puu-úisua sua+*  
NOM fut. story my TOP, fut. I recite NOM  
*ni-pari-vuá'e miána. [8-1]*  
collect-orange ago  
I shall talk about the one who collected oranges.
- (2) *sua+ ngacá' +ini sua+ ni-pari-vuá'e miána +ia,*  
NOM base its NOM collected-orange ago TOP,  
*kina-la'év-a +káni. [8-2]*  
husband-wife it-is-said  
The beginning of the story of the one who collected oranges is that there was a married couple.
- (3) *ni-m-ú-usa +káni remér-a sua+ saruanái. [8-3]*  
went-toward it-is-said mountain NOM man  
The husband went to the mountains.
- (4) *pu-ai'i +kani. ni-/um/avíci +káni vuá'e u-cáni*  
return it-is-said took-with it-is-said orange one  
*+máamia. [8-4]*  
just  
He came home with just one orange.
- (5) *m-aka-así +kani na-'ucáng +ini. [8-5]*  
like-this it-is-said useless-spouse her  
Her useless husband was like this.

- (6) *"naa+ +kasú +cu pari-rucíni?" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái*  
 why-not thou already collect-two? say it-is-said by-her  
*sua+ la'év +ini. [8-6]*  
 NOM wife his

"Why didn't you take two?" his wife said.

- (7) *pu-ai'í +kani +'inía parí-cani [pari-rucíni]. [8-7]*  
 return it-is-said collect-one collect-two

He returned to take two.

- (8) *"m-aka-'ená-a +pa +'inía palí-tulu!" ki-sa-ené +kani*  
 arrive-again still to-it collect-three! say it-is-said  
*+kiái. [8-8]*

"Go there again to take three!" she said.

- (9) *pu-ai'í +kani +'inía palí-tulu. [8-9]*  
 return it-is-said to-it collect-three

He went back to take three.

- (10) *"m-aka-'ená-a +pa +'inía pari-sepáte!" mi-sá +kani.*  
 arrive-again still collect-four! say it-is-said.  
*m-aka-'ená +kani +'inía pari-sepáte. [8-10]*  
 arrive-again it-is-said collect-four

"Go there again to take four!" she said. He went there again to take four.

- (11) *m-aká-asua +cu m-atá-lava na+ pari-máane. [8-11]*  
 like-that already come-last at collect-ten

Thus it came finally that he took ten oranges.

- (12) *"nuu+ m-aka-asuá +ini +ia, itá +cu +keece*  
 if like-that its TOP, let's-go already hopefully  
*+ 'inía!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái sua+ 'ucáng +ini. [8-12]*  
 there! say it-is-said NOM spouse her

"If that is so, let's go there [together]!" said her husband.



- (13) *m-u-usa +káni +'inía sua+ kina-lá'ev-a. [8-13]*  
 go-toward it-is-said there NOM husband-wife  
 The couple went there.
- (14) *"m-u-pára 'uuna úisi!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái sua+ nanáke.*  
 climb exist this! say it-is-said NOM woman.  
*m-u-pára +kani +'inía sua+ nanáke. [8-14]*  
 climb it-is-said there NOM woman  
 "Climb up this one here!" he said to the wife. The wife climbed it.
- (15) *'áisi +kani ni-u-ramángo saruanái um-ínane. [8-15]*  
 be it-is-said ambushed man set-loop-trap  
 The husband was watching for to set a loop-trap.
- (16) *tiá+ +kaní +cu pu-ái'i sua+ nanáke, ari-ve'ec-ái*  
 fut. it-is-said already return NOM woman, strangle-die  
*+kani +'inía. [8-16]*  
 it-is-said  
 When the wife was coming down, she was strangled to death by the trap.
- (17) *ala-seléce +káni sua+ manú +ini. [8-17]*  
 appear it-is-said NOM child her  
 Her child appeared [he was born].
- (18) *m-usu-siváte +káni ngaca-ngacá' +ini sua+ manú +ini*  
 fall-flank it-is-said bases its NOM child her  
*pu-tai-táiri m-ari-ucúucu nikúra. ara-tatía +cu.*  
 kick-often suck nikúra-grass. become-big already  
 [8-18]
- Her child lay down at the bases of the orange tree, kicking [his legs in the air], sucking *nikúra*-grass. He became big.
- (19) *sua+ naa-ciná +ini +ia, 'acú+ +kaní +cu ni-mácai.*  
 NOM ex-mother his TOP, certain it-is-said already died  
 [8-19]

His mother apparently had died.

- (20) *ara-tatía +cu sua+ máanu. taavalá'e +cu*  
 become-big already NOM child. know already  
*ki-suanál-ai +kani +cu +'inía cáau. [8-20]*  
 ask it-is-said already person  
 The child became big now. He could ask a person.
- (21) *"aánici sua+ naa-ciná +maku?" mi-sá +kani. [8-21]*  
 where-gone NOM ex-mother my? say it-is-said  
 "Where has my mother gone?" he said.
- (22) *tuuturu +'ái +kani sua+ cáau, "káne ni-mácai,"*  
 teach it-is-said NOM person, just-likewise die,  
*mi-sái. [8-22]*  
 say  
 The person taught, "She just died."
- (23) *"áisi náanu ni-'ávun-a +'inía?" mi-sá +kani. [8-23]*  
 be where buried-place to-her say it-is-said  
 "Where is she buried?" he said.
- (24) *"áisi 'isái," mi-sá +kani. [8-24]*  
 be yonder, say it-is-said  
 "It's over there," he said.
- (25) *"nuu+ m-a-asuá +ini +ia, tuuturu-áu +pa +ku taa-'aisi-án*  
 if like-that its TOP, teach still I place-exist  
*+ini," mi-sá +kani sua+ manú +ini. [8-25]*  
 its, say it-is-said NOM child her  
 "If that is so, teach me where it is!" said the child.
- (26) *u-kusá-i +kani +'inía putu-'avúnu. [8-26]*  
 go-toward it-is-said take-out-bury  
 He went there to dig out what was buried.
- (27) *um-ála sua+ naa-cu'uán +ini apa-a-cungu-cúngunu m-aka-paríci*  
 take OBL ex-bone her let-joint. talk-purify  
*m-aka-paríci. [8-27]*  
 talk-purify  
 He took her bones to joint, and purified many times.

- (28) *iinganáini* 'acú+ +*kani* +*cu* *m-aa-eke-ekére*  
 already-without-notice certain it-is-said already joint-tight  
*sua+ cu'uán +ini.* [8-28]  
 OBL bone her  
 Without notice her bones were jointed tightly.
- (29) *p-aka-'ena-'ená-i* +*pa* +'inía *m-aka-pari-paríci.* [8-29]  
 talk-again still talk-purify  
 He purified again.
- (30) *ara-a-'úna* +*cu* *tiná'ane* *m-aa-eke-ekére* +*cu.* [8-30]  
 become-exist already flesh joint-tight already  
 There appeared flesh which jointed tightly.
- (31) 'úuna *kulálungu.* *iinganáini* 'úuna +*cu* *ngisáa.* [8-31]  
 exist skin. already-unawares exist already breath  
 There was skin. Without notice she was breathing.
- (32) *p-aka-paric-ái* +*pa* +'inía *m-aka-mua-muáne.* [8-32]  
 talk-purify still talk-many-times  
 He purified many times.
- (33) *iinganáini* 'acú+ +*kani* *tu-á-puru.* [8-33]  
 already-without-notice certain it-is-said sit  
 Without notice she was already sitting.
- (34) *naakáai* *tu-a-ilíli* +*kani* +*pa* *mia+ caní-pa-i.* [8-34]  
 but sit-unstable it-is-said still when first-time  
 But she was sitting unstable when she sat for the first time.
- (35) *p-aka-'ena-'ená-i* +*kani* +'inía *m-aka-paríci.* [8-35]  
 talk-again it-is-said talk-purify  
 He purified again and again.
- (36) "tu-tanam-á +*cu* *tu-púru!"* *ki-sa-ené* +*kani* +*kidí.* [8-36]  
 sit-try already sit! say it-is-said  
 "Try to sit!" he said.

- (37) *tu-a-manénge +kani +cu. [8-37]*  
 sit-well it-is-said already  
 She sat well now.
- (38) *p-aka-paric-ái +kani +'inía. [8-38]*  
 talk-purify it-is-said  
 He purified.
- (39) *"m-u-tanam-á +kani m-u-círi!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.*  
 stand-try it-is-said stand! say it-is-said  
*[8-39]*  
 "Try to stand up!" he said.
- (40) *tiá+ +kani m-u-á-ciri, m-u-a-ilíli +kani +pa. [8-40]*  
 fut. it-is-said stand, stand-unstable it-is-said still  
 She was going to stand up, (but) still unstable.
- (41) *p-aka-'ena-'ená-i +pa +'inía m-aka-paríci. [8-41]*  
 talk-again still talk-purify  
 He purified again.
- (42) *"m-u-ciri-á +kani!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái sua+ ciná*  
 stand it-is-said! say it-is-said NOM mother  
*+ini. [8-42]*  
 his  
 "Stand up!" he said to his mother.
- (43) *m-u-círi +kani. m-u-a-eréce +kani +cu. [8-43]*  
 stand it-is-said. stand-tight it-is-said already  
 She stood up. She was stable now.
- (44) *ara-anái +'inía p-aka-'ena-'ená-i +kani +pa +'inía*  
 from there talk-again it-is-said still  
*m-aka-paríci. [8-44]*  
 talk-purify  
 Then he purified again.

- (45) "ara-taná-m-a níi kita ara-paná'e!" ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.  
 run-try we run! say it-is-said  
 [8-45]

"Let's try to run, shall we?" he said.

- (46) m-aka-a-né +kani ara-paná'e. [8-46]  
 do-once it-is-said run  
 They ran once.

- (47) usu-'ulú-unu +kaní +pa máanu sua+ ciná +ini. [8-47]  
 go-ahead it-is-said still child NOM mother his  
 The child still outran his mother.

- (48) p-aka-'ena-'ená-i +pa +'inía m-aka-paríci. [8-48]  
 talk-again still talk-purify  
 He purified again.

- (49) "ara-'ena-'ená-a +ci +kita ara-paná'e!" ki-sa-ené +kani  
 run-again we run! say it-is-said  
 +kiái. [8-49]

"Let's run again!" he said.

- (50) ara-paná'e +kani. usu-'ulu-ái +kani ciná +ini sua+  
 run it-is-said. go-ahead it-is-said mother his NOM  
 manú +ini. [8-50]  
 child her  
 They ran. His mother outran her child.

- (51) 'áisi +kani +'inía sua+ ngacá'e séere.<sup>1</sup> [8-51]  
 be it-is-said NOM base type-of-tree  
 There was a base of *seere*-tree.

- (52) m-u-'úna +kání +'inía sua+ máanu pu-tai-táiri. [8-52]  
 live it-is-said NOM child kick-continue  
 The child was there kicking.

<sup>1</sup>A sp. of tree, 茄たん (*Bischofia javanica*).

- (53) *m-i-urúuru +kání si+ ranéng +ini. [8-53]*  
 fall it-is-said leaf its  
 The leaves fell off.
- (54) *m-ata-palí'i +kání +cu takúpini. kaa-kilíngi +kání*  
 fall it-is-said already cup. clang it-is-said  
*+cu +máamia nau-nau-naúmani. [8-54]*  
 already just everything  
 Cups fell down, everything just clanging.
- (55) *'úisi +kání tu-lava-láva tae-taenekái +ini sua+ ranéng*  
 be it-is-said sit-tip the-very-top its NOM leaf  
*tapáse +kání. [8-55]*  
 design it-is-said  
 At the utmost end of the twig there was a designed leaf.
- (56) *"sua úisua +ia, nu+ m-ata-palí'i +ini sua+ úisua +ia,*  
 NOM that TOP, if fall its NOM that TOP,  
*tia+ 'ucángo +su, ciná, hóngti," mi-sá +kani. [8-56]*  
 fut. spouse thy, mother emperor, say it-is-said  
 "If that falls off, it will be your husband Emperor, Mother!" he said.
- (57) *m-ata-palí'i +kani sua+ úisua. [8-57]*  
 fall it-is-said NOM that  
 That fell off.
- (58) *ngwá +kani 'ucángo ciná +ini hóngti. [8-58]*  
 the-one it-is-said spouse mother his emperor  
 That one was his mother's husband emperor.
- (59) *iininganáini m-ai-ca +kání +cu m-ati-páapa*  
 already-without-notice pass it-is-said already go-along  
*cakérane raa-ta-ninginíng-aa kaa-vangévange*  
 river level-place all  
*m-ari-pu'ú-pu'u. [8-59]*  
 stick-sign-of-miscanthus  
 Before they knew they were passing along a river, a flat land where all  
 the magical miscanthus signs were standing.

- (60) *"fuáú, iimukásu, ukula-tumúlu 'una-úisi si+ pakísia!" mi-sá*  
 Fuau, you, full exist-here this Chinese! say  
*+kani. [8-60]*  
 it-is-said  
 "Fuau! You! Be full of the Chinese here!" he said.
- (61) *ara-surúmu +kani m-eré-'eve kaa-vangévangé. [8-61]*  
 unawares it-is-said smoke all  
 Unawares smoke came out all over.
- (62) *m-uru-karí +kaní +cu sua+ caú +ini. [8-62]*  
 utter-speech it-is-said NOM people his  
 People were speaking.
- (63) *ngua+ +kaní +ci pakísia ka-cáu-a 'úisi +'inía. [8-63]*  
 the-one it-is-said Chinese many be there  
 That was many Chinese people who were there.
- (64) *sua+ karí +maku +ia, m-atá-lava +cú sia sua+*  
 NOM word my TOP, arrive-end already this NOM  
*taavalá'-a +náku. [8-64]*  
 knowledge my  
 As for my story, what I know came to the end.
- (65) *sa+ úisi nguáci +cu m-aká-asia. [8-65]*  
 NOM this the-one already like-this  
 This was the one who was like this.

## 9. Kavurua (A Man-Eater)

(By *Angaiana Paepuli* (Akamatsu))

Note: Kan III:23-24; V 38

Tape: Uher B:175-222

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *sua+ tia+ 'ená +maku +ia, tiá+ +ku puu-úsua sua+ ni-ála*  
NOM fut. story my TOP, fut. I recite OBL taken  
*+kání kavúrua miána sua+ na-nénake. [9-1]*  
it-is-said Kavurua ago NOM woman  
I'll tell a story about a woman taken by a Kavurua.
- (2) *íipi +kání sua+ nganáí +ini. [9-2]*  
Ipi it-is-said NOM name her  
Her name was Ipi.
- (3) *sua+ ngacá' +ini +ia, sua+ íipi +ia, ni-ála +kání*  
NOM base its TOP, NOM Ipi TOP, taken it-is-said  
*kavúrua apa-cevére. [9-3]*  
Kavurua make-grow  
The beginning is that Ipi was taken by a Kavurua to be raised.
- (4) *máanu +kání +pa. [9-4]*  
child it-is-said still  
She was still a child.
- (5) *ara-tatía +kání +cu. [9-5]*  
become-big it-is-said already  
She grew up.
- (6) *uru-'ucang-ái +kání +cu sua+ kavúrua. [9-6]*  
marry it-is-said already OBL Kavurua  
She got married with the Kavurua.



- (7) *m-aka-asúa +cu 'áisi +kání +'inía sua+ tamú*  
 like-that already be it-is-said to-her NOM grandparent  
*+ini. [9-7]*  
 her  
 Thus, she had a grandfather.
- (8) *tuu-tuuturu-unú +kani tamú +ini. [9-8]*  
 teach-well it-is-said grandparent her  
 Her grandfather (had) taught her well.
- (9) “*m-aká-asua m-aka-asua si+ cepéngé kavúrua ku-á-cau,*”  
 like-that like-that because mind Kavurua eat-man,  
*mi-sái. [9-9]*  
 say  
 “It is like that and so and so, because the way of thinking of Kavurua  
 is to eat people,” he said.
- (10) *'acú+ +kani ara-cakáne sua+ saruanái, kavúrua*  
 certain it-is-said hunt NOM man, Kavurua  
*sa-saruánai. [9-10]*  
 man  
 The man, the Kavurua husband, apparently went hunting.
- (11) *ari-avic-ái +kani sua+ tamú +ini. [9-11]*  
 pull-take-along it-is-said OBL grandparent her  
 Her grandfather took her.
- (12) “*tia+ +cu +kú +'ai m-u-á-ca um-ánguru.*” [9-12]  
 fut. already I go escape  
 “I’ll just run away.”
- (13) “*ce'éra-u +kaní +'ai si+ 'áisi 'isái!*” *ki-sa-ené*  
 look it-is-said because be yonder! say  
*+kani tamú +ini. [9-13]*  
 it-is-said grandparent her  
 “Look at what is over there!” said her grandfather.

- (14) *ari-avic-ái +kani +'inía pete-'enéve sua+ kuváu.*  
 take-along it-is-said open NOM storing-basket  
 [9-14]

He took her there to open the storing basket.

- (15) *"ce'éra-u na-úisi, kéece!" mi-sái.* [9-15]  
 look ex-this, leg! say  
 "Look at this; it is a leg!" he said.

- (16) *'áisi +kani ni-m-u-cirí-ciri +'inía sua+ cáau*  
 be it-is-said stood-many there NOM people  
*ni-p-aka-cia-cíak-a +máamia c/um/ápa.* [9-16]  
 hit-flat just roast

People were standing, entrails taken out and spread out just to roast.

- (17) *m-aka-asúa +kani +cu, "tiá+ +kia m-u-á-ca nuu+*  
 like-that it-is-said already, fut. I go if  
*m-aka-asua +ini um-ánguru," mi-sá +kani sua+ íipi.* [9-17]  
 like-that its escape, say it-is-said NOM Ipi  
 Thus, "I'll run away, if it is like that," said Ipi.

- (18) *"nuu+ m-u-caané +kasu um-ánguru +ia, um-avic-á +'ai*  
 if go thou escape TOP, take-with  
*ma'áini."* [9-18]  
 salt

"If you run away, take salt with you."

- (19) *"care'-áu +'ai ta-p-ai-ca-a +nésu!" ki-sa-ené +kani*  
 sprinkle-salt place-pass thy! say it-is-said  
*tamú +ini.* [9-19]  
 grandfather her.

"Sprinkle the salt where you'll pass!" said her grandfather.

- (20) *m-u-cáane +kani +cu sua+ naa-íipi um-ánguru.* [9-20]  
 go it-is-said already NOM ex-Ipi escape  
 Ipi ran away.

- (21) *care'-ené +kani +kiái sua+ ni-p-ai-ca-a +íni. [9-21]*  
 sprinkle-salt it-is-said by-her NOM passed her  
 She sprinkled salt on where she passed.
- (22) *ara-surumú +kani m-aa-ekére +'inía sua+ tamúlu<sup>1</sup>*  
 unawares it-is-said do-tight NOM type-of-shrub  
*si+ 'áisi apia-máu-nu +kiái apa-cevére +'inía sua+ caéne*  
 because be make-wish make-grow there NOM grass  
*si+ ka'áne tia+ apa-kanáng-ene +kiái ni-p-ai-ca-a +íni.*  
 because not fut. let-recognize passed her  
 [9-22]

Unawares *tamúlu*-plants grew densely, because she made a wish that grass would grow so that where she passed would not be known.

- (23) *sua+ +kani tamú +ini +ia, t/in/aka-úsua +kani*  
 that it-is-said grandparent her TOP, talk-cheat it-is-said  
*m-u-'úna taanáasa m-u-sukuáme. [9-23]*  
 live house sick  
 That grandfather of hers told a lie that he was at home being sick.
- (24) *ni-pa-'ucipi +kání uúru pi-kusa-kúsa ta-pa-'aen-á +ini*  
 cooked it-is-said rice pour-toward bed-head her  
*ma-válu. [9-24]*  
 congee  
 He cooked rice to pour rice-congee at the head part of his bed.
- (25) *sua+ +kani úsua +ia, tiá+ +kani si-a-tuuturú +ini*  
 that it-is-said that TOP, fut. it-is-said way-teach her  
*sa-saruánai nuu+ i-vatú +ci pu-a-rese-reséve. [9-25]*  
 man if come tell-lie  
 That (= her grandfather) was going to tell a lie to her (= Ipi's) husband when he came.
- (26) *i-vatu +kání sua+ naa-kavúrua. [9-26]*  
 come it-is-said NOM ex-Kavurua  
 The Kavurua came.

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<sup>1</sup>A type of thorny shrub.

- (27) “*aánici íipi?*” *ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.* [9-27]  
 where-gone Ipi? say it-is-said  
 “Where has Ipi gone?” he said.
- (28) “*taavalá’e +kiái +’ai? ’aisi +kú +’ai taavalá’e?*” [9-28]  
 know I . be I know  
 “Do I know it? No, I don’t know.”
- (29) “*káne+ tara-erékene +kia +máamia tara-parú-paru,*”  
 just-likewise vomit-continue I just vomit,  
*ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.* [9-29]  
 say it-is-said  
 “I have been just vomiting,” he said.
- (30) “*nai, ce’éra-i ta-pa-’aen-á +naku úisi t/in/ara-paru-paru*  
 hey, look bed-head my this vomited  
*+máku!” ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.* [9-30]  
 my! say it-is-said  
 “Hey! Look at the head part of my bed here where I vomited!” he  
 said.
- (31) “*ka’áne +ku taavalá’e ’aisi +’ai +kúsa náanu,*” *ki-sa-ené*  
 not I know be on-earth where, say  
*+kani +kiái sua+ sa-saruánai kavúrua.* [9-31]  
 it-is-said NOM husband Kavurua  
 “I don’t know where on earth she is,” he said to the husband Kavurua.
- (32) *’acú+ +kani ni-im-angúru<sup>2</sup> sua+ íipi.* [9-32]  
 certain it-is-said escaped NOM Ipi  
 Ipi apparently ran away.
- (33) *m-u-caané +kani p-aka-asua-ené +kani tamú +ini.*  
 go it-is-said do-like-that it-is-said grandparent her  
 [9-33]

She went just as she was told to do by her grandfather.

<sup>2</sup>From *ni-um-angúru* by assimilation.

- (34) "nuu+ ara-necáu +kásu sua+ cakérane +ta namásia<sup>3</sup> +ia,  
 if become-seen thou OBL river our Namasia TOP,  
 sua+ tua-riánge +ia, nguái," ki-sa-ené +kani +kiái.  
 NOM make-noise TOP, the-one, say it-is-said  
 [9-34]

"If you saw our river Namasia, if you heard the noise of the river, that's it," he said.

- (35) m-u-cáane +kání +cu aa-lakáu na-cimáele. [9-35]  
 go it-is-said already appear ex-mountain-ridge  
 She went and appeared the mountain ridge appeared.

- (36) nguáci +cu capa-capái cakérane namásia. [9-36]  
 the-one already forms river Namasia  
 That was the geographical features of the river Namasia.

- (37) tua-a-riánge +kání sua+ cakérane. [9-37]  
 make-noise it-is-said NOM river  
 The river was making a noise.

- (38) m-u-cáane +cu +kani. ara-pité'e +kani. [9-38]  
 go already it-is-said. become-dark it-is-said  
 She went on. It became dark.

- (39) paati-'uríngi +kání taakurípa. [9-39]  
 hold-torch it-is-said firefly  
 She held the light of fireflies in her hand for torch.

- (40) m-u-cáane +kání +cu m-aka-cekéna na+ ta-'áisi-a  
 go it-is-said already arrive at place-exist  
 ma-maarang +íni. [9-40]  
 parents her  
 She went and arrived at where her parents lived.

<sup>3</sup>楠梓仙溪.

- (41) *tara-ai'i +kani, makai +kani ma-sinang sua+ kavurua.*  
 look-back it-is-said like it-is-said red NOM Kavurua  
 [9-41]

She looked back, Kavurua looked like red.

- (42) *'aisi tia+ kirimi +'inia, nakai ma-manenge +cu si+*  
 be fut. seek to-her but good already because  
*'aisi +cu ará-cani na+ ma-maarang +ini. [9-42]*  
 be already near to parents her  
 He was looking for her, but it was all right because she was near her  
 parents.

- (43) *alá-i +kani +'inia sua+ tatavu +ini mia+ m-aka-así*  
 take it-is-said NOM leggings her when come-toward  
*+ci na+ tane-tanávingi ma-maarang +ini pitá-kusa*  
 at eaves parents her throw-toward  
*pita-savánge na+ ipái +ini. [9-43]*  
 throw-beyond at hedge their  
 When she came toward the eaves of her parents, she took her leggings  
 to throw over the hedge.

- (44) *alá-i +kani sua+ ciná +ini c/um/é'era. [9-44]*  
 take it-is-said OBL mother her see  
 Her mother took them to see.

- (45) *"ap-a-a-lee-le'-ána cu-cúlu tatávu úisi." [9-45]*  
 make-feel-sad true leggings this  
 "These leggings make [me] really sad."

- (46) *"makai +kani +máamia nguái t/in/a'is +áku miána,*  
 like it-is-said just the-one sewn my ago,  
*na-tatávu íipi +máku," mi-sá +kani sua+ ciná +ini.*  
 ex-leggings Ipi my, say it-is-said NOM mother her  
 [9-46]

"They are just like what I sewed long ago, [like] the leggings of my  
 Ipi," said her mother.

- (47) *m-usu-'arávange +kani +cu taanáasa sua+ nanáke.*  
 jump-into it-is-said already house NOM woman.  
*nguá+ +kani naa-úipi. [9-47]*  
 the-one it-is-said ex-Ipi  
 The woman jumped into the house. That was Ipi.
- (48) *ari-tiumá-i +kani sua+ ciná +ini m-ati-sáa'e um-áriveri.*  
 pull-receive it-is-said OBL mother her catch embrace  
 [9-48]  
 Her mother caught her to hug.
- (49) *si+ taatiá+ +ini +cu úsua +ia, lee'-aná*  
 although big her already that TOP, treat-with-affection  
*+nini +'inía. [9-49]*  
 her  
 Though she was already big, she loved her.
- (50) *m-ata-cuvu-cuvúngu +kani +pa sua+ caú +ini*  
 assemble it-is-said still NOM people her  
*kaa-vangévange. [9-50]*  
 all  
 All her relatives assembled.
- (51) *te-képe +'inía um-ékere kaa-vangévange si+*  
 sit-group hold all because  
*canípa-i i-vátu. [9-51]*  
 for-the-first-time come  
 They all stormed around for holding her because she came for the first time (after a long separation).
- (52) *ap-á-cina pa-lú-ili pa-ru-nakéve. [9-52]*  
 let-bathe let-wear-change let-wear-clothing  
 They let her bathe, change her clothes.
- (53) *ari-meken-ái +cu +'inía na+ patúnanga sua+ úsua*  
 pack already at box NOM that  
*um-évenge t/um/úkucu. [9-53]*  
 hide lock  
 They put her in the box to hide and locked the door.

- (54) *ka'áne +cu maa-caas-aána lakáu +cu sua+ kavúrua.*  
 not already long appear already NOM Kavurua  
 [9-54]

Before long the Kavurua appeared.

- (55) *'áisi tia+ kirími +'inía m-aka-cekéna na+ ta-'áisi-a nanáke.*  
 be fut. seek to-her arrive at place-exist woman  
 [9-55]

He was looking for her to come to the place where the woman was.

- (56) *ki-suanái sua+ ma-maarang +íni, "c/inem/e'éra +kará*  
 ask OBL parents her, saw question  
*+kamu ípi?" mi-sái. [9-56]*  
 you Ipi? say

He asked her parents, "Did you see Ipi?" he said.

- (57) *"ap-a-lee-lé'-ana +kamu cúulu." [9-57]*  
 make-feel-sad you true  
 "You really make us feel sad."

- (58) *"taavalá'e +pa +kia +'ái ha+ ípi ara-anái miána," ki-sa-ené*  
 know still we OBL Ipi from ago, say  
*+kani ma-maarang +íni. [9-58]*  
 it-is-said parents her

"We don't know Ipi since long time ago," said her parents.

- (59) *m-aka-asúa +cu pu-ai'í +cu sua+ kavúrua taanaasa*  
 like-that already return already NOM Kavurua house  
*+íni. [9-59]*  
 his

Therefore the Kavurua went home.

- (60) *ma-manengé +cu. mia+ m-u-caané +ci m-ia-ranáu +ia,*  
 good already. when go long-time TOP,  
*alá-i +cu +'inía m-ari-pá-píningi sua+ nanáke mia+ 'akiá*  
 take already pull-out NOM woman when none



+*ci taanáasa sua+ kavúrua. [9-60]*  
house NOM Kavurua

It was good. After a long time when the Kavurua was not at the house, they took out the woman.

- (61) *sua+ tia+ karí +maku úisi +ia, m-ata-lavá +cu na+*  
NOM fut. word my this TOP, arrive-last already at  
*úisi tia+ si-paara-'ená +maku sa+ úisi. [9-61]*  
this fut. thing-informed my NOM this  
This story of mine came to the end here.

## 10. Child Who Went Up To The Heaven With Smoke

(By *Akauku*)

Note: Kan III:28-29; V 38-39

Tape: Uher B:331-381

Recorded by Tsuchida S.

Recorded on 24 February, 1969

- (1) *sua+ tia+ 'ená +maku +ia, tiá+ +ku puu-úsua sua+*  
 NOM fut. story my TOP, fut. I recite  
*maánu ni-ki-a-páapa 'ééve miána. [10-1]*  
 child went-with smoke ago  
 I'll tell a story about a child who went with smoke long ago.
- (2) *sua+ máanu ni-ki-a-páapa 'ééve miána +ia, naa-tiá+*  
 NOM child went-with smoke ago TOP, about-to  
*+kani pa-ta'i-íni ma-maarang +íni. [10-2]*  
 it-is-said let-throw-away parents his  
 The child who went with smoke was going to be abandoned by his  
 parents.
- (3) *ka'áne +kani pakí-turu. [10-3]*  
 not it-is-said forgive  
 He never forgave it.
- (4) *m-aka-asúa +cu aáka cepéng +ini. [10-4]*  
 like-that already bad mind his  
 Thus he was angry.
- (5) *m-u-cáane +kaní +cu sua+ ma-maarang +íni. [10-5]*  
 go it-is-said already NOM parents his  
 His parents went.
- (6) *m-u-cáane +kaní +cu sua+ máanu pari-vii-víini +'inía.*  
 go it-is-said already NOM child follow to-them  
*[10-6]*

The child followed them.

- (7) *m-aká-asi caa-cáane m-u-a-cá +kani sua+ ma-maarang +íni*  
 toward roads go it-is-said NOM parents his  
*tu-púru. [10-7]*  
 sit

On the way his parents went to sit.

- (8) *pari-viini +káni sua+ máanu tu-púru. [10-8]*  
 follow it-is-said NOM child sit

The child followed to sit [to take a rest].

- (9) *ka'áne tane-ce'éra +'inía si+ ka'áne tiá+ +kia ce'éra*  
 not place-seen because not fut. see parents his  
*ma-maarang +íni si+ ni-pa-tai'-a. [10-9]*  
 because thrown-away

He was in the place where he was not seen, because he would not be seen by his parents for he was abandoned.

- (10) *m-aka-asúa +cu m-aka-cekéna tia+ taa-namar-á +ini.*  
 like-that already arrive fut. place-burn its  
*[10-10]*

Thus he came to the place to be burned.

- (11) *'áisi +kani capu-capúku sua+ káalu ma-lengecái. [10-11]*  
 be it-is-said miscanthus-land NOM tree high

There was a tall tree in the miscanthus field.

- (12) *m-u-pára +káni sua+ máanu na+ káalu ngengécala. [10-12]*  
 climb it-is-said NOM child on tree above

The child climbed high up on the tree.

- (13) *m-u-cúnu +kaní sua+ apúlu. [10-13]*  
 burn it-is-said NOM fire

Fire burned.

- (14) *'áisi +cu m-u-á-cunu sua+ capu-capúku. [10-14]*  
 be already burn NOM miscanthus-land

The miscanthus field was burning.

- (15) *timaná-i +kaní +cu sa+ ma-maarang +íni 'áisi*  
 hear it-is-said already OBL parents his be  
*+kání na+ káalu paara-cáni. [10-15]*  
 it-is-said on tree sing  
 His parents heard someone singing on a tree.
- (16) *m-aru-ngana-nganáí pi-'e-'éna. [10-16]*  
 give-name pi'e'ena  
 [The song] is called pi'e'ena.
- (17) "*cúina, cúuma, ari-seke-sekén-au si+ kuacapá +mita. tiá+*  
 mother, father, put-away because tool our, fut.  
*+cu +ku kii-páapa 'ééve," mi-sá +kani sua+ máanu.*  
 already I go-with smoke, say it-is-said NOM child  
 [10-17]
- "Mother! Father! Put away our things, because I'm going with  
 smoke," said [sang] the child.
- (18) *pu-kari-kári +kaní +cu sa+ ma-maarang +íni. [10-18]*  
 speak it-is-said already NOM parents his  
 His parents talked.
- (19) "*naumanáini si+ paara-cáni úisi m-aká-asia? makai-ána tia+*  
 who NOM sing this like-this? like-one fut.  
*na-ni-pa-tai'i +ta máanu." [10-19]*  
 ex-thrown-away our child  
 "Who is singing like this? He sounds like our child we threw away."
- (20) "*tumaná-a +kita caní +ini!" mi-sá +kani sua+*  
 listen we song his! say it-is-said NOM  
*ma-maarang +íni. [10-20]*  
 parents his  
 "Let's listen to his song!" said his parents.
- (21) *nguái +áva ni-i-vatú +ava pari-víini kii-páapa 'ééve.*  
 the-one wonder came wonder follow go-with smoke  
 [10-21]

That was he, who came following and went with smoke!

- (22) *paara-cáni pi-lee-lé'e si+ ni-pa-tai'i ma-maarang +ini.*  
 sing sing-sad because threw-away parents his  
 [10-22]

He sang a song so sadly because his parents threw him away.

- (23) *m-aka-asúa +cu kii-páapa 'éve m-ara-nupúnupu makáasi*  
 like-that already go-with smoke disappear toward  
*kaa-kaángeca. [10-23]*  
 skies

Thus he went with smoke and disappeared to the skies.

- (24) *m-u-'úna +cu +'inía m-ia-ranáu. m-u-'úna +'inía*  
 live already there long-time. live there  
*m-ia-ranáu. [10-24]*  
 long-time

He lived there for a very long time.

- (25) *ka'áne +cu taavalá'-ene. miána +cu. [10-25]*  
 not already know. ago already

He could not be recognized any more. Long time passed.

- (26) *'úuna +káni ni-m-ú-ciri ta-ta-piníng-a taanáasa ma-maarang*  
 exist it-is-said stood outside house parents  
*+ini kanavunávu ma-lengecái. [10-26]*  
 his type-of-bamboo high

There was standing a tall *kanavunávu*-bamboo outside of the house of his parents.

- (27) *ara-surumú +kani ala-lakáu +'inía sua+ karí +ini na+*  
 unawares it-is-said appear there NOM word his at  
*kanavunávu. [10-27]*  
 bamboo

Before one noticed a speech came out of the *kanavunávu*-bamboo.

- (28) *'áisi ni-m-usu-tanu'úngu +'inía. [10-28]*  
 be alighted

He [the child] landed there [on the bamboo].

- (29) *"cúina! cúuma! tiá+ +ku m-ata-'enái," mi-sá +kani. [10-29]*  
 Mother! Father! fut. I fall-ground, say it-is-said  
 "Mother! Father! I'm coming down on the ground," he said.
- (30) *ap-ata-palí'-ai +kání +'inía sua+ nakév +ini. [10-30]*  
 let-fall it-is-said NOM clothes his  
 He dropped his clothes.
- (31) *"cúina! cúuma! ce'éra-u nakév +aku. isácu," ki-sa-ené*  
 Mother! Father! look clothes my. here-it-is, say  
*+kani +kiái caúm +ini mata ciná +ini. [10-31]*  
 it-is-said by-him father his and mother his  
 "Mother! Father! Look at my clothes! Here they are!" he said to his  
 father and mother.
- (32) *puutu-a-reséve +kání sa+ ciná +ini. [10-32]*  
 take-for-lie it-is-said NOM mother his  
 His mother did not believe.
- (33) *"akía sua+ m-aká-asua," mi-sá +kani. [10-33]*  
 none NOM like-that, say it-is-said  
 "He is not like that," she said.
- (34) *p-asi-'ena-ené +kani +kiái. [10-34]*  
 speak-again it-is-said by-him  
 He talked again.
- (35) *"isácu nakév +aku. ce'éra-u +kaní +'ai +kéece!" mi-sá*  
 here-it-is clothes my. look it-is-said hopefully! say  
*+kani sua+ ciná +ini [máanu]. [10-35]*  
 it-is-said NOM mother his child  
 "Here are my clothing! Look at them!" said the child.
- (36) *ap-ata-palí'-ai +kani +'inía sua+ nakév +ini pa-usu-kúsa*  
 let-fall it-is-said NOM clothes his let-fall-toward  
*na+ ciná +ini. [10-36]*  
 LOC mother his  
 He dropped his clothes on his mother.

- (37) *ce'erá-i +kani sa+ ciná +ini. [10-37]*  
 look it-is-said OBL mother his  
 His mother looked at them.

- (38) "*makai-ána +kéece naa-t/in/a'is-á +ku sua+ nakéve úsi.*"  
 one-like hopefully ex-sewn my NOM clothes this  
 [10-38]

"These clothes look like what I sewed."

- (39) "*nguái +cu +'ukúai naa-manú +mita miána ni-ki-a-páapa*  
 the-one already (?) ex-child our ago went-with  
 'éeve," *mi-sá +kani. [10-39]*  
 smoke, say it-is-said

"That one is our child who went with smoke ago," she said.

- (40) "*nu+ m-aka-asuá +ini +ia, m-ata-'enál-a +kéece!*" *ki-sa-ené*  
 if like-that its TOP, fall-ground hopefully! say  
 +*kani ciná +ini. [10-40]*  
 it-is-said mother his

"If it is so, come down to the ground!" said his mother.

- (41) *sapar-ái +kani ciná +ini sua+ sikáme ta-ta-piníng-a.*  
 spread it-is-said mother his NOM mat outside  
 [10-41]

His mother spread a mat outside.

- (42) *pi-kúsa +'inía viáru. [10-42]*  
 pour-toward there maize  
 She sprayed maize there.

- (43) "*m-ata-'enál-a kéece m-usú-kusa na+ úsi!*" *ki-sa-ené*  
 fall-ground hopefully jump-toward on this! say  
 +*kani ciná +ini mata caúm +ini. [10-43]*  
 it-is-said mother his and father his

"Jump down here!" said his mother and father.

- (44) *m-ali-valí +kani sua+ máanu. "ce'éra-u +kú + 'ai, cúuma,*  
 answer it-is-said NOM child. look I father  
*cúina!" [10-44]*  
 mother

The child replied. "Look at me, Father! Mother!"

- (45) *"tiá+ +ku m-ata-palí'i. nuu+ m-i-raveké +ku +ia, ka'áne +kú*  
 fut. I fall. if fall-down I TOP, not I  
*+ 'ai tia+ tara-vaéve." [10-45]*  
 perhaps fut. alive

"I'm going to jump down. If I fell down, I'll not be alive."

- (46) *"nuu+ m-usu-ca-ciri +áku +ia, tiá+ +ku tara-vaéve. ce'éra-u*  
 if jump-stand I TOP, fut. I alive. look  
*+kú + 'ai!" mi-sá +kani sua+ manú +ini. [10-46]*  
 I say it-is-said NOM child their

"If I jumped down and stood up, I'll be alive. Look at me!" said their child.

- (47) *m-ata-palí'i +kani m-usú-kusa +'inía, m-usu-ca-ciri-á*  
 fall it-is-said jump-toward there, jump-stand  
*+kani. [10-47]*  
 it-is-said

He jumped down there; he jumped down and stood up.

- (48) *p-ati-sáa'-ai sa+ caúm +ini mata ciná +ini. [10-48]*  
 hold-catch OBL father his and mother his  
 His father and mother caught him.

- (49) *m-aa-canga-cangáre +káni si+ ni-/um/angúru miána.*  
 happy it-is-said because escaped ago  
*[10-49]*

They were happy because he ran away long time ago.

- (50) *nguáci m-aka-asúa káari. [10-50]*  
 the-one like-that word  
 That is such a story.



- (51) *sua+ úsi +ia, tiá+ +pa +máku paara-caní-ini sua+ caní*  
 NOM this TOP, fut. still my sing NOM song  
*+ini mia+ kii-paapa +ini 'éeve. [10-51]*  
 his when go-with his smoke

I'll sing his song (which was sung) when he went with smoke.

- (52) "*cúina! cúuma! ari-seke-sekén-au kuácapa seperéra*  
 Mother Father! put-away tool small-basket  
*lakáte +na. namár-ene cáau si+ 'anúpu*  
 wine-squeezer burn people because hunting-ground  
*+ta nipanipánga +na. ki-parana +kía 'éeve." [10-52]*  
 our Nipanipange go-with I smoke

"Mother! Father! Put away tools, small basket, wine-squeezing basket.  
 People burn Nipanipang, our hunting ground. I go with smoke."