

Saaroa Texts

by

T'ung-ho Tung, Shigeru Tsuchida, Pang-hsin
Ting, Paul Jen-kuei Li and Chia-Jung Pan



Edited by Paul Jen-kuei Li
With the assistance of Yi-Chun Chen



Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa
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Asian and African Lexicon No. 64

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PAN

First published 2023

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LI & Chia-Jung PAN

ISBN 978-4-86337-392-1

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Published by



Research Institute for
Languages and Cultures of
Asia and Africa (ILCAA)
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
3-11-1, Asahi-cho, Fuchu-shi,
183-8534, Tokyo, JAPAN

<https://publication.aa-ken.jp/>

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Photos of informants and investigators



T'ung-ho Tung 董同龢 standing to the left at a Tsou village



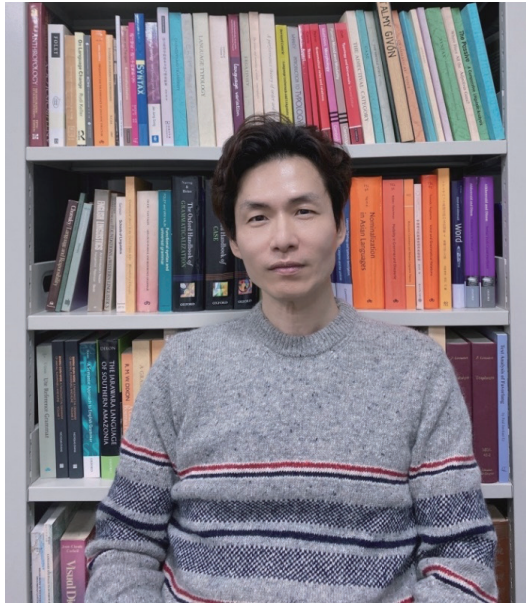
Paul Li 李壬癸 to the right and Shigeru Tsuchida 土田滋 second to the right, Tokyo, 2005



Pang-hsin Ting 丁邦新 and his wife 陳琪, Saaroa village of Taoyuan, 2006



Saaroa informant Eleke Lhauracana 余美女 to the left and Paul Li 李王癸 to the right



Chia-Jung Pan 潘家榮



Saaroa informant Akalhe/ Amalanamalhe Salapuana 游仁貴(left) and Chia-Jung Pan 潘家榮



Saaroa people performing the ritual ceremony of *miatungusu*,
Akalhe/ Amalanamalhe Salapuna 游仁貴(front row, 2nd to the left), 2000

Conventions and abbreviations

Conventions

The hyphen indicates a prefix or suffix and the sign < > an infix, while the equal sign indicates a clitic, e.g., =*i* 'yes/no question'.

A boldface indicates an anticipated segment missing in the original text.

The punctuation marks “ ” are used to enclose a direct quotation, and the single marks ‘ ’ for enclosing a quotation within a quotation.

Abbreviations

Nonstandard abbreviations (those not given in the Leipzig Glossing Rules) used:

ACHI, achieved

AV, actor voice

COS, change of state

LNK, linker

LV, locative voice

NEU, neutral

NUM, numeral

ORD, ordinal number

PV, patient voice

RED, reduplication

EVID, evidential

STA, stative

Introduction

PAUL JEN-KUEI LI

1. General background

Lha'alua (Saaroa)¹ is critically endangered with only a few (less than ten) older speakers left today, as compared with about 350 speakers when Tsuchida (1976: 59) investigated it in 1969. It is the least studied and poorly understood extant Formosan language. There are only a few Lha'alua texts in print: eight in Japanese by Asai (Ogawa and Asai 1935: 702-719), three in Chinese by Paul Li (1997: 295-297), and four in Chinese by Chia-Jung Pan (2018b:198-207). As of today, there is not any Lha'alua text published in English as yet. An aim of publishing this monograph is to fill this gap.

The texts in this volume have been collected by different linguists in the different periods of time: twenty-six texts collected by T'ung-ho Tung in 1962, twenty-four texts by Shigeru Tsuchida in 1969, five texts by Pang-hsin Ting in 1976, three texts by Paul Li in 1999, and five texts by Chia-Jung Pan in 2008. Tsuchida typed up his thirteen texts with a typewriter and gave interlinear glosses in English and free English translations except for Texts 11-13, for which my assistants² and I worked out text analysis, interlinear glosses and translation based on his field notes. His eight other texts in the rough shape of field notes are missing. Tung and Ting typed up their texts with typewriters and gave Chinese glosses and free Chinese translations. Yichun Chen, my research assistant, had to retype some of these texts in computer Word files. She and I worked out the interlinear glosses together. I gave all the free English translations, as based on the Chinese versions recorded by Tung and Ting. Unfortunately, free Chinese translation was only available for Tung's first five texts. I had to figure out free translations for the rest of his shorter texts, Texts 6-26, as based on the Chinese word glosses given in each sentence or passage. Pan worked out his own texts all by himself. The bulk of texts in this volume were collected by Tung and Tsuchida.

The same or similar stories may have been recorded by different linguists as told by

¹ The correct pronunciation of the language name is *La'alua*, Romanized as Lha'alua. However, Asai mistranscribed it as Saaroa in 1931, and it is the name generally known and accepted. Both forms are used in this monograph. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for many valuable suggestions for corrections or improvement.

² It is Hsiu-min Huang, who worked out the Chinese word glosses and free translation for Texts 11-13, based on Tsuchida's field notes in Japanese.

different speakers, including the big flood recorded by Asai, Tung, and Ting, shooting the sun, the monkey and pangolin, the sand-eater, and the underground by Asai and Tsuchida, and on marriage by Tung and Ting. In fact, Asai had earlier recorded in Japanese the big flood by two different speakers in two separate texts. The expressions and syntactic structures are often different as told by different speakers, so there is not much repetition or duplication linguistically in most of these texts. But there is an exception: Ting's Text 2 on the big flood is very similar to Tung's Text 2; they may have consulted the same informant. The transcriptions by Tung, Tsuchida, and Ting are generally reliable, and there are very few typos in their materials. But we had to insert the intervocalic glottal stop that Tung left out, e.g., *cucuʔu* 'person'.

Previous publications on the Lha'alua language include Asai's (Ogawa and Asai 1935:693-720) sketch grammar and texts written in Japanese, Yan's (1964) preliminary comparison of Kananavu and Lha'alua, Ting's (1967) phonetic description in Chinese, Tsuchida's (1976: 59-83) sketch grammar and Tsuchida (1989), Starosta (1996) and Chang (2006) on the position of the language, Paul Li's (1997: 272-297) sketch grammar and texts in Chinese, Paul Li (2006) on the traditional songs, Radetzky (2004), Chiu (2008), Chao-lin Li (2009, 2010), Wolff (2010: 127-140) on the historical derivations, Pan (2012, 2014a, b, c, 2015, 2016, 2018a, b, 2019, to appear), Liu et al. (2015), Teng and Zeitoun (2016), which discusses the noun-verb distinction, as based on evidence in pronouns. Both C. Li (2010) and Pan (2012) are PhD dissertations on the language, while Chiu (2008) is an MA thesis on the language loss and revitalization of the language. Liu et al. (2015) discusses the language shift of Kananavu and Saaroa to Bunun. Evidentiality was observed and discussed for the first time in Formosan languages by Pan (2015, 2016, 2018a) although it is not so elaborate as in Tibeto-Burman languages, as discussed in Sun (1993, 2018). There may not be any genuine evidential system in any Formosan language. Zeitoun and Teng (2016) is a reassessment of the position of Kananavu and Saaroa among the Formosan languages. Pan (2018) is a sketch grammar of the language in Chinese, and Pan (to appear) is the most up-to-date chapter on a linguistic description of the language in English. Zeitoun and Teng (2022) discuss the word classes of Saaroa and how to teach them effectively.

A sketch of grammar is given in the following sections to facilitate understanding of the texts.

2. Phonology

Lha'alua has 13 consonants /p, t, k, ʔ, c, v, s, m, n, ŋ, ʎ, r, l/ and 4 vowels /i, u, ə, a/. The voiceless stops /p, t, k, ʔ/ and affricate /c/ [ts] are all unaspirated. The voiced fricative /v/ is labiodental [v] or bilabial [β], depending on the speaker and phonetic

environment, usually phonetically bilabial before *u*, e.g., /vukuri/ [βukuri] ‘yam’. Older speakers tend to produce the bilabial while younger speakers labiodental. Both /c/ and /s/ are phonetically palatalized before /i/, e.g., *śikuŋa* ‘muddy’, *ćivuka* ‘stomach’. The voiced liquid /r/ is a trill and /l/ a flap [ɾ], and /ʎ/ the voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ]. The vowel /ə/ is phonetically a high central [i].

Lha’alua is one of two Formosan languages that have the voiceless lateral *ʎ* in its consonant inventory, the other language being Thao. But it is historically derived from different sources: Lha’alua *ʎ* < *N, e.g., *satumu* < *DaNum ‘water’, and Thao *ʎ* < *R, e.g., *qatum* < *qaRum ‘anteater’.

All the consonants occur word-initially and medially, but not word-finally. A free form generally ends with a vowel, occasionally with a nasal, e.g., *kalavuŋ* ‘cow’. There is no consonant cluster in any position, not even in word-medial. There are a good number of morphophonemic alternations, e.g., *caiti* ‘year’, *cait-a* ‘age’, *vuruŋu* ‘head’, *vuru=ku* ‘my head’, *amaŋa* ‘father’, *ama=isa* ‘his father’, the word-final echo vowel or *ʎV* being deleted when followed by a suffix or clitic; see Tsuchida (1976: 61-66) for further details. It is useful to set up underlying representations for such morphophonemic forms, in which a word-final consonant is always realized with an echo/supporting vowel (Tsuchida 1976: 61).

The syllable structure is (C)V and the minimal free form is (C)V(C)V (Tsuchida 1976: 61), e.g., *ia* ‘topic marker’, *tutu* ‘testicles’.

Stress falls on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. It is not phonemic.

Diachronically, PAN *p > p, *b > v, *t > t, *C, *d > c, *D, *Z > s, *k, *g > k, *j > t, *q, *H₂ > ʎ, *s, *S, *H₁, *w > ø, *-y > t or l (< *-ay), *m > m, *n > n, *ŋ > ŋ, *N, *n’ > t, *l > l, *r, *R > r, *a > a, *i > i, *u > u, *ə > ə. Note that * and partial *-y merged as *ʎ*.

3. Morphology

Like the other Formosan languages, Lha’alua has two most productive morphological processes, affixation and reduplication. Cliticization is rather common, including all the bound pronouns, =*ami* ‘it is said’, =*cu* ‘change of state’, =*mana* ‘still’, =*na* ‘definite’, =*ŋai* ‘perhaps’, etc. Not much compounding has been reported; see Pan (2018: 32).

There are a number of prefixes, two infixes, <*a*> ‘irrealis’, e.g., *m-i<a>ma* ‘will drink’, and <*um ~ əm*> ‘actor voice’, e.g., *k<um>ita* ‘to see’, *r<əmə>əmək* ‘to plant’, and six suffixes, -*a* ‘indicative, patient voice’, -*ani* ‘locative voice’, -*a* ‘imperative, actor voice’, e.g., *t<um>əŋi-a!* ‘Cry!’, -*i* ‘imperative, locative voice’, e.g., *vur-i=aku!* ‘Give it to me!’, -*u* ‘imperative, patient voice’, e.g., *aru-pa-ŋiŋiv-u!* ‘Open the door!’, -*a(na)* ‘locative voice’, e.g., *a-cahum-ana* ‘burial location’. There are a couple of

circumfixes, *taa-...-aa* ‘place of’, e.g., *taa-paasin-aa* ‘bathroom’ <*paasin* ‘bathe’, *ta-...-ana* ‘the place to...’, e.g., *ta-aala-ana* ‘the place to take’ <*aala* ‘take’ (Pan 2018: 26). In addition, there are three main types of fossilized infixes, <*al*>, <*ar*>, and <*at*>, e.g., *v<al>u?avu?a* ‘large intestines’, *ma-k<ar>imkimi* ‘salty’, and *ma-v<at>auvau* ‘healthy’. Lha’alua *l* is derived from **l*, **r* from **R* or **r*, *ʔ* from **N*, **n*’ or **j*. See Li and Tsuchida (2009: 354) for further details.

An infix is usually inserted right after the initial consonant in Austronesian languages. In Lha’alua, however, it is inserted after the first CV- or VC- syllable (CV-, VC-, or VCV-), e.g., *m-i<a>ma* ‘will drink’, *um-a-u* ‘will eat’, *ava<a>vu* ‘will cook’.

A prefix may change the syntactic function or category of a form, e.g., *maci?i* ‘to die’, *pa-paci* ‘to kill’, *salia* ‘house’ > *pi-salia* ‘to own a house’.

Lha’alua has very complex morphology. A lexical form may contain a series of affixes and reduplicants. The functions of many prefixes are hard to define, and their order remains to be worked out. There are some fairly productive prefixes, including *ara(a)-* ‘become’, *ari-* ‘do something by hand’, *aru-* ‘remove’, *taku-* ‘remove’, e.g., *ara-taisa* ‘become big, grow’, *m-ari-a-kucu* ‘to comb’, *m-aru-vuŋu* ‘behead’, *taku-aculaʔ* ‘remove bone’. See Pan (2018:24-25) for more examples and further details.

There are four main types of reduplication: lexicalized reduplication, total reduplication, partial reduplication, CV- and Ca-reduplications. A reduplicant usually immediately precedes the verb stem. However, occasionally it may follow the verb stem, e.g., *li-aŋat-at-ana* ‘NMLZ-begin-RED-LV, origin’.

Lexicalized reduplication refers to two identical syllables or sequence of syllables that may form a lexical item, e.g., *tautau* ‘a male name’, *saməsamə* ‘pepper’, *tunʔatuŋa* ‘Jew’s harp’, but a single syllable or sequence of syllables is ill-formed, **tau*, **samə*, **tunʔa*. The function of total reduplication for a noun is ‘distributive’, e.g., *aari* ‘day’ > *aari-aari* ‘everyday’.

CV-reduplication indicates plurality of a noun, e.g., *ʔukui* ‘goat’ > *ʔu-ʔukui-a* ‘a place with many goats’, repetitive or continuous action of an active verb, e.g., *ru-ruma-anə* ‘RED-inside-LOC, to keep staying inside’, as in (1), intensity of a stative verb, as in (2):

- (1) “m-a-aru-aru=aku na **ru**-ruma-anə
 AV-STA-RED-exist=1SG.NOM OBL RED-inside-LOC
 saa-sarə-ana,” ami-ami ka taŋaluʔu
 RED-ground-LOC RED-say NOM earthworm
 “I shall always be underground.” said the earthworm. (Tsuchida, 1-22)³

³ Tsuchida, 1-22 indicates that the example is taken from Tsuchida’s Text 1, Sentence No.22.

- (2) m-a-məə-məəki=cu=?ai ka ?ulutii. n
 AV-STA-RED-hopeless=COS=perhaps NOM undergrounder OBL
 paa-kari-kari-a=isa ka m-u-sala=cu ka ʔaʔalua.
 CAUS-RED-talk-PV=3PL.GEN LNK AV-U-leave=COS NOM Saaroa
 The underground people were quite at a loss what to do. (Tsuchida 2-31)

The main function of Ca-reduplication for verbs is to indicate irrealis, as in (3):

- (3) maaci m-uu-**la**-likasə=cu a taliaria=na ia,
 if AV-UU-RED-set=COS NOM sun=DEF TOP
 li-m-ata-**ka**-kua=cu na uu-**la**-likas-a taliaria
 PFV-AV-begin-RED-face=COS OBL AV-RED-set-PV sun
 If the sun sets, it faces towards the place where the sun sets. (Tsuchida, 1-20)

4. Syntax

Like most other Formosan languages, Lha'alua is a predominantly verb-initial and head-initial language. The head noun is followed by a modifier without any intervening marker, e.g., *vicuka tapulacəŋə* 'stomach monkey, the stomach of the monkey', *taliaria macici* 'sun hot, the hot sun'. A relative clause may precede or follow the head noun (Pan 2018: 145-148).

The main verb may cooccur with one or two noun phrases, but rarely three. The third noun phrase usually refers to a location or time.

4.1 Case, case markers and linkers

There are three types of case: nominative, genitive and oblique. Case markers are monosyllabic and two forms mark three cases: *(k)a*, which marks both the nominative and the genitive, and *n(a)*, which marks the oblique.

The case markers precede common nouns, pronouns, and personal names. They are all optional.

- (4) maci?i **(k)a** tasau.
 AV.die NOM dog
 The dog died
- (5) um-a-ala cucu?u **na** vutukulu **na** ʔuʔuŋ.
 AV-IRR-catch person OBL fish OBL river
 The person will catch fish at the river

- (6) li-m-ari-vakəsə **ka** aŋai na mamaini.
 PFV-AV-hand.act-beat NOM Aŋai OBL child
 Angai beat a child

The marker *ka* may indicate genitive in a non-actor voice construction, as in (7):

- (7) sa-anu-a **ka** mamaini ka vutukuŋu.
 3SG.GEN-eat-PV GEN child NOM fish
 The fish was eaten by a child

The marker *ka* or *a* may also serve as a linker, conjoining two elements, such as head and its modifier, as in (8), verb and its complement, as in (9):

- (8) maacu **a** səsəsəŋə=na ia, m-a-aru a səsəsəŋə
 concerning LNK grass=DEF TOP AV-STA-exist NOM grass
a kanaʔa,
 LNK that
 As for grass, there is that grass. (Tsuchida 1-18)

- (9) m-a-paci **ka** ku=ami savuŋu na taliaria
 AV-STA-die LNK not=said compensate OBL sun
 It dies because it did not compensate to the sun. (Tsuchida 1-23)

4.2 Personal pronouns

There are both free and bound pronouns. There are two sets of free pronouns, neutral and oblique, and there are also two sets of bound pronouns, nominative and genitive. The first person has an extra series of the free form *itakia* and the bound form =*kia*, as in (13) and (14). It is not clear how it differs from the series of *itaku*, =*aku* and =*ku*.

Table 1. Personal pronouns

	Free		Bound	
	Neutral	Oblique	Nominative	Genitive
1 SG	itaku na	itaku	=aku	=ku
1 SG/ PL	itakia		=kia	=kia
2 SG	itau	na itau	=u	=u
3 SG/ PL	itaisa	isana	--	=isa
1 INCL	itata	na itata	=ita	=ta
1 EXCL	italamu	na italamu	=amu	=lamu
2 PL	itamu	na itamu	=mu	=mu

- (10) aŋaɫ=cu=**aku** **isana** milatəkə na ɫaamaama=**ku**
begin=COS=1SG.NOM 3PL.OBL AV.leave OBL elders=1SG.GEN
mapuaɫə caɪi=**ku** taka-ci-cɪi=cu=**aku**.
twenty age=1SG.GEN TAKA-RED-self=COS=1SG.NOM
I left my parents and lived by myself at twenty. (Li 1-2)
- (11) tainaana=cu a kari=**ku** ka **itam**u=na m-u-sala
that's.all=COS NOM word=1SG.GEN LNK 2PL.NOM=DEF AV-U-leave
mamaini.
child
That is all I have to say to you about my son who has left us. (Li 1-19)
- (12) au-niini ka fi-arumia=**isa** ka ina=**ku** um-upaŋə
like-how LNK PFV-use.PV=3SG.GEN GEN mother=1SG.GEN AV-raise
na **itata** pa-ara-taisa minisau.
OBL 1INCL CAUS-get-big so
How did my mother raise us and make us grow up like that. (Li 1-38)
- (13) m-aɫu-caci-cacɪi=**kia** ka ɫamama=cu ia, ukaʔa=cu
AV-go-RED-alone=1SG.NOM LNK old=COS TOP none=COS
um-upaŋə **itakia**.
AV-support 1SG.OBL
I'm alone and old, with no one to support me. (Li 1-15)
- (14) au-niini=cu=ʔai=iaɯ m-u-lavau=**kia** ku=**kia**
like-how=COS=perhaps=wonder AV-U-end=1SG.NOM not=1SG.NOM
a-cafia na a-ɫua-lava=**kia** ka cucuʔu.
IRR-know OBL IRR-ɫUA-finish=1SG.GEN NOM person
I don't know how my life will end. (Li 1-13)

Saaroa has a separate set of pronouns, *itakia*, =*kia* 'NOM', and =*kia* 'GEN' for the first person, either singular or plural, and it is tricky. It seems to be used for contrastive. Compare (15) a and b:

- (15) a. pa-aɫu-a-saɪi=**aku**.
CAUS-go-IRR-song=1SG.NOM
I shall sing.
- b. pa-aɫu-a-saɪi=**kia**.
CAUS-go-IRR-song=1SG.NOM
I shall sing by myself.

4.3 Voice, mood, and aspect

Like most other Formosan languages, there is a dichotomy between realis and irrealis in Lha'alua.

There are three voices: Actor-voice, Patient-voice, and Locative-voice. AV is marked by *m-*, *um-* ~ *əm-*, <*um*> ~ <*əm*>, *u-*, PV by *-a*, and LV by *-ana* in indicative and affirmative sentences. These voice markers have the dual function of indicating voice (AV, PV or LV) and realis. The irrealis marker is the affix *a-* ~ <*a*> or Ca-reduplication in the verb forms.

4.3.1 Actor voice

- (16) *um-upaŋə* *tiŋaʔali=ku*.
 AV-take.care body=1SG.GEN
 I take care of my own health. (Li 1-3)
- (17) *m-a-arū=cu* *iŋaku* *u-vura* *cucuʔu* *pa-upaŋə* *iŋaku*
 AV-STA-exist=COS 1SG.NOM AV-give person CAUS-raise 1SG.OBL
 I was given to another person to raise me. (Li 3-3)
- (18) *aŋali=aku* *maini* *t<um>aŋula* *maŋələlə* *na*
 begin=1SG.NOM small live<AV> AV.stay.together OBL
ama-ku *ina-ku* *ɦimalua* *m-u-ŋakalihi*.
 father=1SG.GEN mother=1SG.GEN residence AV-U-Lhakahilhi
 I have lived with my parents in Lhakahilhi since I was a little child. (Li 1-1)
- (19) *tai-naana=cu* *kari=ku*. *maacu=aku* *m-a-ruriri*
 all-that=COS word=1SG.GEN when=1SG.NOM AV-IRR-tell
t<um>uacu=aku *m-ulu-a-ləə*.
 want<AV>=1SG.NOM AV-come.out-IRR-tears
 That's all I have to say. When I want to talk about it, I'll shed tears. (Li 1-20)

Table 2. The voice, mood, and aspect system (Pan, to appear)

				AV	PV	LV
Aff	Ind	Realis	Pfv	hi-M-STEM	hi-STEM(-a)	hi-STEM-ana/-ani
		Realis / Irrealis	Prog	(M-) (C)a-RED-STEM	a-RED-STEM(-a)	a-RED-STEM-ana/ -ani
		Irrealis		(M-)(C)a-STEM	a-STEM(-a)	a-STEM-ana/-ani
	Imp	Polite		(M-)(C)a-STEM= <i>kia</i>	—	—
		Impolite		(M-)STEM-a(= <i>mau</i>)	STEM-u(= <i>mau</i>)	STEM-i/-ani(= <i>mau</i>)
Neg	Ind	Prog		<i>ku</i> a-RED-STEM	—	—
		Irrealis		<i>ku</i> a-STEM	<i>ku</i> a-STEM(-a)	<i>ku</i> a-STEM-ana/-ani
	Imp	Polite		<i>kuu</i> = <i>kia</i> (C)a-STEM	—	—

4.3.2 Patient voice

The Patient voice is marked by the suffix *-a*, as in:

- (20) sa-alə-a=cu=ami ka ʔarəmə ka tapuʔacəŋə
 3SG.GEN-*hold*-PV=COS=said OBL pangolin NOM monkey
 u-pau. alə-a ka ʔaci=isa, um-iikua n taa-taiŋi-aa.
 AV-skin take-PV NOM liver=3SG.GEN AV-store OBL RED-spoon-LOC
 The pangolin held the monkey with his hands to skin, and took out his liver,
 and stored it in the spoon basket. (Tsuchida 3-12)

- (21) ʔa, pu-liuʔ-a na vatuʔu ka civuka tapuʔacəŋə.
 and PU-change-PV OBL stone NOM stomach monkey
 And he replaced the stomach of the monkey with a stone. (Tsuchida 3-13)

- (22) maaci=ami m-u-sala m-u-laku ia, m-a-arū-arū=ami
 when=said AV-U-go AV-U-draw.water TOP AV-STA-RED-exist=said
 laku-a pasa-ula-ulaʔə na vutukuʔu.
 draw.water-PV play-RED-play OBL fish
 When she went drawing water, she was always at the place of drawing water
 playing with a fish. (Tsuchida 4-2)

4.3.3 Locative voice

The Locative voice is marked by the suffix *-ana*, as in:

- (23) *ilaisa=cu=ami* *hi-aŋaŋ-aŋ-ana=isa*
 3PL=COS=said NMLZ-begin-RED-LV=3PL.GEN
a-anə=ta *cucuʔu* *m-aa* *n* *aŋa-aŋap-ana*
 IRR-eat=1INCL.GEN people AV-be OBL RED-surface-LOC
saa-sarə-ana=na. *tainaana=cu.*
 RED-ground-LOC=DEF that's.all=COS
 This is the origin of our food of the people living on the ground. That's all.
 (Tsuchida 2-36)

4.3.4 Irrealis and imperative markers

The irrealis marker is the prefix *a-* or infix *<a>*, indicating a future event, as in:

- (24) *um-a-u=aku* *na* *maŋusa.*
 AV-IRR-eat=1SG.NOM OBL mango
 I shall eat mango.
- (25) *m-i<a>ma* *mapaci* *ka* *laamaama.*
 AV-drink<IRR> wine NOM old.man
 The old man will drink wine.

There are three different imperative markers: *-a*, *-u* and *-i*, indicating Actor-voice, Patient-voice, and Locative-voice respectively, as in (26b), (27) and (28) respectively:

- (26) a. *um-a-ururu=aku* *takəməŋə.*
 AV-IRR-thread=1SG.NOM needle
 I shall thread a needle.
- b. *a-ururu-a!*
 IRR-thread-AV.IMP
 Thread a needle!

(27) a. *capa-u(=mau)* *papaʔa* *aləmələ.* (Pan 2018: 71)
 roast-PV.IMP(=wish) meat boar
 (Please) roast the boar meat!

b. *kitu-u=mau*⁴
 look-PV.IMP=wish
 Please look!

(28) *vur-i-aku.*
 give-LV.IMP=1SG.NOM
 Give it to me!

4.3.5 Aspect markers

Full reduplication, CVCV- without coda, indicates ‘continuous’, as in (29) and (30), Ca- reduplication indicates ‘irrealis’, as in (31) and (32), and CV- reduplication indicates ‘progressive’, as in (33)-(36). When expressing present and future progressive, irrealis and progressive have to co-occur, such as *t<um>a-tuu-tuucu* in (36).

(29) *k<um>ita-kita* *na* *ilaʔamu=na.*
 RED<AV>-look OBL 1EXCL=DEF
 (You) keep looking at us.

(30) *taku-liacə* *a* *tiki=ku* *pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə* *na*
 TAKU-bad NOM heart=1SG.GEN PA-RED-think OBL
fi-aʔumia=ku.
 NMLZ-experience=1SG.GEN
 I feel bad in my heart when I keep thinking of my past experience. (Li 1-4)

(31) *t<um>a-taŋii* *a* *mamaini.*
 RED<AV>-cry NOM child
 The child will cry.

(32) *ukaʔa=cu* *fi-palava* *pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə* *ukaʔa=cu* *um-a-upaŋə*
 none=COS PFV-rely PA-RED-think none=COS AV-RED-support
 When I think of it, I’ve got no one to rely on and no one to support me.

⁴ The verb root is *kita* ending with *a*, which is assimilated to the vowel of the following imperative marker *-u*. This is lexically conditioned.

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Part One: Texts by T'ung-ho Tung

Text 1. Hunting

Date: 1962

- (1) ki-ała-ałamə=amu na liisa ka m-urə-cəka.
KI-RED-tell=1EXCL.NOM OBL tradition LNK AV-URƏ-hunt
We shall talk about the hunting tradition.
- (2) maacu ka iłalamu kiariari ia, maacu=amu
concerning NOM 1EXCL ancient TOP when=1EXCL.NOM
m-u-a-sala m-urə-cəka ia, paki-a-turu=amu na
AV-U-IRR-go AV-URƏ-hunt TOP PAKI-IRR-follow=1EXCL.NOM OBL
saliri ła ałamu.
dream and bird
In the old days, when we were going hunting, we took omen from a dream and a bird.
- (3) maaci takuliacə ka ałamu ła saliri ia,
if bad NOM bird and dream top
ku=amu u-a-sala.
not=1EXCL.NOM AV-IRR-go
If the bird and dream were not good, we would not go.
- (4) maaci m-a-vacaŋə ia, m-u-a-sala=cu=amu m-ału-kua
if AV-STA-good TOP AV-U-IRR-go=COS=1EXCL.NOM AV-go-move
n vuu-vuluŋ-a.
OBL RED-forest-LOC
If they were good, we would go to the forest.
- (5) maacu=amu kiariari m-ału-kua na
concerning=1EXCL.NOM ancient AV-go-move OBL
vuu-vuluŋ-a ia, puusasusu=lamu ka uuru.
RED-forest-LOC TOP divide=1EXCL.GEN NOM cooked.rice
When we went to the forest, we would divide our cooked rice.

- (6) kiariari aku=lamu m-urə-cəka ia, maacu=amu
 ancient when=1EXCL.GEN AV-URƏ-hunt TOP when=1EXCL.NOM
 um-u n uuru ia, puusasuusu=lamu a
 AV-eat OBL cooked.rice TOP divide=1EXCL.GEN NOM
 uuru.
 cooked.rice

In the ancient time, when we went hunting, and when we ate cooked rice, we would divide it (and eat it separately).

- (7) ku=amu kəəələsə um-u.
 not=1EXCL.NOM together AV-eat
 We did not eat together.

- (8) maaci kaatəŋa=ci⁶ ki-m-ata-sapiti=cu n kuli?i=maanai
 if after=COS KI-AV-begin-catch=COS OBL beast=probably
 ka kila-ali-ali=cu=amu n lii=lamu
 NOM KILA-RED-ritual=COS=1EXCL.NOM OBL rice.ball=1EXCL.GEN
 maacu=amu⁷ m-aru n vuu-vuluŋ-a.
 when=1EXCL.NOM AV-stay OBL RED-forest-LOC

If we caught a wild animal, we would offer our rice as sacrifice, and we would do it right in the forest

- (9) maacu a m-u-aŋu-aŋupu ia, m-aa-ŋava-u=amu⁸
 concerning NOM AV-U-RED-hunt.with.dog TOP AV-IRR-bring-?=1EXCL.NOM
 n tasau m-a-ŋava n ŋalitu.
 OBL dog AV-IRR-bring OBL rifle
 To chase wild animals, we brought a hunting dog and a rifle with us.

- (10) maacu=amu pu-a-ili=cu m-aŋu-kua n salia
 when=1EXCL.NOM PU-IRR-return=COS AV-go-move OBL house
 ia, maacu ka alamuru aŋaina ia, m-aa n
 TOP concerning NOM young woman TOP AV-be OBL
 salia ŋi-picuarəŋa picu-mapaci n ŋi-m-urə-cəka.
 house PFV-wait make-wine OBL PFV-AV-URƏ-hunt
 When we returned and arrived home, younger ladies were waiting and had prepared wine for the hunters.

⁶ The condition factor for the difference between =ci and =cu remains to be worked out.

⁷ A boldface indicates an anticipated segment, which is missing in the original text.

⁸ There is variation between -a- and -aa- for unknown conditions.

- (11) maaci pu-a-ili=cu ka hi-m-urə-cəka⁹ ia,
 when PU-IRR-return=COS NOM NMLZ-AV-URƏ-hunt top
 m-i<a>ma=cu na mapaci pa-camai na
 AV-drink<IRR>=COS OBL wine CAUS.eat-dishes OBL
 papa-aləməłə hi-ala=isa.
 meat-wild.pig NMLZ-catch=3PL.GEN
 When the hunters returned, (they) wanted to drink wine and eat the meat of the
 wild pig they had caught.
- (12) m-u-su-a-aulia=cu ka cucuʔu məəməa ka
 AV-U-SU-IRR-dance=COS NOM person all LNK
 m-a-a-saa-sajarə ka hi-pu-a-ili=cu m-urə-cəka
 AV-STA-IRR-RED-happy LNK PFV-PU-IRR-return=COS AV-URƏ-hunt
 m-ata-sa-pətə na aləməłə.
 AV-begin-SA-catch OBL wild.pig
 All the people danced because they were happy that the hunters returned after
 having caught a wild pig.
- (13) maa-ma-mamaini ala-alamuru a ʔaa ʔa-ʔamaama ia,
 RED-RED-child RED-young LNK and RED-old.people TOP
 m-a-a-saa-sajarə məəməa.
 AV-STA-IRR-RED-happy all
 Children, young people and old people were all happy.

⁹ The prefix *hi-* functions as perfective in a verbal form, but as nominalizer in a nominal form.

Text 2. The big flood

Date: 1962

- (1) a-ajaʔi=ita n kaniʔi-naani ki-aʔa-aʔamu-a=ta n
 IRR-begin=1INCL.NOM OBL this-here KI-RED-tell-PV=1INCL.GEN OBL
 kanaʔa kari kiariari.
 that story ancient
 Let's start talking about the ancient time.
- (2) au-niini ka fi-ajaʔ-aat-ana=ta n kiariari
 like-how NOM NMLZ-originate-RED-LV=1INCL.GEN OBL ancient
 ki-aʔa-aʔamu=ita n kaniʔi.
 KI-RED-tell=1INCL.NOM OBL this
 How did we originate in the ancient time, let's talk about it now.
- (3) maacu ka kiariari ia, fi-m-i-aəʔəs ka cucuʔu.
 concerning NOM ancient TOP PFV-AV-I-together NOM person
 People lived together in the ancient time.
- (4) məməə miinisua=cu tə-tənəmə ka saʔumu m-i-lii
 all in.this.way=COS RED-flood NOM water AV-I-full
 ka kaniʔi saa-saru-ana n saʔumu.
 NOM this RED-ground-LOC OBL water
 Everywhere was flooding with water, and this place was submerged in water.
- (5) m-i-cuʔu ka cucuʔu tapiku=cu m-aʔu-kua n
 AV-I-escape NOM person all=COS AV-go-move OBL
 ivavu kaaiu.
 above yonder
 People escaped to the higher places far away.
- (6) tapi-ka-kua n tamusulu ʔakurapa maacu ka
 TAPI-RED-move OBL summit Mountain.Jade when NOM
 usumaanə ia, m-u-sala tapi-ka-kua n alipaputakuʔu.
 others TOP AV-U-go TAPI-RED-move OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 (Our people) all went to the top of Mountain Jade, while the others went to Alhipaputakulhu.

- (7) məməa=isa ka kuliʔi məməa ia, m-i-cuʔu
 all=3PL.GEN NOM beast all TOP AV-I-escape
 m-aʔu-kua n aʔipaputakuʔu m-i-aələsə n cucuʔu.
 AV-go-move OBL Alhipaputakulhu AV-I-together OBL person
 All wild animals went to Alhipaputakulhu and lived with people.
- (8) maacu ka cucuʔu ʔi-tapi-ka-kua n tamusulu
 concerning NOM person NMLZ-TAPI-RED-move OBL summit
 ʔakurapa akuisa ia, ukaʔa ka apuʔu=isa.
 Mountain.Jade when TOP none LNK fire=3PL.GEN
 The people on the top of Mountain Jade had no fire.
- (9) maacu ka ʔi-tapi-ka-kua n aʔipaputakuʔu ia,
 concerning NOM NMLZ-TAPI-RED-move OBL Alhipaputakulhu TOP
 pii-apuʔu.
 have-fire
 Those who were in Alhipaputakulhu had fire.
- (10) kuu a-caʔia m-aʔu-kua=isa=na ka tə-tənəmə ukaʔa
 not IRR-able AV-go-move=3PL.GEN=DEF LNK RED-flood none
 ka cucuʔu m-a-caʔia m-uu-siparə n aʔipaputakuʔu
 NOM person AV-IRR-able AV-UU-cross OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 ka ku a-caʔia m-aka-ʔaʔulu n saʔumu.
 LNK not IRR-able AV-AKA-swim OBL water
 They could not go (to get fire) because of the flood. The people could not go
 to Alhipaputakulhu because they could not swim in water (to get there).
- (11) miinisua=cu pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə ka cucuʔu,
 in.this.way=COS PA-RED-think NOM person
 “m-ara-a-misaini=ita ka kuu=pi-apuʔu” miii.
 AV-make-IRR-how=1INCL.NOM LNK not=IRR.have-fire say
 The people were thinking, “What shall we do without fire?”
- (12) um-a-uʔunu n ʔukui a-paka-ʔaʔalu a-p-aʔu-kua
 AV-IRR-send OBL goat IRR-CAUS-swim IRR-CAUS-go-move
 n aʔipaputakuʔu.
 OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 They sent a goat to swim to Alhipaputakulhu to fetch fire.

- (13) ara-amaŋə=isa ka m-aa n alipaputakuŋu k<um>ili
 make-wait=3PL.GEN NOM AV-be OBL Alhipaputakulhu tie<AV>
 n kanaʔa apuŋu na kanaʔa ʔuuŋu=isa m-u-sala=cu
 OBL that fire OBL that horn=3SG.GEN AV-U-go=COS
 m-aka-ŋaŋulu ʔaa pu-a-ili n tamusulu ʔakurapa.
 AV-AKA-swim and PU-IRR-return OBL summit Mountain.Jade
 They made the people in Alhipaputakulhu wait there to tie fire to the horn of
 the goat and then send (the goat) back to Mountain Jade.

- (14) m-u-a-cuŋu ka ʔuuŋu=isa ka ʔukui m-u-səkəŋ-kəŋ
 AV-U-IRR-burn NOM horn=3SG.GEN LNK goat AV-U-?-RED
 maaci m-u-rupaŋai=cu, ka iararəcə-ani=isa
 when AV-U-hurt=COS LNK submerge-LV=3SG.GEN
 ka vuŋu=isa na saŋumu.
 LNK head=3SG.GEN OBL water
 The fire was burning the horn and it hurt, so the head submerged in water.

- (15) m-ia-əsəpə ka apuŋu, ku=ama=cu um-ala n
 AV-IA-go.out NOM fire not=have=COS AV-take OBL
 kanaʔa apuŋu.
 that fire
 The fire went out, and they did not get that fire.

- (16) um-uŋunu=cu n tauruŋ a-paka-ŋaŋulu a-p-aŋu-kua
 AV-send=COS OBL muntjac IRR-CAUS-swim IRR-CAUS-go-to
 n alipaputakuŋu rumalaə pa-ala n apuŋu.
 OBL Alhipaputakulhu then CAUS-take OBL fire
 They sent a muntjac to swim to Alhipaputakulhu in order to get a fire.

- (17) ʔaisa au-naana ku=ama=cu n apuŋu.
 3SG like-that not=have=COS OBL fire
 Similarly it did not get any fire.

- (18) maaci kanaʔa m-aka-ʔaŋulu=cu taia=cu m-u-a-təkə-təkə
 when that AV-AKA-swim=COS near=COS AV-U-IRR-RED-arrive
 n tamusulu ʔakurapa ia, ara-aa-cici ka kanaʔa
 OBL summit Mountain.Jade TOP become-IRR-hot LNK that
 ʔuuŋu=isa ia-əsəpə-ani=isa n kanaʔa saʔumu
 horn=3SG.GEN IA-go.out-LV=3SG.GEN OBL that water
 ka vuŋu=isa.

NOM head=3SG.GEN

When it swam close to the top of Mountain Jade, the horn got too hot, and the fire went out as (the muntjac) submerged its head in water.

- (19) m-u-a-sala pu-a-ili n kaaiu tamusulu ʔakurapa.
 AV-U-IRR-go PU-IRR-return OBL yonder summit Mountain.Jade
 It was returning to the summit of Mountain Jade.

- (20) ruŋaʔa ka tauruŋ m-aka-ŋaʔa m-aka-ʔaŋulu m-uu-siparə
 again NOM muntjac AV-AKA-again AV-AKA-swim AV-UU-cross
 n aʔipaputakuʔu.
 OBL Alhipaputakulhu

The muntjac tried again, kept swimming to get to Alhipaputakulhu.

- (21) pa-cəpə-cəpəŋ=cu ka cucuʔu m-aa n aʔipaputakuʔu
 PA-RED-think=COS NOM person AV-be OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 t<um>amaʔəŋə n kiuʔu.
 rub<AV> OBL tree

The people in Alhipaputakulhu thought of rubbing a tree.

- (22) maacu ka kiuʔu ia, tarupaəʔu amiʔaa isana
 concerning NOM tree TOP tarupaəʔu said 3SG.OBL
 ka ʔaʔalua.
 LNK Saaroa

The plant was named *tarupaəʔu* in Lha'alua.

- (23) t<um>amaʔəŋə=isa ka pa-taku-asəələ=isa maaci
 rub<AV>=3SG.GEN LNK CAUS-TAKU-turn=3SG.GEN if
 ara-a-cici ia, m-urua-apuʔu ka kanaʔa.
 become-IRR-hot TOP AV-get-fire LNK that

If you keep turning it and wiping it, when it becomes hot, you can get a fire.

- (24) *saa-tamałəŋ-a=ami*¹⁰ n kanaʔa pauu kiuʔu a-pa-łava
 3SG.GEN-rub-PV=said OBL that wood tree IRR-CAUS-bring
 ka tauruŋ m-ari-ka-kua n tamusulu łakurapa.
 NOM muntjac AV-carry-RED-toward OBL summit Mountain.Jade
 That type of plant to rub, they made the muntjac bring it to Mountain Jade.

- (25) *maacu ka tauruŋ n kiariari=ami ia,*
 concerning NOM muntjac OBL ancient=said TOP
tam-taisa=ami ka varuŋa=isa.
 very-big=said NOM body=3SG.GEN
 The body of the muntjac was very big in the ancient time.

- (26) *taia=ami n taisa=isa ka kalavuŋ miinisua=cu=ʔai*¹¹
 almost=said OBL big=3SG.GEN NOM buffalo in.this.way=COS=perhaps
fi-um-ala n apułu.
 PFV-AV-get OBL fire
 It was almost as big as a buffalo, so it got a fire.

- (27) *ama=cu n apułu um-ala ia, m-a-saŋa-saŋari=cu*
 have=COS OBL fire AV-get TOP AV-STA-RED-happy=COS
ka cucuʔu m-aa n tamusulu łakurapa.
 NOM people AV-be OBL summit Mountain.Jade
 Now that they got a fire, the people in Mountain Jade were very happy.

- (28) *m-ai-vuasi=cu n tauruŋ saa-tałuvuŋ-a m-ai-vuasə*
 AV-AI-caress=COS OBL muntjac 3SG.GEN-exceed-PV AV-AI-caress
mai-mai-maini=cu. miinisua=cu a tauruŋ=na, maini=cu
 RED-RED-small=COS in.this.way=COS NOM muntjac=DEF small=COS
a cucu=isa.
 NOM size=3SG.GEN
 They caressed the muntjac so excessively that it became small. Therefore, the muntjac is small in size.

¹⁰ The clitic =*ami* '(it is) said' serves as a kind of evidentiality which is reported evidential.

¹¹ The clitic =*ʔai* 'perhaps' serves as a kind of evidentiality which is inference evidential.

- (29) aṇahi=cu isana ka cucuʔu m-aa n tamusulu
 begin=COS 3SG.OBL NOM people AV-be OBL summit
 ʔakurapa¹² m-a-saṇa-saṇərə ka m-a-arū=cu ka apuʔu=isa.
 Mountain.Jade AV-STA-RED-happy LNK AV-STA-exist=COS OBL fire=3PL.GEN
 From then on, the people in Mountain Jade were happy to have fire.

- (30) aṇahi=cu isana m-a-caḥia=cu avavu ʔaa m-a-caḥia
 begin=COS 3SG.OBL AV-STA-able=COS cook and AV-STA-able
 avavu ʔaa ukaʔa ka a-umuma-na=isa ka
 cook and none LNK A-cultivated.field-LOC=3SG.GEN LNK
 ku=alanarə ka kanaʔa tamusulu paarana=isa ka kuu=cu
 not=broad LNK that summit place=3SG.GEN LNK not=COS
 pati-caa-cəkəʔə isana ka saʔumu.
 PATI-RED-come 3SG.OBL NOM water
 From then on, the people could cook food. Although they could cook food,
 there was no cultivated land, the top of mountain was not broad enough, and
 water could not reach there.

- (31) miinisua=cu=isa ka “m-ara-a-misaini=cu=ita ka
 in.this.way=COS=3PL.GEN LNK AV-make-IRR-how=COS=1INCL.NOM OBL
 au-naana.”
 like-that
 Then they wondered, “What shall we do?”

- (32) “ʔi-taʔiara=c=isa¹³ maaci kuu=pa-taʔaʔə ka saʔumu” miii
 PFV-why.PV=COS=3SG.GEN if not=PA-recede NOM water say
 ka cucuʔu.
 NOM people
 “Why did not water recede?” the people wondered.

- (33) “miinisua=ami m-a-arū=ʔai=mau ka ʔi-təvuca n
 in.this.way=said AV-STA-exist=perhaps=wish LNK PFV-block OBL
 saa-sarə-ana” miii.
 RED-ground-LOC say
 “There must be something that blocks it,” they said.

¹² Tung’s original field notes gave *aṭipaputakuʔu*, which should be *ʔakurapa*.

¹³ The anticipated form is *=ci*, and it shares the *i* with the following *=isa*.

- (34) aru-pauauli=ami ka kanaʔa tauruŋ ʎa ʔukui,
 ARU-take.turns=said NOM that muntjac and goat
 aləməʎə, vutuʎu m-aka-ʎaŋulu u-kiri-kirimi n kanaʔa
 wild.pig deer AV-AKA-swim AV-RED-search OBL that
 ŋaʎa=isa ka ʎi-təvuca n saʎumu miii.
 what=3PL.GEN LNK PFV-block OBL water say
 The muntjac, goat, wild pig, and deer took turns swimming to find out what
 blocked the water.
- (35) ku=ami a-calia¹⁴ m-a-aru ka ʎi-təvuca n
 not=said IRR-know AV-STA-exist NOM PFV-block OBL
 saʎumu miii.
 water say
 They did not know what blocked the water.
- (36) m-aka-ʎaŋulu=ami ka aləməʎə u-kiri-kirimi n
 AV-AKA-swim=said NOM wild.pig AV-RED-search OBL
 m-a-aru=ʔai=mau ka ʎi-təvuca n saʎumu miii.
 AV-STA-exist=perhaps=wish LNK PFV-block OBL water say
 The wild pig swam to find out what blocked the water.
- (37) saa-paitual-a=ami kai¹⁵ ʎi-təvuca n saʎumu rumaləə
 3SG.GEN-find-PV=said LNK PFV-block OBL water then
 ʎi-um-a-ʎiivatə=ami kai vərəŋa.
 PFV-AV-IRR-lie.through=said LNK eel
 It found out that it was an eel that blocked the water by lying sideways.
- (38) tam-taisa=ami ka vərəŋa ʎi-təvuca=ami n kanaʔa saʎumu
 very-big=said NOM eel PFV-block=said OBL that water
 The eel was so big as to have a total block of water.
- (39) ku=ami a-calia m-a-taʎaləə kai saʎumu kai
 not=said IRR-able AV-STA-recede NOM water LNK
 ʎi-təvuca=isa kai kanaʔa vərəŋa taisa.
 PFV-block.PV=3SG.GEN NOM that eel big
 The water could not recede because a big eel blocked it.

¹⁴ The form *calia* has two meanings, ‘able’ and ‘know’.

¹⁵ The form *kai* may occur in the same syntactic position as *ka*.

- (40) pu-a-ili=ami ka aləmələ ki-łamu-łamu n cucuʔu
 PU-IRR-return=said NOM wild.pig KI-RED-report OBL people
 The wild pig returned to report to the people.
- (41) “m-a-arū kai kanaʔa ʔi-təvuca n kanaʔa
 AV-STA-exist LNK that PFV-block OBL that
 saʔumu vərəŋa” ami-ami.
 water eel RED-say
 “There is something that blocks the water, and it is an eel,” it said.
- (42) “miinisua=cu=ʔai rumafələ maaci au-naana ia,
 in.this.way=COS=perhaps then if like-that TOP
 aʔu-ku-u m-ara-ŋətələ” ami-ami.
 go-to-IMP AV-make-cut.down RED-say
 “In that case, go and cut it (into two)!” they said.
- (43) m-u-sala=ami ka cucuʔu m-aka-ʔaŋulu m-aʔu-kua isana.
 AV-U-go=said NOM people AV-AKA-swim AV-go-move.to 3SG.OBL
 People were going to swim there.
- (44) ku=ami a-caʔia m-a-ʔava n aru-a-mia=isa
 not=said IRR-able AV-IRR-bring OBL ARU-IRR-use=3PL.GEN
 ka m-ara-ŋətələ isana ka m-aka-ʔaŋulu
 LNK AV-make-cut.down 3SG.OBL LNK AV-AKA-swim
 ku=a-caʔia m-a-ʔava n ʔitakə.
 not=IRR-able AV-IRR-bring OBL knife.
 They could not bring any tool to cut it because they could not bring a knife
 while swimming.
- (45) miinisua=ami ka cucuʔu “m-ara-m-a-sua=ki=mau
 in.this.way=said NOM people AV-make-M-STA-two=KI=please
 aləmələ=na ka pii-aʔiia tapuaku=isa m-aʔu-kua
 wild.pig=DEF LNK have-fang able=3SG.GEN AV-go-move
 m-ara-ŋətələ” ami-ami.
 AV-make-cut.down RED-say
 Then people said, “You go, wild pig, you have got a fang, and you can go and
 cut it into two.”

- (46) miinisua=ami um-uʔunu n aləmətə a-p-aʔu-kua isana.
 in.this.way=said AV-send OBL wild.pig IRR-CAUS-go-toward 3SG.OBL
 Then they sent the wild pig to go there.
- (47) sa-aʔu-kua=ami¹⁶ ka aləmətə t<um>aki-ŋətələ kai vərəŋa.
 3SG.GEN-go-toward=said NOM wild.pig TAKI<AV>-cut.down OBL eel
 The wild pig went there to cut the eel (into two).
- (48) m-a-taʔai=cu ka saʔumu.
 AV-STA-recede=COS NOM water
 The water receded.
- (49) maacu=ami ka aləmətə ia, m-u-ləvə=ami n
 concerning=said NOM wild.pig TOP AV-U-together=said OBL
 saʔumu m-u-aʔusu maciʔi=ami.
 water AV-U-flow AV.die=said
 As for the wild pig, it flowed away in the water and died.
- (50) maacu=ami ni akuisa m-u-aʔusu ka aləmətə
 concerning=said OBL when AV-U-flow NOM wild.pig
 akuisa.
 when
 It is said that the wild pig flowed away.
- (51) taia=cu m-a-taʔai ia, “maacu=ʔai ka
 nearly=COS AV-STA-recede TOP concerning=perhaps NOM
 mamaini=ku ʔi-pata-naasi=ku ia, pa-anu-aʔi-i.”
 child=1SG.GEN PFV-PATA-leave.PV=1SG.GEN TOP PA-food-support-LV.IMP
 While it was nearly dashing down with the water, it said, “Support my off-
 springs after I have left.”

¹⁶ The anticipated form is *saa-*, and it shares the *a* with the following morpheme ‘*aʔu*’.

- (52) “maacu=ʔai l<əm>əməkə na mairəŋə, l<əm>əməkə
 if=perhaps plant<AV> OBL sweet.potato plant<AV>
 na intavaŋ, um-ərapə na puusiam, um-ərapə na
 OBL taro AV-sow OBL rice AV-sow OBL
 ʔəvəcəŋə ia, pa-anu-aif-i.”
 millet TOP PA-food-support-LV.IMP
 “If you plant sweet potatoes and taros, sow rice and millet, please support (my children with what you planted or sowed)!”
- (53) ami-ami ka aləmələ ni akuisa m-u-calivi=cu
 RED-say NOM wild.pig OBL when AV-U-pass.along=COS
 n sałumu m-a-taalai-i akuisa ma-maciʔi.
 OBL water AV-STA-dash.down-LV.IMP when RED-AV.die
 The wild pig said this when it was dashing down with the water and died.
- (54) miinisua=cu u-cani ka aləmələ ka maci=kia¹⁷
 in.this.way=COS AV-one/only NOM wild.pig LNK if=1PL.NOM
 l<əm>əməkə na mairəŋə um-ərapə na ʔəvəcəŋə
 plant<AV> OBL sweet.potato AV-sow OBL millet
 um-ərapə na puusiam ia, m-u-a-sala ka aləmələ
 AV-sow OBL rice TOP AV-U-IRR-go NOM wild.pig
 um-u isana.
 AV-eat 3PL.OBL
 Because of that wild pig, if we plant sweet potatoes or sow millet and rice,
 wild pigs will go and eat them.
- (55) taa-ʔiara=isa ku=au-naana ka m-ai-ra-raɦu
 TAA-work=3SG.GEN not=like-that NOM AV-AI-RED-tradition
 fi-masia-ala-alaŋə n kiariari.
 PFV-MASIA-RED-decide OBL ancient
 That is how it is, or not like that, the tradition was decided in the ancient time.

¹⁷ Tung and Tsuchida transcribed the form as *maaci* or *maci* ‘if’.

- (56) pa-tanaŋi-u=ʔai ka mamaini=ku miii
 CAUS-support-2SG.GEN=perhaps NOM child=1SG.GEN say
 amiansua=cu u-cani ka aləmətə um-a-u na ʔəvəcəŋə ʔa
 so.that=COS AV-one NOM wild.pig AV-IRR-eat OBL millet and
 um-a-u na puusiam, um-a-u na mairəŋə, um-a-u
 AV-IRR-eat OBL rice AV-IRR-eat OBL sweet.potato AV-IRR-eat
 na viar.
 OBL corn
 My children to support, one wild pig said, for them to eat millet, rice, sweet
 potatoes, and corn.
- (57) m-a-taʔai=cu=ami ka saʔumu.
 AV-STA-recede=COS=said NOM water
 The water receded.
- (58) aŋali=cu isana=ami ka cucuʔu m-uu-suu-sua
 begin=COS 3PL.OBL=said NOM person AV-divide-RED-two
 tari-si-a-cəpə-cəpəŋi=cu m-a-rua-ruaʔə.
 TARI-SI-IRR-RED-think=COS AV-IRR-RED-divide
 People began to disperse and live separately.
- (59) maacu=ami ka ʔaʔalua ia, m-uu-lavaə=ami
 concerning=said NOM Saaroa TOP AV-UU-remain=said
 na ʔasəŋa.
 OBL Lhasenga
 As for the Lha'alua people, they remained and stayed in Lhasenga.
- (60) maacu=ami ka ʔi-m-uu-lavaə na ʔasəŋa ia,
 concerning=said NOM PFV-AV-UU-remain OBL Lhasenga TOP
 ʔaʔalua ʔaa tapəŋə ʔaa Kanakanavu.
 Saaroa and Tapange and Kanakanavu
 Those who remained and stayed in Lhasenga were the Lha'alua, Tapange
 (Tsou), and Kanakanavu.
- (61) aŋali=ami n ʔasəŋa m-a-rua-ruaʔə ka kanaʔa
 begin=said OBL Lhasenga AV-IRR-RED-divide NOM that
 ʔaʔalua.
 Saaroa
 The Lha'alua people in Lhasenga began to live separately.

- (62) miinisua=cu u-cani ka tapəŋə, u-cani ka
in.this.way=COS AV-one NOM Tapange AV-one NOM
ləʔalua, u-cani ka Kanakanavu.
Saaroa AV-one NOM Kanakanavu
From then on, the Tapange (Tsou) lived at one place, Lha'alua in another, and
Kanakanavu in still another.
- (63) maacu kiariari ia, ʔi-m-ia-ələsə.
when ancient TOP PFV-AV-live-together
We all lived together in the ancient time.
- (64) maacu ka ʔəʔalua ia, aŋaʔi=cu=ami n ʔəsəŋa
concerning NOM Saaroa TOP begin=COS=said OBL Lhasenga
m-aʔu-kua n naani m-aʔu-kua n naani kaləvəŋa akuisa.
AV-go-move OBL here AV-go-move OBL here Kalevenga when
As for the Lha'alua people, they have moved from Lhasenga to Kalevenga here.
- (65) aŋaʔi n m-a-aruc n kaniʔi kaləvəŋa, m-a-aruc
begin OBL AV-STA-exist=COS OBL this Kalevenga AV-STA-exist
n kanaʔa tumaamalikisa ʔaa m-a-aruc n
OBL that Tumaamalikisa and AV-STA-exist OBL
kaniʔi ʔalikisala na m-uu-suu-sua.
this Lhalikisalha OBL AV-divide-RED-two
They started to have people living separately in Kalevenga, Tumaamalikisa, and
Lhalikisalha.
- (66) aŋaʔi=cu isana m-uu-suu-sua ka ʔəʔalua
begin=COS 3PL.OBL AV-branch-RED-two NOM Saaroa
satiulana, salapuana, kaataʔipajuatai, kaakuana, ʔaupaana,
Satiulana Salapuana Kaatalhipanguahai Kaakuana Lhaupaana
tumaalaalasəŋa ʔhaisa.
Tumaalhaalhasenga 3PL
The Lha'alua people started to branch into these different clans: Satiulana,
Salapuana, Kaatalhipanguahai, Kaakuana, Lhaupaana, and Tumaalhaalhasenga.

- (67) aŋali=cu isana m-uu-suu-sua.
begin=COS 3PL.OBL AV-divide-RED-two
They started to live separately.
- (68) maacu=ami ka Kananavu nuka tapəŋə ia, m-i-calivi
concerning=said NOM Kananavu and Tapange TOP AV-I-pass
m-aŋu-kua n kanaʔa sakəraʔə ʔamasia akuisa.
AV-go-move OBL that river Lhamasia when
Kananavu and Tapange(Tsou) went all the way there to the river called
Lhamasia.
- (69) ʔaɪsa m-uu-lavai=cu isana n kaniʔi-naanii
3PL AV-UU-remain=COS 3PL.OBL OBL this-here
They have lived there until now.
- (70) aŋali=cu isana ka cucuʔu m-uu-suu-sua.
begin=COS 3PL.OBL NOM person AV-divide-RED-two
The people have lived separately ever since.
- (71) ku=cu a-caɪa n ʔaama=isa.
not=COS IRR-know OBL ancestor=3PL.GEN
(We) don't know their ancestors.
- (72) miinisua=cu maaci k<um>ita n ʔaəlaəvu=isa ia,
in.this.way=COS if see<AV> OBL other.people=3PL.GEN TOP
ku=cu pau-tu-aŋaɪ.
not=COS do-TU-recognize
Therefore, even if we saw our own people, we would not recognize them.
- (73) “cucuʔu ninau ka kaniʔi” miii m-u-ruaʔu k<um>ita
person where NOM this say AV-U-fear see<AV>
n ʔaəlaəvu=isa cucuʔu.
OBL other.people=3PL.GEN person
(We may wonder), “Where do these people come from?” We're afraid to meet
with our own people.
- (74) maaci k<um>ita n cucuʔu ia, m-u-ruaʔu.
when see<AV> OBL person top AV-U-fear
When (we) saw people, (we) were afraid.

- (75) amiansua=cu pa-a-pa-paci maaci k<um>ita n
 therefore=COS CAUS-IRR-RED-die when see<AV> OBL
 cucu?u, ka hi-a-cucu?u-a=isa ka kani?i ami?a.
 person LNK NMLZ-IRR-person-PV=3PL.GEN LNK this say
 Therefore, when (we) saw people, (we) just killed them no matter where they
 came from.
- (76) amiansua=cu m-u-rua?u amiansua=cu pa-a-pa-paci=cu n
 therefore=COS AV-U-fear therefore=COS CAUS-IRR-RED-die=COS OBL
 cucu?u
 person
 Therefore, (we) were afraid. Therefore, (we) killed people.
- (77) au-naana ka m-ai-ra?u p-a?u-mia-mia=isa ka kiariari.
 like-that NOM AV-AI-tradition P-go-RED-use=3SG.GEN OBL ancient
 This is an old tradition.
- (78) maacu a liisa ?aa kani?i hikilaalia-liisa
 concerning NOM tradition and this superstition-tradition
 ia, hi-a?afi n kana?a au-naana.
 TOP PFV-begin OBL that like-that
 Superstition and being superstitious are the same thing.
- (79) maacu ka kani?i u-a-pau akuisa um-aru-amia
 concerning NOM this AV-IRR-chafe/scour when AV-ARU-use
 n kiu?u ia, i?aisa hi-a?afi n kiariari.
 OBL tree TOP 3PL PFV-begin OBL ancient
 As for this (tradition) of rubbing wood (to start a fire), they did it in the ancient
 time.
- (80) amiansua=cu=i um-aru-amia=mana=isa n u-pau.
 therefore=COS=Q AV-ARU-use=still=3PL.GEN OBL AV-chafe/scour
 Therefore, do they still use (the method of) rubbing (wood to start a fire)?
- (81) maaci m-i-a-tu?usu ka hi-a-?ava=isa=mana¹⁸ a?afi kiariari.
 when AV-I-IRR-rite NOM NMLZ-IRR-bring=3PL.GEN=still begin ancient
 During a traditional ceremony, they still do it as in the ancient time.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the clitic =*mana* may precede or follow a pronominal form, as shown in (80) and (81). This is rare.

Text 3. My life

Date: 1962

- (1) maacu ka itaku ia, akuisa pilamuru n itaku
 concerning NOM 1SG TOP when born OBL 1SG
 ka laamaama=ku ia, li-m-a-aru=amu
 NOM parents=1SG.GEN TOP PFV-AV-STA-exist=1INCL.NOM
 n kaʔəvuŋa.
 OBL Kalhevenga

As for me, I was born by my parents. We have been living in Kalhevenga.

- (2) maacu ni kanaʔa ia, maacu ka
 concerning OBL that TOP concerning NOM
 itaʔamu aʔa-aʔarua ia, a-ənəm=amu.
 1EXCL RED-sibling TOP IRR-six=1INCL.NOM

We had six siblings.

- (3) maacu ka aʔarua la-lima ia, rianəə alamuru aʔaina
 concerning NOM sibling RED-five TOP only young woman
 ca-citi=aku ka saʔusa.
 RED-one=1SG.NOM LNK boy

We had five sisters, and I was the only man.

- (4) miinisua=cu ʔ<um>upaŋə ka laamaama=ʔamu n itaʔamu.
 in.this.way=COS raise<AV> NOM parents=1INCL.GEN OBL 1EXCL

In this way our parents raised us.

- (5) ara-a-ta-taisa=cu ka itaʔamu. Maacu ka
 become-IRR-RED-big=COS NOM 1EXCL concerning NOM
 aʔa-aʔarua=ku ia, um-iapi=cu.
 RED-sibling=1SG.GEN TOP AV-attend.school=COS

We grew up. My sisters went to school.

- (6) rumalaə ni kanaʔa maciʔi kai ama=ku.
 then OBL that AV.die NOM father=1SG.GEN

Then my father died.

- (7) ca-cifi=cu ka ina=ku ka hi-ʔ<um>upaŋə n
 RED-alone=COS NOM mother=1SG.GEN LNK PFV-raise<AV> OBL
 iʔaʔamu.
 1EXCL
 My mother alone supported us.
- (8) akuisa kanaʔa=cu ia, maacu ka iʔaʔamu
 when that=COS TOP concerning NOM 1EXCL
 muri-turu-turua¹⁹ ia, ukaʔa=cu ka ʔ<um>a-ʔupaŋə n iʔaʔamu.
 MURI-RED-sibling TOP none=COS LNK RED<AV>-raise OBL 1EXCL
 At that time no one (else) was to support us.
- (9) tamu laŋəlaŋə ka si-kua-mia=ʔamu uumu.
 really difficult NOM INST.NMLZ-daily-use=1INCL.GEN life
 Our daily life was very difficult.
- (10) ta-taisa=cu ka aʔarua=ku pu-a-ili=cu
 RED-big=COS NOM sibling=1SG.GEN PU-IRR-return=COS
 hi-um-iapə ʔ<um>upaŋə=cu n iʔaku.
 PFV-AV-attend.school raise<AV>=COS OBL 1SG
 My elder sisters who had grown up, returned from school and supported me.
- (11) kanaʔa rumafəə um-iapi=cu ka iʔaku.
 that then AV-attend.school=COS NOM 1SG
 Then I went to school.
- (12) um-iapə ka iʔaku u-sua caili, maciʔi=cu
 AV-attend.school NOM 1SG AV-two year AV.die=COS
 ka ina=ku.
 NOM mother=1SG.GEN
 I went to school for two years, then my mother died.
- (13) ukaʔa=cu ka ʔaamaama=ʔamu. Taka-ci-cifi=cu ka
 none=COS NOM parents=1INCL.GEN TAKA-RED-alone=COS NOM
 aʔarua=ku taku-ʔi-ʔiar na a-anə=ʔamu.
 sibling=1SG.GEN TAKU-RED-work OBL IRR-eat=1INCL.GEN
 We lost our parents. Only my sister worked for our food.

¹⁹ There are two forms for sibling, *aʔarua* and *turua*.

- (14) miinisua=cu m-aḷə-ləpəŋji=cu²⁰ ka aḷa-aḷarua=ku
 in.this.way=COS AV-become-finish=COS NOM RED-sibling=1SG.GEN
 m-uri-usumani=cu.
 AV-URI-marry=COS
 Then my sister became an adult and was to get married.
- (15) rumafəə um-a-li-ləpəŋji=cu=aku um-iapə,
 then AV-A-PFV-finish=COS=1SG.NOM AV-attend.school
 pu-a-ili=cu ka ifaku na salia=ku.
 PU-IRR-return=COS NOM 1SG OBL house=1SG.GEN
 Then I graduated and I came home.
- (16) taku-ci-cifi=cu ka ifaku taku-ʔi-ʔiar ni kanaʔa.
 TAKU-RED-alone=COS NOM 1SG TAKU-RED-work OBL that
 I worked alone.
- (17) raiḷa-usia ka caiḷi=ku um-uḷunu ka aumu
 ten-nine LNK year=1SG.GEN AV-draft NOM Japan
 a-p-aḷu-kua n puapiŋji.
 A-CAUS-go-to OBL military
 The Japanese (government) drafted me at the age of 19.
- (18) m-arū kai ifaku n puapiŋji u-tulu caiḷ-a.
 AV-exist NOM 1SG OBL military AV-three year-LOC
 I was in military service for three years.
- (19) miinisua kuu=ta-sikəra ka aumu tari-sicaŋji, miinisua=cu
 in.this.way not=TA-win NOM Japan TARI-war in.this.way=COS
 pu-a-ili=cu ka ifaku m-aḷu-kua n salia=ku.
 PU-IRR-return=COS NOM 1SG AV-go-to OBL house=1SG.GEN
 Japan lost the war, and I returned to my home.
- (20) miinisua=cu m-u-liuḷu=cu ka um-aupaŋə n cucuʔu
 in.this.way=COS AV-U-change=COS NOM AV-govern OBL people
 m-u-liuḷu ka ḷakəsaian.
 AV-U-change LNK China
 Then different people governed us, as China replaced (Japan).

²⁰ There are two variations to indicate ‘to become’, *m-aḷə-* and *m-ara-*.

- (21) rumafəə m-aʎu-kua ka ɪaku na likaʎa kaaiu
 then AV-go-to NOM 1SG OBL down there
 um-iapə u-cani caɪ-a um-ali-ləpəŋ ka ɪaku.
 AV-attend.school AV-one year-LOC AV-ALI-finish NOM 1SG
 Then I went down to attend school for one year.
- (22) um-iapə pu-a-ili=cu ka ɪaku.
 AV-attend.school PU-IRR-return=COS NOM 1SG
 I attended school, (graduated) and returned home.
- (23) rumafəə m-aʎu-kua=cu ka ɪaku n iakuba
 then AV-go-to=COS NOM 1SG OBL district.office
 m-u-lavai=cu n kaniʎi-naani.
 AV-U-continue=COS OBL this-here
 Then I went to the district office of the local government and have been
 working there ever since.

Text 4. Marriage

Date: 1962

- (1) maacu ka iłalamu n kiariari maacu=amu
 concerning NOM IEXCL OBL ancient concerning=1INCL.NOM
 alukaala na ałaina ia, a-aḡali n ıaıusa nuka
 marry OBL girl TOP IRR-begin OBL boy and
 ałaina m-uri-talıvaə.
 girl AV-URI-make.love
 In the old days when a boy wanted to marry a girl, it started when the boy and
 girl made love with each other first.
- (2) maacu ka u-cani ia, ku=uri-a-talıvaə, ıaamaama
 concerning NOM NUM-one TOP not=URI-IRR-make.love parents
 ka taka-cii-cii u-kiri-kirimi na ałaina usumanə=isa.
 NOM TAKA-RED-alone AV-RED-search OBL girl spouse=3SG.GEN
 Another way was not to make love, but the (boy's) parents searched for a girl
 to be his wife.
- (3) sai, u-sua ka ıi-alukaala na ałaina.
 therefore AV-two NOM PFV-marry OBL girl
 Therefore, there were two ways to take a wife.
- (4) maaci miinisua=cu raıua=cu m-uri-talıvaə ia,
 if in.this.way=COS long=COS AV-URI-make.love TOP
 maaci taku-a-caıia ka ıaamaama=isa ka ıaıusa
 if TAKU-IRR-know NOM parents=3SG.GEN OBL boy
 ia, m-u-a-sala=cu m-aıu-kua n ıaamaama=isa ka
 TOP AV-U-IRR-go=COS AV-go-to OBL parents=3PL.GEN OBL
 alamuru ałaina maa-kari-kari.
 young girl AV.RECP-RED-talk
 If (a boy and a girl) were in love for a long time and the boy's parents knew it,
 they would go to discuss with the girl's parents.
- (5) maaci m-a-siəḡəci=cu ia, pata-a-ḡala=cu a-p-ima n
 if AV-IRR-decide=COS TOP PATA-IRR-name=COS IRR-CAUS-drink OBL
 mapaci maini pə-ləpəḡə na kari akuisa ka aıaama.
 wine little Pፀ-complete OBL talk when LNK ancient
 If a decision was made, they would get engaged, offer to drink a little, and

complete the traditional process.

- (6) maaci miinisua=cu ia, aa-cani=mana vulafa aniciki
 if in.this.way=COS TOP IRR-one=still month only.then
 uri-usumanə.
 URI-marry
 If that was the case, they would get married a month later.
- (7) maacu ka aru-a-mia=isa um-ala n ałaina
 concerning NOM ARU-IRR-use=3PL.GEN AV-take OBL girl
 ia, c<um>a-cufuku u-a-vura n ripasi m-u-a-sala=cu
 TOP RED<AV>-pound.rice.cake AV-IRR-give OBL bullet AV-U-IRR-go=COS
 pu-a-tusu isana n salia=isa ka alamuru ałaina.
 PU-IRR-present 3PL.OBL OBL house=3SG.GEN LNK young girl
 The wedding gifts were pounded rice cake and bullets to be taken to the girl's
 family.
- (8) maaci m-i-a-uŋu=cu na salia=isa ka alamuru
 when AV-I-IRR-arrive=COS OBL house=3SG.GEN OBL young
 ałaina ia, m-u-a-alu-alu ka m-uri-a-usumanə
 girl TOP AV-U-IRR-RED-ahead LNK AV-URI-IRR-marry
 m-ału-kua na salia alamuru ałaina pi-api
 AV-go-to OBL house young girl PI-carry.on.back
 na hi-cufuku.
 OBL NMLZ-rice.cake
 When the boy was going to the girl's family, he would walk to the girl's
 family, carrying rice cake on his back.
- (9) m-a-arua=mana n salia ałaina um-i-pua-łə ka łafusa.
 AV-STA-exist=still OBL house girl AV-stay-two-ORD NOM boy
 The boy would stay in the girl's family for two days.
- (10) aniciki ru-avici n alamuru ałaina pu-a-ili
 only.then RU-take.along OBL young girl PU-IRR-return
 na salia=isa ka łafusa.
 OBL house=3SG.GEN NOM boy
 Then the boy would take the girl and return to his family.

(11) maaci pu-a-ili=cu n salia=isa ka ʔaʔusa
 when PU-IRR-return=COS OBL house=3SG.GEN NOM boy
 ia, taru-a-cu-cuvuŋ ka u-cani ʔaʔa-ana cucuʔu.
 TOP TARU-IRR-RED-meet NOM NUM-one village-LOC people
 When the boy returned to his family, the whole village gathered together (to
 celebrate it).

(12) m-i<a>ma=cu na mapaci m-u-su-ʔaulia
 AV-drink<IRR>=COS OBL wine AV-U-SU-dance
 kur-a-ara-araə ka cucuʔu.
 KUR-IRR-RED-have.fun NOM people
 The people would drink, dance, and have fun.

(13) a-aʔali=cu isana ka u-cani ʔaʔa-ana m-a-caʔia=cu
 IRR-begin=COS 3SG.OBL NOM NUM-one village-LOC AV-STA-know=COS
 m-uri-usumani=cu ka palii=aku akuisa ka cucuʔu.
 AV-URI-marry=COS LNK Palii=1SG.NOM when OBL people
 The whole village started to know that the person named Palii was married.

Text 5. Burial

Date: 1962

- (1) kari ʔi-maci cucuʔu.
 word PFV-AV.die person
 Words about the dead.
- (2) maacu ka ʔaʔamu n kiariari maciʔi ia,
 concerning NOM 1EXCL OBL ancient AV.die TOP
 a-caʔum-ani=isa n salia.
 IRR-bury-LV=3SG.GEN OBL house
 We buried the dead at home in the old days.
- (3) maaci ʔamuna ʔi-maci ia, pa-a-ʔə-ʔəməʔə=isa ʔaa
 when recently PFV-AV.die TOP CAUS-IRR-RED-tie=3PL.GEN and
 a-pa-ʔiviŋa n tikuru=isa varuu.
 IRR-CAUS-wear OBL clothes=3SG.GEN new
 Right after a person died, we tied him up and put on a new dress.
- (4) maacu ka pa-ʔiviŋa=isa ka ʔi-maci ia,
 concerning NOM CAUS-wear=3SG.GEN OBL NMLZ-AV.die TOP
 ia-va-vii-virisi=isa ka palisia maaci
 IA-RED-RED-cut.open=3SG.GEN NOM taboo if
 ku=ia-va-virisi=isa ka tikuru ʔi-maci.
 not= IRR.IA-RED-cut.open=3SG.GEN OBL clothes NMLZ-AV.die
 We cut open the dead's clothes; it is a taboo not to cut them open.
- (5) maaci c<um>a-cuʔumu=cu isana ia, pa-a-pa-paci n
 when RED<AV>-bury=COS 3SG.OBL TOP CAUS-IRR-RED=die OBL
 turukuuka avavu n uuru.
 chicken cook OBL rice
 To bury the dead, we would kill a chicken and cook rice.

- (6) maacu ka cucu=isa ka hi-maci məməa
concerning NOM relative=3SG.GEN OBL NMLZ-AV.die all
ia, taru-a-cu-cuvuŋ kila-ali-ali isana pa-u na
TOP TARU-IRR-RED-meet KILA-RED-ritual 3SG.OBL CAUS-eat OBL
papa turukuuka laa uuru.
meat chicken and cooked.rice
The dead's folks would all gather together to do service, offer him chicken
meat and cooked rice as sacrifices.
- (7) aniciki c<um>ałumu=cu isana.
only.then bury<AV>=COS 3SG.OBL
Then we buried him.
- (8) maaci pusə-ləpəŋə c<um>ałumu isana ia, maacu
when PUSƏ-complete bury<AV> 3SG.OBL TOP concerning
ka ała-ałapa vanłarə=isa ia, iikua-kua=isa na
NOM RED-surface tomb=3SG.GEN TOP put-RED=3SG.GEN OBL
kuacapa, tamaku, pauu, uuru.
tobacco.pipe tobacco match cooked.rice
When the burial was done, we would place a tobacco pipe, tobacco, match,
and cooked rice on the tomb.
- (9) maacu ka hi-maci u-cani piłiŋi ia,
concerning NOM NMLZ-AV.die NUM-one family TOP
talua-a-vaələ um-i-pitə-lə.
TALU-IRR-rest AV-stay-seven-ORD
The family of the dead rested for seven days.
- (10) palisia ka taku-ŋi-ŋiarə, palisia ka m-i-anə, palisia
taboo OBL TAKU-RED-work taboo OBL AV-I-pound taboo
ka ł<um>a-łavu, palisia ka m-aa-sinu²¹ m-a-səpə.
OBL RED<AV>-wash.clothes taboo OBL AV-STA-bathe AV-STA-wash.face
It was a taboo to work, to pound rice, to wash clothes, to bathe, and to wash
one's face.

²¹ There is variation between *-a-* and *-aa-* for unknown conditions.

- (11) u-cani ka avavu ka tapuani taku-ʔi-ʔiarə ka
 AV-only NOM cook LNK reluctant TAKU-RED-work OBL
 u-cani pifiŋi ʔaa m-u-laku, palisia ka
 AV-only family and AV-U-draw.water taboo OBL
 pana-əsəpə na apuʔu vərəŋanə.
 PANA-extinguish.fire OBL fire night

Only cooking and drawing water were permitted for the family, and it was a taboo to put out the fire at night.

- (12) maacu ka u-cani pifiŋi ia, m-a-arua ka ca-cifi
 concerning NOM NUM-one family TOP AV-STA-exist NOM RED-one
 ka tua-kələŋə taarə.
 LNK TUA-sit bed

For the whole family, only one person sat on the bed.

- (13) maacu ka kanaʔa ia, paruŋu=isa ka liisa
 concerning NOM that TOP perform=3SG.GEN OBL tradition
 ka u-cani pifiŋi.
 NOM AV-one family

That person was the leader to perform service.

- (14) palisia ka kanaʔa avavu n uuru m-u-laku.
 taboo NOM that cook OBL rice AV-U-draw.water

It was a taboo for him to cook rice and draw water.

- (15) tua-kələŋə na taarə m-au-ʔaʔaŋə.
 TUA-sit OBL bed AV-AU-motionless

He sat on the bed without moving.

- (16) maaci um-u uuru ia, ariasaŋi-ani=isa ka ʔaə-ʔaəvu=isa
 when AV-eat rice TOP bring-LV=3SG.GEN NOM RED-companion=3SG.GEN
 u-cani pifiŋi u-vura pa-u.
 NUM-one family AV-give CAUS-eat

During a meal, his family brought him food to eat.

- (17) maaci um-i-tulu-ʔu=cu ia, picua-mapaci=cu
 when AV-stay-three-ORD=COS TOP brew-wine=COS
 aru-a-mia=isa kil-ali-ali na ʔi-maci.
 ARU-IRR-use=3PL.GEN KIL-RED-do.ritual OBL NMLZ-AV.die

Three days later, they made wine to offer as a sacrifice to the dead.

- (18) maaci um-i-pitu-fi=cu ia, pali-a-lava-lavai=cu
 when AV-stay-seven-ORD=COS TOP PALI-IRR-RED-end=COS
 na liisa.
 OBL tradition
 Seven days later, the service was almost done.
- (19) taru-a-cu-curuŋu=cu ka u-cani taŋa-ana m-ima
 TARU-IRR-RED-meet=COS NOM NUM-one village-LOC AV-drink
 na mapaci.
 OBL wine
 The whole village gathered together to drink wine.
- (20) maaci fi-m-ima=cu n mapaci ia, miuŋu=cu
 when PFV-AV-drink=COS OBL wine TOP complete=COS
 ka liisa.
 NOM tradition
 When they had drunk wine, the service was complete.
- (21) maaci ausi=cu maataata=isa ia, maacu ka
 when like=COS tomorrow=3SG.GEN TOP concerning NOM
 u-cani pihiji ia, matafiaku=cu m-aŋu-kua
 NUM-one family TOP all=COS AV-go-to
 na luuŋu ŋ<um>avu na tikuru m-aa-sinu.
 OBL river wash<AV> OBL clothes AV-STA-bathe
 On the next morning, the whole family went to a river to wash clothes and
 take a bath.
- (22) maaci pu-a-ili=cu ia, a-aŋali=cu isana
 when PU-IRR-return=COS TOP IRR-begin=COS 3PL.OBL
 ku=cu palisia ka taku-ŋi-ŋiarə.
 not=COS taboo OBL TAKU-RED-work
 When they returned, there was no more taboo to work.
- (23) m-u-lavai=cu n kanaʔa ka liisa.
 AV-U-end=COS OBL that NOM tradition
 That was the end of the service.

Text 6. The flood

hitətənəma

- (1) maacu ni kiariari ʔaama ia, m-a-cafia=amu
concerning OBL ancient ancestor TOP AV-STA-know=1EXCL.NOM
(ni) hi-tə-tənəma ka saa-saru-ana.
OBL NMLZ-RED-flood NOM RED-earth-LOC
In days of ancestors, we know that the earth was flooded.
- (2) m-i-cuʔu=ami ka cucuʔu tapi-ka-kua na ʔahipaputakuʔu.
AV-I-escape=said NOM person TAPI-RED-move OBL ʔAlhipaputakulhu
The people escaped to Mountain Alhipaputakulhu’
- (3) maacu ka ʔahipaputakuʔu ia, tamusulu laŋica ku=cu=ami
concerning NOM ʔAlhipaputakulhu TOP summit sky not=COS=said
a-cafia ka saʔum m-i-vararu isana.
IRR-able NOM water AV-I-climb 3SG.OBL
As for the Mountain Alhipaputakulhu, the water could not reach the high summit.
- (4) maacu=ami ka kuliʔi məəməa ia, m-i-cuʔu=ami
concerning=said NOM beast all TOP AV-I-escape=said
məəməa tapi-ka-kua isana. Maacu ka
all TAPI-RED-move 3PL.OBL concerning NOM
iʔaʔamu ʔaʔalua ia, um-a-ərapə=amu na puusiam
1EXCL Saaroa TOP AV-IRR-sow=1EXCL.NOM OBL rice
nuka ʔəvəcəŋə ca-calaisa mairəŋ intavaŋ vanuliki
and millet RED-various sweet.potato taro kind.of.potato
vukuliʔi mairəŋ kiuʔu.
yam sweet.potato tree
All animals escaped to the summit. As for us, the Saaroas, we sowed rice and millet,
planting various kinds of food, such as sweet potato, taro, potato, yam and sweet
potato.
- (5) maacu ni kiariari, ukaʔa ka ʔi-patuaiailia.
concerning OBL past none NOM NMLZ-paddy
In the past, there was no paddy field.

- (6) kaniʔi=cu ia, m-a-aruc=cu ka hi-patuaiailia akuisa.
 now=COS TOP AV-STA-exist=COS NOM NMLZ-paddy when
 t<um>uru-turu isana ka ʔaumu.
 RED<AV>-teach 3PL.OBL NOM Japanese
 For now, there are paddy fields when the Japanese teach them.
- (7) kaniʔi=cu ia, taka-cii-cii=cu ka cucuʔu c<um>aʔucu
 now=COS TOP TAKA-RED-alone=COS NOM person bury<AV>
 na puusiam.
 OBL rice
 For now, people plant rice alone.
- (8) tamu m-a-vacaŋi=cu.
 really AV-STA-good=COS
 It is very good.
- (9) m-a-tumuʔu=cu ka a-anə.
 AV-STA-many=COS NOM IRR-eat
 There is plenty of food.
- (10) m-a-a-saa-saŋarə=cu ka ʔaʔalua.
 AV-STA-IRR-RED-happy=COS NOM Saaroa
 The Saaroas are happy.
- (11) m-u-sala=cu m-uru-cəka u-pana na vutuʔu vaŋuru.
 AV-U-go=COS AV-URU-hunt AV-shoot OBL deer pilose.antler
 (They) go hunting and shooting deer that have pilose antler.
- (12) pu-a-ili=cu pua isana na vaʔituku nuka mapaci.
 PU-IRR-return=COS sell 3SG.OBL OBL money and wine
 (They) return and sell it for money and wine.
- (13) m-ima=cu kara-sa-sua na aʔaina m-a-ləsapu=cu.
 AV-drink=COS KARA-RED-two OBL woman AV-IRR-sleep=COS
 Two women drink and sleep.
- (14) tai-naana=cu.
 all-that=COS
 That's all.

Text 7. Ritual

miatungusu

- (1) maacu ka ifalamu ka faʔalua ia, kil-ali-alii=amu
 concerning OBL 1EXCL NOM Saaroa TOP KIL-RED-ritual=1EXCL.NOM
 na m-i-a-tungusu.
 OBL AV-I-IRR-rite
 As for us Saaroas, we hold *miatungusu* ritual ceremony.²²
- (2) u-sua caihi ia, m-i-aŋaafə m-i-tungusu maaci m-i-tungusu
 AV-two year TOP AV-I-begin AV-I-rite when AV-I-rite
 ia, u-tulu arə.
 TOP AV-three day
 The ritual ceremony is held every other year, and it is three days at a time.
- (3) m-aru n salia pa-aŋu-safi.
 AV-stay OBL house CAUS-go-sing
 (People) stay in the house singing.
- (4) m-u-su-ʔaulia aru-pa-tia-tiakiliʔi na faʔusa fa afaina.
 AV-U-SU-dance ARU-CAUS-RED-hold.hand OBL man and woman
 Men and women dance holding hand by hand.
- (5) mamaini məəməa m-aa-saa-saŋuru m-u-tu-vii-vilau m-i-tungusu.
 child all AV-STA-RED-happy AV-U-TU-RED-circle AV-I-rite
 Children are all happy and (dancing and singing) in a circle in *miatungusu*
- (6) maaci misuʔu=cu ia, pi-al-aŋafi=cu na mapaci
 when thirsty=COS TOP have-AL-start=COS OBL wine
 m-i-<a>ma=cu.
 AV-drink<IRR>=COS
 When (people) are thirsty, they start to drink wine.
- (7) maaci raʔua=cu ia, m-aa-ʔavai=cu m-arua-sua=cu na
 when long=COS TOP AV-STA-drunk=COS AV-become-IRR-two-COS OBL
 afaina məəməa.
 woman all
 For a long time, all women drink two by two to each other and they all get drunk.

²² See the Appendix for the songs and performance of *miatungusu*.

- (8) pasaamaŋ-ani=cu m-i-tuŋusu m-u-tu-vii-vilau.
 enjoy.dancing-LOC=COS AV-I-rite AV-U-TU-RED-circle
 (People) enjoy dancing in a circle in *miatungusu*.
- (9) maaci m-a-aŋa=cu ia, m-i-asau=mana um-a-u=mana n
 when AV-STA-hungry=COS TOP AV-I-rest=still AV-IRR-eat=still OBL
 taŋusuŋu, pa-camai na papaʔa, ca-calaisa
 glutinous.rice.cake CAUS.eat-dishes OBL meat RED-various
 satuŋu ʔa ʔaŋu-ʔaŋuvi ʔa vutukuŋ ʔarisakai.
 vegetables and RED-moss and fish shrimp
 When (people) are hungry, they rest and eat rice cake, dishes, meat, various kinds of
 vegetables, moss, fish and shrimp.
- (10) maaci m-a-vacuku=cu ia, m-i-aŋaŋ-aŋaŋa=cu m-i-tuŋusu
 when AV-STA-satiated=COS TOP AV-I-RED-start=COS AV-I-rite
 pa-aŋu-saŋi pa-a-ra-ruvana pa-a-ra-su-suma.
 CAUS-go-sing CAUS-IRR-RED-evening CAUS-IRR-RA-RED-late.at.night
 When (they) are full, they start doing *miatungusu* again by singing until late at
 night.
- (11) maaci m-a-lusapi=cu a vulaili=isa ia, m-a-lusapi=cu.
 when AV-IRR-sleep=COS NOM eye=3PL.GEN TOP AV-IRR-sleep=COS
 When their eyes get tired, they sleep.
- (12) tai-nana=cu.
 all-that=COS
 That's all.
- (13) maaci m-i-lupəŋi=cu ia, m-u-a-sala=cu m-a-ŋava na
 when AV-I-finish=COS TOP AV-U-IRR-go=COS AV-IRR-bring OBL
 tasau m-u-aŋu-aŋupu na tauruŋə. maaci u-pana=cu
 dog AV-U-RED-hunt.with.dog OBL muntjac if AV-shoot=COS
 na tauruŋə ia, pu-a-ili=cu ki-ali-ali=isa na
 OBL muntjac TOP PU-IRR-retrun=COS KI-RED-ritual=3SG.GEN LNK
 maacu ka vuŋu=isa ka tauruŋə ia,
 concerning NOM head=3SG.GEN OBL muntjac TOP
 api-api=isa na mamaini.
 RED-carry.by.tumpline=3SG.GEN OBL child
 After a (good night) sleep, they go hunting with dogs to catch a muntjac. If (they)

catch a muntjac, they will return to the ritual ceremony. As for the head of the muntjac, it is carried on back by tumpline for children.

- (14) maaci ki-lupəŋi=cu ia, picu-a-mapaci=mana picu-ŋaŋ-aŋaŋa,
 when KI-finish=COS TOP make-IRR-wine=still make-RED-again
 picu-iʔivu maaci m-ima.
 make-urine when AV-drink
 When (the ritual ceremony) is over, they make wine again, urinate as they drink.

- (15) maacu ka kiariari, maaci m-uri-usumanə ia,
 concerning NOM ancient when AV-URI-marry TOP
 um-aru-a-mia na li-cuʔuku c<um>a-cuʔuku
 AV-ARU-IRR-use OBL NMLZ-rice.cake RED<AV>-pound.rice.cake
 tuaʔə=isa ma-tulu-ʔu.
 almost=3SG.GEN ten-three-ORD
 Concerning the past, when (people) got married, they used rice cake, making about thirty rice cakes.

- (16) m-a-aru ka mapaci u-tulu u-patə taupaŋ.
 AV-STA-exist NOM wine AV-three AV-four urn
 They made three to four urns of wine.

- (17) m-a-aru ka valituku tuaʔə=isa ʔimiun.
 AV-STA-exist NOM money almost=3SG.GEN hundred
 They prepared about a hundred dollars.

- (18) maaci m-a-aru ka sa-raŋi-raŋi ia, ca-calaisa
 if AV-STA-exist NOM 3PL.GEN-RED-thing TOP RED-random
 məəməa a-vura=isa na cucuʔu=isa.
 all IRR-give=3PL.GEN OBL person=3PL.GEN
 If they had (other) things, they would give them all randomly to people.

- (19) tai-naana=cu.
 all-that=COS
 That's all.

Text 8. Past and present

- (1) maacu ka iłalamu ia, tumalaı=amu ıa?alua alaama
concerning OBL 1EXCL TOP many=1EXCL.NOM Saaroa ancestor
məəməa ia, rianə=mana m-ala-tura. kani?i=cu ia, mamaini=cu
all TOP all=still AV-AŁA-strong now=COS TOP child=COS
m-u-a-liuıu ia, uka?a=cu ka m-ala-tura=isa.
AV-U-IRR=change TOP none=COS LNK AV-AŁA-strong=3PL.GEN
As for us Saaroas, most of our ancestors were strong. But now, the children have
changed, and none of them are strong.
- (2) maaniki au-naana ia, riani=cu m-a-calıa na um-aisə
even.if like-that TOP all=COS AV-IRR-able LNK AV-school
m-a-calıa=c=ita maa-kari-kari.
AV-IRR-can=COS=1INCL.NOM AV.RECP-RED-talk
Even like that, (the children) can all go to school and they know how to discuss.
- (3) maacu ni kiariari, tumalaı ka cucu?u laa
concerning OBL past many NOM people and
ku=na a-calıa s<um>alatu u-cani=maanai ka takulia=cu
not=yet IRR-able write<AV> AV-only=probably NOM bad=COS
pa-a-pa-paci na cucu?u um-a-ara na ca-calaisa
CAUS-IRR-RED-die OBL people AV-IRR-take OBL RED-random
pa-a-tiviıa m-ari-ka-kua na cakuarə
CAUS-IRR-wear AV-ARI-RED-move.to OBL meeting.house
kil-ali-ali=isa. məəməa takulia=cu ka au-naana.
KIL-RED-do.ritual=3PL.GEN all bad=COS NOM like-that
Concerning the past, many people could not write and probably they did only bad
things, such as killing people, taking things at will, or going to a meeting house to do
ritual ceremonies. All was bad like that.

- (4) maaci kaniʔi=cu ia, ukaʔa=cu ka au-naana.
 when now=COS TOP none=COS NOM like-that
 m-a-vacaŋə=c=ita məməa ka cucuʔu, ku=cu ausi
 AV-STA-good=COS=1INCL.NOM all NOM people not=COS like
 ni kiariari. ka-aləkələ m-i<a>ma-ama m-ari-saŋili na
 OBL past KA-everyday AV-drink<IRR>-have AV-ARI-fight OBL
 laə-laəvu=isa
 RED-companion=3SG.GEN
 It is not like that anymore now. We people are all nice, unlike the people in the past.
 They drank everyday, fighting with friends.
- (5) maacu=ami ka au-naana ia, vaasu=ami
 concerning=said NOM like-that TOP brave=said
 m-ati-a-saŋalə na aləmələ.
 AV-ATI-IRR-catch OBL wild.pig
 Concerning that, catching a wild pig was considered brave.
- (6) ki-aʔa-aʔamu=cu maci m-a-ʔavai=cu vaasu=aku ami-ami.
 KI-RED-tell=COS if AV-STA-drunk=COS brave=1SG.NOM RED-said
 I may have been telling you that I was brave as I was drunk.
- (7) tai-naana=cu.
 all-that=COS
 That's all.

Text 9. Improving work

- (1) takulia=cu=amu na kiariari, m-u-a-umuuma va-valira
 bad=COS=1EXCL.NOM OBL past AV-U-IRR-field RED-slope
 takulia=cu na taku-ʔi-ʔiarə a ku=aini=ita ni kiariari
 bad=COS OBL TAKU-RED-work LNK not=how=1INCL.NOM OBL past
 ukaʔa=mana ka ʔaumu t<um>a-tuu-turu na təkə
 none=still LNK Japanese RED<AV>-RED-teach OBL idea
 m-a-vacaŋ.

AV-STA-good

We worked poorly in the past, and it was hard to weed in the fields on a slope. We did not know how to work efficiently in the past, when there were no Japanese to teach us a good way to do it.

- (2) maacu na kaniʔi=cu ia, m-a-vacaŋi=cu ka təkə=isa
 concerning OBL now=COS TOP AV-STA-good=COS NOM idea=3SG.GEN
 ka m-a-aru=cu ka ʔaumu ka t<um>a-tuu-turu
 LNK AV-STA-exist=COS NOM Japanese LNK RED<AV>-RED-teach
 na təkə m-a-vacaŋ.
 OBL idea AV-STA-good

It is fine now ever since the Japanese taught (us) a good way to work in the fields.

- (3) m-ara-ia-iafi=cu ka cucuʔu.
 AV-become-RED-same=COS NOM people
 The Lha'alua people are becoming alike.

Text 10. Drinking wine

- (1) maacu ka kiariari, maaci m-a-aru ka mapaci
 concerning NOM past when AV-STA-exist NOM wine
 ia, m-aa-saa-saḡarə taru-cu-cuvuḡu ka cucuʔu.
 TOP AV-STA-RED-happy TARU-RED-meet NOM people
 Concerning the past, when there was wine, the people were happy gathering
 together.

- (2) maaci m-a-aru ka mapaci, m-i<a>ma=isa,
 when AV-STA-exist NOM wine AV-drink<IRR>=3PL.GEN
 pa-aḡu-a-saḡi=cu na m-i-a-tuḡus məəməa=isa ka aḡaina
 CAUS-go-IRR-song=COS OBL AV-I-IRR-rite all=3PL.GEN NOM woman
 mamaini məəməa m-i-a-tuḡus.
 child all AV-I-IRR-rite
 When there was wine, all the women and children drank and sang in the *miatungusu*
 ritual ceremony.

Text 11. We have changed

- (1) maacu ka kiariari, tamu=cu takulia=cu m-u-a-sala
 concerning OBL past really=COS bad=COS AV-U-IRR-go
 pa-a-pa-paci na cucuʔu.
 CAUS-IRR-RED-die OBL people
 Concerning the past, it was really bad to go and kill people.
- (2) maaci takulia=cu ka saliri=isa ia, ku=a-sala
 when bad=COS NOM dream=3GEN TOP not=IRR-go
 pa-a-paci palisia. maaci m-ai-sukasu ia, pa-a-pa-paci=isa
 CAUS-IRR-die taboo if AV-AI-disobey TOP CAUS-IRR-RED-die=3PL.GEN
 ka alaʔa
 NOM enemy
 When (they) had a bad dream, it was a taboo not to go and kill people. If they ignored the taboo, the enemies would kill them.
- (3) t<um>ua na m-a-vacaŋə ka saliri=isa. m-u-a-sala=cu
 want<AV> OBL AV-STA-good NOM dream=3SG.GEN AV-U-IRR-go=cOS
 pa-a-paci takulia=cu ka au-naana
 CAUS-IRR-die bad=COS NOM like-that
 (People) wanted a good dream. It was bad to go and kill people like that.
- (4) mamisa=cu paki-a-turu=c=ita na ʔaumu, ukaʔa=cu
 now=COS PAKI-IRR-learn=COS=1INCL.NOM OBL police none=COS
 ka təkə ta-takulia=cu
 NOM mind RED-bad=COS
 We have to listen to the police now, and don't bear any ill will.
- (5) kuu=p-ara-iaʔu ka təkə kiariari na təkə mamisa.
 not=P-become-equal NOM mind past OBL mind now
 tamu m-a-vacaŋə=cu na mamisa ka m-ara-a-ia-iaʔi=cu
 really AV-STA-good=COS OBL now LNK AV-become-IRR-RED-same=COS
 ka təkə cucuʔu.
 NOM mind people
 Everyone's attitude was different in the past from it is now. It is good that people's attitude has become the same now.

Text 12. Hunting and working

- (1) maacu ka kiariari ia, taka-cii-citi na pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə
 concerning NOM past TOP TAKA-RED-self OBL PA-RED-think
 m-u-a-sala m-ulu-kua na vuu-vuluŋ-a u-pana na
 AV-U-IRR-go AV-go-move OBL RED-mountain-LOC AV-shoot OBL
 vutuŋ caa-calaisa ka a-pana=isa kuliʔi məəmə.
 deer RED-random LNK AV-shoot=3PL.GEN beast all
 Concerning the past, (a man) thought of going to mountains to shoot deer or any other beasts by himself.
- (2) m-a-arua maaci um-i-maaŋə na vuu-vuluŋ-a u-pana
 AV-STA-exist when AV-I-ten OBL RED-mountain-LOC AV-shoot
 na vutuŋ.
 OBL deer
 He stayed in mountains for ten days to shoot deer.
- (3) maaci m-a-tumuŋ=cu ka hi-pana=isa ia,
 when AV-IRR-many=COS NOM PFV-shoot.PV=3SG.GEN TOP
 pu-a-ili=cu pasa-kulai taku-ʔi-ʔiarə.
 PU-IRR-return=COS PASA-hurry TAKU-RED-work
 When he had a lot of game, he would rush back to work.
- (4) maaci raŋa=cu ia, taku-ʔi-ʔiarə ia, m-u-a-sala=cu
 when long=COS TOP TAKU-RED-work TOP AV-U-IRR-go=COS
 ru-ŋaŋa u-pana na vutuŋ.
 RU-again AV-shoot OBL deer
 When he had worked for quite a while, he would go shooting deer again.
- (5) au-naana ka təkə=isa ka kiariari, u-cani ka
 like-that NOM mind=3.GEN OBL past AV-one NOM
 taku-ʔi-ʔiarə ʔa u-a-pana na vutuŋ na vuu-vuluŋ-a.
 TAKU-RED-work and AV-IRR-shoot OBL deer OBL RED-mountain-LOC
 This life routine, working and hunting deer in mountains, is the same in the past and now.
- (6) au-naana ka təkə=isa ka kiariari.
 like-that NOM mind=3.GEN LNK past
 The attitude toward life was like that in the past.

Text 13. From bad to good

- (1) maacu ka kiariari ia, tamu=cu takulia=cu taka-cii-cifi
 concerning NOM past TOP really=COS bad=COS TAKA-RED-self
 na təkə=isa, maaci m-ai-raḷu ia, m-u-a-i-likapə na
 OBL mind=3PL.GEN when AV-AI-origin TOP AV-U-IRR-I-steal OBL
 caa-calaisa pa-a-liviŋa=isa ka cucuḷu.
 RED-random CAUS-IRR-wear=3PL.GEN NOM people
 Concerning the past, people's mind was really bad originally. People stole things.
- (2) ukaʔa ka paki-a-turu-a=isa ka kiariari, maaci
 none OBL PAKI-IRR-teach-PV=3PL.GEN NOM past when
 li-pamia=isa ia, taka-cii-cifi na təkə=isa
 NMLZ-opinion=3PL.GEN TOP TAKA-RED-self OBL mind=3PL.GEN
 In the past, (people) were not educated. They had their own opinions.
- (3) t<um>a-tuḷucu na sakəraḷə caa-calaisa ka ʔuḷuḷu,
 RED<AV>-fish.poison OBL river RED-random NOM fish
 maaci m-ai-raḷu ia, m-u-a-i-likapə na caa-calaisa
 when AV-AI-origin TOP AV-U-IRR-I-steal OBL RED-random
 (They) fished in the river with fish poison and stole things at will.
- (4) tamu=cu takulia=cu ka au-naana, m-a-vacaŋi=cu mamisa.
 really=COS bad=COS NOM like-that AV-STA-good=COS now
 m-a-arū=cu ka ʔaumu m-a-i-va-vaca-vacaŋə na cucuḷu.
 AV-STA-exist=COS NOM Japanese AV-STA-I-RED-RED-good OBL people
 It was bad to do things like that, but it is good now. The Japanese made people
 behave.
- (5) m-ara-ia-iafi=cu ka təkə=ta
 AV-become-RED-same=COS NOM mind=1INCL.GEN
 Our mind has become alike.

Text 14. Bathing before sleeping

- (1) maacu ka mamisa, m-a-vacaŋi=cu ka mamisa
 concerning NOM now AV-STA-good=COS NOM now
 ausi=cu na ʔaumu.
 like=COS OBL Japanese
 (People) are good like the Japanese now.
- (2) maaci m-a-ləsapə ia, tara-əmi=cu na sapałə=isa
 when AV-IRR-sleep TOP TARA-wash=COS OBL foot=3PL.GEN
 maaci m-a-ləsapə.
 when AV-IRR-sleep
 They wash their feet before going to bed.
- (3) maacu ka kiariari ia, ausi=cu na aləməłə
 concerning NOM past TOP like=COS OBL wild.pig
 maaci m-a-ləsapə ia, ku=tara-ənə na sapałə=isa.
 when AV-IRR-sleep TOP not=TARA-wash OBL foot=3PL.GEN
 In the past, just like wild pigs, they did not wash their feet before going to bed.
- (4) m-ari-vutu m-a-sinu maaniki hi-taku-ʔi-ʔiarə ia,
 AV-ARI-dislike AV-IRR-bathe even.if PFV-TAKU-RED-work TOP
 kuu=pa-sinu m-a-ləsapə ka aasiaimau ku=pi-ʔaərə
 not=CAUS-bathe AV-IRR-sleep LNK probably not=have-dirty
 tamu=cu takulia=cu k<um>a-kita.
 really=COS bad=COS RED<AV>-look
 They did not like to take a bath. Although they worked, they did not bathe before going to bed probably because they did not look very dirty even though they did not look nice.
- (5) m-a-vacaŋə ka mamisa ka ausi=cu na pakisiaʔa
 AV-STA-good NOM now LNK like=COS OBL Chinese
 m-aa-sinu maaci m-a-ləsapə.
 AV-IRR-bathe when AV-IRR-sleep
 It is fine now just like the Chinese; they bathe before going to bed.

Text 15. Poor food in the past

- (1) maacu ka kiariari ia, ku=ausi na mamisa, um-a-u
 concerning NOM past TOP not=like OBL now AV-IRR-eat
 puusiam maacu ka kiariari um-a-u na ʔəvəcəŋə
 rice concerning LNK past AV-IRR-eat OBL millet
 ʔa mairəŋ.
 and sweet.potato

Unlike now, (people) ate rice, millet and sweet potato in the past.

- (2) maaci avavu ia, takulia=cu ka si-avav-a=isa
 when cook TOP bad=COS NOM INST.NMLZ-cook-PV=3PL.GEN
 ku-a-capə-capəŋə ka kiariari.
 eat-IRR-RED-catch.randomly LNK past

They cooked poor quality food and ate anything in the past.

- (3) maaniki aʔəŋəŋə ia, anə=isa tamu=cu takulia=cu.
 even.if dirty TOP eat=3PL.GEN really=COS bad=COS
 They ate really bad food even if it was dirty.'

- (4) m-a-vacaŋi=cu ka mamisa um-a-u=cu na m-a-vacaŋə.
 AV-STA-good=COS NOM now AV-IRR-eat=COS OBL AV-STA-good
 It is good that (people) eat well now.

- (5) ku=cu aʔəŋəŋə ku=cu pa-a-m-a-carəm(u).
 not=COS dirty not=COS CAUS-IRR-AV-STA-sick
 If it is not dirty, (we) won't get sick.

Text 16. Gathering together after hunting

- (1) maacu ka italamu kiariari, maacu=amu m-urə-cəka
 concerning NOM 1EXCL past concerning=1EXCL.NOM AV-URƏ-hunt
 m-ała-aisiam-ani=cu=amu m-u-a-sala.
 AV-AŁA-rest-LOC=COS=1EXCL.NOM AV-U-IRR-go
 Concerning our past, we went hunting and rested.
- (2) maacu=amu pu-a-ili ia, maacu=amu
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM PU-IRR-return TOP concerning=1EXCL.NOM
 li-u-pana (na) vutuľu ia, a-pua-cuvuľu=amu
 PFV-AV-shoot OBL deer TOP IRR-PUA-meet=1EXCL.NOM
 When we had shot a deer, we would gather together and return.
- (3) m-u-a-cukəľə ka m-u-a-cuvuľu pi-api na papaľa.
 AV-U-IRR-come NOM AV-U-IRR-meet RED-carry.by.tumpline OBL meat
 (People) came to meet and carried meat in a tumpline
- (4) maacu=amu m-i-uľu na salia, m-u-a-cukəľi=cu
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM AV-I-arrive OBL house AV-U-IRR-come=COS
 ka cucuľu, taru-cu-cuvuľu m-ima n mapaci.
 NOM people TARU-RED-meet AV-drink OBL wine
 pa-camai n papaľa.
 CAUS.eat-dishes OBL meat
 When we got home, people came over. Everyone gathered together drinking wine
 and eating meat.

Text 17. Performing the ritual ceremony

- (1) maacu ka iłamu na kiariari-aa, kila-ali-ali=amu
 concerning NOM 1EXCL OBL past-LOC KILA-RED-ritual=1EXCL.NOM
 na m-i-a-tuŋusu.
 OBL AV-I-IRR-rite

In the past, we performed the ritual ceremony *miatuŋusu*.

- (2) u-pitu=amu arii m-ima na mapaci.
 AV-seven=1EXCL.NOM day AV-drink OBL wine

We drank wine for seven days.

- (3) kiariari-a kila-ali-ali=amu kaa-rəkəłə=amu m-i-a-tuŋusu.
 past-LOC KILA-RED-ritual=1EXCL.NOM very-often=1EXCL.NOM AV-I-IRR-rite

In the past, we usually performed the ritual ceremony *miatuŋusu*.

- (4) m-u-su-rauvu ıaa kana?a m-i<a>ma na mapaci.
 av-U-SU-dance and that AV-drink<IRR> OBL wine

(We) danced and drank wine.

- (5) tamu=cu=amu m-aa-saa-sajarə ia, maacu kali=iłamu
 really=COS=1EXCL.NOM AV-STA-RED-happy TOP concerning dig=2PL
 kani?i ia, hi-ajafi kiariari m-a-arı.
 this TOP PFV-begin past AV-STA-exist

We are very happy to find out that it started in the past.

Text 18. How we used to work

- (1) maacu ka takiarə ia, hi-ala=lamu na łasəŋa
 concerning NOM divine.pot TOP PFV-take.PV=1EXCL.GEN OBL place.name
 ka takiarə aru-a-mia=lamu ki-ali-ali na m-i-a-tuŋusu.
 NOM divine.pot ARU-IRR-use=1EXCL.GEN KI-RED-ritual OBL AV-I-IRR-rite
 As for the divine pot, we took it to Lhasenga and used it for *miatuŋusu*.

- (2) maacu kaniʔi=cu ia, ali-vilau-ani=cu ka italamu
 concerning this=COS TOP ALI-abandon-LV=COS NOM 1EXCL
 akuisa m-u-liulu=cu ka kaniʔi ciukuku ia, putałua
 when AV-U-change=COS NOM this China TOP that.is
 pa-kia-turu=cu=amu n amaʔa maa na laŋica.
 CAUS-KIA-learn=COS=1EXCL.NOM OBL father be OBL sky
 As for this ritual ceremony, we abandoned it when we were administered by China.
 That is, we learned the disciplines of God.

- (3) maacu=amu taku-ʔi-ʔiarə na kiariari-a
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM TAKU-RED-work OBL past-LOC
 pa-a-pa-uma=amu
 CAUS-IRR-PA-rice.field=1EXCL.NOM
 We worked together in the rice field in the past.

- (4) maacu=amu um-u-rapə na puusiamə.
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM AV-U-sow OBL rice
 We sowed rice.

- (5) maaci t<um>aŋuulu=cu ia, a-umuum-ani=cu=lamu
 when sprout<AV>=COS TOP IRR-weed-LV=COS=1EXCL.GEN
 m-a-i-vaca-vacaŋə. maaci m-aa-masu=cu ia,
 AV-STA-I-RED-good when AV-STA-fruit=COS TOP
 pa-a-liimai=cu=lamu.
 CAUS-IRR-bird.leave=COS=1EXCL.GEN
 When it sprouted, we weeded the fields well. When it bore fruit, we had to chase
 away birds.

- (6) maaci m-a-vərai=cu ia, puusiam ia, m-a-ria-puusiamə=cu=amu
 when AV-STA-ripe=COS TOP rice TOP AV-IRR-off-rice=COS=1EXCL.NOM
 a-ari=cu=lamu ka hi-ari puusiamə=lamu imikua na salia.
 IRR-take=COS=1EXCL.GEN NOM NMLZ=take rice=1EXCL.GEN keep OBL house
 When the rice was ripe, we harvested it, gathered it and kept it in the house.

- (7) a-iriki=cu=lamu ani=cu=amu um-ai isana n
 IRR-trample=COS=1EXCL.GEN then=COS=1EXCL.NOM AV-store 3PL.OBL OBL
 taliulu.
 granary
 We trampled the grains and stored them in a granary.

Text 19. Clothing

informant: salapuana tamauḷu.

- (1) maacu ka italamu na kiariari-a, təkəḷə ka
 concerning NOM 1EXCL OBL past-LOC different NOM
 pa-a-liviṇa=lamu ku=p-ara-ialə na pa-a-liviṇa=isa
 CAUS-IRR-wear=1EXCL.GEN not=CAUS-become-same OBL CAUS-IRR-wear=3GEN
 mamiisa.

now

As for our clothes in the past, they were different, unlike the clothes now.

- (2) maacu ka mamiisa ia, m-ara-iafi=cu ka
 concerning NOM now TOP AV-become-same=COS NOM
 pa-a-liviṇa=lamu na maacu ka pa-a-liviṇa=lamu
 CAUS-IRR-wear=1EXCL.GEN OBL concerning NOM CAUS-IRR-wear=1EXCL.GEN
 ni kiariari, təkəḷə=mana ka pa-a-liviṇa=lamu.
 OBL past different=still NOM CAUS-IRR-wear=1EXCL.GEN

We wear the same type of clothing now, but our clothing was different in the past.

- (3) m-aa-liviṇi=amu n valaku=isa ka vutulu na kiariari.
 AV-IRR-wear=1EXCL.NOM OBL fur=3PL.GEN LNK deer OBL past

We wore the fur of deer in the past.

- (4) kani?i=cu naani ia, tikiti=cu ka fi-pa-ria
 this=COS here TOP cloth=COS NOM NMLZ-CAUS-use
 m-a-mia=lamu m-aa-liviṇi.
 AV-IRR-use=1EXCL.GEN AV-IRR-wear

We use cloth as clothing and wear it here now.

- (5) maacu ka maacu na kani?i=cu naani ia,
 concerning NOM concerning OBL this=COS here TOP
 m-ara-iafi=cu ka pa-a-liviṇa=ta

AV-become-same=COS NOM CAUS-IRR-wear=1INCL.GEN

We (inclusive) all wear the same type of clothing now.

- (6) kaniʔi=cu akuisa m-u-liuʔu=cu ka ciuukuku kaniʔi=cu naani
 this=COS when AV-U-change=COS NOM China this=COS here
 rumalaə tamu m-a-vacaŋi=cu ka pa-a-liviŋa-i=cu²³ ka cucuʔu
 then really AV-STA-good=COS LNK CAUS-IRR-wear-PV=COS NOM people
 na kaniʔi=cu
 OBL this=COS

Now that it has changed to the Chinese administration, people's clothing will become very good from now on(?).

²³ The suffix *-i* indicates “non-indicative dependent” Patient-voice (Zeitoun and Teng 2016: 180).

Text 20. Traditional life

- (1) maacu ka salia=lamu kiariari-a um-a-ila=mu na
 concerning NOM house=1EXCL.GEN past-LOC AV-IRR-built=2PL.NOM OBL
 kiuʔu ulusu=lamu.
 tree together=1EXCL.GEN
 We built our houses of wood in the past, and we did it together.
- (2) maacu ka hi-aluvu=lamu ia, maacu ka
 concerning NOM NMLZ-roof=1EXCL.GEN TOP concerning NOM
 ʔaʔivi ia, ariamə taarə məməa ia, ariamə.
 wall TOP stalk bed all TOP stalk
 Our roofs, walls and beds were all made of miscanthus stalks.
- (3) maacu ka aparə=lamu ia, valaku vutulu,
 concerning NOM mat=1EXCL.GEN TOP fur deer
 carəvu ia, valaku məməa.
 covering TOP fur all
 Our mats were fur of deer, and our coverings were all fur.
- (4) maacu ka apu-apuʔ-aa=lamu kiariari-a um-ala=amu
 concerning NOM RED-fire-LOC=1EXCL.GEN past-LOC AV-take=1EXCL.NOM
 vatuʔu ka u-tulu l<əm>əməkə.
 stone LNK AV-three set.up<AV>
 We took three stones to set up a stove.
- (5) maacu=amu avavu ia, pa-tua-kələŋə=lamu n
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM cook TOP CAUS-TUA-sit=1EXCL.GEN OBL
 lakusaʔə.
 fireplace
 When we cooked, we put wood into the fireplace.
- (6) maacu=amu um-u ia, m-u-rua um-uru-a-mia
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM AV-eat TOP AV-U-use.to AV-URU-IRR-use
 taisiŋi kiuʔu.
 spoon wood
 When we ate, we used wooden spoons.

- (7) aru-a-mia=lamu um-u uuru.
 ARU-IRR-use=1EXCL.GEN AV-eat cooked.rice
 We used them to eat rice.
- (8) maacu ka ta-a-camai=lamu ia, takuᵛa paluᵛu=isa
 concerning NOM TA-IRR-dishes=1EXCL.GEN TOP plate side=3.GEN
 ka racuᵛu.
 NOM bamboo
 The edge of our food plates is bamboo.
- (9) kaniᵛi=cu naani ia, tikili=cu ka apu-apuᵛ-aa=lamu,
 this=COS here TOP different=COS NOM RED-fire-LOC=1EXCL.GEN
 m-ara-iaᵛi=cu n apu-apuᵛ-aa hiica.
 AV-become-RED-same=COS OBL RED-fire-LOC plain
 Our stoves are different here, while the stoves in the plains are the same.
- (10) maacu məməa ka aru-a-mia=lamu um-u ia,
 concerning all NOM ARU-IRR-use=1EXCL.GEN AV-eat TOP
 um-aru-a-mia=cu=amu na takupiti maacu=amu um-u.
 AV-ARU-IRR-use=COS=1EXCL.NOM OBL bowl concerning=1EXCL.NOM AV-eat
 We (now) all use bowls when we eat.

Text 21. Burial

- (1) maacu=amu maciʔi ni kiariari-a a-caʔumu=ʔamu
concerning=1EXCL.NOM AV.die OBL past-LOC IRR-bury=1EXCL.GEN
na salia.
OBL house
We buried the dead in the house in the past.
- (2) pa-arəmuʔə=ʔamu saə=isa na vuiʔi maacu=amu
CAUS-fasten=1EXCL.GEN leg=3SG.GEN OBL rattan concerning=1EXCL.NOM
c<um>aʔumu isana.
bury<AV> 3SG.OBL
We fastened the dead's legs with rattan when we buried the dead.
- (3) maʔə=amu arii m-aa-taʔaa m-aru-aru (na) salia.
ten=1EXCL.NOM day AV-STA-rest AV-RED-stay OBL house
For ten days we stayed at home to rest.
- (4) picua-mapaci=aku aru-a-mia=ʔamu kil-ali-ali isana.
brew-wine=1SG.NOM ARU-IRR-use=1EXCL.GEN KIL-RED-ritual 3SG.OBL
I brewed wine and we used it at the ritual ceremony.
- (5) ani=cu=amu m-a-caʔia taku-ʔii-ʔiarə.
then=COS=1EXCL.NOM AV-IRR-able TAKU-RED-work
Then we could work.

Text 22. Marriage

- (1) maacu=amu n m-uri-usumanə=cu maacu=amu.
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM OBL AV-URI-marry=COS concerning=1EXCL.NOM
 um-ala n əlaina ia, um-aru-a-mia=amu n
 AV-take OBL woman TOP av-ARU-IRR-use=1EXCL.NOM OBL
 fi-cuʎuku puə na əlaina.
 NMLZ-rice.cake buy OBL woman
 When we got married, we took a girl by using rice cake to pay for the girl.
- (2) tuaʎə=isa ma-tulu-ʎu.
 about=3.GEN ten-three-ORD
 It was about thirty pieces (of rice cake).
- (3) maacu m-ai-raʎu ia, pa-a-pa-paci=amu n taʎakə.
 concerning AV-AI-tradition TOP CAUS-IRR-RED-die=1EXCL.NOM OBL pig
 pa-u na ʎaamaama=isa ka əlaina.
 CAUS-eat OBL parents=3SG.GEN LNK woman
 Naturally, we killed a pig to feed the girl's parents.
- (4) maacu=amu ru-avici isana ia, ru-avici
 concerning=1EXCL.NOM RU-take.away 3SG.OBL TOP RU-take.along
 na əlaina m-ari-ka-kua na salia=isa ka ʎaʎusa
 OBL woman AV-carry-RED-move OBL house=3SG.GEN NOM boy
 ia, um-ia-u-pat-əʎ.
 TOP AV-IA-U-four-ORD
 We took away the girl and took her to the boy's house to stay for four nights.
- (5) pu-a-ili n salia=isa ka ʎaamaama=isa ka
 PU-IRR-return OBL house=3SG.GEN LNK parents=3SG.GEN NOM
 əlaina, taku-li-li-liuŋu tai-naana=cu.
 woman TAKU-RED-RED-relax all-that=COS
 The girl returned to her parents' home to relax herself. That's all.

Text 23. Childbirth

- (1) maacu=amu pau-mamaini ia, a-pa-a-sinu
concerning=1EXCL.NOM beget-child TOP IPF-CAUS-IRR-bathe
na sałumu.
OBL water
When we had a childbirth, we had to bathe (the baby) in water.
- (2) maacu(a) kanaʔa, pəłəkə aru-a-mia=isa=amu n
concerning that navel ARU-IRR-use=3SG.GEN=1EXCL.NOM OBL
hi-puu-pici-a ariamə m-ara-ŋətəŋə ka pəłəkə=isa
PFV-PUU-cut-PV stalk AV-make-cut.down NOM navel=3SG.GEN
We cut off the navel with a miscanthus stalk.
- (3) um-ia-u-pat-əł ani=cu=amu a-purum=ita isana
AV-IA-U-four-ORD then=COS=1EXCL.NOM IRR-come.out=1INCL.NOM 3SG.OBL
vałita.
yard
Four days later, then we allowed (the baby) to come out to the front yard.
- (4) ani=cu=amu pa-aru-ŋała isana.
then=COS=1EXCL.NOM CAUS-have-name 3SG.OBL
Then we named it.
- (5) isaisa a-aŋali=cu isana łaamaama=isa taku-ʔii-ʔiarə.
? IRR-begin=COS 3SG.OBL parents=3SG.GEN TAKU-RED-work
The parents then began to work.

Text 24. My daily life I

- (1) maaci pa-ria-varatə ia, s<um>a-sapətə=kia salia.
 if CAUS-RIA-wind TOP RED<AV>-tie.up=1SG.NOM house
 If there is a typhoon, I tie up (places) of the house.
- (2) maaci um-ausalə ia, l<um>a-ləməkə=kia mairəŋə ʔaa
 if AV-rain TOP RED<AV>-plant=1SG sweet.potato and
 intavaŋə, tanalai.
 taro peanut
 If it is a rainy day, I plant sweet potatoes, taros, and peanuts.
- (3) m-u-sala=aku arii naani m-aʔu-kua vaa-valara
 AV-U-go=1SG.NOM day here AV-go-move.to RED-dry.land
 taku-ʔii-ʔiarə.
 TAKU-work
 I went to work on a dry farmland today.
- (4) maacu=aku pu-a-ili=cu ruvana ia,
 concerning=1SG.NOM PU-IRR-return=COS night TOP
 pi-api=aku na kiuʔu.
 PI-carry.on.back=1SG.NOM OBL wood
 When I returned in the evening, I carried wood with a tumpline on my back.
- (5) maaci=ku kiuʔu ia, pi-api=aku na rusuu.
 when=1SG.GEN wood TOP PI-carry.on.back=1SG.NOM OBL pig's food
 In addition to wood, I carried pig's food (sweet potato stems and leaves) with a
 tumpline on my back.
- (6) ukaʔa ka anə=isa ka taʔakə.
 none LNK eat=3SG.GEN NOM pig
 The pigs have nothing to eat.

Text 25. My daily life II

- (1) m-u-a-sala=aku arii naani k<um>ita n kalavupu
 AV-U-IRR-go=1SG.NOM day here look<AV> OBL water.buffalo
 I went to watch (my) water buffalo today.
- (2) maacu=aku pu-a-ili ia, m-a-tumuṭu
 concerning=1SG.NOM PU-IRR-return TOP AV-STA-many
 ka taa-ʔiara-a.
 NOM TAA-work-LOC
 When I returned, I had a lot of work to do.
- (3) m-i-aanə=aku, ukaʔa əvəraə.
 AV-I-pound=1SG.NOM none rice
 I pounded rice, and there was no more rice.
- (4) maacu=ku m-i-a-əvəŋə ia, m-i-aanə ia,
 concerning=1SG.GEN AV-I-IRR-finish TOP AV-I-pound TOP
 m-u-a-laku=aku.
 AV-U-IRR-draw.water=1SG.NOM
 When I finished pounding rice, I fetched water.
- (5) ukaʔa ka saṭumu ka ruvana=cu avavu=cu=kia.
 none NOM water LNK night=COS cook=COS=1SG
 (Or else) I would not have water to cook this evening.

Text 26. Father and son

- (1) maacu ka itaku aṅahi n maini.
 concerning NOM 1SG begin OBL little
 I shall begin (talking) about when I was a little (boy).
- (2) aku=ku ara-taisa ia, um-ala ka ama=ku na
 say=1SG.GEN become-big TOP AV-take NOM father=1SG.GEN OBL
 ɫaɫitu u-vura n itaku.
 rifle AV-give OBL 1SG
 I said that I had grown up, so my father took a rifle and gave it to me.
- (3) a-pa-ti-ɫaɫitu m-u-a-livi=cu=aku n ama=ku
 IRR-CAUS-TI-rifle AV-U-IRR-accompany=COS=1SG.NOM OBL father=1SG.GEN
 m-əɾə-cəkaa.
 AV-ƏRƏ-hunt
 My father made me take the rifle and follow him to go hunting.
- (4) tamu=cu maacu=aku u-pana n aləməɫə
 really=COS concerning=1SG.NOM AV-shoot OBL wild.pig
 ia, tamu=cu=aku m-aa-saa-saṅarə.
 TOP really=COS=1SG.NOM AV-STA-RED-happy
 When I caught a wild pig, I was very happy.
- (5) a-aṅahi=cu ka itaku isana tamu=cu=aku
 IRR-begin=COS NOM 1SG 3GEN really=COS=1SG.NOM
 pa-sa-tama-tama-ʔiarə m-əɾə-cəkaa.
 CAUS-3SG.GEN-RED-TAMA-diligent AV-ƏRƏ-hunt
 Since then, I made a special effort when I went hunting.
- (6) maacu=aku u-pana ia, tamu=cu m-a-saa-saṅarə
 concerning=1SG.NOM AV-shoot TOP really=COS AV-STA-RED-happy
 ka ama=ku nuka ina=ku.
 NOM father=1SG.GEN and mother=1SG.GEN
 When I had game, my father and my mother were very happy.

- (7) maacu ka ama=ku ia, akuisa laamaama=cu
concerning NOM father=1SG.GEN TOP when old=COS
ku=cu a-cafia m-ərə-cəkaa.
not=COS IRR-able AV-ƏRƏ-hunt
My father grew too old to go hunting.
- (8) aku=ku m-a-cafia=cu pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə ia,
say=1SG.GEN AV-IRR-able=COS PA-RED-think TOP
taka-cii-cii=cu=aku u-kiri-kirimi na taa-ʔiara-a=ku.
TAKA-RED-self=COS=1SG.NOM AV-RED-search OBL TAA-work-LOC=1SG.GEN
I said I knew how to consider finding a job myself.
- (9) laamaama=cu ka ama=ku, ku=cu a-cafia
old=COS NOM father=1SG.GEN not=COS IRR-able
taku-ʔii-ʔiarə a-cafia.
TAKU-RED-work IRR-able
My father was too old to work.
- (10) maaci=kia kuu=pa-sa-m-a-ŋanə taku-ʔii-ʔiarə ia,
if=1SG not=CAUS-3SG.GEN-AV-STA-strong TAKU-RED-work TOP
ku-a-saa-saŋarə ka laamaama.
not-IRR-RED-happy NOM parents
If I did not work hard, my parents would not be happy.
- (11) maci=kia taka-cii-cii pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə na taa-ʔiara-a
if=1SG TAKA-RED-self PA-RED-think OBL TAA-work-LOC
ia, tamu=cu m-aa-saa-saŋarə ka laamaama.
TOP really=COS AV-STA-RED-happy NOM parents
If I worked hard myself, my parents would be very happy.
- (12) maci=kia ku=au-naana ka mamaini ia, ku-aa-saa-saŋarə.
if=1SG not=like-that NOM child TOP not-IRR-RED-happy
ka laamaama.
NOM parents
If I did not work for children, my parents would not be happy.

Part Two: Texts by Shigeru Tsuchida

Text 1. Shooting the sun

uapana na taliaria

SarText 1

Note: Sar II-170-171

Tape o-64

- (1) maacu ka hi-timala-a=ku na tamu=ku
 concerning LNK PFV-hear-PV=1SG.GEN OBL grandfather=1SG.GEN
 kiariari ia, akuisa=ami afaama=mana ia,
 past TOP when=said ancestor=still TOP
 m-a-cici=ami ka taliaria
 AV-STA-hot=said NOM sun
 What I heard from my grandparent long time ago is that the sun was hot in
 time of our ancestors.
- (2) ku=ami a-tajuura ka a-anə.
 not=said IRR-grow NOM IRR-eat
 Food did not grow.
- (3) la caa-caalaisa səsəŋə ia, ku=ami a-tajuura
 and RED-various grass TOP not=said IRR-grow
 ka m-a-cici ka taliaria.
 LNK AV-STA-hot NOM sun
 And the various grasses did not grow because the sun was hot.
- (4) pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə=ami ka cucuʔu, rumalaə maa-kari-kari.
 PA-RED-think=said NOM people then AV.RECP-RED-talk
 People thought, and then talked over with each other.
- (5) m-a-arua=ami ka ca-cili ka u-sua=ami ari m-a-arua
 AV-STA-exist=said NOM RED-one LNK AV-two=said day AV-STA-exist
 n salia, ki-talii.
 OBL house make-rope
 There was a man, who was at home for two days to make ropes.

- (6) m-a-tumuɸu=cu=ami ka hi-ki-tali=isa,
 AV-STA-many=COS=said NOM PFV-make.PV-rope=3SG.GEN
 rumafaa saa-kili-a=cu=ami na ʔuɸuɸu
 then 3SG.GEN-tie-PV=COS=said OBL foot
 taarə ka hi-ki-tali=isa.
 bed NOM NMLZ-make-rope=3SG.GEN
 The ropes he made were plenty, and then he tied the rope he made at the foot
 of the bed.
- (7) m-u-sala=cu=ami m-ari-laasə isana.
 AV-U-go=COS=said AV-draw-rope 3SG.OBL
 He went, drawing the rope from there.
- (8) m-i-uɸu na kaaiu uru-a-mitaa=isa ka taliaria.
 AV-I-arrive OBL there URU-IRR-rise=3SG.GEN NOM sun
 He arrived over there at the place where the sun rises.
- (9) t<um>amafəŋə na valaku m-ara-ʔalivi.
 make<AV> OBL fur AV-make-wall
 He made a wall with fur.
- (10) paarana=isa=ami tə-kələŋə, u-ramaŋə na taliaria.
 place=3SG.GEN=said TƏ-sit AV-ambush OBL sun
 It was the place to sit and ambush the sun.
- (11) m-uu-la-likasə=cu=ami ka taliaria kaniʔi, taliaria=ta
 AV-UU-RED-set.in=COS=said NOM sun this sun=1INCL.GEN
 mamisa=na.
 today=DEF
 This sun, our sun today, set in.
- (12) rumafaa m-uru-mitaa=cu=ami ka taliaria m-a-cici.
 then AV-URU-rise=COS=said NOM sun AV-STA-hot
 Then the hot sun rose.

- (13) saa-panə-a=ami, rumafəə m-uru-caraʔi=cu ka tafiaria
 3SG.GEN-shoot-PV=said then AV-shed-blood=COS NOM sun
 m-uu-paapakə.
 AV-UU-boil
 He shot it. Then the boiling sun bled.
- (14) pu-a-ili=cu=ami ka cucuʔu fi-u-pana isana mə-ləvə
 PU-IRR-return=COS=said NOM person PFV-AV-shoot 3SG.OBL AV-go.along
 n fi-ki-tali=isa. m-i-uŋu n salia=isa.
 OBL PFV-make.PV-rope=3SG.GEN AV-I-arrive OBL house=3SG.GEN
 The man who shot it returned, going along his rope. He arrived at his house.
- (15) u-cani caił-a=ami səəsəma. ukaʔa=cu=ami ka
 AV-one year-LOC =said dark none=COS=said LNK
 pu-a-sipi-a=isa ka cucuʔu.
 PU-IRR-make.fire-PV=3PL.GEN NOM people
 It was dark for one year. People had no firewood.
- (16) rumafəə maa-kari-kari=cu=ami ka səəsəŋə məəməa
 then AV.RECP-RED-talk=COS=said NOM grass all
 ła kuliʔi məəməa m-aa saa-sarə-ana=na.
 and worm all AV-be RED-ground-LOC=DEF
 Then all grasses and all living things on earth talked over with each other.
- (17) s<um>avunju na tafiaria.
 compensate<AV> OBL sun
 They compensated to the sun.
- (18) maacu a səəsəŋə=na ia, m-a-arū a səəsəŋə
 concerning LNK grass=DEF TOP AV-STA-exist NOM grass
 a kanaʔa, maaci m-uru-mitaa tafiaria
 LNK that if AV-URU-rise sun
 ia, um-aŋi-a-kua=mana na kaaiu uru-a-mitaa
 TOP AV-AŁI-IRR-face=still OBL there URU-IRR-rise
 tafiaria=na.
 sun=DEF
 As for grass, there is a grass, which, if the sun rises, still faces to the place
 where the sun rises.

(19) maaci m-aa n maatipapu taħiaria ia,
 if AV-be OBL noon sun TOP
 m-aa n li-m-i-a-əŋə-əŋəcə ka inalə=isa=na.
 AV-be OBL PFV-AV-I-IRR-RED-straight NOM grasstop=3SG.GEN=DEF
 If it is at noon, the top of the grass is facing straight up.

(20) maaci m-uu-la-likasə=cu a taħiaria=na ia,
 if AV-UU-RED-set=COS NOM sun=DEF TOP
 li-m-ata-ka-kua=cu na uu-la-likas-a²⁴ taħiaria
 PFV-AV-begin-RED-face=COS OBL AV-RED-set-LOC sun
 If the sun sets, it will face toward the place where the sun sets.

(21) ukaʔa=ami ka savuŋu=isa ka kanaʔa ka
 none=said NOM compensate=3SG.GEN LNK that NOM
 taħi m-i-ca-acu-acurunu=ami na taħiaria
 only AV-I-RED-RED-see.off=said OBL sun
 That grass had no compensation but seeing off the sun.

(22) maacu=ami ka taħalufu ia, “ku=aku
 concerning=said NOM earthworm TOP not=1SG.NOM
 a-savuŋu ka sinaaminiʔai ka
 IRR-compensate LNK never.mind LNK
 m-a-arū-arū=aku na ru-ruma-anə²⁵
 AV-STA-RED-exist=1SG.NOM OBL RED-inside-LOC
 saa-sarə-ana,” ami-ami ka taħalufu
 RED-ground-LOC RED-say NOM earthworm
 As for the earthworm, it said, “I won't compensate, because I don't care, since
 I shall always be underground.”

²⁴ The prefix *u-* or *uu-* indicates actor-voice.

²⁵ The locative suffix is usually *-ana*. Occasionally it is realized as *-anə*, as in this form.

- (23) kit-uu=mau, maaci ki-puḷu na aḷa-aḷapa-a a
 look-PV.IMP=wish if KI-come.out OBL RED-surface-LOC NOM
 taḷaluḷu=na naia, ma-maci ka ku=ami
 earthworm=DEF RED-die LNK not=said
 savuḡu na taḷiaria
 compensate OBL sun
 Look, if an earthworm comes out on the surface, it dies because it did not
 compensate to the sun.

- (24) s<um>avuḡu=cu=ami n taḷiaria rumalaə
 compensate<AV>=COS=said OBL sun then
 ara-siḷaḡi=cu=?ai ka m-uru-mitaa=cu ka
 become-bright=COS=perhaps LNK AV-URU-rise=COS NOM
 taḷiaria=ta kani?i=na.
 sun=1INCL.GEN this=DEF
 (Other living things) paid compensation to the sun, then perhaps it became
 bright because this sun of ours rose.

- (25) ara-maa-maini a taḷiaria kani?i=na akuisa
 become-RED-little NOM sun this=DEF when
 m-uru-mitaa ka m-uru-aḷə-aḷə=?ai ka
 AV-URU-rise LNK AV-URU-RED-fear=perhaps LNK
 saa-panə-a ka cucu?u ka ḷaḷusa=isa²⁶
 3SG.GEN-shoot-PV ? person NOM man=3SG.GEN
 This sun does little by little when she rises, since perhaps she fears because
 her husband (= moon) could be shot by a man.

- (26) au-niini=cu=mau=nai?²⁷ a-uka-uka=cu ka caliḡa=ku.
 like-how=COS=wish=perhaps AV-RED-forget=COS NOM ear=1SG.GEN
 How was it? My ear forgot (= I have forgotten).

²⁶ In their traditional belief, the sun is the wife and the moon is the husband.

²⁷ the form *nai* is unusual compared to *ḡai*.

Text 2. The underground people

ʔulutii

SarText 2-1

Note: Sar II-172-174

Tape: 65-132

- (1) maacu ka a-caʔii=ku n kiariari ia,
concerning NOM A-know=1SG.GEN OBL ancient TOP
m-u-sala=ami k<um>ali n taʔivakuraʔai n likaʔa ʔakuruca.
AV-U-go=said dig<AV> OBL yam OBL down Lhiukuwei
As for what I know about the ancient times, (Saaroa people) went down to
Lhiukuwei to dig yams.

- (2) ki-la-luʔii=ami n ʔulutii.
KI-RED-dig.through=said OBL underground.world
They dug through to the underground world.

- (3) t<um>aliki=ami ka ʔaʔalua na ʔuuŋu, ki-tuu-turu
plait<AV>=said NOM Saaroa OBL horn KI-RED-imitate
na hasiŋu²⁸=na.
OBL ladder=DEF
The Saaroans plaited horns, imitating a ladder.

- (4) a-pata-ʔaasə a-puu-capi n ʔulutii,
IRR-hang-down IRR-PUU-drop OBL underground.world
u-a-ləvə-a=isa=ami m-aʔu-kua (na) ʔulutii.
U-IRR-go.along-LV=3PL.GEN=said AV-go-move OBL underground.world
They hung it down to the underground world, along which they went to the
underground world.

- (5) mə-ləvi=cu isana=ami rumaʔə m-uu-capi n
AV-go.along=COS 3SG.OBL=said then AV-UU-go.down OBL
ʔulutii.
underground.world
They went along it, then descended at the underground world.

²⁸ It is a loanword from Japanese はしご 'ladder'.

- (6) “au-naani=iau ka cucuʔu naani,” ami-ami ka
 like-this=wonder NOM people here RED-say NOM
 ʔaʔalua.
 Saaroa
 “People here are like this!” said the Saaroans.
- (7) mulu-a-ili=ami n paipai. m-u-sala=ami m-ai-tii-tivaə
 MULU-IRR-want=said OBL rice.cake AV-U-go=said AV-AI-RED-tear.off
 n ʔi-puu-liau=isa paipai ka
 OBL PFV-make.PV-outer.shelter=3PL.GEN rice.cake NOM
 ʔulutii. um-u.
 undergrounder AV-eat
 The Saaroans wanted rice-cake. The underground people went and tore off
 rice-cake from their outer shelter to eat.
- (8) “aʔaa, um-a-u=mu=iau,” ami-ami ka ʔulutii.
 oh AV-IRR-eat=2PL.GEN=wonder RED-say NOM undergrounder
 “Oh! You (really) eat!” said the underground people.
- (9) “ʔaa, um-a-u=amu” ami-ami ka ʔaʔalua.
 yes AV-IRR-eat=1EXCL.NOM RED-say NOM Saaroa
 “Yes, we eat,” said the Saaroans.
- (10) pau-ciri=ami ka ʔulutii. paka-paipai
 do-steam=said NOM undergrounder make-rice.cake
 pa-u n ʔaʔalua.
 CAUS-eat OBL Saaroa
 The underground people made rice-cake by steaming, let the Saaroans eat
 (them).
- (11) maacu=ami ka ʔulutii=a, m-i-a-palu=ami
 concerning=said NOM undergrounder=DEF AV-I-IRR-taste=said
 saŋalə n ʔi-pau-ciri=isa.
 catch OBL PFV-do.PV-steam=3PL.GEN
 As for the underground people, they only catch the smell of what they have
 steamed.

- (12) kə-ləpəŋə ka ʔaʔalua. um-u. rumafə m-u-sala=ami
eat-finish NOM Saaroa AV-eat then AV-U-go=said
mə-ləvə n m-aʔu-kaa-kua n umuuma.
AV-go.along OBL AV-go-RED-move OBL field
The Saaroans finished eating, then went to the field.
- (13) um-ala n supuʔu mairəŋə ʔa maa-talii.
AV-take OBL stem sweet.potato and AV.wear-headband
(They = the Saaroans) took a stem of sweet potato and wore it as headband.
- (14) “a-kuaini=iau=mau ka kanaʔa,” ami-ami ka
IRR-what.to.do=wonder=wish NOM that RED-say NOM
ʔulutii.
undergrounder
“What are you going to do with that?” said the undergrounders.
- (15) “ʔilipi=ku n m-a-cici taliaria.” ami-ami ka ʔaʔalua.
shade=1SG.GEN OBL AV-STA-hot sun RED-say NOM Saaroa
“This is my shade against the heat of the sun,” said the Saaroans.
- (16) k<um>ita=ami n ʔalumi, um-ala=ami um-iikua
see<AV>=said OBL millet AV-take=said AV-put
na caliŋa=isa.
OBL ear-3SG.GEN
They saw millet (*Panicum crusgalli*), took it and put it in his ear.
- (17) k<um>ita=ami na arisaŋə, um-ala=ami
see<AV>=said OBL tree.bean AV-take=said
um-iikua n pəʔəkə=isa.
AV-put OBL navel=3SG.GEN
He saw tree-bean (*Cajanus cajan*), took it and put it in his navel.
- (18) um-ala n tavaŋaʔa, um-iikua n kalace=isa.
AV-take OBL bean AV-put OBL penis=3SG.GEN
He took a bean, put it in his penis.
- (19) um-ala n ʔəvəcəŋə um-iikua n ʔaʔuku=isa.
AV-take OBL millet AV-put OBL nail=3SG.GEN
He took millet, put it in his nail.

- (20) pu-a-ili n salia rumaləə m-u-tii=ami ka ʔaʔalua.
 PU-IRR-return OBL house then AV-U-defecate=said NOM Saaroa
 The Saaroan went home, then defecated.
- (21) sa-aʔu-kua=ami ka ʔulutii m-ai-puti-putii
 3PL.GEN-go-move=said NOM undergrounder AV-AI-RED-play.excreta
 ka tii=sa.
 LNK excreta=3SG.GEN
 The underground people came to play with his excreta.
- (22) “arəə! mulu-ili=ʔai ka ʔulutii na um-a-u.”
 wow AV.ULU-want=perhaps NOM undergrounder OBL AV-IRR-eat
 “Wow! It seems that the underground people want to eat,” (Said the Saaroans.)
- (23) “ku-liu-liusu=aku ka tarə-saŋau=aku=ʔai.
 make-RED-anus=1SG.NOM LNK become-chief=1SG.NOM=perhaps
 aru-mi-u=aku na aria na ku-liu-liusu,” ami-ami
 ARU-use-PV.IMP=1SG.NOM OBL axe OBL make-RED-anus RED-say
 ka ʔulutii.
 NOM undergrounder
 “I make an anus, because (if I had an anus) I might become a chief. Use an
 axe to make an anus for me,” said the underground people.
- (24) sa-arū-mia-a=ami ka ʔaʔalua na aria m-a-a-pici
 3PL.GEN-ARU-use-PV=said NOM Saaroa OBL axe AV-STA-IRR-cut
 ka liusu=isa.
 OBL anus=3SG.GEN
 The Saaroa used an axe to cut through his anus.
- (25) “iiku kaaiu taruka=na pa-ŋələvə. ku=kia
 hide there warehouse=DEF CAUS-close not=please
 aru-a-paa-pa-ŋələvə isana. maacu=amu m-i-uŋu=cu
 ARU-IRR-RED-CAUS-open 3SG.OBL when=1EXCL.NOM AV-I-arrive=COS
 na kaaiu aʔa-aʔap-aa saa-sarə-ana=maanai ka,
 OBL there RED-surface-LOC RED-ground-LOC=probably OBL
 aru-pa-ŋihivi=cu=ʔai,” ami-ami ka ʔaʔalua.
 ARU-CAUS-open=COS=perhaps RED-say NOM Saaroa
 “Hide yourselves over there in the warehouse and close it. Don't open it.
 When we probably arrive over there on the ground, open it,” said the Saaroan.

- (26) saa-pa-ŋəʔəv-a=ami ka ʔulutii.
 3PL.GEN-CAUS-close-PV=said NOM underground
 The underground people closed it.
- (27) m-u-sala=cu=ami ka ʔaʔalua. rumaʔə m-u-alu-alu=ami
 AV-U-leave=COS=said NOM Saaroa then AV-U-RED-ahead=said
 ka ʔaʔusa, m-i-uŋu na aʔa-aʔap-aa.
 NOM man AV-I-arrive OBL RED-surface-LOC
 The Saaroan left, then the man went ahead, arrived at the surface.
- (28) pali-a-vilili=ami ka aʔaina. pali-ali=ami ka aʔaina.
 PALI-IRR-follow=said NOM woman PALI-pregnant=said NOM woman
 The woman followed. The woman was pregnant.
- (29) pali-a-vilili=cu=ʔai ka aʔaina rumaʔə m-i-uŋu.
 PALI-IRR-follow=COS=perhaps NOM woman then AV-I-arrive
 Perhaps the woman followed, then arrived.
- (30) m-a-vəʔəʔə=ami ka aʔaina rumaʔə m-i-ŋəʔəʔə=ami
 AV-STA-tired=said NOM woman then AV-I-break=said
 ka ʔi-tali ka ʔuuŋu ʔi-ə-ləvə-ana=isa,
 NOM PFV-rope OBL horn PFV-Θ-go.along-LV=3SG.GEN
 m-u-a-ili m-uu-capi n ʔulutii.
 AV-U-IRR-return AV-UU-drop OBL underground.world
 The woman was tired, then the rope of horns, the thing which she went along with, was broken. She dropped, back to the underground world.
- (31) m-a-məə-məəki=cu=ʔai ka ʔulutii. n
 AV-STA-RED-hopeless=COS=perhaps NOM undergrounder OBL
 paa-kari-kari-a=isa ka m-u-sala=cu ka ʔaʔalua.
 CAUS-RED-talk-PV=3PL.GEN LNK AV-U-leave=COS NOM Saaroa
 The underground people were quite at a loss for what to do, because the Saaroans were gone.

- (32) ku=cu a-caŋia u-kiri-kirimi isana ka ukaʔa=cu
 not=COS IRR-know AV-RED-search 3PL.OBL LNK none=COS
 ka u-a-mia=isa.
 NOM AV-IRR-footprint=3PL.GEN
 They could not look for them, because there was no trace of theirs.
- (33) maacu ka puusiamə ia, taluvucu=ami ka
 concerning NOM rice TOP rat=said NOM
 hi-m-a-ŋava isana m-ari-ka-kua=na ʔaʔalua.
 PFV-AV-STA-bring 3SG.OBL AV-carry-RED-move=DEF Saaroa
 As for the rice, it is the rat who brought it to the Saaroans.
- (34) sa-alu-a=ami ka ʔaʔalua ka puusiamə ʔa
 3PL.GEN-receive-PV=said NOM Saaroa OBL rice and
 ʔəvəcəŋə, arisaŋə, tavaŋaʔa, ʔalumi, um-urapə na
 millet tree.bean bean millet AV-sow OBL
 taa-ʔuki-a.
 TAA-chaff-LOC
 The Saaroan received rice, millet, tree bean, beans, another millet, and they
 sowed them in the dumping place.
- (35) ara-tumuʔu=cu=ami məəməa ka hi-ala-a=isa ka
 become-many=COS=said all NOM NMLZ-take-PV=3PL.GEN LNK
 ʔaʔalua. rumafə saa-puusuusua=cu=ami a m-a-maa-maini.
 Saaroa then 3PL.GEN-divide=COS=said LNK AV-STA-RED-little
 The things the Saaroan took all increased, then they divided them to people
 little by little.
- (36) ilaisa=cu=ami hi-aŋaʔ-aʔ-ana=isa
 3PL=COS=said NMLZ-begin-RED-LV=3PL.GEN
 a-anə=ta cucuʔu m-aa n aʔa-aʔap-ana
 IRR-eat=1INCL.GEN people AV-be OBL RED-surface-LOC
 saa-sarə-ana=na. tai-naana=cu.
 RED-ground-LOC=DEF all-that=COS
 This is the origin of our food of the people living on the ground. That's all.

Text 3. Monkey and pangolin

SarText 3-1

Note: Sar II-174-176

Tape: 135-177

- (1) maacu=ami ka tapuʔacəŋə ia, u-a-ʔamarə=ami
 concerning=said NOM monkey TOP AV-IRR-burn=said
 na ʔarəmə.
 OBL pangolin
 A monkey is going to burn a pangolin.
- (2) “kaumau=mana=mau u-ʔamarə, ka ukaʔa=mana
 wait=still=wish AV-burn LNK none=still
 ka səvə-səvə=ku,” ami-ami ka ʔarəmə.
 NOM RED-hay=1SG.GEN RED-say NOM pangolin
 “Please wait a minute, because there isn't hay yet,” said the pangolin.
- (3) ruməʔə, “u-a-ʔamarə=ci=ita ia,” ami-ami ka
 then AV-IRR-burn=COS=1INCL.NOM TOP RED-say NOM
 tapuʔacəŋə.
 monkey
 “Let's burn!” said the monkey.
- (4) “u-ʔamarə=cu=mau,” ami-ami ka ʔarəmə.
 AV-burn=COS=wish RED-say NOM pangolin
 “Please burn now!” said the pangolin.
- (5) u-ʔamarə=cu=ami ka tapuʔacəŋə, ruməʔə
 AV-burn=COS=said NOM monkey then
 m-i-cufu=cu=ami ka ʔarəmə tapi-cuu-cuu
 AV-I-escape=COS=said NOM pangolin TAPI-RED-run
 na hi-ku-pau=isa [hi-ku-la-luifi=isa].
 OBL PFV-make.PV-hole=3SG.GEN PFV-make.PV-RED-through=3SG.GEN
 The monkey burned. Then the pangolin escaped and ran into the burrow it made.
- (6) pia-livatə na ausi kaaiu ʔi-likusu=na.
 bore-through OBL like over.there LOC-back=DEF
 The pangolin bored through out to the other side of the mountain.

- (7) pu-a-ili=cu ka ʔarəmə, rumafəə “iʔau a=ci=kia
 PU-IRR-return=COS NOM pangolin then 2SG NOM=COS=please
 um-a-ulii,” ami-ami ka tapufacəŋə.
 AV-IRR-take.turns RED-say NOM monkey
 The pangolin came back. “Your turn now!” said the monkey.
- (8) um-ulii=cu=ʔai ka tapufacəŋə, rumafəə um-ala
 AV-take.turns=COS=perhaps NOM monkey then AV-take
 n səvə-səvə=isa.
 OBL RED-hay=3SG.GEN
 The monkey took his place. He took hay.
- (9) “m-a-tumuʔu=cu=ita səvə-səvə, u-a-lamarə=ci=ita
 AV-STA-much=COS=1INCL.NOM RED-hay AV-IRR-burn=COS=1INCL.NOM
 ia?” ami-ami ka ʔarəmə.
 TOP RED-say NOM pangolin
 “Do we have much hay yet? Shall we burn now?” said the pangolin.
- (10) “ʔaa, m-a-tumuʔu=cu a səvə-səvə=ku,” ami-ami
 yes AV-STA-much=COS NOM RED-hay=1SG.GEN RED-say
 ka tapufacəŋə.
 NOM monkey
 “Yes, I collected much hay,” said the monkey.
- (11) u-lamarə=cu=ami ka ʔarəmə, rumafəə m-u-cufu=cu=ami
 AV-burn=COS=said NOM pangolin then AV-U-burn=COS=said
 ka tapufacəŋə musu-kiri-kiriŋici.
 NOM monkey AV.show-RED-teeth
 The pangolin set fire and ran away. The monkey was burnt and showed its
 teeth.
- (12) sa-alə-a=cu=ami ka ʔarəmə ka tapufacəŋə
 3SG.GEN-take-PV=COS=said OBL pangolin NOM monkey
 u-pau. alə-a ka ʔaci=isa, um-iikua n taa-taisiŋi-aa.
 AV-skin take-PV NOM liver=3SG.GEN AV-store OBL RED-spoon-LOC
 The pangolin held the monkey with his hands to skin, and took out his liver,
 and stored it in the spoon basket.

- (13) *la, pu-liuṭ-a na vatuʔu ka civuka tapuṭacəŋə.*
 and PU-change-PV OBL stone NOM belly monkey
 And he changed the belly of the monkey with a stone.
- (14) *la, “m-ima=aku saṭumu,” ami-ami ka tapuṭacəŋə.*
 and AV-drink=1SG.NOM water RED-say NOM monkey
 “I drink water,” said the monkey.
- (15) *“kuruutu,” ami-ami ka vatuʔu m-aa n civuka=isa.*
 rolling.noise RED-say NOM stone AV-be OBL belly=3SG.GEN
 The stone in his belly made a rolling noise.
- (16) *“ŋaṭaisa=cu=mau ka m-aa n civuka=ku ka*
au-naana,” ami-ami ka tapuṭacəŋə.
 what=COS=wish NOM AV-be OBL belly=1SG.GEN LNK
 like-that RED-say NOM monkey
 “What is that which is in my belly, for it makes such a noise?” said the monkey.
- (17) *m-a-caa-caa=ami ka ʔarəmə. m-u-sala um-ala*
 AV-STA-RED-laugh=said NOM pangolin AV-U-go AV-take
na ʔaciʔi=isa ka tapuṭacəŋə m-aa n
 OBL liver=3SG.GEN OBL monkey AV-be OBL
taa-taisiŋi-aa u-vura isana pa-a-u.
 RED-spoon-LOC AV-give 3SG.OBL CAUS-IRR-eat
 The pangolin laughed. He took the liver of the monkey in the spoon basket, gave it to him and let him eat it.
- (18) *sa-alu-a=ʔai ka tapuṭacəŋə um-u ka*
 3SG.GEN-receive-PV=perhaps NOM monkey AV-eat OBL
ʔaciʔi=isa ku-ai-aili.
 liver=3SG.GEN eat-RED-back
 The monkey received to eat his own liver.
- (19) *“pa-ku-aili ʔaciʔi [ku-aili ʔaci=u],” ami-ami ka*
 CAUS-eat-back liver eat-back liver=2SG.GEN RED-say NOM
ʔarəmə. m-i-cuṭu tapi-cuu-cuu na li-kali=isa.
 pangolin AV-I-escape TAPI-RED-run OBL PFV-dig.PV=3SG.GEN
 “(I) made you eat your own liver,” said the pangolin, and escaped into the hole

he dug.

- (20) “avaḷa ka pa-ku-ai-aili=iau na iḷaku
oh NOM CAUS-eat-RED-back=wonder OBL 1SG
na ʔaci=ku,” ami-ami ka tapuḷacəŋə. um-ala
OBL liver=2SG.GEN RED-say NOM monkey AV-take
na kiuʔu, m-i-a-anə n ʔi-kali ʔarəmə
OBL tree AV-I-RED-pound OBL PFV-dig pangolin
pətə-ʔətə-ʔətəŋa.

PƏTƏ-RED-hit.hard

“Oh! He made me eat my liver back again!” said the monkey. He picked up a piece of wood, and pounded hard with it the hole dug by the pangolin.

- (21) maanik=iau=maanai ia, pia-livati=cu na ʔi-likusu
even.if=wonder=probably TOP bore-through=COS OBL LOC-back
kaaiu ka ʔarəmə. ku=ami paciʔi.
over.there NOM pangolin not=said die

But the pangolin bored through out to the other side of the mountain. He didn't die.

- (22) tai-naana=cu ka a-caḥii=ku
all-that=COS NOM IRR-know=1SG.GEN
That is all that I know of.

**Text 4. A woman who loved a fish, and a woman who had an amour
with an earthworm**

SarText 4-1

Note: Sar II-176-177

Tapé: A 178-215

- (1) maacu ka hi-timaḷa=ku na ḷaamaama kiariari ia,
concerning LNK PFV-hear.PV=1SG.GEN OBL old.person past TOP
m-a-arū=ami ka ḷaama ka hi-m-uri-usumanə na vutukuḷu.
AV-STA-exist=said NOM ancestor LNK PFV-AV-URI-marry OBL fish
According to what I heard from old people in the past, there was an ancestor
who married a fish.

- (2) maaci=ami m-u-sala m-u-laku ia, m-a-arū-arū=ami
if=said AV-U-go AV-U-draw.water TOP AV-STA-RED-exist=said
laku-a pasa-ula-ulaʔə na vutukuḷu.
draw.water-PV play-RED-play OBL fish
When she went fetching water, she always was at the place of drawing water
to play with a fish.

- (3) “avaḷa ka ani=ḷau pa-arū-arū ka cucuʔu kai
oh LNK why=wonder CAUS-RED-exist NOM person LNK
kanaʔa,” ami-ami ka ḷaḷusa=isa.
that RED-say NOM man=3SG.GEN
“Why is that person always there?” said her husband.

- (4) m-u-sala tara-saa-sakavə isana rumalaə m-a-arū=ami
AV-U-go TARA-RED-see.secretly 3SG.OBL then AV-STA-exist=said
ka vutukuḷu usumanə=isa.
NOM fish spouse=3SG.GEN
He went to see her secretly. A fish was her husband.

- (5) “au-naana=iau rumalaə=ami ani-sua iḷau
like-that=wonder then=said why-this 2SG
rumalaə raḷua maaci m-u-laku,” ami-ami
then long.time when AV-U-draw.water RED-say
ka ḷaḷusa.
NOM man
“It’s like that: This is why you take time when you go to draw water,” said the
man.

- (6) m-u-sala um-ala n tuʔucu. t<um>uʔucu isana.
 AV-U-go AV-take OBL Derris Derris<AV> 3SG.OBL
 maciʔi=?ai ka vutukuʔu=ami.
 AV.die=perhaps NOM fish=said
 He went to take Derris poison and he fished it with Derris. The fish died.
- (7) m-i-ŋəla-ŋələhi=cu=?ai ka aʔaina=isa. t<um>aŋi-taŋii
 AV-I-RED-sad=COS=perhaps NOM woman=3SG.GEN RED<AV>-cry
 u-cani a-ari.
 AV-one RED-day
 His wife remembered the fish fondly, and cried and cried all day long.
- (8) akuisa t<um>uʔucu isana=?ai ka ʔaʔusa=isa
 when Derris<AV> 3SG.OBL=perhaps NOM man=3SG.GEN
 m-i-səkasə=?ai akuisa m-u-sala ka
 AV-I-cunning=perhaps when AV-U-go NOM
 aʔaina=isa m-aʔu-kua n umuuma.
 woman=3SG.GEN AV-go-move OBL field
 Her husband cheatingly fished him with Derris poison, when his wife went to the fields.
- (9) maacu ka u-cani ia, m-a-arū=ami ka
 concerning NOM NUM-one TOP AV-STA-exist=said LNK
 ʔi-m-uri-usumanə n taʔaluʔu.
 PFV-AV-URI-marry OBL earthworm
 As for another one, there was a woman who married an earthworm.
- (10) maaci=ami caa-caalai=isa tə-kələŋə ia, ku=ami
 if=said RED-do.anything=3SG.GEN TƏ-sit TOP not=said
 pa-tua-taʔəʔa.
 CAUS-TUA-chair
 Whenever she sat, she never let other people sit on her chair.
- (11) “si-a-kuaini=isa=ʔau ka au-naana ku pa-tua-puru
 SI-IRR-why=3SG.GEN=wonder LNK like-that not CAUS-TUA-sit
 na taʔəʔa=isa,” ami-ami ka ʔaʔusa
 OBL chair=3SG.GEN RED-say NOM man
 “Why is it like that? She never lets other people sit on her chair,” said the man.

- (12) “cuu, m-aʔu-kua umuuma,” ami-ami na aʔaina=isa.
 go AV-go-move field RED-say OBL woman=3SG.GEN
 “Go! Go to the fields!” said he to his wife.
- (13) m-u-sala=ami ka aʔaina m-aʔu-kua umuuma.
 AV-U-go=said NOM woman AV-go-move field
 The woman went to the fields.
- (14) saa-i-səkasə=ami ka ʔaʔusa=isa ka
 3SG.GEN-I-cunning=said NOM man=3SG.GEN LNK
 taʔəʔa=isa tə-kələŋə.
 chair=3SG.GEN TΘ-sit
 Her husband secretly took her chair to sit on.
- (15) m-uru-puʔu-puʔu=ami ka taŋaʔuʔu, ʔaa m-u-a-cuu-cuu
 AV-URU-RED-come.out=said NOM earthworm and AV-U-IRR-RED-run
 na liusu=isa ka ʔaʔusa.
 OBL anus=3SG.GEN OBL man
 Earthworms came out and were going to enter the anus of the man.
- (16) “rəə, au-naana=iau rumaʔaə, takitai rumaʔaə kuu
 wow like-that=wonder then thus then not
 pa-tua-kələŋə taʔəʔa=isa,” ami-ami ka ʔaʔusa=isa.
 CAUS-TUA-sit chair=3SG.GEN RED-say NOM man=3SG.GEN
 “Wow! It was like that. That is why she did not let other people sit on her
 chair,” said her husband.
- (17) patu-cici n saʔumu, m-ali-ʔalulu isana. maciʔi=cu=ami
 PATU-boil OBL water AV-ALI-pour 3SG.OBL AV.die=COS=said
 ka tacaluʔu.
 NOM earthworm
 He boiled water, and pour it upon them. The earthworms died.
- (18) tai-naana=cu ka a-caʔia=ku.
 all-that=COS NOM IRR-know=1SG.GEN
 That is all that I know.

Text 5. The dwarf

kavurua

SarText 5-1

Note: Sar II-177

Tape: 217-231

- (1) maacu a ʔi-timaʔa-a=ku ni ama=ku
 concerning LNK PFV-hear-PV=1SG.GEN GEN father=1SG.GEN
 kiariari ia, maacu=ami ka kavurua maci
 past TOP concerning=said NOM dwarf if
 m-u-sala m-əɾə-cəkaa u-pana na vutuʔu ia,
 AV-U-go AV-ƏRƏ-hunt AV-shoot OBL deer TOP
 maci=ami u-pau isana ia, tu-a-əra-əra=ami ka
 when=said AV-skin 3SG.OBL TOP TU-IRR-RED-hold=said NOM
 laə-laəvə=isa s<əm>ə-pətə isana.
 RED-companion=3SG.GEN SƏ<AV>-catch 3SG.OBL

What I heard from my father long time ago is (as follows), when (one) goes hunting to shoot at a deer, (and) when (he) skins it, his companion (i.e., dwarf) holds (him) back to catch him.

- (2) “m-uu-la-lukuluku=ʔai na varuʔa=u,” ami-ami isana
 AV-UU-RED-get.into=perhaps OBL body=2SG.GEN RED-say 3SG.OBL
 ka laə-laəvə=isa.
 NOM RED-companion=3SG.GEN

“(I) shall get into your body,” says his companion (dwarf) to him.

- (3) maacu ka kavurua ia, si-pa-a-ruaʔ-ani=isa ka
 concerning NOM dwarf TOP SI-CAUS-IRR-depart-LV=3PL.GEN LNK
 ʔaʔalua n kiariari akuisa m-aa=mana n ʔasuʔa.
 Saaroa OBL past when AV-be=still OBL Lhasunga
 Dwarf is the one from whom the Saaroans departed long time ago when (they) were still in Lhasunga.

- (4) pu-u-sua=ami na takiarə na u-vura n
 CAUS-AV-two=said OBL divine.pot OBL AV-give OBL
 ʔaʔalua. tai-naana=cu
 Saaroa all-that=COS

(They) shared a divine pot which (they) gave to the Saaroans.

Text 6. The bird

taravasə (a type of bird)

SarText 6-1

Note: Sar II-177

Tape: 232-251

- (1) m-a-aru ka ałamə taravasə akuisa ka łaamaama.
AV-STA-exist NOM bird Taravasə when LNK ancestor
There was a bird Taravasə in ancestors' days.
- (2) cucuʔu=ami ni kiariari ła mamaini=ami.
person=said OBL past and child=said
m-a-sukasə=ami.
AV-STA-disobey=said
It was a human being long ago and he was a child. He was disobedient.
- (3) maaci=ami ava<a>vu ka ama=isa ia,
when=said cook<IRR> NOM father=3SG.GEN TOP
“a-silai=ku=ʔai ka ʔasuru,” ami-ami.
IRR-lick=1SG.GEN=perhaps NOM rice.spoon RED-say
When his father was cooking rice, he said, “I lick the scoop of rice.”
- (4) “saka,” ami-ami ka ama=isa, m-i-a-cuucuu isana
what RED-say NOM father=3SG.GEN AV-I-IRR-stick.in 3SG.OBL
liusu isana rumafə ʔisisi=ci=isa=ami.
anus 3SG.OBL then tail=COS=3SG.GEN=said
“What!” said his father. (His father) stuck the scoop into his anus, then it was his tail.
- (5) ihaisa=cu=ami m-uu-lavai=cu=ami.
3SG=COS=said AV-UU-remain=COS=said
It remained (just like that).
- (6) maacu ka u-cani ia, au-naana cucuʔu amiłaa.
concerning NOM NUM-one TOP like-that person say
Another one was also a human being, they say.
- (7) a-pala-pala-əraə=isa ka laə-laəvə=isa.
IRR-RED-PAŁA-dislike=3SG.GEN NOM RED-companion=3SG.GEN
He disliked his friends.

- (8) m-u-sala=ami m-aʎu-kua vuu-vuluŋ-aa m-ara-aʎa-aʎamə.
 AV-U-go=said AV-go-move RED-mountain-LOC AV-become-RED-bird
 He went to the mountains to become a bird.
- (9) ʎaisa=cu=ami tamuʎuʎupaai.
 3SG=COS=said tamuʎuʎupaai
 He was *tamuʎuʎupaai* (type of bird).
- (10) pii-talumarə=ami ka likusu=isa, paku-a-tukur-a isana
 have-fishpot=said NOM back=3SG.GEN CAUS-IRR-feed-PV 3PL.OBL
 tasau=isa, amiʎaa ka tamu=ku kiariari
 dog=3SG.GEN say NOM grandpa=1SG.GEN past
 maaci ki-ʎaməʎamə. tai-naana=cu.
 when KI-recite all-that=COS
 He has a fishpot on his back, with which he feeds his dogs; said my
 grandfather long ago when he told (us). That's all.

Text 7. Pleiades

tuapuru

SarText 7-1

Note: Sar 11-178-9

Tape: 255-314

- (1) maacu ka ʔaʔalua na kiariari, maaci kila-ali-alii=cu
concerning NOM Saaroa OBL past when KILA-RED-ritual=COS
m-i-a-tuʔusu ia, u-cani a-ari=mana m-a-arui n salia
AV-I-IRR-rite TOP AV-one RED-day=still AV-STA-stay OBL house
tara-kiu ʔa m-i-a-anə.

carry-wood and AV-I-IRR-pound.rice

The Saaroans long ago, when they had *miatungusu* ritual²⁹, one day before, they were at home to carry wood and to pound rice.

- (2) maci ruvana=cu ia, m-ata-a-rasuʔu=cu.
when night=COS TOP AV-begin-IRR-rite=COS

When it became night, they began the ritual.

- (3) maci um-acəkaa=cu na maataata ia, m-u-a-sala=cu
when AV-get.up=COS OBL tomorrow TOP AV-U-IRR-go=COS
m-əṛə-cəkaa um-ia-pua-ʔə, u-a-kii-kirimi na
AV-ƏRƏ-hunt AV-during-two-ORD AV-IRR-RED-look OBL
papaʔa ʔa um-a-ala na raʔəŋə=isa ka vinau.
meat and AV-IRR-take OBL leaf=3PL.GEN LNK *vinau*

When they got up the next morning, they went hunting, staying for two days to look for meat (games) and took leaves of *vinau* trees.

- (4) maci pu-a-ili=cu ia, aru-a-mia=ci=isa ki-ali-alii.
when PU-IRR-return=COS TOP ARU-IRR-use-COS=3PL.GEN KI-RED-ritual
When they returned (from the mountains), they used them (leaves of *vinau* trees) for the ritual.

- (5) k<um>a-kali na paʔəŋə=isa ʔulusu=na
RED<AV>-dig OBL base=3SG.GEN pillar=DEF
a-caʔəm-ani isana ka raʔəŋə vinau.
IRR-bury-LV 3PL NOM leaf *vinau*

They dug at the base of the pillar where the leaves of *vinau* tree were buried.

²⁹ It is about the ritual of sacred shells.

- (6) a-aṅafi=cu isana ki-ali-alii.
 AV-begin=COS 3SG KI-RED-ritual
 Since that (moment) the ritual began.
- (7) saii kiariari ka au-naana; m-a-arū ka m-u-sala
 by.the.way past LNK like-that AV-STA-exist LNK AV-U-go
 m-əṛə-cəkaa ia, m-i-a-tuṅusu=?ai ka m-aa n salia,
 AV-ƏRƏ-hunt TOP AV-I-IRR-rite=perhaps NOM AV-be OBL house
 m-i-likucu na m-u-sala m-əṛə-cəkaa ka ku na pu-a-ili.
 AV-I-exclude OBL AV-U-go AV-ƏRƏ-hunt LNK not OBL PU-IRR-return
 By the way in old days it was like that; (suppose) there were (people) who
 went hunting. (Once when) those who were at home (village) started the
miatungusu ritual, (they) excluded those who had gone hunting and not
 returned yet.
- (8) itaiaa=cu m-u-sala=cu m-aḥu-kua n laṅica
 3PL=COS AV-U-go=COS AV-go-move OBL sky
 m-ara-a-tua-tuapuru=na.
 AV-become-IRR-RED-star=DEF
 They went to the heaven to become Pleiades.
- (9) maaniki=mana=?ai hi-ḥaa-m-u-a-sala ka laə-laəvə=isa
 even.if=still=perhaps PFV-about-AV-U-IRR-go NOM RED-companion=3PL.GEN
 ḥaa-m-ati-a-saṅalə isana=ami ka m-u-lavaə=ami
 about-AV-ATI-IRR-catch 3PL.OBL=said LNK AV-U-remain=said
 n tapuḥaafi-aa akuisa ia, ku=cu pai-ma-m-a-cuka
 OBL men's.house-LOC when TOP not=COS PAI-RED-AV-STA-persuade
 m-a-arū-arū=ami n laṅica ka cucu?u m-i-tuṅu-tuṅusu,
 AV-STA-RED-exist=said OBL sky NOM person AV-I-RED-alight
 t<um>uru-turu-turu n m-aa n saa-sarə-ana na
 RED<AV>-RED-teach OBL AV-be OBL RED-ground-LV OBL
 sahi=isa ka m-i-a-tuṅusu=na ia, m-u-sala=cu
 song=3PL.GEN OBL AV-I-IRR-rite=DEF TOP AV-U-go=COS
 m-aḥu-kua na laṅica, amiḥaa ka tamu=ku
 AV-go-move OBL sky say NOM grandpa=1SG.GEN
 kiariari maci ki-ḥamə-ḥaməḥamə.
 past when KI-RED-recite
 At that time, even if their friends, the ones who remained at the men's house,

tried to go to catch them, the ones in the sky were not persuaded to return, (they) taught the ones on the ground the songs of *miatungusu* ritual, and went to the sky; said my grandfather long ago when he recited. (?)

- (10) m-a-arui ka m-aʔu-kaa-kua vuu-vuluŋ-aa maaci
 AV-STA-exist=Q NOM AV-go-RED-move RED-mountain-LOC if
 pata-suuru=cu m-a-arua a m-i-a-tuu-tuŋusu=na? ka
 pass-too.much=COS AV-STA-exist LNK AV-I-IRR-RED-rite=DEF LNK
 palisia kaʔaŋa=ci ki-ləpəŋi=cu kiariari=maanai
 taboo after=COS KI-finish=COS past=probably
 ka m-u-a-sala=cu m-aʔu-kua vuu-vuluŋ-aa
 NOM AV-U-IRR-go=COS AV-go-move RED-mountain-LOC
 pata-a-ŋaʔa m-u-tarua caa-capuk-aa, amiʔaa
 PATA-IRR-repeat AV-U-stay RED-miscanthus-LOC said
 ka ʔaamaama.
 NOM ancestor

Has there any who goes to the mountains once if the *miatungusu* ritual has started already? Because it's a taboo (to go) after the ritual started in old days, probably the one who had gone to the mountains (and could not come back before the ritual started) stayed overnight in the miscanthus field, said the ancestor.

- (11) maaci pu-a-ili salia=na, maci m-a-arua ka
 if PU-IRR-return house=DEF if AV-STA-exist NOM
 ʔi-ala=isa ia, para-a-pii-pici=isa papaʔa=na
 PFV-take.PV=3PL.GEN TOP PARA-IRR-RED-cut=3PL.GEN meat=DEF
 ihivur-a na caa-carə, ʔa anə-aa.
 mix-PV OBL RED-sake.lees and eat-LOC

If (they) returned home, if there was any game taken, the meat was cut into small pieces, which were mixed with sake lees and food.

- (12) um-ala=cu na puupuŋa=na, karai-uru n
 AV-take=COS OBL bamboo.container=DEF put-into OBL
 caa-carə=na ʔa m-u-a-sala=cu m-aʔu-kua n
 RED-sake.lees=DEF and AV-U-IRR-go=COS AV-go-move OBL
 tapuʔaaihi-aa=na ki-ali-alii (i)sana.
 men's.house-LOC=DEF KI-RED-ritual 3SG.OBL

They took (the meat) in a bamboo-container, put sake lees, and went to the Men's-house to have the ritual.

(13) au-niini=?ai=iau ka sikiamia=isa ki-ali-alii ka
 like-how=perhaps=wonder NOM way=3PL.GEN KI-RED-ritual LNK
 kuu a-kita isana ka ałaina.
 not IRR-see 3SG.OBL NOM woman
 How is their way of the ritual, (they) wonder, because women do not see.

(14) łalusá ka kila-ali-alii (i)sana.
 men NOM KILA-RED-ritual 3SG.OBL
 Men conduct the ritual.

(15) tai-naana=cu ka a-cafia=ku.
 all-that=COS NOM IRR-know=1SG.GEN
 That's all I know.

Text 8. Making a baby

lavausu nuka ʔahiʔu (Lhavausu and Lhahiʔu)

Informant: Vanau

SarText 8-1

Note: Sar II 181

Tape: 316-376

- (1) ki-aʔa-aʔamə=aku n lavausu nuka ʔaʔuʔali ka
 KI-RED-tell=1SG.NOM OBL Lhavausu and Lhaʔuʔali NOM
 ʔaa-t<um>ua=ami. um-a-u na papaʔa ka aʔaina=hai
 about-want<AV>=said AV-IRR-eat OBL meat NOM woman=DEF
 [rumaʔaə]. ukaʔa ka mamaini=isa.
 then none NOM child=3SG.GEN

I shall talk about Lhavausu (female) and Lhaʔuʔali (male). The woman (Lhavausu) wanted to eat meat. She had no child.

- (2) rumaʔaə pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə=ami ka lavausu.
 then PA-RED-think=said NOM Lhavausu
 Then Lhavausu thought.

- (3) pətə-səkələ m-a-ʔava n paalaʔə ʔa lamaʔə.
 pound-flour AV-STA-carry OBL hemp.string and bead
 (She) pounded to make flour to carry a hemp string and a bead.(?)

- (4) m-u-saa³⁰ picu-limu na kirii. pu-a-ili=cu=ami
 AV-U-go collect-nest OBL eagle PU-IRR-return=COS=said
 rumaʔaə u-mia n sakuraʔə.
 then AV-pass OBL river

She went to collect nests of eagles. On her way back she passed by a river.

- (5) saa-pai-tupuu=ami na lamaʔə-a ʔi-ala=isa lamuru
 3SG.GEN-PAI-burst=said OBL bead-LOC PFV-take.PV=3SG.GEN young
 kirii=na um-a-uʔu. m-i-uŋu n salia.
 eagle=DEF AV-IRR-blow AV-I-arrive OBL house
 cucuʔu=cu=ami.
 person=COS=said

Burst up from the bead a young of eagle which she took to breathe on it to revive. She arrived at the house. It was already a human being.

³⁰ There are two variations to indicate 'to go', *saa* and *sala*.

- (6) avatə=ami n cəŋərə. ava<a>vu rumalaə
pile.up=said OBL type.of.tree cook<IRR> then
puu-kua n kalalapa taarə=isa.
put-move OBL under bed=3SG.GEN
She took *cəŋərə* wood and brought it home. She cooked rice, then put (the child) under her bed.
- (7) “ta-a-lipilip-a=u mamaini ia, maacu=?ai
TA-IRR-beget-PV=2SG.GEN child TOP concerning=perhaps
pu-a-ili ama=u ia, t<um>ilifi na hitakə=na ia,
PU-IRR-return father=2SG.GEN TOP hook<AV> OBL knife=DEF TOP
t<um>aŋi-a=?ai maaci r<um>akua na piŋi-sapali=u=na,”
cry<AV>-IMP=perhaps if step.on<AV> OBL toe-foot=2SG.GEN=DEF
ami-ami isana ka ina=isa.
RED-say 3SG.OBL NOM mother=3SG.GEN
“I gave birth to you. Your father will come back, and hook (his) bolo. Cry, if he steps on your toe.” said his mother to him.
- (8) t<um>aŋi=ami ka mamaini akuisa r<um>akua
cry<AV>=said NOM child when step.on<AV>
isana ka ama=isa.
3SG.OBL NOM father=3SG.GEN
The child cried when his father stepped on him.
- (9) rumalaə pasa-kulai=cu=ami ka laʔuŋali, taru-ila
then PASA-hurry=COS=said NOM Lhaʔuŋali carry-on.back
na mamaini, m-u-sala tara-ivu n papaʔa,
OBL child AV-U-go fetch-many.times OBL meat
m-ari-ka-kua n salia, pa-u na aʔaina=isa.
AV-ARI-RED-move OBL house CAUS-eat OBL woman=3SG.GEN
Then Lhaʔuŋali (his father) hastened to carry the child on his back, go and fetch meat many times, come to the house and let his wife eat (the meat).
- (10) m-a-aruc=cu ka mamaini=isa.
AV-STA-exist=COS NOM child=3SG.GEN
She had already a child.

- (11) mulu-ili=ami ka ʔahiʔu. “au-niini ka
 AV.ULU-want=said NOM Lhahiʔu like-how NOM
 mamaini=u=naa. ʔi-kuaini=u ka
 child=2SG.GEN=DEF PFV-make.PV=2SG.GEN NOM
 mamaini=u=naa,” ami-ami isana ka ʔahiʔu n ʔavausu.
 child=2SG.GEN=DEF RED-say 3SG.OBL NOM Lhahiʔu OBL Lhavausu
 Lhahiʔu(female) wanted (a child, too). “How (did you get) your child? How
 did you make your child?” said Lhahiʔu to Lhavausu.
- (12) “ʔaa, m-u-a-saa=kiia picu-limu na kirili=na.
 yes AV-U-IRR-go=please collect-nest OBL eagle=DEF
 u-mia n sakuraʔ=naa. m-a-ʔava n
 AV-pass OBL river=DEF AV-STA-carry OBL
 lamaʔ=naa. m-ai-tupuu n lamaʔ=na
 bead=DEF AV-AI-burst OBL bead=DEF
 ʔi-ala=u lamuru kirili=nai ara-a-cuu-cucuʔu.
 PFV-take.PV=2SG.GEN young eagle=perhaps make-IRR-RED-person
 aa-uʔu ara-a-cuu-cucuʔu maaci=ami m-i-uʔu na
 IRR-blow make-IRR-RED-person when=said AV-I-arrive OBL
 salia,” ami-ami na ʔahiʔu.
 house RED-say OBL Lhahiʔu
 “Yes. Go collecting nests of eagles. Pass by a river. Bring a bead. From the
 bead will burst out a young of eagle which you take, which becomes a man.
 Blow (on it) to become a man when (you) arrive home,” said (she) to Lhahiʔu.
- (13) m-u-a-sala=ami ka ʔahiʔu rumalaʔ m-a-tapuʔaʔ
 AV-U-IRR-go=said NOM Lhahiʔu then AV-STA-cross.mountain
 m-i-a-lakupu=ami.
 AV-I-IRR-fall=said
 Lhahiʔu went and went over the mountain and fell down.
- (14) pu-a-ili=ami. “au-niini=cu=nai,” ami-ami. “aaʔa.
 PU-IRR-return=said like-how=COS=perhaps RED-say yes
 m-i-a-cəə-cəʔəʔa na tavuaa=naa,” ami-ami isana.
 AV-I-IRR-RED-chase OBL crow=DEF RED-say 3SG.OBL
 She came back. “What should I do?” she said. “Yes, run after a crow to catch
 it,” said (Lhavausu) to her (Lhahiʔu).

- (15) “aaʔə.” m-u-sala=ami m-i-cəŋə-cəŋəʔə na tavuaa.
 yes AV-U-go=said AV-I-RED-chase OBL crow
 “Yes.” She went to chase a crow.
- (16) ruvana=cu=ami rumalaə m-uu-palaki=cu=ami ka tavuaa.
 night=COS=said then AV-UU-lie.down=COS=said NOM crow
 It was night, and then a crow was lying down with its wings open.
- (17) saa-pati-saŋal-a=cu=ami. c<um>avu ap-a-ləsapə
 3SG.GEN-PATI-catch-PV=COS=said wrap<AV> CAUS-IRR-leave
 na taarə.
 OBL bed
 She caught it. She wrapped it and laid it at the bed.
- (18) pu-a-ili=ami ka ʔaʔusa=isa rumalaə
 PU-IRR-return=said NOM man=3SG.GEN then
 saa-pa-taru-ila isana=ami.
 3SG.GEN-CAUS-carry-on.back 3SG.OBL=said
 Her husband came back and carried it on his back.
- (19) ʔaa-um-ala=cu=ami ka ʔaʔusa=isa=na ka
 about-AV-take=COS=said NOM man=3SG.GEN=DEF OBL
 papaʔa pa-u isana.
 meat CAUS-eat 3SG.OBL
 Her husband was going to take the meat to let her eat it.
- (20) saa-kita=ami ka ʔaʔuŋali laəvə=isa ka
 3SG.GEN-see=said NOM Lhaʔuŋali friend=3SG.GEN OBL
 ʔi-taru-ila=isa.
 PFV-carry.PV-on.back=3SG.GEN
 Lhaʔuŋali, his friend saw what he was carrying on his back.

- (21) “arəə, sainiat-a t<um>aəvə ka vulaihi=isa=na.
 oh must.not-PV cover<AV> NOM eye=3SG.GEN=DEF
 ari-a-səmət-a=mau hi-taru-ifa=u=na,” ami-ami
 ARI-IRR-choke-PV=wish PFV-carry.PV-on.back=2SG.GEN=DEF RED-say
 isana ka ʔaʔuŋali laəvə=isa rumafəə
 3SG.OBL NOM Lhaʔuŋali friend=3SG.GEN then
 sa-arua-təvə-a=ami.
 3SG.GEN-ARU-uncover-PV=said
 “Oh! (You) shouldn’t cover its eyes, the one you are carrying might be
 choked,” said to him Lhaʔuŋali, his friend, and then he uncovered it.
- (22) “ʔaa, ʔaa, ʔaa,” ami-ami m-i-cuʔu rumafəə
 onomatopoeia RED-say AV-I-escape then
 pasa-kulai=ami ka ʔaʔuŋali tara-ivu na papaʔa
 PASA-hurry=said NOM Lhaʔuŋali fetch-many.times OBL meat
 a-pu-a-ili na vuu-vuluŋ-aa.
 IRR-PU-IRR-return OBL RED-mountain-LOC
 (The crow) flew away crying “ʔaa, ʔaa, ʔaa,” then Lhaʔuŋali fetched many
 times the meat taken back from the mountains.
- (23) cu-a-ləə-ləna=ami ka ʔahiufu.
 CU-IRR-RED-choke=said NOM Lhaʔiufu
 Lhaʔiufu choked (with the meat) many times.
- (24) ʔaa-m-a-ŋalai=ʔai um-u. ku=cu pa-u isana ka
 about-AV-STA-want=perhaps AV-eat not=COS CAUS-eat 3SG.OBL NOM
 ʔafusa=isa ʔaʔuŋali ka m-i-cuʔu ka tavuaa
 man=3SG.GEN Lhaʔuŋali LNK AV-I-escape NOM crow
 hi-tuu-ma-mamaini=isa. tai-naana ca³¹ a-caʔii=ku.
 PFV-TUU-RED-child=3SG.GEN all-that NOM IRR-know=1SG.GEN
 She wanted to eat it, (but) her husband Lhaʔuŋali did not let her eat it because
 the crow which looked like a child flew away. That is all that I know of.

³¹ The original text has *ca* and it is anticipated to be *ka*.

Text 9. People in ancient times

cucuʔu ʔipararala

Informant: Eləkəə , female

SarText 13-1

Note: Sar II 183-4

Tape: 665-735

- (1) maacu ka ama=ku kiariari ia, maaci
 concerning NOM father=1SG.GEN past TOP when
 ki-ʔaməʔamə ia, maacu=ami ka cucuʔu ʔi-mələ-mələmə
 KI-recite TOP concerning=said NOM person PFV-RED-first.born
 ia, ku=ami a-paci.
 TOP not=said IRR-die

My father told me ago that the first human-beings did not die.

- (2) maaci=ami ʔaamaama=cu ia, tu-a-kələŋə=cu=ami patakə
 when=said old=COS TOP TU-IRR-sit=COS=said side
 apu-apuʔ-aa tu-lavaə. t<um>a-takicikici-a ka ʔiʔaʔə=isa.
 RED-fire-LOC TU-remain RED<AV>-mushroom-LOC LNK flesh=3PL.GEN

When they got old, they sat still beside the fireplace. Mushrooms grew on their flesh.

- (3) maaci=ami m-a-arua ka m-i<a>ma piti-tupu-tupuu isana
 if=said AV-STA-exist NOM AV-drink<IRR> PITI-RED-touch 3SG.OBL
 ia, ta-ləmələmə=ami. “aaʔi=aku,” ami-ami maaci
 TOP TA-feel.pain=said ouch=1SG.NOM RED-say if
 piti-tupu-tupuu isana ka cucuʔu.
 PITI-RED-touch 3SG.OBL NOM person

If there was anybody who drank and bumped against him, he [the dead man] felt pain. “I’m hurt.” said he if a man bumped against him.

- (4) maacu ka u-cani ia, m-ata-a-kalala=ami ausii
 concerning NOM NUM-one TOP AV-begin-IRR-moult=said like
 n ʔaʔali=na.
 OBL cicada=DEF

Some one [dead man] moulted like a cicada.

- (5) maaci ʎa-ka-ma-maci=isa ia, m-ata-a-kalala=ami
 if about-to-RED-die=3SG.GEN TOP AV-begin-IRR-moult=said
 ausii=ami ʎaʎali=na m-ata-a-kalala.
 like=said cicada=DEF AV-begin-IRR-moult
 If he was going to die, he moulted as a cicada did.
- (6) maacu ka u-cani ia, ma-maci=ami ʎa
 concerning NOM NUM-one TOP RED-die=said and
 ara-a-ŋusipi=ami.
 become-IRR-alive=said
 Some one died and revived.
- (7) a-alə=isa=ami ka ʎaamaama c<um>aʎəmə n
 IRR-take=3PL.GEN=said NOM the.old bury<AV> OBL
 paʎə-paʎəŋə-aa=(a)mi=isa ka ʎaa-ʎaʎuvuʎu-aa.
 RED-field.side-LOC=said=3PL.GEN LNK RED-fallow-LOC
 They carried the old person and buried him at the side of fallows.
- (8) maaci=ami um-asa-asapa ka cucuʎu=ta ia, um-a-acalivi
 if=said AV-RED-clear.field NOM person=1INCL.GEN TOP AV-IRR-pass
 na tukamia=isa ia, um-a-acəka=ami, “kuu=kia
 OBL boundary=3SG.GEN TOP AV-IRR-get.up=said not=please
 a-acalivi na iʎaku ka m-aa naani=aku,”
 IRR-pass OBL 1SG LNK AV-be here=1SG.NOM
 ami-ami um-acəkaa.
 RED-say AV-get.up
 If our people (living people) cleared the field and passed by his boundary, he
 (the dead man) got up, “Don't pass by me because here I am,” said the one who
 got up.
- (9) a-aŋaʎi=cu isana=ʎai ara-ŋusipi pu-a-ili n salia.
 IRR-begin=COS 3SG=perhaps become-alive PU-IRR-return OBL house
 Since the moment he revived, he would go back to the house.
- (10) pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə=ʎai ka r<um>a-raa-ravai n cucuʎu.
 PA-RED-think=perhaps NOM RED<AV>-RED-carve OBL person
 The Creator of human-beings thought.

- (11) “takuliacə=iau ka cucu?u. maaci kuu=tu-a-lavaə
 bad=wonder NOM person if not=TU-IRR-remain
 maci?i. kuu=ara-a-tumafə,” ami-ami ka ku=ami
 AV.die not=become-IRR-many RED-say LNK not=said
 ara-a-tumafə ka cucu?u. kiariari ka pu-a-ili
 become-IRR-many NOM person past LNK PU-IRR-return
 pu-a-ili=ami.
 PU-IRR-return=said
 “People are bad if the dead do not remain dead. [People] will not increase,”
 said [the Creator], because people ago did not increase because [the dead]
 kept coming back.
- (12) saa-tamaŋə-a=?ai a-putu-lavaə paa-paci ka cucu?u.
 3SG.GEN-create-PV=perhaps IRR-CAUS-remain RED-dead NOM person
 [The Creator] made people remain dead.
- (13) aŋaŋi-aa=ci=ki=?ai na kani?i na cucu?u
 begin-LOC=COS=just=perhaps OBL this OBL person
 ku=cu ara-a-ŋusipi maaci maci?i.
 not=COS become-IRR-alive if AV.die
 From this time people did not revive if they died.
- (14) “i-tinalu-u=ci=ki=sa=?ai. taŋmia=aki=?ai
 I-pray-2SG.NOM=COS=just=SA=perhaps don’t=please=perhaps
 paka-kuu-kuluŋu maci pa-li-lii (i)sana ɬa
 CAUS-RED-noise if observe-RED-mourn 3SG.OBL and
 taŋmia=aki=?ai puu-kuu-kua na saŋumu n salia.
 don’t=please=perhaps pour-RED-move OBL water OBL house
 təaŋə=isa maafə ari m-a-aru n salia.
 correct=3PL.GEN ten day AV-STA-stay OBL house
 aniciki?aihi taku-?ii-?iarə ka cuu-cuu-cucu=isa,”
 only.then TAKU-RED-work NOM RED-RED-relative=3SG.GEN
 ami-ami ka ɬi-t<um>amaŋə n cucu?u=na.
 RED-say NOM NMLZ-create<AV> OBL person=DEF
 “Pray to him. Don’t make noise while you are observing mourning to him, and
 don’t pour water in the house. Stay at home exactly for ten days. Only then his
 relatives may go out to work,” said the Creator of the people.

- (15) aṅaḥi=cu isana ka cucuʔu ara-tumaḷaə ɫa ma-maci=cu.
 begin=COS 3SG.OBL NOM person become-many and RED-die=COS
 ku=cu ara-a-ṅusipi. tai-naana=cu ka a-calii=ku.
 not=COS become-IRR-alive all-that=COS NOM IRR-know=1SG.GEN
 Hence then people increased and died. [They] did not revive. That's all that I
 know of.

Text 10. Sand eater

Informant: Lhakətaʔi · Male

Note: S II 184

Tape: (A) 1289 - (B) 14

- (1) ki-a-łaałamə=aku na cucu³² kiariari aɲali
 KI-IRR-recite=1SG.NOM OBL person past begin
 akuisa m-u-liułu ka saa-sarə-ana.
 when AV-U-change NOM RED-ground-LOC
 I talk about the people long ago after when the ground changed [from ocean to ground].
- (2) ukaʔa ka a-anə=isa ka cucuʔu ia, um-a-u
 none OBL IRR-eat=3PL.GEN NOM person TOP AV-IRR-eat
 na sarəə ła um-a-u na lavuku.
 OBL earth and AV-IRR-eat OBL sand
 People had no food, [they] ate earth and they ate sand.
- (3) m-a-arū ka m-u-a-sala m-ału-kua n sakuralə.
 AV-STA-exist NOM AV-U-IRR-go AV-go-move OBL river
 um-ala na lavuku.
 AV-take OBL sand
 There was [a man] who went to the river to take sand.
- (4) tala-lavuku rumalaə m-u-sala m-a-sinu na sałumu.
 carry-sand then AV-U-go AV-STA-bathe OBL water
 He carried sand, then went to bathe in the water.
- (5) m-u-sala m-a-sinu n sakuralə=hai [rumalaə],
 AV-U-go AV-STA-bathe OBL river=DEF then
 m-u-sala ka arupiau pali-a-vilihi um-ala
 AV-U-go NOM *arupiau* PALI-IRR-follow AV-take
 na sapətə=isa.
 OBL belt=3SG.GEN
 He went to bathe in the river, then an *arupiau* bird came to follow him to take his belt.

³² The form *cucuʔu* may drop the final syllable *-ʔu* when immediately followed by another form.

- (6) um-ala ka sapətə=isa m-a-lava=hai [rumaʔaə], “arəə,
 AV-take OBL belt=3SG.GEN AV-STA-carry=DEF then oh
 sapiti=ku=nai,” amiʔaa=hai [rumaʔaə] maaniki=mana
 belt=1SG.GEN=perhaps say=DEF then even=still
 “sapiti=ku=nai” mi ia, saa-lava=cu ka arupiau
 belt=1SG.GEN=perhaps say TOP 3SG.GEN-carry=COS NOM *arupiau*
 ka sapətə.
 OBL belt
 [The bird] took his belt away, then “Oh! It's my belt” said he, but even if he
 said “it's my belt”, the *arupiau* bird carried away the belt.
- (7) “arəə,” sa-aʔu-kua m-i-cəŋə-cəŋəʔə rumaʔaə
 oh 3SG.GEN-go-move AV-I-RED-chase then
 kuu=pari-a-kuʔa isana. pa-a-ta-tuŋusu ka
 not=PARI-IRR-overtake 3SG.OBL PA-IRR-RED-alight NOM
 arupiau na vatuʔu.
arupiau OBL stone
 “Oh!” he ran after it, but could not overtake it. The *arupiau* bird alighted on a
 stone.
- (8) a-aʔu-ka-kua=isa=ʔai taiaa=cu um-ala isana.
 IRR-go-RED-move=3SG.GEN=perhaps about=COS AV-take 3SG.OBL
 a-a-lavu=isa ka arupiau ka sapətə=isa.
 A-IRR-carry=3SG.GEN NOM *arupiau* OBL belt=3SG.GEN
 He went and going to take it. But the *arupiau* bird carried away his belt.
- (9) sa-a-lava ka arupiau ka sapətə=isa
 3SG.GEN-IRR-carry NOM *arupiau* OBL belt=3SG.GEN
 m-ari-ka-kua n tapirasə.
 AV-carry-RED-move OBL cliffs
 The *arupiau* bird carried away his belt to cliffs.
- (10) sa-aʔu-kua=cu m-i-vararə na tapirasə um-ala
 3SG.GEN-go-toward=COS AV-I-climb OBL cliffs AV-take
 ka sapətə=isa.
 OBL belt=3SG.GEN
 He went to climb up the cliffs to take his belt.

- (11) m-aa isana=ami ka ałaina li-um-ara-tupuu na
 AV-be 3SG.OBL=said NOM woman PFV-AV-become-burst OBL
 tapirasə akuisa.
 cliffs when
 There was there a woman who came out from the cliffs at that moment.
- (12) itaisa=ami ka kanaʔa ka um-a-u na əvəraə.
 3SG=said NOM that LNK AV-IRR-eat OBL rice
 She was the one who eats rice.
- (13) “ani=u li-aŋali,” ami-ami isana ka ałaina.
 where=2SG.NOM PFV-begin RED-say 3SG.OBL NOM woman
 “Where are you from?” said the woman to him.
- (14) “m-i-a-cə-cəŋəłə=aku na sapiti=ku=na ka
 AV-I-IRR-RED-chase=1SG.NOM OBL belt=1SG.GEN=DEF LNK
 sa-alu-a ka arupiau,” ami-ami ka łałusa=hai
 3SG.GEN-receive-PV NOM arupiau RED-say NOM man=DEF
 [rumałaə].
 then
 “I was running after my belt because an *arupiau* bird took it,” said the man.
- (15) “ŋałaisa ka taa-ʔiara-a=mu,” ami-ami isana ka
 what NOM TAA-work-LOC=2PL.GEN RED-say 3SG.OBL NOM
 ałaina=hai.
 woman=DEF
 “What are you doing?” said the woman to him.
- (16) “tala-a-laa-lavuku=amu na a-anə=łamu, itaisa maaci
 carry-IRR-RED-sand=1EXCL.NOM OBL IRR-eat=1EXCL.GEN 3SG if
 m-i-raru=iau. ukaʔa ka a-anə=łamu,” ami-ami.
 AV-I-storm=wonder none NOM IRR-eat=1EXCL.GEN RED-say
 “We are carrying sand as our food. It is our food if it storms. We have no
 food,” said he.
- (17) “um-au-a-u=mu na lavuku,” ami-ami ka ałaina.
 AV-RED-IRR-eat=2PL.NOM OBL sand RED-say NOM woman
 “You eat sand!” said the woman.

- (18) rumafəə “m-u-ara=mau m-aʔu-kua salia um-u,” ami-ami
 then AV-U-come=wish AV-go-move house AV-eat RED-say
 isana ka afaina ka m-aa=ami n tapirasə.
 3SG.OBL NOM woman LNK AV-be=said OBL cliffs
 Then, “Please come to the house to eat,” said to him the woman who was on
 the cliffs.
- (19) saa-pa-an-a=ami na uuru. saaʔau=ami
 3SG.GEN-CAUS-eat-PV=said OBL cooked.rice tasty=said
 ka a-anə=isa ka afaina. saa-p-ima=ami.
 NOM IRR-eat=3SG.GEN LNK woman 3SG.GEN-CAUS-drink=said
 She let him eat cooked rice. The food of the woman was tasty. She let him
 drink.
- (20) m-u-ruafə=ami m-ima rumafəə “ii, kuu=kia a-paci
 AV-U-fear=said AV-drink then oh not=1PL.NOM IRR-die
 maaci=kia m-ima isana. saaʔau. m-aa-ləsapə=kia
 if=1PL.NOM AV-drink 3SG.OBL tasty AV-IRR-sleep=1PL.NOM
 maaci=kia m-ima isana,” ami-ami ka afaina=hai [rumafəə].
 if=1PL.NOM AV-drink 3SG.OBL RED-say NOM woman=DEF then
 He was afraid to drink, then “Oh! We don't die if we drink it. It's tasty. We
 become just sleepy if we drink it,” said the woman.
- (21) m-ima=ami rumafəə ausii m-i-lijikiti=ami ka fəʔusa
 AV-drink=said then like AV-I-roll.down=said NOM man
 rumafəə m-a-ləsapə=ami
 then AV-IRR-sleep=said
 He drank, then the man lay down, then slept.
- (22) um-acəkkaa rumafəə sa-alu-a=cu=ami ka afaina
 AV-get.up then 3SG.GEN-receive-PV=COS=said NOM woman
 ka fəʔusa.
 OBL man
 He got up, then the man took the woman [got married].
- (23) hi-um-a-ʔava na hi-ala=isa.
 PFV-AV-IRR-carry OBL NMLZ-take=3SG.GEN
 He brought home what he took.

- (24) *ava<a>vu=ami ka ʔaʔusa n əvəraə.*
 cook<IRR>=said NOM man OBL rice
 The man cooked rice.
- (25) *m-a-i-pusi na əvəraə rumalaə ku=ami ku-a-vacuku.*
 AV-STA-I-break OBL rice then not=said eat-IRR-satiated
 He cut a rice grain into two [and cooked and ate] but he was not full.
- (26) *ara-a-paʔa-rəmə-rəməcə=ami na əvəraə. ku=ami ku-a-vacuku.*
 make-IRR-PAʔA-RED-whole=said OBL rice not=said eat-IRR-satiated
 He cooked a whole grain of rice. He was not full.
- (27) “*rəə, au-niini=cu=mau ka ava<a>vu na kaniʔi ka*
 oh like-how=COS=wish NOM cook<IRR> OBL this LNK
au-naana kuu=kia ku-a-vacuku isana,” ami-ami.
 like-that not=1SG.NOM eat-IRR-satiated 3SG.OBL RED-say
 “Oh, how should I cook this? Because in that way I’m not full with it,” said he.
- (28) *paʔa-cani=ami cərəʔavə. ava<a>vu=ami na u-cani*
 PAʔA-one=said *cərəʔavə* cook<IRR>=said OBL NUM-one
cərəʔavə rumalaə m-i-lii=cu=ami ka salia.
cərəʔavə then AV-I-fill=COS=said NOM house
sa-ari-a-uru-a=cu=ami.
 3SG.GEN-manual-IRR-rake-PV=COS=said
 He cooked one whole measure of *cərəʔavə* (about 0.5 gallon). He cooked one *cərəʔavə*, then the house was filled [with cooked rice]. He raked the rice.
- (29) *pu-a-ili=ami ka ʔaina=isa rumalaə*
 PU-IRR-return=said NOM woman=3SG.GEN then
 “*m-u-ʔava-a=ci=ki=ʔai m-uu-va-viliʔi na*
 AV-U-carry-IMP=COS=just=perhaps AV-UU-RED-follow OBL
pu-a-cani cərəʔavə maaci ava<a>vu, ka
 PU-IRR-one *cərəʔavə* when cook<IRR> LNK
kuu=ku-a-təʔa na ʔi-pai-pusi-a əvəraə,” ami-ami.
 not=eat-IRR-sufficient OBL NMLZ-half-break-PV rice RED-say
 His wife came back, then “Carry to the followers [descendants] who
 [will have to] pour one *cərəʔavə* of rice when they cook, because you [they?] don't eat enough with a half-broken piece of rice,” said she.

- (30) rumataə aŋaŋi=cu isana paŋa-a-tumuŋu n ava<a>vu
 then begin=COS 3PL PAŁA-IRR-many OBL cook<IRR>
 paŋa-a-cani=cu cəɾəʔavə.
 PAŁA-IRR-one=COS cəɾəʔavə
 Since then they have cooked much rice in one whole cəɾəʔavə.

Text 11 Hunting

- (1) au-niini pa-tara-a-təə-təəki=u=i, ka ɬa
 like-how CAUS-TARA-IRR-RED-go=2SG.NOM=Q, LNK and
 m-u-a-saa=kia təkəɬəvuləɬa m-aɬu-kua n vuu-vuluŋ-aa?
 AV-U-IRR-go=1SG.NOM tomorrow AV-go-move OBL RED-mountain-LOC
 May I go to the mountain tomorrow (with you) if you go?
- (2) ɬaa, ta-ʔiara=isa=ʔai
 OK TA-work=3.GEN=perhaps
 Yes, by all means.'
- (3) RUA-a-ɬava=kia n tasau=ta=maanai
 RUA-IRR-bring=1PL.NOM OBL dog=1INCL.GEN=probably
 tumalia-suusulu=ita=ʔai ɬaa m-ara-a-taa-tara-a
 fruitful-hunting=1INCL.NOM=perhaps and AV-stay-IRR-RED-animal.trail-LOC
 taru-a-cu-cuvuŋu=ita=ʔai taruana=taa na cu-ruvana
 TARU-IRR-RED-meet=1INCL.NOM=perhaps hut=1INCL.GEN OBL CU-evening
 We can bring our dogs with us. We may have a fruitful hunting if we ambush....
 We may gather at the hunting hut in the evening.
- (4) ani=ʔai auu u-a-mia ka tua-mua-muarə mata
 where=perhaps ? AV-IRR-pass NOM ambush-RED-animal.trail if
 tuma-suusulu u-a-mia=ʔai m-a-varəvarə taisa
 fruitful-hunting AV-IRR-pass=perhaps AV-IRR-mountain.ridge big
 m-uu-capi na ɬuɬuŋu.
 AV-UU-go.down OBL river
 If everyone ambushes at the animal trails on the big mountain ridge, we may have
 game, and then we descend to the stream.
- (5) maci=ʔai t<um>anaanaasə ka tasau=ta ia, pasaamaɬuŋ=kia
 if=perhaps chase<AV> NOM dog=1INCL.GEN TOP aim=1PL.NOM
 ka u-a-ramaŋə ka kuu=ʔai a-timəɬa na vaau=ku
 LNK AV-IRR-ambush LNK not=perhaps AV-hear OBL voice=1SG.GEN
 ka maa=ku ʔi-likusu.
 LNK be=1SG.GEN LOC-back
 If our dogs are chasing, we can take an aim and wait. (You) may not hear my voice
 because I'll be in the back.

- (6) ai maacu=mu=?ai m-i-uŋu na ramaŋə-i=mu
 ? concerning=2PL.NOM=perhaps AV-I-arrive OBL ambush-I=2PL.GEN
 ia, pi-a-cuu-cukaŋ=kia ka t<um>a-timaŋa=aku=?ai
 TOP have-IRR-RED-flag=please LNK RED<AV>-hear=1SG.NOM=perhaps
 m-a-arui ka hi-tala-vaa-vali-i=mu.

AV-STA-exist-Q LNK NMLZ-TALA-RED-game-I=2PL.NOM

When you get to the place of ambush, please let me hear it when you have game.

- (7) maci m-a-arui a hi-tala-vaa-vali-i=mu ia,
 if AV-STA-exist NOM NMLZ-TALA-RED-game-I=2PL.NOM TOP
 iŋa-a=cu=mau taruana patu-a-hiala=ci=ta=?ai
 go-AV.IMP=COS=wish hut PATU-IRR-cook=COS=1INCL.GEN=perhaps
 If you have game, please go to the hunting hut and cook (the meat).

- (8) aa-patu-hiala=cu=mau ka m-a-caŋarə=ci=kia,
 IRR-PATU-cook=COS=wish LNK AV-STA-hungry=COS=1PL.NOM
 avaava-a=mau na tamako aŋa?aŋa na tamako=isa
 cook-AV.IMP=wish OBL meat deer OBL meat=3.GEN
 vavuŋu na m-ai-ŋarua.
 wild.pig OBL AV-AI-share

Please cook as we are already hungry. Please cook the deer and/or wild pig meat (for us) to share.

- (9) pa-pia-ini=ita ia, m-ai-ŋa-ŋarua=kia m-a-iapə
 RED-how.many-?=1INCL.NOM TOP AV-AI-RED-share=1PL.NOM AV-IRR-count
 na iŋata.
 OBL 1INCL

How many people do we have, we shall share it (after) counting the number of us.

- (10) a-iŋu=?ai (ka) tarakaakua laə-laəvə=ta ka
 IRR-keep=perhaps NOM share RED-companion=1INCL.GEN LNK
 uka-uka-uka?a=mana na ku=na ia-uŋu m-u-sala m-ara-taa-tara
 RED-RED-none=still OBL not=OBL IA-arrive AV-U-go AV-ARA-RED-ambush
 ka usumaanə ku=na pu-a-ili.
 LNK others not=OBL PU-IRR-return

We keep the share of meat for those who went ambushing and have not returned as yet.

- (11) *maaci=ʔai təkəʔəvulaʔa ia, an(i)=ta=iau ua-ua-uamia*
 if=perhaps tomorrow TOP where=1INCL.GEN=wonder RED-RED-pass
m-utu-a-saa-sala m-ara-a-ta-tara=ta=ʔai
 AV-UTU-IRR-RED-go AV-ARA-IRR-RED-ambush=1INCL.GEN =perhaps
m-ai-vəə-vəʔəŋa m-aki-taarə.
 AV-AI-RED-morning AV-AKI-leave.early
 If we want to go over there to get ready for our ambush under a bush tomorrow, it's a long way, so we had better set out early in the morning.

- (12) (*ani=ta=iau ua-ua-uamia ani=ta uamia*)
 where=1INCL.GEN=wonder RED-RED-pass where=1INCL.GEN pass
m-a-tak-uamia n (ani=ta=iau uamia n)
 AV-IRR-TAK-pass OBL where=1INCL.GEN=wonder pass OBL
m-aa-taku-uamia n maa-m-a-varəvarə
 AV-IRR-TAKU-pass OBL RED-AV-IRR-mountain.ridge
a m-aki-ləŋəsə m-aki-taarə m-ai-vəə-vəʔəŋa.
 LNK AV-AKI-upward AV-AKI-leave.early AV-AI-RED-morning
 To go over there, we have to ascend and pass over several mountain ridges, so that we have to set out early in the morning.

- (13) *tali-sia-cəpə-cəpən=kia m-u-ala na pisipisi=mu*
 TALI-SIA-RED-self=please AV-U-take OBL bonus=2PL.GEN
paʔiaiu=ci=ta=ʔai=maanai ka ukaʔa=cu
 go=COS=1INCL.GEN=perhaps=probably LNK none=COS
ka a-anə=ta. pa-ia-ŋaa-ŋaʔi-u=cu ka tamako
 NOM IRR-eat=1INCL.GEN CAUS-IA-RED-put-PV.IMP=COS NOM meat
na ʔasi=mu na ka paʔiaiu=ci=ta.
 OBL bag=2PL.GEN OBL LNK go=COS=1INCL.GEN
 Please take each person's extra meat because we have no other food. Put the extra meat into your net bag before we are on our way home.

- (14) *ma-maini, pa-pia-ini ka m-ari-a-asi n(a)*
 RED-young RED-how.many-? NOM AV-ARI-IRR-carry.with.bag OBL
ʔi-tala-vaa-valə=ta=na? ma-maini, kitu-u=ʔai.
 NMLZ-TALA-RED-game=1INCL.GEN=DEF RED-young look-PV.IMP=perhaps
ka pisipisi məəməə ia, tara-kaa-kua=mu.
 NOM bonus all TOP TARA-RED-move=2PL.GEN
 Young men, how many (of us) shall we carry the game? Young men, look around and

- (8) alu-ka-kua=mana məməə taku-ai-a-ili-ana m-ia-ra-ruma=na.
 go-RED-move=still all TAKU-RED-IRR-return-LOC AV-IA-RED-village=DEF
 maaci ukaʔa m-a-aru i-ka-kua n salia ia,
 if none AV-STA-exist I-RED-move OBL house TOP
 m-asi-aŋaʔ-aŋaʔa=kia=mana ma-a-kari-kari.
 AV-ASI-RED-again=1PL.NOM=still AV.RECP-IRR-RED-talk
 They still have to go and see if all people have returned to the village. If people have not come home, we still have to discuss it again.
- (9) aaʔə.
 yes
 Yes.
- (10) tuaʔə=cu=isa kari=ta kanaʔa.
 almost=COS=3GEN word=1INCL.GEN that
 We take it that they are more or less ready.
- (11) m-a-aru=cu=i=mau ka hi-pa-a-pucu=mu papaʔa
 AV-STA-exist=COS=I=wish NOM PFV-CAUS-IRR-gather=2PL.NOM meat
 camai=ta m-ata-m-i-tuŋusu.
 dishes=1INCL.GEN AV-begin-AV-I-rite
 You have put together our meat and dishes for *mitungusu*.
- (12) m-a-aru=cu=?ai=maanai ʔa hi-tai-hivihivi=cu=ini=?ai
 AV-STA-exist=COS=perhaps=probably and PFV-all-family=COS=?=perhaps
 ka cucuʔu tara-kiuʔu.
 NOM people chop-wood
 Perhaps people in each family have chopped wood.
- (13) ta-a-ʔiara=isa=?ai təəra ka m-i-a-anə=cu=?ai
 TA-IRR-work=3GEN=perhaps strong NOM AV-I-IRR-pound=COS=perhaps
 m-i-a-kanə (na) a-anə=isa (maaci) m-i-a-tuŋusu.
 AV-I-IRR-pound.much OBL IRR-eat=3GEN when AV-I-IRR-rite
 They worked hard pounding (rice) to prepare a lot of food for *miatungusu*.

- (14) maaci=?ai m-a-aruc=cu mæmæa ka hi-aiisa ia,
 if=perhaps AV-STA-exist=COS all NOM NMLZ-on.the.way TOP
 m-a-siaəŋəcə=ci=kia cuu-ʔaumaŋə=ci=a=iau maaci m-ata-rasuŋu.
 AV-IRR-decide=COS=1PL.NOM FUT-when=COS=A=wonder if AV-begin-rite
 If all is ready, we have decided when to start the ritual ceremony.
- (15) aaʔə. m-ata-a-rasuŋu=ci=ta=?ai=maanai m-ai-vəə-vəŋə
 yes AV-begin-IRR-rite=COS=1INCL.GEN=perhaps=probably AV-AI-RED-morning
 cu-cu-cu-ʔaumaŋə=ci=ta=?ai.
 RED-RED-FUT-when=COS=1INCL.GEN=perhaps
 Yes. We can probably start tomorrow morning.
- (16) maaci=?ai=iau au-naana ia, ki-aʔa-aʔamu ka cucuʔu
 if=perhaps=wonder like-that TOP KI-RED-tell NOM people
 mæmæa taru-cu-cuvuŋ=aki=?ai na m-ai-vəə-vəŋə.
 all TARU-RED-meet=please=perhaps OBL AV-AI-RED-morning
 If that is the case, inform all people to get together early next morning.
- (17) ku=kia u-a-saa-saa-sala mæmæa maci pata-suuru=cu
 not=1PL.NOM U-IRR-RED-RED-go all if PATA-real=COS
 m-ata-rasuŋu ka palisia=cu ka m-u-a-saa-sala m-aʔu-kua
 AV-begin-rite LNK taboo=COS NOM AV-U-IRR-RED-go AV-go-move
 vuu-vuluŋ-a.
 RED-mountain-LOC
 None of us can go (to the mountains) if it really starts because it is a taboo to go to
 the mountains.
- (18) maacu=?ai=maanai salia mæmæa ka cucuʔu ʔa
 concerning=perhaps=probably house all NOM people and
 u-cani=?ai ka mamaini ka ku=a-caʔia na
 AV-only=perhaps NOM child LNK not=IRR-know OBL
 lii, ka m-u-a-saa-saa-sala ʔa mu-masa-masaiʔa
 tradition LNK AV-U-IRR-RED-RED-go and MU-RED-far
 ʔaia ka mamaini.
 probably.not NOM RED-child
 Perhaps people are all at home. Only children do not know the traditions, and they
 should not go far away.

- (19) palisia isamuare ka lii m-i-a-tuḡusu ka liisa
 taboo very NOM tradition AV-I-IRR-rite LNK tradition
 ka alaama kiariari.
 LNK ancient ancient

The tradition of *miatungusu* was a much tabooed ritual ceremony in the past.

- (20) tari-si-a-cəpə-cəpəḡə ka mamaini m-a-ia-tuḡuḡu
 TARI-SI-IRR-RED-think LNK child AV-IRR-IA-pay.attention
 ku=a-pua-saa-sala m-ai-vəə-vəḡəḡa maci m-ata-a-rasuḡu=cu.
 not=IRR-PUA-RED-go AV-AI-RED-morning when AV-begin-IRR-rite=COS
 Pay great attention to the children and not let them move around in the morning
 when the ceremony starts.

- (21) m-utu-vaa-vəḡəḡa m-ai-vəə-vəḡəḡa maaci m-ata-a-rasuḡu=cu.
 AV-UTU-RED-morning AV-AI-RED-morning when AV-begin-IRR-rite=COS
 Very early in the morning when the ritual ceremony starts.

- (22) la, um-acəka=cu=ini=?ai ka cucuḡu
 OK AV-get.up=COS=?=perhaps NOM people
 məəməa na m-ai-vəə-vəḡəḡa kaniḡi paku-a-vaa-vau
 all OBL AV-AI-RED-morning this CAUS-IRR-RED-call
 pa-taru-cu-cuvuḡ-u ka pasa-a-kulai=kia.
 CAUS-TARU-RED-meet-PV.IMP LNK PASA-IRR-hurry=please
 Okay. When the people have all gotten up early in the morning, make them gather
 together in a hurry.

Text 13. Building a house

- (1) maa-kari-kari-a=ita=mau ka
 AV.RECP-RED-talk-A=1INCL.NOM=wish LNK
 m-ai-ra-ruu-ruma=ita=?ai m-a-r-tafuavə əvərəŋa.
 AV-AI-RED-RED-build=1INCL.NOM=perhaps AV-IRR-R-hut ?
 m-aa-ła-łaluŋu=?ai ka usumaanə ła m-ali-a-?ulusu=?ai.
 AV-IRR-RED-cogon.grass=perhaps LNK others and AV-cut-IRR-pillar=perhaps
 A: We're discussing how to build a house, a thatch house. Other people will (help us) cut cogon grass and pillars.

- (2) łaa, m-ai-au-niini=ita=?ai=ia, m-ai-ruu-ruma
 OK AV-AI-like-how=1INCL.NOM=perhaps=wonder AV-AI-RED-build
 m-ai-a-ausi=ita=manai n łaaama
 AV-AI-IRR-like=1INCL.NOM=probably OBL traditional
 m-ai-a-ausi=ita=i n salia mamisa
 AV-AI-IRR-like=1INCL.NOM=Q OBL house now
 ku=kia cafia.
 not=1PL.NOM know
 B: If we want to build a house, it is not clear whether we shall build a house in a traditional style or in a modern style.

- (3) m-ai-a-ausi=ita=mana aia łaaama ka
 AV-AI-IRR-like=1INCL.NOM=still ? traditional LNK
 m-a-cafia=ita=?ai ia, n m-ai-ra-ruu-ruma mamisa.
 AV-STA-know=1INCL.NOM=perhaps TOP ? AV-AI-RED-RED-build now
 A: We know the traditional style, (but we do not know how to) build a house of the modern style.

- (4) maci au-naana ia, m-u-a-sala=kia=mana=?ai=maanai
 if like-that TOP AV-U-IRR-leave=1PL.NOM=still=perhaps=probably
 u-kiri-kirimi na ?ulu-?ulusu-aa.
 AV-RED-search OBL RED-pillar-LOC
 B: In that case, we still have to go and look for pillars.

- (5) vui?i ła m-ali-a-ala-ala na racu?u.
 rattan and AV-cut-IRR-RED-take OBL bamboo
 A: (We have to) cut rattan and bamboos.

- (11) *taa-ʔiara=isa=ʔai ka ru-a-maini=ta=ʔai ia,*
 TAA-work=3.GEN=perhaps NOM gather-IRR-many=1INCL.GEN=perhaps TOP
ru-vuiʔi ka m-ai-ra-ruu-ruma ka m-a-i-va-vaca-vacaŋə
 gather-rattan LNK AV-AI-RED-RED-build LNK AV-STA-I-RED-RED-good
 (ka) *m-a-i-ta-taʔa-taʔa.*
 LNK AV-STA-I-RED-RED-house
 A: We need to gather many rattan stems to build a good and (large) house.
- (12) *um-a-aləvə=ita=ʔai n ʔaluŋu.*
 AV-IRR-roof=1INCL.NOM=perhaps OBL cogon.grass
 B: We make a roof with cogon grass, a thatch roof.
- (13) *ʔaa, ʔaluŋu=ʔai=maanai ka a-aləva=ta.*
 ok cogon.grass=perhaps=probably NOM IRR-roof=1INCL.GEN
 A: OK, let's use cogon grass to make a thatch roof.
- (14) *m-a-talakiaʔə ka ʔaluŋu ka maanikia³³ ca-cii a*
 AV-STA-easy NOM cogon.grass LNK even.if RED-alone LNK
tapuanə=kia taka-cii-cii um-aləvə.
 able=1SG.NOM? TAKA-RED-alone AV-roof
 B: Since it is rather easy to make a thatch roof, even only one person can do it.
- (15) *kiaʔaʔamu-u məəməa ka cuu-cuu-cucu=ta. a-pə-cəkəʔə*
 inform-PV.IMP all NOM RED-RED-relative=1INCL.GEN IRR-CAUS-come
məəməa maaci m-a-aru ka taa-ʔiara=ta ka maci
 all when AV-STA-exist NOM TAA-work=1INCL.GEN LNK when
pii-taa-ʔiara-a na a-ari-ari a ku=ita=i
 have-TAA-work-PV OBL IRR-RED-day LNK not=1INCL.NOM=Q
p-ali-a-valəə=isa.
 CAUS-ALI-IRR-return=3.GEN
 A: Please notify all our relatives. They can all come and help with your work. Later,
 how can we not go and help their work in return?

³³ Usually the form is *maaniki* throughout the texts. This is the only case in which it ends with *a*.

- (16) taa-ʔiara=isa=ʔai m-a-calia=ita=ʔai ia, ki-suu-sua
 TAA-work=3.GEN=perhaps AV-STA-able=1INCL.NOM=perhaps TOP KI-RED-two
 tala-ʔaluŋu maaci taisa ka salia ka m-a-saiʔa
 carry-cogon.grass if large LNK house LNK AV-STA-far
 ka ʔaluŋu.
 NOM cogon.grass

B: We may be able to do the work, (but we wonder) if we two people can carry all the cogon grass from a distance to build a large house.

- (17) um-a-aʔaʔaʔ na ʔulusu na ka ta-taisa ia,
 AV-IRR-carry OBL pillar OBL LNK RED-big TOP
 aa-sa-sa-sua=ʔai ka um-a-aʔaʔaʔ isana. ruurua na
 IRR-RED-RED-two=perhaps NOM AV-IRR-carry 3.OBL roof.beam OBL
 ia, aa-kia-kia-sua=kia ka pa-a-ra-ruu-ruruaa.
 TOP IRR-RED-KIA-two=1PL.GEN LNK CAUS-IRR-RED-RED-roof.beam

A: A pillar is so big that it takes two people to carry it. A roof beam also takes us two people to make it.

- (18) m-a-cuisa ka au-naana=maanai m-a-kia-ʔuufu=kia na cucuʔu
 AV-STA-true NOM like-that=probably AV-IRR-KIA-call=1PL.NOM OBL people
 kana m-aa n m-a-sali=na. maaci ausi=cu a-ari-ari
 that AV-be OBL AV-STA-near=DEF if like=COS IRR-RED-day
 um-uʔi-i=cu m-ai-ruu-ruma ʔa ku=ita=i kana
 AV-take.turns-LV.IMP=COS AV-AI-RED-build and not=1INCL.NOM=Q that
 taa-ʔaʔvu=isa=na u-valaə.
 TAA-help=3.GEN=DEF AV-return

B: That's true. We ask the people in the neighborhood to come and help. If they build a house later on, how can we not go and help them in return?

- (19) aaʔə
 yes
 A: yes.

So there were still many fish in the creeks.

- (6) kaa-rəkələ=ci (i)sana n mamisa um-aru-mii-mia na
 very-often=COS 3PL.OBL OBL now AV-ARU-RED-use OBL
 savuanə mamisa t<um>uʔucu ia, ku=cu=ta
 drug now fish.poison<AV> TOP not=COS=1INCL.GEN
 ʔaŋə-ʔaŋəvi-a ka ʔuʔuŋu=na.
 RED-collect.water.moss-PV NOM creek=DEF

C: Because they very often fish by poison in these days, we cannot collect water moss in the creek.

- (7) naani au-naana=i? rumafəə ka ʔaumu na
 here like-that=Q then NOM Japanese OBL
 kiariari ka tua-varəʔəi pa-a-əməcə na
 past LNK TUA-never CAUS-IRR-touch OBL
 tuʔucu ka ukaʔa.
 fish.poison LNK no

A: Is that so here? In old days did the Japanese ever allow to use fish poison (potassium cyanid)? No.

- (8) ʔaa, pata-suuru t<um>a-tuʔucu ka ʔaumu n
 yes PATA-too.much RED<AV>-fish.poison NOM Japanese OBL
 kiariari (i)a, ki-a-kucu məəməa t<um>uʔucu.
 past TOP do-IRR-together all fish.poison<AV>

B: Yes, in old days the Japanese all fish-poisoned together a lot.

- (9) pu<sa>suusua n ʔi-tuʔucu=isa
 divide<3PL.GEN> OBL NMLZ-fish.poison=3PL.GEN
 a-p-ara-ia-iaʔa pa-təvələ.
 IRR-P-become-RED-equal CAUS-distribute

A: (In old days) they divided and distributed equally to every person the fish caught by fish poison.

- (10) au-naana=i mamisa? (ka) tari-si-a-cəpə-cəpəŋə=cu
 like-that=Q today NOM TARI-SI-IRR-RED-think=COS
 t<um>uʔucu.
 fish.poison<AV>

A: Is it like that today? People fish by poison at their own will.

- (11) m-u-sala m-i-ta-ləvəŋə m-a-lava n vutukuŋu=isa.
 AV-U-go AV-I-TA-hide AV-STA-carry OBL fish=3PL.GEN
 (They catch fish and) secretly carry their fish.
- (12) kaamu=cu=maanai puu<sa>suusua na laə-laəvə=isa.
 never=COS=probably share<3PL.GEN> OBL RED-companion=3PL.GEN
 Probably they never share (the fish) with their friends.
- (13) laʔuʔata=mana=ʔai ia, n kiariari ka ʔi-puusuusua
 although=still=perhaps TOP LOC past LNK PFV-divide
 ka ʔaama ka ʔuʔuʔu=na l<əm>əməkə na
 NOM ancestor OBL creek=DEF plant<AV> OBL
 vutukuŋu, m-a-arui ka paka-a-capacapaŋə na
 fish AV-STA-exist=Q LNK CAUS-IRR-RED-catch.freely OBL
 ʔi-ləməkə laə-laəvə=isa ka ukaʔa.
 NMLZ-plant RED-companion=3PL.GEN LNK none
 Although in old days our ancestors divided the creeks and bred fish in their
 own sections, were there people who caught freely (without permission) the
 fish bred by their friends? None.
- (14) paka-a-capacapaŋə ʔaia ka ʔaama maaci
 CAUS-IRR-RED-catch.freely probably.not NOM ancestor if
 m-a-calia na ʔi-ləməkə=isa ka vutukuŋu.
 AV-STA-know OBL NMLZ-plant=3PL.GEN LNK fish
 Our ancestors probably didn't catch fish freely if they knew that the fish had
 been bred by other people?
- (15) ʔaa m-ara-a-təkəʔə=i na kuliʔi vuu-vuluŋ-aa? maci
 and AV-become-IRR-different=Q OBL beast RED-mountain-LOC when
 um-ala isana ia, pa-a-təə-təvəʔə=isa
 AV-take 3PL.OBL TOP CAUS-IRR-RED-distribute=3PL.GEN
 a-p-ara-ia-iaʔə maci m-a-arui ka a-anə=isa.
 IRR-P-become-RED-equal when AV-STA-exist OBL IRR-eat=3PL.GEN
 And was it different about the mountain games? When they had games, as
 long as they had food, they distributed them equally to other people.

- (16) [kitu-u]=mau mamisa=na ka m-i-naasə=amu nuka
 look-PV.IMP=wish now=DEF LNK av-I-pain=1EXCL.NOM and
 asakava ʔaa-ʔiki-sua=amu 1<əm> əməkə vutukuʔu na
 Asakawa about-people-two=1EXCL.NOM plant<AV> fish OBL
 ki-ki-a-ari, i-sa-aʔu-kua ka vaiviʔi=na
 RED-KI-RED-day I-3PL.GEN-go-move NOM Paiwan=DEF
 kira-ria-rianə t<um>uʔucu.
 KIRA-RED-only fish.poison<AV>

B: Look! Asakawa and I bred fish a long time ago, but the other day the
 Paiwans came and caught them by poison.

- (17) ʔaisa=maanai vaiviʔi=na ka t<um>a-tuʔucu n
 3PL=probably Paiwan=DEF LNK RED<AV>-fish.poison OBL
 ʔuu-ʔuuʔuŋu-a=na.
 RED-creek-LOC=DEF

C: That is most likely the Paiwans who always fish by poison in creeks.

- (18) maaci=kia t<um>imaʔa na kari=a, vaiviʔi
 when=1SG.NOM hear<AV> OBL talk=DEF Paiwan
 ka t<um>a-tuu-tuʔucu savuanə amiʔaa.
 LNK RED<AV>-RED-fish.poison drug say

C: I have heard people say that it is the Paiwans who always fish by poison.

- (19) taa-maa-maa-ʔava na si-pa-ari-a-kəŋəkəŋə isana
 TAA-RED-AV-carry OBL INST.NMLZ-PA-manual-A-battery 3PL.OBL
 arasakai=na ka isiavaa=iau t<um>a-tuu-tuʔucu.
 shrimp=DEF LNK actually=wonder RED<AV>-RED-fish.poison

C: They pretend to carry a battery to catch shrimps, but actually they fish by
 poison!

- (20) ku=ci=kia a-caʔia um-upaŋə na vutukuʔu na
 not=COS=1PL.NOM IRR-able AV-breed OBL fish OBL
 mamisa, ku=cu ausi n kiariari.
 today not=COS like OBL past

B: Today we cannot breed fish, unlike in old days.

- (21) tara-a-rianə məəməa ka cucuʔu maci maa-kari-kari
 TARA-IRR-observe all NOM people when AV.RECP-RED-talk
 ku=kia paka-a-capa-capaŋə t<um>uʔucu n
 not=1PL.NOM CAUS-IRR-RED-catch.freely fish.poison<AV> OBL
 pata-suuru=cu hi-ləmək-a.
 PATA-too.much=COS NMLZ-plant-LOC

B: (In old days) all the people observed the rule if they had talked over and we did not catch fish freely by poison at the place ever bred.

- (22) au-niini=ta m-a-arū ka tara-a-rianə ku=kia
 like-how=1INCL.GEN AV-STA-exist NOM TARA-IRR-observe not=just
 paka-a-capa-capaŋə=ami ka m-ali-a-alualu məəməa
 CAUS-IRR-RED-catch.freely=said LNK AV-ALI-IRR-first all
 ʔaumu=ta məəməa au-naana.
 police=1INCL.GEN all like-that

C: How can there be people who observe the rule not to catch fish freely, because all our policemen catch fish first. All of them are like that.

- (23) uka m-a-arū=manai ka m-a-caŋa pa-tavətə
 none AV-STA-exist=probably LNK AV-STA-able CAUS-forbid
 na mamisa ka m-ara-ia-iahi=cu ka təkə=isa.
 OBL now LNK AV-become-RED-same=COS NOM mind=3PL.GEN

A: Probably nobody can forbid in these days, for the mind of all people is the same.

- (24) ku pi-ari-a-kənəŋ-a
 not PI-ARI-IRR-fear-PV

C: They don't fear.

- (25) ku pi-ari-a-kənəŋ-a na laə-laəvə=isa. Au-naanai kiariari
 not PI-ARI-IRR-fear-PV OBL RED-friend=3PL.GEN like-that past
 akuisa ʔaumu=maanai ka m-aa tara-a-rianə
 when police=probably OBL AV-be TARA-IRR-observe
 ka laə-laəvə.
 NOM RED-friend

A: They are not afraid of their friends. In old days during the Japanese period the friends used to observe the rule.

- (26) maaci m-a-arū m-aa-luuliiri tara-a-rianə ka
 if AV-STA-exist AV-STA-advise TARA-IRR-observe OBL
 kari=isa ka kapitaanə=isa ia, m-ara-ia-ialə ka
 word=3SG.GEN LNK chief=3PL.GEN TOP AV-become-RED-same LNK
 təkə=isa.
 mind=3PL.GEN

A: If their chief advised them to observe his words, their mind was the same (i.e., they followed it).

- (27) au-niini=cu rumaləə ka mamisa ka m-ara-a-təkələ
 like-how=COS then OBL now NOM AV-become-IRR-different
 cucu?u.
 person

B: Really in these days people have become very different.

- (28) ausii au-naana ka mamisa ka tumaləi=cu
 like like-that OBL now LNK many=COS
 ka cucu?u laku?i.
 NOM people reason

A: It is like that in these days, because there are many people.

- (29) kiariari ka ku=(ma)na tumaləə ka cucu?u.
 past LNK not=yet many NOM perople

A: In old days there were not many people yet.

- (30) ka?amuu=cu=manai arəpə-tara-a-ria-rianə=na maci
 never=COS=probably ARƏPƏ-TARA-IRR-RED-observe=DEF if
 ʔaa-maa-kari-kari na caa-caalai isana ka
 about-AV.RECP-RED-talk OBL RED-various 3PL.OBL LNK
 tari-si-a-cəpə-cəpəŋi=cu na təkə=isa.
 TARI-SI-IRR-RED-think=COS OBL mind=3PL.GEN

B: Probably they would never observe the rule with each other even if we were going to talk over with various things, because they made up their mind with their own will.

- (31) ihaisa=cu=?ai rumafəə pa-tara-a-rianə
 3SG=COS=perhaps then CAUS-TARA-IRR-observe
 na laə-laəvə=isa maaci m-a-aru ka
 OBL RED-friend=3PL.GEN if AV-STA-exist NOM
 laa-kari=isa maa-kari-kari na laə-laəvə=isa.
 about-word=3PL.GEN AV.RECP-RED-talk OBL RED-friend=3PL.GEN
 C: It may be true. Even if we had some business and talked over with friends,
 they would never keep the promise.

- (32) maacu (k)a maa-maa-mamaini mamisa=na ia,
 concerning NOM RED-RED-child now=DEF TOP
 tara-a-rianə=mana=i na kari=isa ka laamaama=isa
 TARA-IRR-observe=still=Q OBL word=3PL.GEN LNK parents=3PL.GEN
 m-a-irafə ka ukaʔa.
 AV-STA-really LN none
 K

C: Do the children even in these days observe what they are told by their
 parents? No.

- (33) ukaʔa. ku=cu ausi kari=isa ka laamaama
 none not=COS like word=3PL.GEN OBL ancestor
 ka tara-a-rianə=mana ka mamaini.
 LNK TARA-IRR-observe=still NOM child

A: No, not like my ancestors' story that the children still observed.

- (34) təkəli=cu ka təkə=isa mamaini mamisa
 different=COS NOM mind=3PL.GEN child now
 m-a-i-sa-səkasi=cu na ama=isa nuka
 AV-STA-I-RED-disobedient=COS OBL father=3PL.GEN and
 ina=isa.
 mother=3PL.GEN

A: Children's mind is different now, disobedient to their fathers and mothers.

- (35) taa-ʔiara-a=isa ka m-u-a-livi=cu n um-a-upaŋə
 TAA-work-PV=3PL.GEN NOM AV-U-IRR-accompany=COS OBL AV-RED-feed
 na ifata=na ka, maaci m-i-uŋu=cu ka
 OBL 1INCL=DEF if AV-I-arrive=COS OBL
 caili=isa mamaini ia, paki-a-turu=manai
 year=3PL.GEN child TOP PAKI-IRR-learn=probably
 laamaama ka, au-naana si-a-tuu-turu=isa kaniʔi
 parents like-that INST.NMLZ-IRR-RED-teach=3PL.GEN this
 li-m-u-varu um-a-upa-upaŋə n ifata=na.
 PFV-AV-U-new AV-IRR-RED-feed OBL 1INCL=DEF

B: What they do is that they follow our leaders (the ones who feed us). When children reach a certain age, they hardly follow their parents. The way of teaching our new leaders (i.e., Chinese) is like that.

- (36) ku=cu mamaini=kia maaci m-aʔə-ləpiŋi=cu ka mamaini.
 not=COS child=1PL.GEN if AV-become-finish=COS NOM child
 C: If children reach a certain age, they are not our own children any more.

- (37) pa-taka-a-cii-cifi =cu. m-a-calia=ita=manai
 CAUS-TAKA-IRR-RED-alone=COS AV-STA-able=1INCL.OM=probably
 m-ai-a-apətə isana.
 AV-AI-IRR-guide 3PL.OBL
 C: Let them do by themselves. We can hardly guide them.

- (38) maaci pa-a-təkə-təkəʔə=cu ka təkə=isa ka ukaʔa.
 if CAUS-IRR-RED-different=COS NOM mind=3PL.GEN LNK none
 C: Even if we think about their way of thinking, no use.

- (39) maani=ta mania=ita um-a-rəca-rəcakə isana ia,
 even=1INCL.GEN probably=1INCL.NOM AV-IRR-RED-angry 3PL.OBL TOP
 ifata=cu laamaama ka um-a-ala na takuliacə.
 1INCL=COS parents LNK AV-IRR-take OBL bad
 B: Even if we get angry with them (even if we scold them), it is us parents who are wrong.

(40) mm, m-ara-ali=ci=kia ara-a-rataə ka
 yes AV-become-embarrass=COS=1PL.NOM become-IRR-contrary NOM
 łaamaama.

parents

C: Yes, on the contrary we parents get embarrassed.

(41) ali=ʔai=mau mamisa ka m-a-arui ka
 embarrass=perhaps=wish today LNK AV-STA-exist=Q NOM
 m-ari-a-vakəsə mamaini, ka takuliacə ka m-ari-a-vakəsə
 AV-ARI-IRR-hit children LNK bad NOM AV-ARI-IRR-hit
 na mamisa.

OBL now

A: Today's parents will be embarrassed. Are there any who hit children?

Because the one who hits is wrong in these days.

(42) m-a-cafia=ita=manai um-a-rəca-rəcakə na mamaini
 AV-STA-able=1INCL.NOM=probably AV-IRR-RED-angry OBL children
 ka ukaʔa.

LNK none

A: We can hardly scold children. No.

(43) misai maaci m-a-arui=cu ka mamaini m-i-uju=cu
 thus if AV-STA-exist=COS NOM children AV-I-arrive=COS
 (n)a caifi isana ma-pua-lə caif-a=na ia,
 OBL year 3PL.OBL ten-two-ORD year-LOC=DEF TOP
 kaamu=cu=ta=manai m-a-cafia t<um>uru-turu isana,
 never=COS=1INCL.GEN=probably AV-STA-able RED<AV>-teach 3PL.OBL
 ka ku=cu taru-a-təkə isana ka
 LNK not=COS take-IRR-responsibility 3PL.OBL NOM
 łaamaama=isa amila.

parents=3PL.GEN say

B: Therefore, if we have a child who reaches twenty years in age, we can never teach them, because it is not their parents who bear the responsibility for them.

(44) si-a-tuu-turu=isa ka ʔaumu mamisa=na.
 INST.NMLZ-IRR-RED-teach=3SG.GEN NOM police today=DEF

B: That is the way of teaching of policemen today.

- (45) au-naana=i ka kiariari ʔaamaama=na ka pata-suuru
 like-that=Q OBL ancient ancestor=DEF LNK PATA-too.much
 ka ama=isa nuka ina=isa hi-pi-mia=isa
 NOM father=3PL.GEN and mother=3PL.GEN PFV-PI-say.PV=3PL.GEN
 m-a-luuliiri isana ia, maniki ma-pua-ʔə=cu caif-a ia,
 AV-STA-advise 3PL.OBL TOP even.if ten-two-ORD=COS year-LOC TOP
 kuu=i tara-a-rianə ka mamaini kiariari maaci
 not=Q TARA-IRR-observe NOM child past if
 a-luuliir-ana ka tara-a-rianə kari ʔaamaama =isa.
 IRR-advise-LV OBL TARA-IRR-observe word parents=3PL.GEN
 A: Was is like that in days of ancestors? If their father and mother ever
 advised them, even if they had reached 20 years in age, did not the children
 follow what their parents said to them?

- (46) ʔaʔaisa=mana=ʔai ka ki-aʔa-aʔamə na mamaini
 what=still=perhaps NOM KI-RED-tell OBL child
 n ʔaama, ka maaniki=ʔai m-a-ʔə-ləpəŋə
 OBL ancient LNK even.if=perhaps AV-STA-RED-finish
 m-a-arū na salia=isa ia, pa-a-iŋalə=ʔai
 AV-STA-exist OBL house=3PL.GEN TOP CAUS-IRR-respect=perhaps
 (n)a ʔaamaama=isa, ka m-a-iraʔə hi-um-upəŋə
 OBL parents=3PL.GEN LNK AV-STA-really PFV-AV-raise
 isana ka ʔaamaama aŋafi maini.
 3PL.OBL NOM parents begin small
 B: There is no need to talk about the children in old days, because, even if
 they had reached a certain age without getting married, they would respect
 their parents, because it was their parents who raised them since their
 childhood in any way.

- (47) au-naana ka si-a-turu=isa ka ʔaumu kiariari.
 like-that NOM INST.NMLZ-IRR-teach=3SG.GEN LNK Japanese past
 C: The way of teaching of the Japanese was like that in old days.

- (48) m-ara-ia-iaʔə ka si-a-turu=ita cucuʔu
 AV-become-RED-same NOM INST.NMLZ-IRR-teach=1INCL.NOM person
 kiariari na si-a-turu=isa ka ʔaumu kiariari.
 past OBL INST.NMLZ-IRR-teach=3PL.GEN OBL Japanese past
 C: The way of our teaching in old days is the same as that of the Japanese.

- (49) maaci pa-a-taku-taku-ʔii-ʔiarə ia, kaamu=cu=ita
 if CAUS-IRR-RED-TAKU-RED-work TOP never=COS=1INCL.GEN
 tara-a-rianə na ʔaa-kari=kia maaci=kia
 TARA-IRR-observe OBL about-word=1PL.GEN if=1PL.NOM
 m-a-luuliiri isana ka ukaʔa.
 AV-STA-advise 3PL.OBL LNK none

A: Even when we ask them to work, they never follow what we told, even if we advise them, it is useless.

- (50) taka-cii-cili na təkə=isa.
 TAKA-RED-alone OBL mind=3PL.GEN

A: They do things by themselves in their own way.

- (51) ara-a-ratai=cu ʔa-maʔaʔa miina ʔaamaama maaci
 become-IRR-contrary=COS about-stupid say.to parents if
 ʔaa-um-uʔunu.
 about-AV-bid

C: If parents were going to ask them to do something, they say to parents, on the contrary, that they are stupid.

- (52) au-niini=cu rumafə ka t<um>a-tuu-turu na mamaini
 like-how=COS then NOM RED<AV>-teach OBL child
 mamisa ka, maaci ʔa-tuu-turu-a, n təkə
 now LNK if and-RED-teach-PV OBL mind
 pa-a-cə-cəpəŋə=na ia, um-ali-a-valəə, “m-a-arui ka
 CAUS-IRR-RED-think=DEF TOP AV-ALI-IRR-talk.back AV-STA-exist=Q NOM
 tiki=mu təʔə=isa t<um>uru-turu na ʔaku ka,
 mind=2PL.NOM correct=3SG.GEN RED<AV>-teach OBL 1SG LNK
 ʔi-aŋali=aku na gakkəʔo taisa um-iapə? m-a-arui
 PFV-begin=1SG.NOM LOC school big AV-study AV-STA-exist=Q
 ka vuju=mu,” amiʔaa um-ali-valəə.
 NOM head=2PL.NOM say AV-ALI-talk.back

B: How do we teach children in these days? Because, even if we teach with a good intention, they talk back saying, “Do you really have the correct knowledge to teach me who graduated from a big school? Are you bright?”

(53) m-aa-məə-məkə=ci=kia maaci minisua ka mamaini.
 AV-STA-RED-helpless=COS=1PL.NOM if in.this.way NOM child
 B: We cannot help it if children say so.

(54) m-aa-məə-məkə=kia ka ku=kia a-caŋia na suŋatə,
 AV-STA-RED-helpless=just OBL not=1PL.NOM IRR-know OBL letter
 ka m-a-irələ kuu=pii-suŋatə ka aŋaama=ta na
 but AV-STA-same not=have-letter NOM ancestor=1INCL.GEN OBL
 kiariari.
 past

A: It cannot be helped, because we don't know letters. But similarly our
 ancestors had no letters in old days.

Text 15. The friends

lavausu

informant: Vanau · Eləkəə

Note: S II 160-167

Tape: S II B 17-147

- (1) m-u-sala=ami ka ama=isa nuka ina=isa
 AV-U-go=said NOM father=3SG.GEN and mother=3SG.GEN
 m-aŋu-kua n umuuma=hai [rumaŋaə].
 AV-go-move OBL field=DEF then
 Her father and mother (of Lhavausu's) went to the field.
- (2) m-i-səkasə=ami ka ʔaɦiuŋu u-ulaula n ʔavausu
 AV-I-cunning=said NOM Lɦaɦiuŋu AV-play OBL Lɦavausu
 Lɦaɦiuŋu did a naughty thing with Lɦavausu on the sly.
- (3) a-pa-a-paci isana n taŋakə.
 A-CAUS-IRR-die 3SG.OBL OBL pig
 Lɦaɦiuŋu made Lɦavausu kill a pig.
- (4) “pa-a-paci=u tai taŋaki=u=na, amilaa ka
 CAUS-IRR-die=2SG.NOM ? pig=2SG.GEN=DEF say NOM
 aŋaina=u,” ami-ami ka ʔaɦiuŋu n ʔavausu.
 woman=2SG.GEN RED-say NOM Lɦaɦiuŋu OBL Lɦavausu
 Lɦaɦiuŋu said to Lɦavausu, “Your mother said, ‘You kill your pig.’”
- (5) rumaŋaə, “arəə, m-ari-a-kənəŋə=aku na aŋaina=ku
 then oh AV-ARI-IRR-fear=1SG.NOM OBL woman=1SG.GEN
 ka ukaŋa n salia,” ami-ami ka ʔavausu.
 LNK none OBL house RED-say NOM Lɦavausu
 Then, Lɦavausu said, “Oh! I am afraid of my mother, for she isn't at home.”
- (6) rumaŋaə m-u-a-sala=ami m-a-tapuata, pi-a-caucau=ami.
 then AV-U-IRR-go=said AV-STA-cross.mountain PI-IRR-pretend=said
 Then, Lɦaɦiuŋu told a lie to Lɦavausu that her mother went over to the
 mountains.

- (7) “pa-a-paci=u a tatakə=naa,’ amiḷaa ka
 CAUS-IRR-die=2SG.NOM TOP pig=DEF say NOM
 ina=u,” ami-ami.
 mother=2SG.GEN RED-say
 “Your mother told you to kill a pig,” said Lhafiūtu to Lhavausu.
- (8) hai [rumaḷaə], “pu-liūtu=tai=ami ka
 ? then PU-exchange=1INCL.GEN=said OBL
 tikuru=ta=na.”
 clothes=1INCL.GEN=DEF
 Then Lhafiūtu said to Lhavausu, “Let’s exchange our clothing.”
- (9) “maacu=ami ka tikuru ḷavausu ia,
 concerning=said NOM clothes Lhavausu TOP
 a-pa-a-tikuru=ku=ami.”
 A-CAUS-IRR-clothes=1SG.GEN=said
 “As for the clothing of Lhavausu, I will wear it.”
- (10) “maacu=ami ka tikuru ḷafiūtu ia,
 concerning=said NOM clothes Lhafiūtu TOP
 a-pa-a-tikuru=isa=ami ka ḷavausu” ami-ami.
 A-CAUS-IRR-clothes=3SG.GEN=said NOM Lhavausu RED-say
 “As for the clothing of Lhafiūtu, Lhavausu will wear it.” (Lhafiūtu) said.
- (11) rumaḷaə tara-a-rianaə=ami ka ḷavausu.
 then TARA-IRR-observe=said NOM Lhavausu.
 Then Lhavausu followed what Lhafiūtu said.
- (12) pa-a-paci n tatakə=isa.
 CAUS-IRR=die OBL pig=3SG.GEN
 Lhavausu killed her pig.
- (13) uluŋ-a ka tikuru=isa.
 take.off-PV NOM clothes=3SG.GEN
 Lhavausu took off her clothing.
- (14) a-pa-tikuru n ḷafiūtu.
 A-CAUS-clothes OBL Lhafiūtu
 Lhavausu was made wear the clothing of Lhafiūtu.

- (15) “pi-api-a m-aʎu-kua n aʎaama=ku,”
 PI-carry.by.tumpline-AV.IMP AV-go-move OBL parents=1SG.GEN
 ami-ami ka ʎaʎiuʎu n ʎavausu.
 RED-say NOM Lhaviuʎu OBL Lhavausu
 Lhaviuʎu told Lhavausu “carry (the rice cake) to my parents.”
- (16) sa-a-pi-api-a=ami ka ʎaʎiuʎu.
 3.SG.GEN-IRR-PI-carry.by.tumpline-PV=said NOM Lhaviuʎu
 Lhaviuʎu made (Lhavausu) carry it.
- (17) rumalaə paka-paipai=cu=ami, pi-api isana.
 then make-rice.cake=COS=said PI-carry.by.tumpline 3SG.OBL
 Then, she made rice-cake, and carried it.
- (18) um-iikua n paraŋaʎə, t<um>ilifi na
 AV-put OBL basket hang<AV> OBL
 uru-a-mitaa na taʎiaria.
 URU-IRR-rise NOM sun
 She put the rice-cake in a basket, and hung it at the place where the sun was rising.
- (19) hai [rumalaə] mə-cəkili=cu=ami na vuruŋanə
 ? then AV-arrive=COS=said OBL night
 ka aʎəməʎə, um-ara-aracə na kiuʎu=ta ia,
 NOM wild.pig AV-RED-bite OBL tree=1INCL.GEN TOP
 m-ari-a-tupiakə na kiuʎu, um-a-u=ami
 AV-ARI-IRR-cut.down OBL tree AV-IRR-eat=said
 n ʎavausu.
 OBL ʎavausu
 Then, at night a wild pig came to bite at the tree, cut it down, and eat Lhavausu.
- (20) hai [rumalaə] “taamia um-u n iʎaku,”
 ? then don’t AV-eat OBL 1SG
 ami-ami ka ʎavausu.
 RED-say NOM Lhavausu
 Then Lhavausu said, “Don’t eat me.”

- (21) um-ala n paipai, a-paa-ilivuru n vəkəə=isa,
 AV-take OBL rice.cake IRR-CAUS-mix OBL hair=3SG.GEN
 pa-u na aləmətə.
 CAUS-eat OBL wild.pig
 She took the rice cake, mixed it with her hair, and let the wild pig eat it.
- (22) tara-a-muari=cu=ami ka aləmətə um-u n paipai
 TARA-IRR-divert=COS=said NOM wild.pig AV-eat OBL rice.cake
 ia, ku=cu=ami kə-ŋətətə n kiuʔu.
 TOP not=COS=said KƏ-cut.down OBL tree
 The wild pig was diverted its interest to eating rice cake, and so did not bite the tree to cut it down.
- (23) ku=cu u-ravəkə ka kiuʔu.
 not=COS AV-fall.down NOM tree
 The tree did not fall down.
- (24) kuu ku maacə um-u isana.
 not not AV.can AV-eat 3SG.OBL
 It could not eat the tree.
- (25) m-uru-mitaa ka taɬaria.
 AV-URU-rise NOM sun
 The sun rose.
- (26) rumafaa, “ŋafaisa=cu m-aa n kaaiu uru-a-mitaa
 then who=COS AV-be OBL there URU-IRR-rise
 taɬaria na ia-uju-ana=ku na a-ani=ku=ʔai?”
 sun OBL during-arrive-LOC=1SG.GEN OBL IRR-eat.PV=1SG.GEN=perhaps
 ami-ami ka taɬaria.
 RED-say NOM sun
 Then the sun said, “Who is there at the place where the sun rises, at the place where I come, with my food?”
- (27) rumafaa, “iikuu, iikuu, ni-sa-ula-ula?-a=aku
 then 1SG 1SG PFV-3SG.GEN-RED-play-PV=1SG.NOM
 naniunu,” ami-ami ka ɬavausu.
 trick RED-say NOM Lhavausu.
 Lhavausu said, “It's me. It's me. Lhaliuɬu played a naughty trick on me.”

- (28) mə-cəkili=cu ka taliaria, rumafəə “iʔau=iʔau,” ami-ami.
 AV-arrive=COS NOM sun then 2SG=wonder RED-say
 The sun came and said, “It's you!”
- (29) m-u-sala=cu=ami um-ala na si-a-aṭi-a=isa
 AV-U-go=COS=said AV-take OBL INST.NMLZ-RED-patch-A=3SG.GEN
 isana valaku cumiʔi.
 3SG.OBL fur bear
 The sun went and took his fur of bear for her to wear
- (30) pu-a-ili pi-aṭi isana.
 PU-IRR-return PI-carry.by.tumpline 3SG.OBL
 Lhavausu returned home carrying by tumpline.
- (31) m-i-uṅu=ami n anai=sa ʔavausu.
 AV-I-arrive=said OBL same.name=3SG.GEN Lhavausu
 She arrives at Lhavausu, a woman who has the same name with her.
- (32) “iʔaa=cuu, mə-ləvə-a=ita n iʔaku,” ami-ami
 1INCL=run AV-together-IMP=1INCL.NOM OBL 1SG RED-say
 anai=sa ʔavausu.
 same.name=3SG.GEN Lhavausu
 “Let's go to my place.” said Lhavausu with the same name.
- (33) rumafəə, “arəə, ukaʔa=maanai ka aləti=ku,” ami-ami
 then oh none=probably NOM skirt=1SG.GEN RED-say
 ka ʔavausu ca-cili.
 NOM Lhavausu RED-one
 Another Lhavausu said, “Oh! But I don't have my skirt.”
- (34) rumafəə, “m-a-arū aləti=ku u-cani,” ami-ami isana.
 then AV-STA-exist skirt=1SG.GEN AV-one RED-say 3SG.OBL
 Then Lhavausu with the same name said, “Here is one of my skirts.”
- (35) “ukaʔa hiatavu=ku.” “m-a-arū a hiatavu=ku
 none legging=1SG.GEN AV-STA-exist NOM legging=1SG.GEN
 u-cani,” ami-ami isana.
 AV-one RED-say 3SG.OBL
 “I have no leggings.” “Here are my leggings.” said to her.

- (36) “ukaʔa tavaliku.” “m-a-aru a tavaliku,”
 none earring=1SG.GEN AV-STA-exist NOM earring=1SG.GEN
 ami-ami isana.
 RED-say 3SG.OBL
 “I have no earring.” “Here is my earring,” said to her.
- (37) “ukaʔa ka pituka=ku.” “m-a-aru a pituka=ku,”
 none NOM bracelet=1SG.GEN AV-STA-exist NOM bracelet=1SG.GEN
 ami-ami isana.
 RED-say 3SG.OBL
 “I have no bracelet.” “Here is my bracelet,” said to her.
- (38) sa-aru-avic-a=ami m-ari-ka-kua n
 3SG.GEN-ARU-take.along-PV-said AV-carry-RED-move OBL
 paa-ra-rana=isa t<um>inæna.
 PAA-RED-place=3SG.GEN weave<AV>
 She took Lhavausu to the place where she wove.
- (39) rumataə, “maaci=ami um-a-u ia, u-sua-a=kia
 then when=said AV-IRR-eat TOP AV-two-IMP=please
 viiri=ku, u-sua-a=kia taisiŋi=ku,
 share=1SG.GEN AV-two-IMP=please spoon=1SG.GEN
 u-sua-a=kia takupili=ku,” ami-ami.
 AV-two-IMP=please plate=1SG.GEN RED-say
 Then Lhavausu with the same name said, “When I eat, please give me food for
 two people, two spoons, and two plates.”
- (40) m-u-sala=ami ka mamaini m-i-a-hicaə isana.
 AV-U-go=said NOM child AV-I-IRR-see 3SG.OBL
 A child went to see her.
- (41) rumataə, “ŋataisa=ʔau, m-aa isana=na ka
 then what=wonder AV-be 3SG.OBL=DEF NOM
 sa-sua,” ami-ami ka hi-mi-lavaə=isa.
 RED-two RED-say NOM NMLZ-MI-younger.sibling=3SG.GEN
 Her younger brother said, “What! There are two people!”

- (42) “arəə, usumanə=isa=?ai ka ʔaʔuŋali=ta,”
 oh spouse=3SG.GEN=perhaps NOM Lhaʔuŋali=1INCL.GEN
 ami-ami.
 RED-say
 “Oh! Our Lhaʔuŋali may take Lhavausu to be his wife,” said Lhavausu with
 the same name.
- (43) rumafəə, m-u-sala=ami ina=isa k<um>ita isana.
 then AV-U-go=said mother=3PL.GEN see<AV> 3SG.OBL
 Then, their mother went to see him.
- (44) “arəə, m-a-cuisa,” ami-ami.
 oh AV-STA-true RED-say
 The mother said, “Oh! It's true.”
- (45) sa-alu-a=cu=ami afaina=isa ka ʔaʔuŋali=isa.
 3SG.GEN-receive-PV=COS=said woman=3SG.GEN NOM Lhaʔuŋali=3SG.GEN
 Lhaʔuŋali took her as his wife.
- (46) pau-mamaini=ami na u-cani.
 beget-child=said OBL AV-one
 She gave birth to a child.
- (47) m-u-sala=ami ka ʔaʔuŋali m-aʔu-kua n vuu-vuluŋ-aa
 AV-U-go=said NOM Lhaʔuŋali AV-go-move OBL RED-mountain-LOC
 Lhaʔuŋali went to the mountains.
- (48) rumafəə, m-i-a-taa-taarə=ami ka ʔavausu n
 then AV-I-IRR-RED-lonely=said NOM Lhavausu OBL
 ʔaamaama=isa.
 parents=3SG.GEN
 Then, Lhavausu feels lonely about her parents.

- (49) hai [rumaʔaə], “vuri-a=aku n vuuru.
 ? then give-IMP=1SG.NOM OBL bow
 m-u-a-sala=aku pu-a-ili n ʔaamaama=ku,”
 AV-U-IRR-go=1SG.NOM PU-IRR-return OBL parents=1SG.GEN
 ami-ami ka ʔavausu na aʔaina=isa.
 RED-say NOM Lhavausu OBL woman=3SG.GEN
 Then Lhavausu said to her mother-in-law, “Give me a bow. I would return to my parents.”
- (50) sa-a-vura=ami n ʔa-vuuru para-ʔəŋaa.
 3SG.GEN-IRR-give=said OBL bad-bow PARA-soot
 She was given a dirty sooted bow.
- (51) sa-a-pata-əkət-a=ami n taa-ʔuki-a.
 3SG.GEN-IRR-PATA-stuck-PV=said OBL TAA-chaff-LOC
 (The bow) was stuck at the dumping ground.
- (52) rumaʔaə, “cuvu-cuvuʔ-aə! m-ata-ka-kua na
 then RED-bamboo.shoot-? AV-begin-RED-move OBL
 aʔaina=ku,” ami-ami ka kari=isa.
 woman=1SG.GEN RED-say NOM talk=3SG.GEN
 Then, she said, “Bamboo shoots! Grow and go to my mother!”
- (53) rumaʔaə t<um>anjuura=ami ka racuʔu m-ata-ka-kua
 then grow<AV>=said NOM bamboo AV-begin-RED-move
 na aʔaina=isa.
 OBL woman=3SG.GEN
 Then, the bamboo grew to her mother.
- (54) sa-a-ləvə-a=ami m-uu-capi na aʔaina=isa.
 3SG.GEN-IRR-go.along-PV=said AV-UU-go.down OBL woman=3SG.GEN
 She went along the bamboo to come down to her mother.
- (55) pa-aʔu-a-saʔi=ami, tamma-vacaŋə ka saʔi=isa.
 CAUS-go-IRR-song=said very-good NOM song=3SG.GEN
 She sang, and her song was very good.

- (56) hai [rumaʔaə], “maci=aku=ʔai m-uu-capi na
 ? then when=1SG.NOM=perhaps AV-UU-go.down OBL
 aʔaina=ku, maci=ʔai m-uu-pa-pucupucu
 woman=1SG.GEN if=perhaps AV-UU-RED-drop.in.cluster
 si-ava=ku ia, ma-maci=aku=ʔai,”
 INST.NMLZ-string.carry.on.back=1SG.GEN TOP RED-AV.die=1SG.NOM=perhaps
 ami-ami ka ina=isa.
 RED-say NOM mother=3SG.GEN
 Then, the mother of the child (= Lhavausu) said, “When I may come down to
 my mother, if my string to carry a baby on my back may drop in cluster, I may
 die.”
- (57) hai [rumaʔaə], (m-uu-pa-pucupucu) “maaci
 ? then AV-UU-RED-drop.in.cluster if
 m-uu-sa-siri a mamaini=ku ia,
 AV-UU-RED-stand NOM child=1SG.GEN TOP
 ma-maci=aku=ʔai ia,” ami-ami.
 RED-AV.die=1SG.NOM=perhaps TOP RED-say
 Then, she said, “If my child jumps down and stands, I may (not) die.”
- (58) m-uu-sa-siri=ami.
 AV-UU-RED-stand=said
 He jumped down and stood.
- (59) “maaci=ʔai m-uu-kuli-kuli a iʔaku ia,
 if=perhaps AV-UU-RED-fall NOM 1SG TOP
 ma-maci=aku=ʔai,” ami-ami.
 RED-AV.die=1SG.NOM=perhaps RED-say
 “If I jump down and fall, I may die,” she said.
- (60) m-uu-siri=ami məəməa ia, m-uu-capi=cu=ami məəməa.
 AV-UU-stand=said all TOP AV-UU-go.down=COS=said all
 Everyone jumped down and stood safely, all came down.
- (61) rumaʔaə pu-a-ili=cu ka racuʔu fi-ə-ləvə-a=isa
 then PU-IRR-return=COS OBL bamboo NMLZ-RED-along-LOC=3PL.GEN
 m-uu-capi n aʔaina=isa.
 AV-UU-go.down OBL woman=3SG.GEN
 Then they went back to the bamboo along which they came down to her

mother.

- (62) m-a-licæcə=cu ia, m-a-ə́la-ə́taŋji=cu=ami
AV-STA-black=COS TOP AV-STA-RED-wife's.home=COS=said
n áaina=isa.
OBL woman=3SG.GEN
The bamboo became black again, sooted bow, and Lhavausu remained at her mother's.
- (63) taru-cuvuŋu=ami taru-ŋála-ŋála ka ɬavausu taria,
TARU-meet=said TAU-RED-again NOM ɬavausu same
rumaɬaə paka-paipai ami-ami.
then make-rice.cake RED-say
The same Lhavausu met again Lhaliuɬu, then she made rice cake.
- (64) “m-a-aləmə-a=ita n paipai=na=ami.” ami-ami.
AV-STA-swallow-IMP=1INCL.NOM OBL rice.cake=DEF=said RED-say
She said, “Let's swallow the rice cake.”
- (65) sa-a-cuɬu-a=ami ka vatuʔu rumaɬaə c<um>avu
3SG.GEN-IRR-burn-PV=said NOM stone then wrap<AV>
n paipai=na.
OBL rice.cake=DEF
She burnt a stone, and then wrapped it in a rice cake.
- (66) rumaɬaə “arəə, ma-maci=kia=ʔai=mau maci=kia
then Oh RED-AV.die=1SG.NOM=perhaps=wish if=1SG.NOM
ma-aləmə isana,” ami-ami ka ɬavausu.
AV-swallow 3SG.OBL RED-say NOM Lhavausu
Then Lhavausu said, “Oh! I may die if I swallow it.”
- (67) rumaɬaə, “ukaʔa=mau iɬaku,” ami-ami.
then none=wish 1SG RED-say
Then, she said, “I won't die.”
- (68) m-a-i-ta-tivaə=ami na paipai um-u.
AV-STA-I-RED-tear.off=said OBL rice.cake AV-eat
She took a piece of rice cake and ate it.

- (69) ku=ami a-paci.
not=said IRR-die
She did not die.
- (70) um-uli=ami ka łavausu m-a-i-tivaə rumalaə
AV-take.turns=said NOM Lhavausu AV-STA-I-tear.off then
m-a-aləmə.
AV-STA-swallow
Lhavausu took her turn to take a piece, and swallowed it.
- (71) “crr...,” ami-ami ka aləməsa=isa m-u-cułu.
crr... RED-say NOM throat=3SG.GEN AV-U-burn
Her throat burnt “crr...” she said.
- (72) hai [rumalaə] “iima canumu, iima canumu,” ami-ami
? then drink water drink water RED-say
rumalaə maci?i=cu=ami.
then AV.die=COS=said
Then she said, “(I) drink water, (I) drink water,” and then she was dead.
- (73) rumalaə pu-a-ili=cu=ami ka ina=isa ti-aŋati
then PU-IRR-return=COS=said NOM mother=3SG.GEN PFV-from
umuuma.
field
Then, her mother returned from the field.
- (74) “łahiulu, łahiulu! taru-cuvun-ani=aku! m-a-li-səələ ia, ka
Lłahiulu Lłahiulu TARU-meet-LV=1SG.NOM AV-sta-LI-heavy TOP NOM
kiu?u fi-pi-api=ku=naa,” ami-ami
tree PFV-PI-carry.by.tumpline.PV=1SG.GEN=DEF RED-say
ka ina=isa.
NOM mother=3SG.GEN
Her mother said, “Lłahiulu! Lłahiulu! Come and see me! The wood I'm carrying by tumpline is heavy.”
- (75) rumalaə sa-a-tali-suu-sulu-a=cu=ami ka łahiulu [łavausu].
then 3SG.GEN-IRR-TALI-RED-joke-PV=COS=said NOM Lłahiulu Lhavausu
Then Lhavausu made a joke.

- (76) t<um>aki-rəŋərəŋə na sikamə a-pa-ləsap-a isana
 TAKI<AV>-roll.up OBL mat IRR-CAUS-sleep-IMP 3SG.OBL
 na paki-puʔu-a ka sapatə=isa.
 OBL PAKI-come.out-PV NOM foot=3SG.GEN
 She rolled her up in a mat with her feet out a little, as though she was sleeping.
- (77) “asa=ʔau ka taa-ʔii-ʔiara-a ʔahiʔu? maacu=ku
 what=wonder NOM TA-RED-work-LOC Lhahiʔu concerning=1SG.GEN
 taru-a-cuvuʔu na ʔaku,” ami-ami ka ina=isa.
 TARU-IRR-meet OBL 1SG RED-say NOM mother=3SG.GEN
 “What on earth is Lhahiʔu doing? She did not come to see me.” said her
 mother.
- (78) um-ala n paŋili, m-ari-təkə isana na taarə
 AV-take OBL pestle AV-ARI-hit 3SG.OBL OBL bed
 rumatə m-a-iratə=cu=ami ʔi-maci.
 then AV-STA-anyways=COS=said PFV-AV.die
 She took a pestle and hit her in the bed, but at any rate she had died.
- (79) rumatə “arə, paka-paci=ʔai=iau ka ʔaku ka
 then oh CAUS-die=perhaps=wonder NOM 1SG OBL
 ʔahiʔu=ku=nai.” ami-ami ka ina=isa.
 Lhahiʔu=1SG.GEN=perhaps RED-say NOM mother=3SG.GEN
 Then her mother said, “Oh! I might have pounded my Lhahiʔu to kill her.”
- (80) rumatə m-u-sala=cu=ami ka ina=isa m-aʔu-kua
 then AV-U-go=COS=said NOM mother=3SG.GEN AV-go-move
 isana rumatə k<um>ita
 3SG.OBL then see<AV>
 Then her mother went to see her.
- (81) maciʔi=cu=ami.
 AV.die=COS=said
 She was dead.

- (82) “arəə, tamu=cu=iau tama-ʔiarə ka ʔafiulu,” ami-ami
 oh really=COS=wonder TAMA-diligent NOM Lhafiulu RED-say
 isana.
 3SG.OBL
 “Oh! Lhafiulu was really diligent!” she said to her.
- (83) rumafəə “cuu paa-paci=ʔai=mau” ami-ami ka
 then ? CAUS-die=perhaps=wish RED-say NOM
 ina=isa ka ʔafiulu.
 mother=3SG.GEN LNK Lhafiulu
 Then, Lhafiulu’s mother said, “I might have killed her.”
- (84) “arəə, maamia=isa=mau ka tama-ʔiarə=ami=aku,”
 oh waste=3SG.OBL=wish LNK TAMA-diligent=said=1SG.NOM
 ami-ami isana.
 RED-say 3SG.OBL
 “Oh! How wasteful, because I thought she was diligent,” she said to her.
- (85) rumafəə (ka) m-u-a-sala=ami ka ʔavausu m-aʔu-kua
 then LNK AV-U-IRR-go=said NOM Lhavausu AV-go-move
 isana.
 3SG.OBL
 Then, Lhavausu went to her.
- (86) “tuuli=ʔai maakuu, aalii, aalii=iau maaku,”
 of.course=perhaps ? happy happy=wonder 1SG
 ami-ami.
 RED-say
 “It’s a matter of course. I’m happy,” she said.
- (87) “tulisi maaci ku=a-paci,” ʔa=ami=ʔai ʔa
 of.course if not=IRR-die about=say=perhaps and
 t<um>a-a-kafəə=ami ka ina=isa=mau
 TA<AV>-IRR-recognize.by.hearing=said NOM mother=3SG.GEN=wish
 Her mother was going to say that “it was a matter of course if she did not die,”
 and then she recognized Lhavausu by hearing her say.

(88) “arəə, paa-tuu-tulisi=u isana=?ai=mau ka
 oh PAA-RED-of.course=2SG.NOM 3SG.OBL=perhaps=wish LNK
 maci?i=cu,” ami-ami a ina=isa ka ʔahiutu.
 AV.die=COS RED-say NOM mother=3SG.GEN LNK Lhahiutu
 Lhahiutu's mother said, “Oh! You think it's a matter of course that she died.”

(89) rumataə, “arəə, uka?a maamia=isa=mau. uka?a
 then oh none waste=3SG.OBL=wish none
 tama-?iarə=ami=aku,” ami-ami ka ina=isa
 TAMA-diligent=said=1SG.NOM RED-say NOM mother=3SG.GEN
 [ʔavausu] akuisa maci?i=cu ka ʔahiutu ia,
 Lhavausu when AV.die=COS NOM Lhahiutu TOP
 tai-naana=cu.
 all-that=COS

Then, “Oh! It's not wasteful! I think she wasn't diligent.” said Lhavausu's mother when Lhahiutu died.

Text 16. The devil³⁴

ʔiɬicu

informant: Vanau

Note: S II 168-170

Tape: S II B 263-310

- (1) m-u-sala=ami ka ina=isa nuka ama=isa
 AV-U-go=said NOM mother=3PL.GEN and father=3PL.GEN
 m-aɬu-kua n umuuma.
 AV-go-move OBL field
 Their mother and father went to field.
- (2) hai [rumaɬaə] “maci=aku=ʔai pu-a-ili
 ? then when=1SG.NOM=perhaps PU-IRR-return
 paka-tuku-tuku n si-pa-a-ŋəɬəv-aa ia,
 CAUS-RED-knock OBL INST.NMLZ-CAUS-A-door-LOC TOP
 aru-pa-ŋiɬiv-u=aku=ʔai,” ami-ami ka ina=isa.
 ARU-CAUS-open-PV.IMP=1SG.NOM=perhaps RED-say NOM mother=3PL.GEN
 “When I’ll return and knock at the door, open it,” said their mother.
- (3) hai [rumaɬaə] mə-cəkəɬə=ami ka ʔiɬicu paka-tuku-tuku
 ? then AV-come=said NOM spirit CAUS-RED-knock
 n si-pa-a-ŋəɬəv-aa
 OBL INST.NMLZ-CAUS-A-door-LOC
 Then an evil spirit came and knocked at the door.
- (4) rumaɬaə sa-aɬu-kua=ami ka mamaini.
 then 3SG.GEN-go-move=said NOM child
 The child went to the door.
- (5) “ina=ku=i ka iɬau?” ami-ami hai [rumaɬaə]
 mother=1SG.GEN=Q NOM 2SG RED-say ? then
 “ina=u,” ami-ami.
 mother=2SG.GEN RED-say
 “Are you my mother?” said he. Then “Your mother!” said the evil spirit.

³⁴ This is actually a story from the Taiwanese.

- (6) u-vura n ramucu=isa pa-kita.
 AV-give OBL hand=3SG.GEN CAUS-see
 It gave its hand to show them.
- (7) ina=isa=ami maci k<um>ita n ramucu=isa.
 mother=3PL.GEN=said when see<AV> OBL hand=3SG.GEN
 When they saw its hand, it was the one of their mother.
- (8) rumataə sa-arū-pa-ŋələv-a=ami ka mamaini.
 then 3SG.GEN-ARU-CAUS-open-LV=said NOM child
 Then the child opened the door.
- (9) mə-cəkili=cu=ami m-aŋu-kua n salia ka ʔiŋicu.
 AV-arrive=COS=said AV-go-move OBL house NOM spirit
 The evil spirit came into the house.
- (10) “m-a-ləsap-a=ci=ta,” ami-ami ni mamaini sa-sua.
 AV-IRR-sleep-IMP=COS=1INCL.GEN RED-say OBL child RED-two
 “Let’s sleep,” it said to the two children.
- (11) “kicu-miaki n itaku a ʔi-mi-lavaə=na,” ami-ami.
 lie-beside OBL 1SG NOM NMLZ-MI-younger.sibling=DEF RED-say
 “Younger brother sleeps besides me,” said it.
- (12) m-a-ləsapi=cu=ami hai [rumataə] makatu-maŋa-maŋa=cu=ami
 AV-IRR-sleep=COS=said ? then sleep-RED-asound=COS=said
 ka aŋalua mamaini=isa.
 NOM older.sibling child=3PL.GEN
 They slept, and the older brother of the children slept deep asound.
- (13) rumataə m-i-sətkaŋi=cu=ami ka ʔiŋicu um-ala
 then AV-I-secretly=COS=said NOM spirit AV-take
 n ʔi-mi-lavaə=isa um-u.
 OBL NMLZ-MI-younger.sibling=3SG.GEN AV-eat
 Then the evil spirit stealthily took the younger brother and ate him.
- (14) rumataə takə-məʔaə=ami
 then wake-up=said
 Then the older brother woke up.

- (15) “kiaa ka hi-mi-lavai=ku naii” ami-ami.
 where NOM NMLZ-MI-younger.sibling=1SG.GEN ? RED-say
 “Where has my younger brother gone?” said he.
- (16) “asa, a-anə-ani=u, ka-inu?” ami-ami ni
 what RED-eat-LV=2SG.GEN KA-mother RED-say OBL
 ina=isa ?iɬicu.
 mother=3PL.GEN spirit
 “What are you eating, mother?” he said to their mother, the evil spirit.
- (17) rumalaə um-ala=ami ka ina=isa ?iɬicu n
 then AV-take=said NOM mother=3PL.GEN spirit OBL
 sapaɬə=isa=ami ka hi-mi-lavaə=isa, u-vura
 foot=3SG.GEN=said OBL NMLZ-MI-younger.sibling=3SG.GEN AV-give
 isana pa-u.
 3SG.OBL CAUS-eat
 Then their mother, the evil spirit took a foot of his younger brother and gave it to him to let him eat it.
- (18) sa-alu-a=ami m-ati-alu.
 3SG.GEN-receive-PV=said AV-ATI-receive
 He received it.
- (19) “hi-mi-lavai=ku=iau ka kani?i=mau
 NMLZ-MI-younger.sibling=1SG.GEN=wonder NOM this=wish
 sapaɬə=na,” ami-ami.
 foot=DEF RED-say
 “This foot is my younger brother,” thought he.
- (20) pi-caucau=ami ni ?iɬicu, “m-u-a-sa=aku=mana
 PI-pretend=said OBL spirit AV-U-IRR-go=1SG.NOM=still
 m-iivu,” ami-ami.
 AV-urinate RED-say
 He told a lie to the evil spirit, saying “I’m going to urinate.”
- (21) “taamia m-u-sala, taamia m-u-sala.” ami-ami
 don’t AV-U-go don’t AV-U-go RED-say
 ka ?iɬicu.
 NOM spirit

“Don't go, don't go!” said the evil spirit.

- (22) ʔa “maci=u ku=tara-a-rianə ia, kili-u a
 and if=2SG.GEN not=TARA-IRR-observe TOP tie-PV.IMP NOM
 ramucu=ku ka m-u-a-sala=aku m-iivu,”
 hand=1SG.GEN LNK AV-U-IRR-go=1SG.NOM AV-urinate
 ami-ami isana.
 RED-say 3SG.OBL

And the child said to the evil spirit, “If you think I'll not be obedient, tie up my hands, for I am only going to urinate.”

- (23) saa-kili=ami ka ʔificu ka ramucu=isa.
 3SG.GEN-tie=said GEN spirit NOM hand=3SG.GEN

The evil spirit tied up his hands.

- (24) m-u-sala=ami m-i-taʔaʔə k<um>ili isana na kiuʔu.
 AV-U-go=said AV-I-run tie<AV> 3SG.OBL OBL tree

He ran out and tied (the rope) at a tree.

- (25) m-i-cuʔu m-i-valarə n kiuʔu.
 AV-I-escape AV-I-climb OBL tree

He ran away and climbed up on a tree.

- (26) rumaʔə pali-a-viliti=ami ka ʔificu rə-kəə-kəcə n
 then PALI-IRR-follow=said NOM spirit RƏ-RED-jerk OBL
 si-a-kili-a.

INST.NMLZ-IRR-string-PV

The evil spirit ran after him and jerked the string.

- (27) ukaʔa=ami. ku=ami pa-ta-a-səkəra isana ka
 none=said not=said CAUS-TA-A-string 3SG.OBL LNK
 m-a-kakiliŋi=ami.
 AV-STA-hard=said

He could not jerk. He could not pull the string because it was hard.

- (28) saa-pali-a-vilit-a=ami ka kiuʔu=ami ka
 3SG.GEN-PALI-IRR-follow-PV=said NOM tree=said LNK
 li-kili-ana=isa isana.
 PFV-tie-LV=3SG.GEN 3SG.OBL

The evil spirit followed the rope and came to a tree where it was tied.

- (29) ukaʔa=cu=ami ka mamaini. m-u-sala=cu=ami.
 none=COS=said NOM child AV-foot-go=COS=said
 The child was not there. He was gone.
- (30) pali-a-vilifi, u-kiri-kirimi isana ka ukaʔa=cu=ami
 PALI-IRR-follow AV-RED-search 3SG.OBL LNK none=COS=said
 ka mamaini.
 NOM child
 The evil spirit ran after, looking for the child because he ran away.
- (31) m-i-vararə ka mamaini na kiuʔu patəkə
 AV-I-climb NOM child OBL tree side
 tənəmə pii-kiuʔu.
 sea have-tree
 The child climbed up on a tree at the sea side where there were trees.
- (32) k<um>a-kita=ami ka ʔilicu na ʔilipi=isa ka
 RED<AV>-see=said NOM spirit OBL shadow=3SG.GEN OBL
 mamaini (maci m-i-vaa-valarə³⁵ ka mamaini).
 child if AV-I-RED-climb NOM child
 The evil spirit saw the shadow of the child.
- (33) hai [rumaʔa] u-ka-kua=isa=ami m-ati-saʒalə.
 ? then AV-RED-move=3SG.GEN=said AV-ATI-catch
 It jumped to (the shadow) to catch him.
- (34) ʔaa-m-uu-kua na mamaini m-ati-saʒalə ia,
 ʔAA-AV-UU-move OBL child AV-ATI-catch TOP
 ukaʔa=ami. ʔilipi=ami.
 none=said shadow=said
 It was going to jump to the child to catch him, but he was not there. It was his shadow.
- (35) pati-a-ʒaʔa-ʒaʔa=isa=ami, ʔilipi=ami.
 PATI-IRR-RED-repeat=3SG.GEN=said shadow=said
 It repeated to catch him, but it was shadow.

³⁵ the other variant of ‘climb’ *valarə* is also recorded.

- (36) rumafəə tala-ləŋəsə=ami tara-təafə isana.
 then TALA-look.up=said TARA-find 3SG.OBL
 ʎaa-m-i-a-vaa-vararə=ami.
 LAA-AV-I-IRR-RED-climb=said
 Then it looked up and found him. It was going to climb the tree.
- (37) rumafəə, “tamia=mana mə-cəkələ. patu-cici-u=mana
 then don't=yet AV-come CAUS-hot-PV.IMP=still
 ʔurai naii. ʔitai naani,” ami-ami isana.
 oil ? give.me here RED-say 3SG.OBL
 Then the child said to the evil spirit, “Don't come yet! Boil oil, and give it to me!”
- (38) “anə=cu=aku=ʔai” ami-ami isana.
 eat=COS=1SG.NOM=perhpas RED-say 3SG.OBL
 “I'll eat it,” said he to the spirit.
- (39) saa-patu-cici-a=ami ka ʔiticu ka ʔurai
 3SG.GEN-CAUS-hot-PV=said OBL spirit NOM oil
 u-vura isana.
 AV-give 3SG.OBL
 The evil spirit boiled oil and gave it to him.
- (40) m-ari-kimia=cu=ami na laŋica (m-u-a-ra=cu=ami
 AV-ARI-from=COS=said OBL above AV-U-IRR-come.here=COS=said
 isana), (saa-puu-kua=na=ami ʔurai.
 3SG.OBL 3SG.GEN-pour-toward=DEF=said oil
 From above (the tree) he poured oil (on the evil spirit).
- (41) puu-paciʔi ni ʔiticu. Tai-naana=cu ka a-cafii=ku.
 CAUS-die OBL spirit all-that=COS NOM IRR-know=1SG.GEN
 He killed the evil spirit (by pouring hot oil on it). That is all that I know of.

Part Three: Texts by Pang-hsin Ting

Text 1. Traditions

masiaʔaʔama

Informant: 謝清忠, Male, Age: 65

Location: 桃源村, Date: March 31, 1976

- (1) maani=ta=ʔai ara-a-ku ka ʔaʔalua ia,
if=1INCL.GEN=perhaps become-IRR-not NOM Saaroa TOP
taŋumia=ʔai a-uka-uka liisa ka ʔaʔalua.
must.not=perhaps IRR-RED-forget tradition OBL Saaroa
Even if there is no more Lha'alua, (we) should not forget Lha'alua traditions.
- (2) a-aŋali=ci=ta n kaniʔi ki-ʔamu-ʔamu
IRR-begin=COS=1INCL.GEN OBL this KI-RED-speak
p-aʔu-mia-mia=isa kanaʔa sia-ləməkə=ta na a-anə,
P-go-RED-use=3SG.GEN that SIA-plant=1INCL.GEN OBL IRR-eat
sia-ləməkə=ta na puusiam, sia-ləməkə=ta na ʔəvəcəŋ.
SIA-plant=1INCL.GEN OBL rice SIA-plant=1INCL.GEN OBL millet
Let's begin with how to plant cereals, rice, and millet.
- (3) maacu ka iʔata na kiariari ia, akusa
concerning NOM 1INCL OBL ancient TOP then
m-aru-aru-aʔici ka cucuʔu ia, aa-taka-taka-ci-cili=cu
AV-RED-stay-alone NOM people TOP IRR-RED-TAKA-RED-casual=COS
l<əm>əməkə na a-anə=isa.
plant<AV> OBL IRR-eat=3PL.GEN
As for us in the ancient time, people lived separately and planted cereals casually.
- (4) aa-taka-taka-ci-cili t<um>amaʔəŋə na liisa.
IRR-RED-TAKA-RED-casual=COS make<AV> OBL tradition
They were casual about traditions.

- (5) maacu ka liisa ka kiariari kanaʔa ʔəvəcəŋə
concerning NOM tradition OBL ancient that millet
ia, maaci l<əm>əməki=cu ia, a-aŋaʔi=cu=isa na
TOP if plant<AV>=COS TOP IRR-begin=COS=3PL.GEN OBL
əm-ərapə əm-ərapə ʔəvəcəŋ.
AV-sow AV-sow millet
According to the tradition of millet in the ancient time, if we want to plant it,
we first sow it.
- (6) m-ari-a-ʔəvəcəŋi=cu.
AV-harvest-IRR-millet=COS
Then we harvest it.
- (7) maaci li-m-ari-ʔəvəcəŋi=cu ia, m-a-avavarua.
when PFV-AV-harvest-millet=COS TOP AV-STA-harvest
When we have harvested millet, we perform the harvesting (ritual ceremony).
- (8) maacu ka m-a-avavarua ia, ilaisa ku=a-ləmələmə um-u
concerning NOM AV-STA-harvest TOP 3PL not=IRR-order AV-eat
na varuʔu ʔəvəcəŋə.
OBL new millet
When we perform the harvesting ritual ceremony, we don't eat the new millet
first.
- (9) maacu ka liisa ka ʔəvəcəŋə ia, kuu=kia aa-u
concerning NOM tradition OBL millet TOP not=1PL.NOM IRR-eat
na vutukuʔ.
OBL fish
As for the tradition of millet, we don't eat any fish (with it).
- (10) maaci=kia um-u na vutukuʔ ia, m-a-savələ ia,
if=1PL AV-eat OBL fish TOP AV-STA-slippery TOP
vutukuʔ ia, kia-tuu-turu=isa na kualipu=cu ka a-anə.
fish TOP KIA-RED-imitate=3SG.GEN OBL slip=COS NOM IRR-eat
If we eat fish, it is slippery, and the food we eat will soon slip away.

(11) maaci hi-m-aa-varu-a=cu ia, a-aruc=isa ka kanaʔa
 if PFV-AV-IRR-new-A=COS TOP IRR-take=COS=3SG.GEN NOM that
 ʔəvəcəŋə m-ata-asaku na risaku.
 millet AV-begin-store OBL storehouse

If we have eaten new millet, we take up millet and store it in a granary.

(12) maaci m-ata-asaku na ʔəvəcəŋə ia, m-a-aru ka
 when AV-begin-store OBL millet TOP AV-STA-exist NOM
 vatuʔ a-cukuru=isa.
 stone IRR-press=3SG.GEN

When millet is stored in a granary, we press it down with a stone.

(13) ʔəvəcəŋə maaci umai isana na risaku, maaci
 millet if tidy.up 3SG.OBL OBL storehouse if
 a-cukuru=isa. na vatuʔ, uka=taŋmiaki m-i-cuʔu ka
 IRR-press=3SG.GEN OBL stone none=prefer AV-I-escape NOM
 tiitalava=isa ka ʔəvəcəŋə hi-a-kua=isa.
 soul=3SG.GEN OBL millet NMLZ-IRR-move.behind=3SG.GEN

If we store millet in a granary and press it down with a stone, the soul of millet will not leave, and that is the meaning behind it.

(14) maacu ka liisa ka ʔəvəcəŋə ia, tai-nana=cu.
 concerning NOM tradition OBL millet TOP all-that=COS
 That is all for the tradition of millet.

(15) ki-aʔa-aʔamu=ci=ta na liisa ka puusiam.
 KI-RED-tell=COS=1INCL.GEN OBL tradition OBL rice
 Let's talk about the tradition of rice.

(16) maacu ka puusiam ia, təkələ ka liisa ka puusiam.
 concerning NOM rice TOP different NOM tradition OBL rice
 As for rice, the tradition of it is different.

(17) um-aərap na puusiam maaci m-ari-puusiam micu ia,
 AV-sow OBL rice when AV-harvest-rice there TOP
 ku=na=kia aa-u na puusiam maaci ku=na
 not=DEF=1PL.NOM IRR-eat OBL rice when not=DEF
 ki-ali-ali.
 hold-RED-ritual

(We) sow rice, and (we) harvest it, we are not supposed to eat it before a ritual ceremony.

- (18) maacu ka liisa ka puusiam ia, maaci=kia
 concerning NOM tradition OBL rice TOP if=1PL.NOM
 c<um>ufuku ia, kuu=kia p-ara-pici na
 pound.rice.cake<AV> TOP not=1PL.NOM P-make-cut OBL
 hi-cufuku maaci ku=na puaʔətai.
 NMLZ-rice.cake if not=DEF offering
 The tradition of rice is that if we make rice cake, we are not supposed to cut it before offering it to a ritual ceremony.

- (19) maacu ka puaʔətai akuisa ia, kua-rasuru um-u
 concerning NOM offering when TOP KUA-ritual AV-eat
 na varua puusiam hi-a-kua=isa
 OBL new rice NMLZ-IRR-move.behind=3SG.GEN
 The meaning of offering a sacrifice is to eat new rice.

- (20) maaci=kia m-ala-pici hi-cufuku um-arumia na litaku ia,
 if=1PL.NOM AV-make-cut NMLZ-rice.cake AV-ARU-use OBL knife TOP
 pa-amalaa pəʔələ pa-amalaa tupiʔi.
 CAUS-become lame CAUS-become blind
 If we cut rice cake with a knife, we will become lame and blind.

- (21) amianisua=cu kila-ali-ali=mana a=mici=kia
 therefore=COS hold-RED-ritual=still IRR-AV.cut=1PL.NOM
 m-ara-pici hi-cufuku.
 AV-make-cut NMLZ-rice.cake
 Therefore, (we) must hold a ritual ceremony before we cut rice cake.

- (22) maacu ka puaʔətai akuisa ia,
 concerning NOM offering when TOP
 c<um>a-cufuku=kia a-aʔa-avə m-ari-ka-kua na
 RED<AV>-pound.rice.cake=1PL.NOM IRR-take-? AV-carry-RED-to OBL
 taaiila.
 rest.area
 As for offering a sacrifice, we make rice cake and take it to a rest area.

- (23) m-a-arū=kia isana u-łamarə n łəpəa ma-rəə-rəsəvən
 AV-STA-stay=1PL.NOM 3SG.GEN AV-burn OBL straw MA-RED-weed
 kanaʔa caa-capuka.
 that RED-bush
 We go there and burn rice straw together with the weed of a bush.
- (24) maaci=kia u-łamarə n caa-capuka ia, maaci
 when=1PL.NOM AV-burn OBL RED-bush TOP if
 p-uru-vuuvula ia, pałafıtu=kia paa-capa-capaŋ.
 P-URU-smoke TOP shoot=1PL.NOM PAA-RED-randomly
 When we burn a bush, and if there is smoke, we shoot at it randomly.
- (25) maaniki ukaʔa ka a-kita tauruŋə ia, pałafıtu=kia
 even.if none LNK IRR-see muntjac TOP shoot=1PL.NOM
 ka m-u-łava=cu=aku a-ıti.
 LNK AV-U-bring=COS=1SG.NOM IRR-return
 Even if (we) do not see any muntjac there, we shoot at it all the same.
- (26) u-a-pana maaci m-a-arū ka u-a-łamarə
 AV-IRR-shoot if AV-STA-exist NOM AV-IRR-burn
 ıi-a-kua=ısa.
 NMLZ-IRR-move.behind=3SG.GEN
 One will shoot if one intends to burn (and plant).
- (27) ıłaisa a-aŋalı=cu isana u-łama-łamarə na caa-capuka.
 3SG IRR-begin=COS 3SG.OBL AV-RED-burn OBL RED-bush
 Therefore, one begins by burning a bush.
- (28) maaci ku na puaʔəłai ia, ku=kia a-łamarə
 if not OBL offering TOP not=1PL.NOM IRR-burn
 caa-capuka.
 RED-bush
 We cannot burn a bush without offering a sacrifice first.
- (29) palisia p-uru-vuuvula ka ku=na kil-ali-ali.
 taboo P-URU-smoke LNK not=DEF hold-RED-ritual
 It is a taboo to smoke without holding a ritual ceremony.

(30) maacu ka liisa ka kanaʔa a-anə ia, tai-naana.
 concerning NOM tradition OBL that IRR-eat TOP all-that
 That is all for the tradition of (planting) cereals.

(31) Ka liisa ki-aʔa-aʔamu=cu=aku pa-timaʔa na iʔamu
 NOM tradition KI-RED-tell=COS=1SG.NOM CAUS-hear OBL 2PL
 ma-maini m-uu-vaa-vilifi kanaʔa paʔu-paʔu-paʔumiamia=isa
 RED-young AV-UU-RED-follow that RED-RED-story=3PL.GEN
 ka a-anə.
 OBL IRR-eat

I shall talk about the tradition of the cereals for you young people and off-
 springs to know the various meanings of the cereals.

(32) maacu ka ʔəvəcəŋə ia, m-ai-ra-raʔu a-anə=isa
 concerning NOM millet TOP AV-AI-RED-origin IRR-eat=3PL.GEN
 ka cucumacu.
 OBL indigenous.people

Millet was originally the food of the indigenous peoples.

(33) maacu ka puusiam ia, ʔi-aŋaʔi=cu n pakisiaʔa.
 concerning NOM rice TOP PFV-begin=COS OBL Chinese
 Rice was introduced by the Chinese.

(34) maacu a kanaʔa arisaŋ m-a-liʔəʔəʔə akuisa ʔa arisaŋ
 concerning NOM that bean AV-STA-round so and bean
 m-a-tavuliu akuisa ia, m-ai-ra-raʔu a-anə=isa ka
 AV-STA-red so TOP AV-AI-RED-origin IRR-eat=3PL.GEN OBL
 cucu kiariari ka kanaʔa aŋaʔi kiariari.
 person ancient LNK that begin ancient

The round beans and the red beans have been originally the food of the ancient
 people since the ancient time.

- (35) maacu a tanalai ia, li-a-ɬava=isa ka pakisiaʔa
concerning NOM peanut TOP NMLZ-IRR-bring=3PL.GEN NOM Chinese
n kiariari ka kanaʔa, u-vura na kanaʔa.
OBL past OBL that AV-give OBL that
cucumacu kiariari.
indigenous.people past
As for peanuts, they were introduced to the indigenous peoples by the Chinese.
- (36) maacu ka tanalai ia, arisaŋ pakisiaʔa amiɬa isana
concerning NOM peanut TOP bean Chinese say 3PL.OBL
ka ɬaʔalua.
NOM Lha'alua
As for peanuts, the Lha'alua people believe that they are the Chinese beans.
- (37) taʔaiaraa=isa maaci arisaŋ pakisiaʔa miisan?
why=3PL.GEN when bean Chinese say
Why do they say they are the Chinese beans?
- (38) taʔaiaraa=isa ku=au-naana ka ani li-aŋaɬi ka arisaŋ
why=3PL.GEN not=like-that LNK where PFV-begin NOM bean
ka kaniʔi tamu taisa pii-kulici tamu taisa ka
LNK this really big have-peel really big OBL
uvuraə=isa mi.
seed=3PL.GEN oh
Why not so? Where did beans in large size with a different shape come from?
- (39) maacu a kaniʔi ia, arisaŋ=isa=iau ka pakisiaʔa
concerning NOM this TOP bean=3PL.GEN=wonder OBL Chinese
ka kaniʔi.
LNK this
As for this type of beans, they belong to the Chinese.
- (40) kial=ita=cu li-k<um>ita na arisaŋ=isa ka
never=1INCL.NOM=COS PFV-see<AV> OBL bean=3PL.GEN NOM
cucu kiariari ka au-naana.
people past LNK like-that
We people in the ancient time never saw this type of beans.

- (41) amiṭa amianisua=cu kiariari arisaŋ pakisiaʔa
 say therefore=COS past bean Chinese
 amiṭa=cu isana.
 say=COS 3SG.OBL

That is why, as we said before, they are the Chinese beans.

- (42) maacu a kanaʔa liisa ka kanaʔa paama ḥi-pucu
 concerning NOM that tradition OBL that ? PFV-gather
 na a-anə akuisa ia, u-cani ka kiariari ka
 OBL IRR-eat when TOP AV-one OBL past LNK
 tam-paliisia əm-əməcə na taraku.
 TAM-taboo AV-touch OBL winnowing.basket

The tradition of saving food is the same in the past that it is forbidden to touch a winnowing basket.

- (43) palisia əm-əməcə n ḥuŋ.
 taboo AV-touch OBL mortar

It is forbidden to touch a mortar.

- (44) palisia əm-əməcə n paŋili.
 taboo AV-touch OBL pestle

It is forbidden to touch a pestle.

- (45) taʔaiaraa=isa maaci ku=au-naana ka m-a-savələ ka vutukuḥu
 why=3PL.GEN when not=like-that LNK AV-STA-slippery NOM fish
 amianisua=cu.
 therefore=COS

That is why fish are slippery.

- (46) maacu a kaniʔi ia, m-a-savələ ia, ki-a-tu-turu
 concerning NOM this TOP AV-STA-slippery TOP KI-IRR-RED-imitate
 isana ka a-anə m-a-savələ ku=a-ḥi-pucu
 3SG.OBL NOM IRR-eat AV-STA-slippery not=IRR-PFV-gather
 maakacani ara-kuka.
 soon become-gone

If food is slippery like fish, we cannot save it, and (we) may go without food any time.

(47) maaniki m-a-tumuŋu ka a-anə ia, maakacani ara-kuka.
 even.if AV-STA-many NOM IRR-eat TOP soon become-gone
 hi-a-kua=isa ka ʔaʔalua.
 NMLZ-IRR-move.behind=3SG.GEN NOM Lhaʔalua
 No matter how much food (you) may have, it will soon be gone, as the
 Lhaʔalua people said before.

(48) maacu ka liisa ka a-anə ia, tai-nana=cu.
 concerning NOM tradition OBL IRR-eat TOP all-that=COS
 That is all about the tradition of cereals.

(49) ki-aʔa-aʔamə=ci=ta na liisa ka taku-aʔu-aʔup.
 KI-RED-tell=COS=1INCL.GEN OBL tradition OBL TAKU-RED-hunt
 Let's talk about the tradition of hunting.

(50) ki-aʔa-aʔamə=aku na liisa ka taku-aʔu-aʔup pa-timaʔa
 KI-RED-tell=1SG.NOM OBL tradition OBL TAKU-RED-hunt CAUS-hear
 na iʔamu ka m-uu-va-vilifi ka ku=ci=ta
 OBL 2PL LNK AV-UU-RED-follow LNK not=COS=1INCL.GEN
 tumalaə ka ʔaʔalua.
 many LNK Lhaʔalua
 I shall talk about hunting for you young people to listen to because we do not
 have many Lhaʔalua people.

(51) maʔua piipia=ita=mana ʔaia ari
 AV.long.time how.long=1INCL.NOM=still probably.not day
 maani=ta a-ili ara-a-kuka ka ʔaʔalua ia,
 even=1INCL.GEN IRR-return become-IRR-gone NOM Lhaʔalua TOP
 tuura=cu t(a)aia ara-a-kuka ka m-ai-ra-raʔu=mana
 ʔ=cos about become-IRR-gone LNK AV-AI-RED-origin=still
 ʔaʔalua akuisa.
 Lhaʔalua when
 It won't be long before there is no more Lhaʔalua, and this is not absolute
 because there were Lhaʔalua people.

(52) maacu ka ʔaʔalua ia, maaniki kuu=tumafə aʔali n
 concerning NOM Lha'alua TOP even.if not=many begin OBL
 kiariari akuisa ia, m-ai-raa-raʔu pa-tara-alianu
 ancient when TOP AV-AI-RED-origin CAUS-TARA-well.known
 n cucuʔu.
 OBL people

As for the Lha'alua people, although there have not been many people since the ancient time, they are well known among peoples.

(53) maaniki kuu=tumafə ia, pa-tara-alianu n palitakuliŋ.
 even.if not=many TOP CAUS-TARA-well.known OBL world
 Although there are not many, they are well known in the county/world.

(54) ki-aʔa-aʔamə=aku=mana n liisa ka m-uru-a-cuka
 KI-RED-tell=1SG.NOM=still OBL tradition OBL AV-URU-IRR-hunt
 pa-timafə na ifamu.
 CAUS-hear OBL 2PL

I shall talk about the tradition of hunting for you to listen to.

(55) maacu ka liisa ka m-uru-a-cəka ia,
 concerning NOM tradition OBL AV-URU-IRR-hunt TOP
 t-aruu-taa-təa-təkəl.
 T-become-RED-RED-different

The tradition of hunting is all different.

(56) maacu ka tumaafafasəŋa maaci m-əʔə-cəka ia,
 concerning NOM person.name when AV-ƏRƏ-hunt TOP
 maaci=kia um-u ia, palisia ka m-ari-a-taʔ.
 when=1PL.NOM AV-eat TOP taboo OBL AV-ARI-IRR-choke
 According to Tumaafafasəŋa, when we go hunting, it is a taboo to get choked when we eat.

(57) maaci=kia m-u-sala-sala ia, palisia ka um-a-əməcə
 when=1PL.NOM AV-U-RED-walk TOP taboo OBL AV-IRR-touch
 n (kiuʔu m-a-arua ka kiuʔu a-valia) samau.
 OBL tree AV-STA-exist OBL tree IRR-smell samau

When we walk, it is a taboo to touch the plant named *samau* (a plant that smells).

- (58) maacu ka kiuʔu a-valia akuisa ia, murakici
concerning NOM tree IRR-smell when TOP *murakici*
amiṭa aiṭana.
say ?
As for the plant that smells, it is *murakici*.
- (59) kuu=kia pa-tua-liuru maaci=kia pa-tə-kəsəŋ
not=1PL.NOM CAUS-TUA-turn.over when=1PL.NOM CAUS-put-pan
ka pa-a-ku=a-ala n kuli.
LNK CAUS-IRR-not=IRR-get OBL creature
Do not turn it over when we put down a pan; if so, it is not likely to get any
game.
- (60) maaci=kia=mana aḷup-a maaci=kia pa-tu-liuru
when=1PL.NOM=still hunt-LV if=1PL.NOM CAUS-TU-turn.over
pa-tə-kəsəŋə ia, maakacani=kia pu-a-ili ka
CAUS-put-pan TOP immediate=1PL.NOM PU-IRR-return LNK
m-a-arū ka a-timaṭa takuliac.
AV-STA-exist NOM IRR-hear bad
When we are still in the hunting area, if we turn over a pan, we should return
right away because something bad will happen.
- (61) m-ia-lakupu=kia maaci=kia ku=ia-lakupu ia, m-a-arū
AV-IA-fall=1PL.NOM if=1PL.NOM not=IRR.IA-fall TOP AV-STA-exist
ka t<um>a-tuṭuṭu asaʔa.
NOM RED<AV>-come.behind enemy
We may have a fall, even if we do not have a fall, an enemy may come to (us)
from behind.
- (62) au-nana ka liisa ka m-uru-a-cəka.
like-that NOM tradition OBL AV-URU-IRR-hunt
This is the tradition of hunting.
- (63) maacu ka liisa ka m-uru-a-cəka ia,
concerning NOM tradition OBL AV-URU-IRR-hunt TOP
t-aru-taa-təa-təkələ.
T-become-RED-RED-different
There are different traditions for hunting.

- (64) maaci=kia um-ala na aləməṭə ia, kuu=kia a-ihivuru
 if=1PL.NOM AV-catch OBL wild.pig TOP not=1PL.NOM IRR-mix
 na suusuku na papaʔa aləməṭə.
 OBL ginger OBL meat wild.pig
 If we catch a wild pig, we do not mix ginger with the meat.
- (65) maacu ka aləməṭə ia, tamu m-a-karuru. Maaci=ami ihivura
 concerning NOM wild.pig TOP really AV-STA-fierce if=said mix
 ka suusuku na papaʔa aləməṭə ia, m-a-karuru=ami.
 NOM ginger OBL meat wild.pig TOP AV-STA-fierce=said
 As for the wild pig, it is fierce. If you mix ginger with its meat, (you may come
 across) a fierce wild animal.
- (66) maacu ka kiariari ia, m-ati-a-saa-saṇaṭə na aləməṭə.
 concerning NOM ancient TOP AV-ATI-IRR-RED-catch OBL wild.pig
 In the ancient time, people tried to besiege a wild pig.
- (67) maacu ka m-ati-a-saṇaṭə aləməṭə ia, itaisa=?ai
 concerning NOM AV-ATI-IRR-catch wild.pig TOP 3PL=perhaps
 aruka-paipaiiula.
 compete-brave
 When they besiege a wild pig, they would compete who was more brave.
- (68) maacu ka ausi itakia lakuvaasu ia, kuu=kia
 concerning NOM like 1SG timid TOP not=1SG.NOM
 uri-a-usuman.
 URI-IRR-marry
 Anyone as timid as me cannot get married.
- (69) maaci=kia lakuvaas maaniki m-a-arū ka aṭaina
 if=1SG.NOM timid even.if AV-STA-exist NOM woman
 m-a-salaṇsaṇ ia, kuu=kia ulu-a-ili isana ka
 AV-STA-pretty TOP not=1SG.NOM ULU-want 3SG.OBL LNK
 lakuvaas lakatiili.
 timid useless
 If I am timid, even if there is a pretty girl, I cannot get love; timid people are
 useless.

- (70) maaci=kia ku=ausi n vaasu m-ai-rafu ia,
if=1SG.NOM not=like OBL brave AV-AI-origin TOP
kuu=kia ulu-aili.
not=1SG.NOM ULU-want
If I am not a born hero, I cannot get love.

Text 2. The big flood³⁶

masiaʔaʔama

Informant: Aŋʔu · Aŋai

Location: 桃源村 · Date: March, 1976

- (1) a-aŋaʔ=ita n kaniʔi-naani ki-aʔa-aʔamu=ita na
IRR-begin=1INCL.NOM OBL this-there KI-RED-talk-PV=1INCL.NOM OBL
kanaʔa kari kiariari.
that word ancient
We shall now begin to talk about the ancient time.
- (2) au-niini ka hi-aŋaʔaʔana=ta na kiariari
like-how NOM NMLZ-originate=1INCL.GEN OBL ancient
ki-aʔa-aʔamu=ita isana kaniʔi.
KI-RED-talk=1INCL.NOM 3PL.OBL this
We shall now begin to talk about how we started in the ancient time.
- (3) maacu ka kiariari ia, hi-m-i-aʔləsə ka cucuʔu.
concerning NOM ancient TOP PFV-AV-I-together NOM person
People lived together in the ancient time.
- (4) məəməa minisua=cu tə-tənəm-a ka saʔumu.
all in.this.way=COS RED-flood-PV NOM water
(The land) all was flooded with water.
- (5) m-i-lii ka kaniʔi saa-saaru-ana na saʔumu.
AV-I-full NOM this RED-ground-LOC OBL water
The earth was full of water.
- (6) m-i-cuʔu ka cucuʔu tapiku=cu m-aʔu-kua n ivavu
AV-I-escape NOM people all=COS AV-go-move.to OBL above
kaaiu.
yonder
All people went to above (the summit) yonder.
- (7) tapi-ka-kua n tamusulu ʔakurapa.
TAPI-RED-move.to OBL summit Mountain.Jade
They all went to the summit of Mountain Jade.

³⁶ This text is very similar to T'ung-ho Tung's text 2 'The Big Flood' recorded earlier. They may have consulted the same informant.

- (8) maacu ka usumaanu ia, m-u-sala tapi-ka-kua n
concerning NOM others TOP AV-U-go TAPI-RED-move.to OBL
ahipaputakulu.
Alhipaputakulhu
The other people went to Mountain Alhipaputakulhu.
- (9) məəməa=isa ka kuliʔi məəməa ia, m-i-cutu məəməa
all=3PL.GEN NOM beast all TOP AV-I-escape all
m-atu-kua n ahipaputakutu m-i-aləsə n cucuʔu.
AV-go-move.to OBL Alhipaputakulhu AV-I-together OBL people
All animals went to Alhipaputakulhu to stay with people.
- (10) maacu ka cucuʔu ʔi-tapi-ka-kua na tamusulu
concerning NOM people PFV-TAPI-RED-move.to OBL summit
ʔakurapa akuisa ia, ukaʔa ka aputu=isa.
Mountain.Jade when TOP none OBL fire=3PL.GEN
Those who went to the summit of Mountain Jade had no fire.
- (11) maacu ka ʔi-tapi-ka-kua n ahipaputakutu
concerning NOM PFV-TAPI-RED-move.to OBL Alhipaputakulhu
ia, pii-aputu.
TOP have-fire
Those who went to Alhipaputakulhu had fire.
- (12) kuu=a-caʔia m-atu-kua isana ka tənəmə.
not=IRR-able AV-go-move.to 3PL.OBL OBL sea
They could not go to the other side of the sea.
- (13) ukaʔa ka cucuʔu m-a-caʔia m-uu-ʔiparə n
none OBL people AV-IRR-able AV-UU-cross OBL
ahipaputakutu ka kuu=a-caʔia m-aka-ʔaŋulu n saʔum.
Alhipaputakulhu LNK not=IRR-able AV-AKA-swim OBL water
They could not go to Alhipaputakulhu because they could not swim.

- (14) miinisua=cu pa-cəpə-cəpəŋ ka cucuʔu
 in.this.way=COS CAUS-RED-think NOM people
 “m-ara-a-misain=ita ka kuu=pi-apuʔ mii?”
 AV-make-IRR-how=1INCL.NOM LNK not=IRR.have-fire said
 The people were wondering, “What shall we do without fire?”
- (15) um-a-uʔunə n ʔukui a-p-aka-ʔaŋulu a-p-aʔu-kua
 AV-IRR-send OBL goat IRR-CAUS-AKA-swim IRR-CAUS-go-move.to
 n aʔipaputakuʔu.
 OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 They sent a goat and made it swim to Alhipaputakulhu.
- (16) ara-maŋu=isa ka ma n aʔipaputakuʔu.
 make-wait=3PL.GEN NOM be OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 (The other people) waited at Alhipaputakulhu.
- (17) k<um>ili na kanaʔa apuʔu ka kanaʔa ʔuuŋu=isa
 tie<AV> OBL that fire OBL that horn=3SG.GEN
 m-u-a-sala=cu m-aka-ʔaŋulu ʔaa pu-a-ili tamusulu
 AV-U-go=COS AV-AKA-swim and PU-IRR-return summit
 ʔakurapa.
 Mountain.Jade
 They tied a fire to the horn (of the goat) and made it swim back to the summit of Mountain Jade.
- (18) m-u-a-cuʔu ka ʔuuŋu=isa ka ʔukui m-u-sikəŋ-kəŋ maaci
 AV-U-IRR-burn NOM horn=3SG.GEN LNK goat AV-U-bend-RED when
 m-u-rupaʔai=cu ka ʔukui ia, ia-rarəcə-ani=isa ka
 AV-U-hurt=COS LNK goat TOP during-submerge-LV=3SG.GEN LNK
 vuŋu=isa na saʔumu.
 head=3SG.GEN OBL water
 When the fire burned the horn of the goat and it hurt, the goat immersed its head in the water.
- (19) m-ia-əsəpə ka apuʔu ku=ama=cu um-ala n kanaʔa apuʔu.
 AV-IA-go.out NOM fire not=have=COS AV-take OBL that fire
 The fire went out, and they could not get a fire.

- (20) um-utunu=cu n tauruŋ a-paka-ɭaŋulu a-p-aɭu-kua n
 AV-send=COS OBL muntjac IRR-CAUS-swim IRR-CAUS-go-toward OBL
 alipaputakuɭu rumalaə pa-ala n apuɭu.
 Alhipaputakulhu then CAUS-take OBL fire
 They sent a muntjac to swim to Alhipaputakulhu in order to get a fire.
- (21) ɭaɭisa au-naana ku=ama=cu n apuɭu.
 3SG like-that not=have=COS OBL fire
 Similarly, it could not obtain a fire.
- (22) maaci kanaʔa m-aka-ɭaŋulu=cu taia=cu m-u-a-təkə-təkə n
 when that AV-AKA-swim=COS near=COS AV-U-IRR-RED-arrive OBL
 tamusulu ɭakurapa ia, ara-a-cici ka kanaʔa
 summit Mountain.Jade TOP become-IRR-hot LNK that
 ʔuuŋu=isa ia-əsəpə-ani=isa n kanaʔa saɭum ka
 horn=3SG.GEN IA-go.out-LV=3SG.GEN OBL that water NOM
 vuŋu=isa.
 head=3SG.GEN
 When it swam and was arriving at the summit of Mountain Jade, the horn became too hot, the fire went out as the muntjac (immersed) its head in water.
- (23) m-u-a-sala pu-a-ili n kaaiu tamusulu ɭakurapa.
 AV-U-IRR-go PU-IRR-return OBL yonder summit Mountain.Jade
 It was returning to the summit of Mountain Jade.
- (24) ruŋala ka tauruŋə m-aka-ŋala-ŋala m-aka-ɭaŋulu m-uu-siparə
 again NOM muntjac AV-AKA-RED-again AV-AKA-swim AV-UU-cross
 n alipaputakuɭu.
 OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 The muntjac went back to Alhipaputakulhu again.
- (25) pa-cəpə-cəpəŋ=cu ka cucuʔu ma n alipaputakuɭu
 PA-RED-think=COS NOM person be OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 t<um>amaɭəŋə n kiuʔu.
 rub<AV> OBL tree
 People at Alhipaputakulhu thought of rubbing wood (to start a fire).

- (26) maacu ka kiuʔu ia, tarəpauʔ³⁷ amiʔa isana
concerning NOM tree TOP plant.name said 3SG.OBL
ka ʔaʔalua.
LNK Lha'alua
There is a type of plant called *tarepaulhe* in Saaroa.
- (27) t<um>amaʔəŋə=isa na pa-taku-asəʔə=isa maaci
rub<AV>=3SG.GEN OBL CAUS-TAKU-turn=3SG.GEN if
ara-a-cici ia, m-uru-(a)puʔu ka kanaʔa.
become-IRR-hot TOP AV-get-fire LNK that
They turned it around until it got so hot that it started a fire.
- (28) saa-tamaʔəŋ-a=ami n kanaʔa pauu kiuʔu a-pa-ʔava
3SG.GEN-rub-PV=said OBL that wood tree IRR-CAUS-bring
ka tauruŋ m-ari-ka-kua n tamusulu ʔakurapa.
NOM muntjac AV-carry-RED-toward OBL summit Mountain.Jade
It was said to rub that type of plant, and they made the muntjac take it to
Mountain Jade.
- (29) maacu ka tauruŋə n kiariari=ami ia, tam-taisa=ami
concerning NOM muntjac OBL ancient=said TOP very-big=said
ka varuŋa=isa.
NOM body=3SG.GEN
It was said that the muntjac was large in size in the ancient time.
- (30) taia=ami n taisa=isa ka kalavuŋ miinisua=cu=ʔai
almost=said OBL big=3SG.GEN NOM buffalo in.this.way=COS=perhaps
ʔi-um-ala n apuʔu.
PFV-AV-get OBL fire
It was almost as big as a buffalo, (and because) it got a fire.
- (31) ama=cu n apuʔu um-ala ia, m-a-saŋa-saŋari=cu ka
have=COS OBL fire AV-get TOP AV-STA-RED-happy=COS NOM
cucuʔu ma n tamusulu ʔakurapa.
people be OBL summit Mountain.Jade
It got a fire, and the people at the summit of Mountain Jade were happy.

³⁷ Tung recorded this as *tarupaʔu*.

- (32) m-ai-vuasi=cu n tauruŋ saa-taʔəpəŋa m-ai-vuasə
 AV-AI-caress=COS OBL muntjac 3SG.GEN-exceed-PV AV-AI-caress
 mai-mai-maini=cu. miinisua=cu a tauruŋə=na, maini=cu
 RED-RED-small=COS in.this.way=COS NOM muntjac=DEF small=COS
 a cucu(u)=isa.
 NOM size=3SG.GEN
 They caressed the muntjac so excessively that it became small. Therefore, the
 muntjac is small in size.
- (33) aŋali=cu isana ka cucuʔu ma n alipaputakuʔu
 begin=COS 3SG.OBL NOM people be OBL Alhipaputakulhu
 m-a-saŋa-saŋarə ka m-a-aruc=cu ka apuʔu=isa.
 AV-STA-RED-happy=COS LNK AV-STA-exist=COS OBL fire=3PL.GEN
 The people in Alhipaputakulhu were happy that there had been fire ever since.
- (34) aŋali=cu isana m-a-caŋia=cu avavu ʔa m-a-caŋia=cu avavu
 begin=COS 3SG.OBL AV-STA-able=COS cook and AV-STA-able=COS cook
 ʔa ukaʔa ka a-umuma-na=isa ka ku=alanarə ka
 and none LNK A-cultivated.field-LOC=3SG.GEN LNK not=broad LNK
 kanaʔa tamusulu paarana=isa ka kuu=cu pati-ca-cəkəʔa
 that summit place=3PL.GEN LNK not=COS PATI-RED-come
 isana ka salum.
 3SG.OBL NOM water
 They could cook, but the cultivated land was not broad enough because water
 would not go up to the summit where they lived.
- (35) miinisua=cu=isa ka m-ara-a-misaini=cu=ita ka
 in.this.way=COS=3PL.GEN LNK AV-make-IRR-how-COS=1INCL.NOM OBL
 au-naana.
 like-that
 Let's do what they would suggest.

- (36) “fi-taʔiara=c=isa maaci kuu=pa-taʔaə ka saʔumu?” mii
 PFV-why.PV=COS=3PL.GEN if not=PA-recede NOM water say
 ka cucuʔu
 NOM people
 “What shall we do if the water will not recede?” the people said.
- (37) “miinisua=ami m-aru=ʔai=mau ka fi=təvəca n
 in.this.way=said AV-exist=perhaps=wish LNK PFV-block OBL
 saa-saru-ana.” mii.
 RED-ground-LOC say
 They said “there might be something blocking the water.”
- (38) aru-pauauhi(i)=ami ka kanaʔa tauruʔə ʔa ʔukui, aləməʔə,
 ARU-take.turns=said NOM that muntjac and goat wild.pig
 vutuʔu m-aka-ʔanjulu u-kiri-kirimi n kanaʔa
 deer AV-AKA-swim AV-RED-search OBL that
 ʔaʔa=isa ka fi-təvəca n saʔum mii.
 what=3PL.GEN LNK PFV-block OBL water say
 A muntjac, goat, wild pig and deer took turns swimming to find out what
 blocked the water.
- (39) ku=ami a-caʔia m-a-aru ka fi-təvəca n
 not=said IRR-know AV-STA-exist NOM PFV-block OBL
 saʔum mii.
 water say
 They did not know what blocked the water.
- (40) m-aka-ʔanjulu=ami ka aləməʔə u-kiri-kirimi n
 AV-AKA-swim=said NOM wild.pig AV-RED-search OBL
 m-a-aru=ʔai=mau ka fi-təvəca n saʔum mii.
 AV-STA-exist=perhaps=wish LNK PFV-block OBL water say
 The wild pig swam to find out what might have been blocking the water.

- (41) *saa-paitəaʔ-a=ami kai³⁸ hi-təvəca n saʔum ruməʔə*
 3SG.GEN-find-PV=said LNK PFV-block OBL water then
hi-um-a-hiivatə=ami kai vərəŋa.
 PFV-AV-IRR-lie.through=said LNK eel
 It found out what blocked the water was an eel.
- (42) *tam-taisa=ami ka vərəŋa hi-təvəca=ami n kanaʔa saʔum.*
 very-big=said NOM eel PFV-block=said OBL that water
 It was a big eel which blocked the water.
- (43) *ku=ami a-caʔia m-a-taʔə kai saʔum kai*
 not=said IRR-able AV-STA-recede NOM water LNK
hi-təvəca=isa kai kanaʔa vərəŋa taisa.
 PFV-block.PV=3SG.GEN NOM that eel big
 The water could not recede because a big eel blocked it.
- (44) *pu-a-ili=ami ka aləməʔə ki-ʔamu-ʔamu n cucuʔu.*
 PU-IRR-return=said NOM wild.pig KI-RED-report OBL people
 The wild pig returned to report to the people.
- (45) “*m-a-arū ka kanaʔa hi-təvəca n kanaʔa saʔum*
 AV-STA-exist NOM that PFV-block OBL that water
vərəŋa” ami-ami.
 eel RED-say
 “There was an eel that blocked the water,” it said.
- (46) “*miinisua=cu=ʔai ruməʔə maaci au-naana ia,*
 in.this.way=COS=perhaps then if like-that TOP
aʔu-ku-u m-ara-ŋətəʔə” ami-ami.
 go-to-IMP AV-make-cut.down RED-say
 “In that case, go and cut it!”
- (47) *m-u-a-sala=ami ka cucuʔu m-aka-ʔaŋulu m-aʔu-kua isana.*
 AV-U-IRR-go=said NOM people AV-AKA-swim AV-go-move.to 3SG.OBL
 Someone was going to swim there.

³⁸ The form *kai* may occur in the same syntactic position as *ka*, such as *ka(i) vərəŋa* in (41) and *ka aləməʔə* in (44), so it may function as a nominative marker. However, *kai* also appears in other position where *ka* may not occur, e.g. *kai saʔum kai hi-təvəcaisa kai kanaʔa vərəŋa taisa*, in (43).

- (48) ku=ami a-cafia m-a-ɬava na aru-a-mia=isa
 not=said IRR-able AV-IRR-bring OBL ARU-IRR-use=3PL.GEN
 m-ara-ŋətəɬ isana ka m-aka-a-ɬaŋulu kuu=a-cafia
 AV-make-cut.down 3SG.OBL LNK AV-AKA-IRR-swim not=IRR-able
 m-a-ɬava n hitakə.
 AV-IRR-bring OBL knife.
 However, no one was able to bring any tool to cut it because no one could bring a knife while swimming.
- (49) miinisua=ami ka cucuʔu “m-ara-m-a-sua=ki=mau
 in.this.way=said NOM people AV-make-M-STA-two=KI=please
 aləməɬe=na ka pii-afi ia, tapuaku=isa=?(a)i
 wild.pig=DEF LNK have-fang TOP able=3SG.GEN=perhaps
 m-aɬu-kua m-ara-ŋətəɬ” ami-ami.
 AV-go-move AV-make-cut.down RED-say
 The people said (to the wild pig), “Please go and cut it into two. As a wild pig, you have a tusk to cut it.”
- (50) miinisua=ami um-uɬunu n aləməɬə a-p-aɬu-kua isana.
 in.this.way=said AV-send OBL wild.pig IRR-CAUS-go-toward 3SG.OBL
 In this way, they made the wild pig go there.
- (51) saa-ɬu-kua=ami ka aləməɬə t<um>aki-ŋətəɬ
 3SG.GEN-go-toward=said NOM wild.pig TAKI<AV>-cut.down
 kai vərəŋa.
 OBL eel
 The wild pig went and cut the eel.
- (52) m-a-taalaɪ=cu ka saɬum.
 AV-STA-recede=COS NOM water
 The water receded.
- (53) maacu=ami ka aləməɬə ia, m-ə-ləvə=ami n saɬumu
 concerning=said NOM wild.pig TOP AV-Θ-together=said OBL water
 m-u-aɬusa maci?i=ami.
 AV-U-flow AV.die=said
 As for the wild pig, it flowed with the water and died.

- (54) maacu=ami ni akuisa m-u-aʔusu ka aləməʔə akuisa.
concerning=said ? when AV-U-flow NOM wild.pig when
When the wild pig was flowing, it said something.
- (55) taia=cu m-a-taalai ia, “maacu=?ai
nearly=COS AV-STA-dash.down TOP concerning=perhaps
ka mamaini=ku ʔi-pata-naaʔi=ku ia,
NOM child=1SG.GEN PFV-PATA-leave.PV=1SG.GEN TOP
pa-anu-aʔi-i.”
PA-food-support-LV.IMP
While it was nearly dashing down with the water, it said, “Support my off-springs
after I have left.”
- (56) “maacu=?ai l<əm>əməkə na mairəʔə, l<əm>əməkə na
when=perhaps plant<AV> OBL sweet.potato plant<AV> OBL
intavaŋ, əm-ərapə na puusiam, əm-ərapə na
taro AV-sow OBL rice AV-sow OBL
əvəcəŋə ia, p-anu-aʔi-i.”
millet TOP P-food-support-LV.IMP
“When you plant sweet potatoes and taros, and when you sow rice and millet,
please support them.”
- (57) ami-ami ka aləməʔə ni akuisa m-u-calivi=cu n
RED-say NOM wild.pig ? when AV-U-pass.along=COS OBL
saʔumu m-a-taalai akuisa ma-maciʔi.
water AV-STA-dash.down when RED-AV.die
The wild pig said this as it was dashing down with the water and died.
- (58) miinisua=cu u-canii ka aləməʔə ka maaci=kia
in.this.way=COS AV-one/only NOM wild.pig LNK if=1PL.NOM
l<əm>əməkə na mairəʔə əm-ərapə na əvəcəŋə əm-ərapə
plant<AV> OBL sweet.potato AV-sow OBL millet AV-sow
na puusiam ia, m-u-a-sala ka aləməʔə um=u isana.
OBL rice TOP AV-U-IRR-go NOM wild.pig AV-eat 3PL.OBL
Consequently, if people plant sweet potatoes or sow millet and rice, a wild pig
will go and eat it.

- (59) taa-ʔiara=isa ku=au-naana ka m-ai-ra-raʔu
TAA-work=3SG.GEN not=like-that NOM AV-AI-RED-tradition
ʔi-masi-ala-alaŋə n kiariari.
PFV-MASI-RED-decide OBL ancient
Why not? Naturally the rule was set in the ancient time.
- (60) “pa-tapaŋi-u=ʔai ka mamaini=ku” mii
CAUS-support-2SG.GEN=perhaps OBL child=1SG.GEN say
amianisua=cu u-canii ka aləmətə ka um-a-u na
so.that=COS AV-one NOM wild.pig LNK AV-IRR-eat OBL
ʔəvəcəŋə ʔa um-a-u na mairəŋ, um-a-u na puusiam,
millet and AV-IRR-eat OBL sweet.potato AV-IRR-eat OBL rice
um-a-u na viar.
AV-IRR-eat OBL corn
The wild pig said, “Please support my children,” so that a wild pig will eat millet, sweet potato, rice, and corn.’
- (61) m-a-taʔai=cu=ami ka saʔum.
AV-STA-recede=COS=said NOM water
The water receded.
- (62) aŋaʔi=cu isana=ami ka cucuʔu m-uu-suu-sua
begin=COS 3PL.OBL=said NOM person AV-divide-RED-two
tari-si-a-cəpə-cəpəŋi=cu m-a-rua-ruaʔu.
TARI-SI-IRR-RED-think=COS AV-IRR-RED-separate
People have separated ever since.
- (63) maacu=ami ka ʔaʔalua ia, m-uu-lavaə=ami n ʔasəŋa.
concerning=said NOM Saarooa TOP AV-UU-remain=said OBL Lhasenga
The Lha’alua people remained at Lhasenga.
- (64) maacu=ami ka ʔi-m-uu-lavaə n ʔasəŋa ia, ʔaʔalua
concerning=said NOM PFV-AV-UU-remain OBL Lhasenga TOP Saarooa
ʔa tapəŋə ʔa kanakanavu.
and Tapange and Kanakanavu
Those who stayed on in Lhasenga are Lha’alua, Tapange (Tsou) and Kanakanavu.

- (65) aṅali=ami n ʃasəŋa m-a-rua-ruaʔə ka kanaʔa ʃaʔalua.
 begin=said OBL Lhasenga AV-IRR-RED-separate NOM that Saaroa
 The Lha'alua who stayed in Lhasenga have separated ever since.
- (66) miinisua=cu u-cani ka tapəŋə, u-cani ka ʃaʔalua,
 in.this.way=COS AV-one NOM Tapange AV-one NOM Saaroa
 u-cani ka kanakanavu.
 AV-one NOM Kanakanavu
 Consequently, one was Tapange (Tsou), one was Lha'alua, and one was
 Kanakanavu.
- (67) maacu kiariari ia, ʃi-m-ia-ələsə.
 when ancient TOP PFV-AV-live-together
 (They all) lived together in the ancient time.
- (68) maacu ka ʃaʔalua ia, aṅali=cu=ami n ʃasəŋa
 concerning NOM Saaroa TOP begin=COS=said OBL Lhasenga
 m-aʃu-kua n naani kaləvəŋa akuisa.
 AV-go-move OBL here Kalevenga when
 The Lha'alua people have moved from Lhasenga to Kalhevenga here since.
- (69) aṅali n m-arū=cu n kaniʔi kaləvəŋa, m-arū
 begin OBL AV-STA-exist=COS OBL this Kalevenga AV-exist
 n kana(?)u tumaama(ma)likisa m-arū kaniʔi
 OBL that Tumaamalikisa AV-exist this
 malikisala na m-uu-suu-sua.
 Malikisalha OBL AV-divide-RED-two
 They have lived in Kalevenga, Tumaamalikisa, and Malikisalha separately.
- (70) aṅali=cu isana m-uu-suu-sua ka ʃaʔalua ʃatiulana,
 begin=COS 3PL.OBL AV-divide-RED-two NOM Lhaaroa Lhatiulana
 ʃalapuana, kaataʃipəŋuʃai, kaakuana, ʃaʔupaana,
 Lhalapuana Kaataʃipəŋualhai Kaakuana Lhaupaana
 tumaataʃasəŋa ʃiʃaisa.
 Tumaataʃasenga 3PL
 The Lha'alua people started to separate into these different clans: Lhatiulana,
 Lhalapuana, Kaataʃipəŋualhai, Kaakuana, Lhaupaana, and
 Tumaalhaalhasenga.

- (71) aṅali=cu isana m-uu-suu-sua
begin=COS 3PL.OBL AV-divide-RED-two
They have separated ever since.
- (72) maacu=ami ka kanakanavu nuka taparə ia, m-i-calivi
concerning=said NOM Kanakanavu and Tapange TOP AV-I-pass
m-aṭu-kua n kanaʔu sakuraṭə ʔamasia akuisa.
AV-go-move OBL that river Lhamasia when
As for Tapange and Kanakanavu, they went to live by the river and Lhamasia respectively.
- (73) ʔaʔaisa m-uu-lavai=cu isana n kaniʔi-naani
3PL AV-UU-remain=COS 3PL.OBL OBL this-here
They have lived here.
- (74) aṅali=cu isana ka cucuʔu m-uu-suu-sua.
begin=COS 3PL.OBL NOM person AV-divide-RED-two
The people have separated from one another.
- (75) ku=cu a-caʔia n aʔaama=isa.
not=COS IRR-know OBL ancestor=3PL.GEN
They do not know their own ancestors.
- (76) miinisua=cu maaci k<um>ita n laəlaəvu=isa ia,
in.this.way=COS when see<AV> OBL other.people=3PL.GEN TOP
ku=cu pau-tu-aʔarji.
not=COS do-TU-recognize
Therefore, they do not recognize their own people when they see them.
- (77) “cucuʔu ninau ka kaniʔi?” miii m-u-ruaṭə k<um>ita
person where NOM this say AV-U-fear see<AV>
n laəlaəvu=isa cucuʔu.
OBL other.people=3PL.GEN person
“Where do these people come from?” they would ask. They are afraid to see their own people.
- (78) maaci k<um>ita n cucuʔu ia, m-u-ruaṭə.
when see<AV> OBL person top AV-U-fear
They are afraid to see (other) people.

- (79) amianisua=cu pa-a-pa-paci maaci k<um>ita n cucuʔu,
 so.that=COS CAUS-IRR-RED-die when see<AV> OBL person
 ka “hi-a-cucuʔu-a=isa ka kaniʔi?” amiʔa.
 LNK NMLZ-IRR-person-PV=3PL.GEN NOM this say
 In this way they kill other people when they see them, and said, “Who are these people?”
- (80) amianisua=cu m-u-ruaʔe pa-a-pa-paci=cu n cucuʔu.
 so.that=COS AV-U-fear CAUS-IRR-RED-die=COS OBL person
 Because of fear, they kill people.
- (81) au-naana ka m-ai-raʔu p-aʔu-mia-mia=isa ka
 like-that NOM AV-AI-tradition P-go-RED-use=3SG.GEN OBL
 kiariari.
 ancient
 In that way, this became a tradition in the ancient time.
- (82) maacu a liisa ʔa kanaʔa fikilaalia-liisa
 concerning NOM tradition and that superstition-tradition
 ia, hi-aʔahi n kanaʔa au-naana.
 TOP PFV-begin OBL that like-that
 Tradition and superstition have been formed in that manner.
- (83) maacu ka kaniʔi u-a-pau akuisa um-aru-amia
 concerning NOM this AV-IRR-chafe/scour when AV-ARU-use
 n kiuʔu ia, itaisa hi-aʔahi n kiariari.
 OBL tree TOP 3PL PFV-begin OBL ancient
 Rubbing wood (to start a fire) has started since the ancient time.
- (84) amianisua=cu=i um-aru-amia=mana=isa n u-pau.
 so.that=COS=Q AV-ARU-use=still=3PL.GEN OBL AV-chafe/scour
 Therefore, (people) still rub wood to start a fire.
- (85) maaci m-i-a-tuʔusu ka hi-a-ʔava=isa=mana na
 when AV-I-IRR-rite NOM NMLZ-IRR-bring=3PL.GEN=still OBL
 aʔahi kiariari.
 begin ancient
 The ritual ceremony of *miatungusu* has still been passed down from the ancient time.

- (86) maacu ka paʔu-paʔu-p-aʔu-mia-mia=isa ka
concerning NOM RED-RED-P-go-RED-use=3SG.GEN NOM
kiariari ia, au-naana m-a-iraʔə.
ancient TOP like-that AV-STA-really
There are various kinds of old traditions from the ancient time.
- (87) maacu hi-kisua-ʔaa-ʔaama ki-ʔamuʔamu na kaniʔi
concerning PFV-KISUA-RED-ancestor KI-recite OBL this
naani a ələŋanə aŋʔu nuka aŋai.
here NOM ələŋanə Ang'u and Angai
The ones who told this old tradition are Ang'u and Angai.
- (88) tai-naana=cu ka m-a-iraʔə m-a-sia-ʔaa-ʔaama.
all-that=COS NOM AV-STA-really AV-IRR-SIA-RED-ancestor
That is all the real old tradition was.
- (89) tai-naana=cu.
all-that=COS
That is all.

Text 3. The festival

miatuŋusu

Informant: Eləŋanəaŋʔu · Aŋai

Location: 桃源村 · Date: March, 1976

- (1) a-aŋaŋi=aku n kaniʔi ki-aŋa-aŋamu=aku na
IRR-begin=1SG.NOM OBL this KI-RED-talk=1SG.NOM OBL
liisa ka miatuŋusu.
tradition LNK miatuŋusu
I shall now talk about the origin of the tradition of *miatungusu*.
- (2) maacu ka liisa ka miatuŋusu ia, taraa-kiu=mana
concerning NOM tradition OBL miatuŋusu TOP gather-wood=still
m-ata-pəcə na kiuʔu aniciki pata-rasuŋ.
AV-start-pile OBL wood only.then begin-rite
As for the tradition of *miatungusu*, we have to gather wood, pile it up, and then start the ritual ceremony.
- (3) maaci m-ata-rasuŋu=cu ia, a-aŋaŋi=cu=isa na rumia
when AV-begin-rite=COS TOP IRR-begin=COS=3SG.GEN OBL begin
picu-mapaci picu-hiviʔi³⁹ ka aa-u-ca-u-cani pifiŋi.
make-wine make-family LNK IRR-RED-RED-AV-one family
In the beginning, every family has to start making wine.
- (4) maaci hi-picu-mapaci=cu ia, m-u-a-sala=cu
when PFV-make-wine=COS TOP AV-U-IRR-go=COS
ka kanaʔa m-u-a-kamuŋ.
NOM that AV-U-IRR-hunt
When wine has been made, the people will go hunting.
- (5) maaci pu-a-ili=cu ka hi-m-u-kamuŋ ia, maaci
when PU-IRR-return=COS NOM NMLZ-AV-U-hunt TOP when
pu-a-ili=cu n cu-ruvana ia, miatuŋu(s)su=cu
PU-IRR-return=COS OBL CU-evening TOP miatuŋusu=COS
lualikih amiŋaa lualikih ka a-aŋaŋaŋana=isa miatuŋus.
sing.dance said sing.dance LNK IRR-originate=3PL.GEN miatuŋusu
When the hunters return from hunting, and when they return late in the evening,

³⁹ Note that sequential verbs may take the same prefix in Saaroa, called “prefix harmony” (Tsuchida 2000) or “prefix concord” (C. Li 2009).

they start doing *miatungusu* by singing and dancing.

- (6) maaci lualikithi ia, miatungusu=cu a-aṅahi na ruvana
 when sing.dance TOP miatungusu=COS IRR-begin OBL evening
 paaisa vərəṅanə.
 until night
 The singing and dancing of *miatungusu* starts in the evening and ends at
 midnight.
- (7) maaci aisa=cu vərəṅa ia, m-aru-a-ruafə=mana
 when middle=COS night TOP AV-ARU-IRR-separate=still
 m-i-asau=mana miatungusu m-a-rua-ruafə.
 AV-I-rest=still miatungusu AV-STA-RED-separate
 At midnight, people leave each other to rest, and they are separated.
- (8) maaci ausi maataata ia, ifaisa taru-aṅaṭ-aṅafa=cu
 when like tomorrow TOP 3PL TARU-RED-again=COS
 taru-cu-cuvuṅ pasaamaṅ-ani=cu miatungusu
 TARU-RED-meet enjoy.dancing-LOC=COS miatungusu
 aru-pa-a-tia-tiakili miatungusu, m-a-tumulu ka safi=isa.
 ARU-CAUS-IRR-RED-hold.hand miatungusu AV-STA-many NOM song=3SG.GEN
 They will gather together again the next day to perform *miatungusu* seriously,
 sing and dance hand by hand, singing many songs.
- (9) maacu ka safi=isa ia, tama-tumulu ka
 concerning NOM song=3PL.GEN TOP TAMA-many NOM
 safi=isa, taru-taa-təa-təkəṭə ka safi=isa.
 song=3PL.GEN TARU-RED-RED-different NOM song=3PL.GEN
 Many of their songs are different.
- (10) maaci hi-au-sua=isa ari ia, puataliri amiṭaa.
 when NMLZ-like-two=3SG.GEN day TOP do.main.rite said
 On the following day, it is to perform an important ritual ceremony.
- (11) maacu a puataliri akuisa ia, kila-ali-aliʔi.
 concerning NOM do.main.rite when TOP KILA-RED-festival
 To perform an important ritual ceremony is to observe the festival.
- (12) m-ai-pa-paṅala.
 AV-AI-CAUS-mark

They have to make marks.

- (13) maacu ka mamaini ɫaɫusa ia, uruŋu.
concerning NOM child man TOP red.hair
Boys wear red hair.
- (14) maacu ka uruŋu ia, ʔukulucu=isa ka kalavuŋ
concerning NOM red.hair TOP hair=3SG.GEN OBL buffalo
m-aɫu-cani uŋuɫu.
AV-go-one hoof
The red hair is hair from a buffalo's single hoof.
- (15) maacu ka mamaini aɫaina ia, tavikavika pupuka=isa
concerning NOM child woman TOP tail.feather feather=3SG.GEN
ka turukuuka.
NOM chicken
Girls wear colorful tail feather from a chicken.
- (16) miatunusu=mana pa-t-arə-vərəŋa.
miatunusu=still CAUS-T-become-night
They perform *miatungusu* until night.
- (17) maaci ausi=cu maataata ia, m-uu-saa-saavətə amiɫaa.
when like=COS tomorrow TOP AV-hold-RED-ceremony when
On the next day they hold the most important ritual ceremony.
- (18) maaci m-uu-saa-saavati=cu ia, ilaisa um-a-ala=cu na
when AV-hold-RED-ceremony=COS TOP 3PL AV-IRR-take=COS OBL
kanaʔa ə ə ala-alamuru a ɫaɫusa la-la-alu, sa-sua
that ? RED-young LNK man RED-RED-eight RED-two
ka aɫaina.
LNK woman
To hold the most important ritual ceremony, it takes eight boys and two girls.
- (19) m-u-su-ʔaaulia=cu m-a-tiəkətə na vicaraŋanə
AV-U-SU-dance=COS AV-IRR-hold OBL turban
fi-a-pa-ca-cuu-cuŋuɫ-a.
NMLZ-IRR-CAUS-RED-RED-join-PV
They go hand by hand in a circle, their hands holding their turbans, which are all joined together.

- (20) miatunusu=cu ifaisa m-u-a-sala=cu a-arui=isa kana?a
 miatunusu=COS 3PL AV-U-IRR-go=COS AV-take=3PL.GEN that
 əə təkəkə m-arii-ka-kua na aisa=isa ka
 ? pig AV-carry-RED-toward OBL center=3PL.GEN OBL
 miatunusu.
 miatunusu
 When they perform *miatungusu*, they will go to take a pig and leave it in the center of the circle during the ritual ceremony.

- (21) ari-kaa-kuu=isa na aisa.
 carry-RED-toward=3PL.GEN OBL center
 They carry it to the center.

- (22) maacu ka təkəkə ia, a-livuru=isa maaci raʔua=cu.
 concerning NOM pig TOP IRR-stab=3PL.GEN when long.time=COS
 As for the pig, they will stab it before long.

- (23) maacu ka kana?a m-ai-raʔu t̩<um>a-livuru=isa=na
 concerning NOM that AV-AI-tradition RED<AV>-stab=3SG.GEN=DEF
 ia, m-u-a-sala təkəkə n valita.
 TOP AV-U-IRR-go find OBL outside
 As for the one who is to stab the pig, ordinarily they have to find him from outside.

- (24) maacu ka kana?a miatunusu ia, miatunusu
 concerning NOM that miatunusu TOP miatunusu
 aru-pa-a-tia-tiakili.
 ARU-CAUS-IRR-RED-*hold.hand*
 While performing *miatungusu*, people hold hand by hand in a circle.

- (25) maacu ka t̩<um>a-livuru n təkəkə ia, ifaisa
 concerning NOM RED<AV>-stab OBL pig TOP 3SG
 fi-təkəkə n m-a-saiʔa.
 PFV-find OBL AV-STA-far
 As for the one to stab a pig, they (have to) find him far away.

- (26) m-u-a-sala m-aki-ḥuḥuu=isa na pu-a-ili ki-ḥamu-ḥamu
 AV-U-IRR-go AV-AKI-call=3SG.GEN OBL PU-IRR-return KI-RED-report
 n raat(i).
 OBL chief
 The one who was to call him returned to report to the chief.
- (27) “ukaʔa ku=a-cəkəʔə” amiḥaa.
 none no=IRR-come said
 “No, he would not come.”
- (28) a-uḥunu=isa ka kanaʔa raali “cuu-ruṇaḥ-u=mana m-aki-ḥuḥuu
 IRR-send=3SG.GEN NOM that chief FUT-again-PV.IMP=still AV-AKI-call
 akuisa.”
 when
 The chief gave him the order, saying, “Go again and call him!”
- (29) m-uu-a-sala m-aki-ḥuḥuu isana pu-a-ili “ukaʔa” amiḥaa.
 AV-UU-IRR-go AV-AKI-call 3SG.OBL PU-IRR-return none said
 The one who went to call him returned and said, “No.”
- (30) m-u-a-sala ḥi-a-tumaḥua turu-ḥu=isa m-aki-ḥuḥuu isana
 AV-U-IRR-go NMLZ-IRR-many three-ORD=3PL.GEN AV-AKI-call 3SG.OBL
 “ukaʔa ku=a-cəkəʔə” amiḥaa.
 none no=IRR-come said
 They were supposed to go and call him three times, every time he said, “No. He
 won’t come.”
- (31) m-a-arū ka kanaʔa ca-ciḥi=mana kuṇkuṇ salia
 AV-STA-exist NOM that RED-one=still roof house
 ḥi-təkəʔəṇə n kuṇkuṇ salia m-ari-ḥicau.
 PFV-find OBL roof house AV-ARI-look.around
 Someone went to the top of the roof to look for him, looking around for him.
- (32) “ruṇa(a)ḥə=cu=mau m-aki-ḥuḥuu a-kuaini=ta=ʔai
 again=COS=wish AV-AKI-call IRR-what.to.do=1INCL.GEN=perhaps
 maaci ukaʔa” amilaa sana ka raat.
 if none said word NOM chief
 “Go and call him the last time. There is nothing we can do if he will not come,”
 the chief said.

- (33) m-u-a-sala ka kanaʔa m-aki-aʔuʔuu isana aʔu-ka-kuu=isa
 AV-U-IRR-go NOM that AV-AKI-call 3SG.OBL go-RED-move=3PL.GEN
 m-a-tiakili m-ari-ka-kua n kanaʔa aisa=isa ka
 AV-STA-hold.hand AV-ARI-RED-move OBL that center=3PL.GEN LNK
 kanaʔa mia(tuu)tuŋusu ʔi-arʊ-pa-a-tia-tiakili
 that miatuŋusu PFV-ARU-CAUS-IRR-RED-hold.hand
 miatuŋu(tuŋu)su.

miatuŋusu

The person was to call him and take him by holding his hand back to the center of the circle of *miatungusu*, to join the others singing and dancing hand in hand, performing *miatungusu*.

- (34) maacu ka kanaʔa pu-a-ili=cu ka ʔi-pa-ki-ʔuuʔuu=isa
 concerning NOM that PU-IRR-return=COS LNK NMLZ-CAUS-KI-call=3SG.GEN
 ia, a-ʔivuru=cu=isa ka taʔakə.
 TOP IRR-stab=COS=3PL.GEN NOM pig

The person returned, and the one who was called stabbed the pig.

- (35) maacu ka taʔakə ia, taruram amiʔaa isana.
 concerning NOM pig TOP *taruram* said 3SG.OBL

As for the pig, it is called *taruram*.

- (36) maaci t<um>ala-ləpiŋi=cu isana ia, taru-cuu-cuuvuŋ=cu
 when village<AV>-finish=COS 3SG.OBL TOP TARU-RED-meet=COS
 ka kanaʔa aru-paauaʔii=cu ka ala-alamuru a
 LNK that ARU-take.turns=COS NOM RED-young OBL
 m-ari-təkə isana m-ari-taa-ta-tasamə, miinisə m-ari-a-təkə
 AV-ARI-hit 3PL.OBL AV-ARI-red-red-pretend so.that AV-ARI-IRR-hit
 isana kuu=paka-m-a-cuisa=na.

3PL.OBL not=CAUS-AV-STA-true=DEF

When they have stabbed it, the people will gather together, and young men pretend to hit each other, so that they do not really hit each other.

- (37) maaci kanaʔa mə-ləpiŋi=cu ka kanaʔa ia,
 when that AV-finish=COS NOM that TOP
 a-ʔivuru=cu=isa ka kanaʔa əʔ taruram.
 IRR-stab=COS=3SG.GEN NOM that ? *taruram*

Having done that, they will stab the *taruram* (pig).

- (38) m-uu-ca-capi=cu ka kanaʔa hi-m-aa n kuŋkuŋ
 AV-UU-RED-go.down=COS NOM that PFV-AV-be OBL roof
 salia itaisa kanaʔa, ka əə m-ari-ticau
 house 3SG that LNK ? AV-ARI-look.around
 isana ka kila-ali-ali.
 3SG.OBL NOM KILA-RED-festival
 The one who stayed on top of the roof will come down, and he is looking at the ritual ceremony.

- (39) maaci kanaʔa t<um>ivuru=cu n taruram ia,
 when that stab<AV>=COS OBL *taruram* TOP
 maaci m-uru-carai=cu ia, um-a-ala=cu məəməa ka
 when AV-URU-blood=COS TOP AV-IRR-take=COS all NOM
 ala-alamuru a laʔusa n ariamə m-a-i-pusi
 RED-young LNK man OBL reed.stalk AV-STA-I-break
 r<um>iili n caraə na kanaʔa ariam.
 soak<AV> OBL blood OBL that reed.stalk
 When they have stabbed the *taruram* and it bleeds, young men will take dried reed stalks, break them, and soak them with the blood.

- (40) a-a-ʔavu-u=cu=isa m-ari-ka-kua n taiiʔa.
 IRR-IRR-take-U=COS=3PL.GEN AV-ARI-RED-move OBL rest.area
 And then they will take them to the rest area.

- (41) maacu ka ta(a)iia ia, hi-təma(maa)ʔəŋə n tumala pu-puʔu
 concerning NOM rest.area TOP PFV-rub OBL many red-knot
 n laʔuŋ iasasilipana=isa n kanaʔa ariam pii-calaə.
 OBL reed plant=3PL.GEN OBL that reed.stalk have-blood
 As for the rest area, it is circled with reeds for them to plant the stained reed stalks.

- (42) maaci kanaʔa mə-ləpiŋi=cu n kanaʔa ia, pu-a-ili=cu
 when that AV-finish=COS OBL that TOP PU-IRR-return=COS
 m-aʔu-kua na kanaʔa taasuarauva miatunusu.
 AV-go-move OBL that perform miatunusu
 Having done that, they will return to the playground where they perform *miatungusu*.

- (43) a-aṅali=cu=isa na alu-ka-saa-saauru. maaci
 IRR-begin=COS=3PL.GEN OBL go-KA-RED-close when
 alu-ka-saa-saauru ia, r<um>a-rauriṅ məəməa.
 go-KA-RED-close TOP RED<AV>-start.fire all
 They start to get close to each other. When they get close to each other, they
 must all walk with torches.
- (44) aa uma-umalalai sa-sua ka ʔasiraŋ umalalai
 ? RED-ten RED-two LNK outside ten
 sa-sua ka ʔasiraŋ
 RED-two LNK outside
 Twelve people on this side, and another twelve people on the other side.
- (45) um-a-arū-amiā na kanaʔa apuʔu na r<um>a-a-rauriṅ.
 AV-IRR-ARU-use OBL that fire OBL RED<AV>-IRR-start.fire
 They light a fire with a torch.
- (46) pa-aʔu-sali miinisə maaci taru-cuvuŋu ia, “oo” amiʔaa
 CAUS-go-sing so.that when TARU-meet TOP oh said
 paka-əsəpə=isa ka apuʔ.
 CAUS-extinguish=3SG.GEN NOM fire
 They sing and when they come across each other, they will say “oo”, and then
 extinguish the fire.
- (47) a-aṅali=cu isana m-a-rua-ruaʔ, t-uu-ʔa-ʔəʔəkɪpi=cu
 IRR-begin=COS 3PL.OBL AV-STA-RED-separate T-UU-RED-tie.knot=COS
 t<um>a-tamaŋi=cu n ʔəkəpə.
 RED<AV>-rub=COS OBL reed
 They start to disperse, (and they) tie a knot with reed to make reed knots.
- (48) m-u-a-sala=cu ka kanaʔa maa-maa-mamaini m-i-ta-ləvəŋə
 AV-U-IRR-go=COS NOM that RED-RED-child AV-I-TA-hide
 n salia.
 OBL house
 All kids will hide in (their own) houses.

- (49) maaci m-i-ta-liviiŋi=cu n salia ia, pa-lia-iti-ʔiŋici=cu
 when AV-I-TA-hide=COS OBL house TOP CAUS-LIA-RED-spirit=COS
 pa-a-ʔasituu m-aku-vaa-vaa m-i-cəŋə-cəŋəʔə m-ati-ʔitakə
 CAUS-AV-gun AV-AKU-RED-shout AV-I-RED-chase AV-ATI-knife
 miinisəə ʔi-pia-cufu=isa na ʔiŋicu.
 so.that PFV-PIA-escape.PV=3PL.GEN OBL spirit
 When they are hiding in houses, they will chase away evil spirits by shooting and shouting, and chase them away while holding knives in hands.
- (50) maaci kanaʔa mə-ləpiŋi=cu a kaniʔi ia,
 when that AV-finish=COS NOM this TOP
 m-a-rua-ruaʔi=cu oo.
 AV-IRR-RED-separate=COS oh
 When that is done, then they are separated.
- (51) m-u-a-sala=cu m-u-aʔu-aʔupu t<um>aʔua-ləmələmə.
 AV-U-IRR-go=COS AV-U-RED-hunt.with.dogs TAʔUA<AV>-first.time
 If they go hunting with dogs the first time.
- (52) maaci m-u-sala m-u-aʔu-aʔupu ia, maaci um-ala n
 when AV-U-go AV-U-RED-hunt.with.dogs TOP if AV-take OBL
 tauruŋ, ca-carai=isa, aləmələ ia, aru-a-vuŋuʔu=isa
 muntjac RED-anything=3PL.GEN wild.pig TOP cut-IRR-head=3PL.GEN
 ʔaa puapia.
 and tie.with.string
 Hunting with dogs, if they catch a muntjac, anything, or a wild pig, they will cut off the head and tie it with a string.
- (53) taru-a-ŋaʔa-ŋaʔa=mana taru-cuu-cuvuŋu ka pii-pii-pii-mamaini.
 TARU-IRR-RED-again=still TARU-RED-meet LNK RED-RED-have-children
 They will gather together again if there are children.
- (54) ʔaisa ka ʔi-pai-paŋala.
 3SG NOM PFV-PAI-mark
 That is marked.
- (55) a-alu=isa ka vuŋuʔu a-piapii isana pas-ara-ca-caniʔi.
 IRR-receive=3PL.GEN NOM head IRR-offer 3PL.OBL PAS-ARA-RED-one
 With the heads cut off, they will offer them as sacrifices one by one.

- (56) maaci a a-piapii isana ia, oo m-u-sava-ciki-aiŋ(i)
 if NOM IRR-offer 3PL.OBL TOP oh AV-U-SAVA-hunt-same
 maaci ara-ta-taisa=cu ia, maaci taku-aŋu-aŋupu
 if become-RED-big=COS TOP when TAKU-RED-hunt.with.dogs
 ia, m-u-sava-ciki-aiŋ(i).
 TOP AV-U-SAVA-hunt-same

If they offer sacrifices, they will do the same thing (when they catch another wild animal). While hunting with dogs, they will do the same thing after they grow up.

- (57) “um-ala n kuliʔi” hi-akua=isa.
 AV-take OBL worm PFV-say.PV=3PL.GEN
 They say they “catch a worm”, it means they can have game.

- (58) ilaisa m-aa-rua-ruaŋə=mana n kaniʔi.
 3PL AV-IRR-RED-separate=still OBL this
 It is for them to separate again now.

- (59) m-uu-a-sala=mana t<um>aŋua-ləmələmə. m-u-sala m-əŋə-cəka
 AV-UU-AV-go=still TAŋUA<AV>-first.time AV-U-go AV-ƏRƏ-hunt
 “pu-a-tusi-tarua” akuisa.
 PU-IRR-TUSI-sleep when
 If they want to go hunting again, they will say “they will sleep”.

- (60) m-u-asala m-əŋə-cəka maaci pu-a-ili ia, picu-a-mapaci
 AV-U-go AV-ƏRƏ-hunt when PU-IRR-return TOP make-IRR-wine
 taru-aŋaŋ-aŋaŋa=mana tarə-cu-cuvuŋu.
 TARU-RED-again=still TARƏ-RED-meet
 When they return from hunting, they make wine and will get together again.

- (61) miatuŋu(u)su=mana əə tai-naana=cu.
 miatuŋusu=still ? all-that=COS
 They will hold a minor ritual ceremony again, and that’s it.

- (62) ilaisa m-aa-rua-ruaŋi=cu uu tai-naana=cu kanaʔa.
 3PL AV-IRR-RED-separate=COS ? all-that=COS that
 Then the group is separated, and it is over.

- (63) *ilaisa m-u-a-lavai=cu kani?i ka siatuŋusu=isa.*
 3SG AV-U-IRR-remain=COS this NOM *miatuŋusu*=3PL.GEN
 The whole process of *miatuŋusu* ends here.
- (64) *maacu ka kani?i miatuŋusu akuisa ia, maacu ka*
 concerning NOM this *miatuŋusu* when TOP concerning NOM
la?alua ia, ku=ausi n sumukuŋu, ku=ausi n pakisia?a.
 Lha'alua top not=like OBL Bunun not=like OBL Chinese
 The Lha'alua *miatuŋusu* is different from Bunun and the Chinese.
- (65) *maacu ka pakisia?a ia, m-a-tumuŋu ka liisa.*
 concerning NOM Chinese TOP AV-STA-many NOM tradition
 The Chinese have many traditions.
- (66) *maacu ka la?alua ia, uka?a ku=a-tumuŋu ka liisa.*
 concerning NOM Lha'alua TOP none not=IRR-many NOM tradition
 As for the Lha'alua people, (we) do not have many traditions.
- (67) *aa-tulu caiŋ-a ki-aŋaaŋ ki-ali-ali.*
 IRR-three year-LOC KI-again KI-RED-ritual
 We hold *miatuŋusu* every three years.
- (68) *ilaisa miatuŋusu akuisa ka kana?a kiariari.*
 3SG *miatuŋusu* when NOM that ancient
 It was called *miatuŋusu* in the ancient time.
- (69) *tai-naana=cu.*
 all-that=COS
 That is all.
- (70) *maacu ka hi-ki-aŋa-aŋamu n kani?i ia, ələŋanəaŋ?u*
 concerning NOM PFV-KI-RED-talk OBL this TOP Ələŋanəaŋ?u
la aŋai.
 and Angai
 The speakers are Elenganeaang'u and Angai.
- (71) *tai-naana=cu a kari=ku.*
 all-that=COS NOM word=1SG.GEN
 My words end here.

Text 4. Deer

vutuŋu

Informant: Elejan Aŋun

Location: 桃源村, Date: March 31, 1976

- (1) ki-aŋa-aŋamu=aku n paŋu-paŋu-paŋumiamia=isa ka vutuŋu.
KI-RED-talk=1SG.NOM OBL RED-RED-story=3SG.GEN OBL deer
I shall talk about deer.
- (2) maacu ka vutuŋu n kiariari a tamu tumaaləə
concerning NOM deer OBL past LNK really many
m-aa na a-lii-liuŋ-a.
AV-be OBL IRR-RED-around-LOC
There were many deer in this neighborhood in the past.
- (3) miniisua=cu ka kanaʔa limmukhyoku l<əm>əməkə na
so.that=COS NOM that Bureau.of.Forestry plant<AV> OBL
caa-capuka-ana kiuʔu.
RED-miscanthus-LOC tree
The Bureau of Forestry planted many trees.
- (4) m-i-cuŋu=cu ka vutuŋ.
AV-I-escape=COS NOM deer
The deer have run away.
- (5) m-i-cuŋu, tapi-ka-kua na kaaiu tukamia=isa ka taitu.
AV-I-escape TAPI-RED-move OBL there border=3SG.GEN OBL Taitung
They went far away across the border to Taitung.
- (6) maacu ka vutuŋu maaci pati-saŋalə ia, a-riŋai
concerning NOM deer if PATI-catch TOP IRR-snare
maaci ku=a-riŋai ia, u-aŋu-aŋupu.
if not=AV=snare TOP U-RED-hunt.with.dogs
As for the deer, if you want to catch them, you may set up a snare; if you don't set
up a snare, you hunt with dogs.

- (7) maacu n kiariari=akuku⁴⁰ hi-aŋaŋ-aat-ana=ku
concerning OBL past=1SG.NOM PFV-originate-RED-LV=1SG.GEN
um-upaŋə n vutulu ia, hi-u-aŋu-aŋupu=ku.
AV-raise OBL deer TOP PFV-U-RED-hunt.with.dogs.PV=1SG.GEN
When I started to raise deer before, I hunted them with dogs.
- (8) m-u-aŋu-aŋupu ka ifaku n Tapataarəa rumalaə
AV-U-RED-hunt.with.dogs NOM 1SG OBL Tapataarea then
saa-i-cəŋə-cəŋəŋ-a ka tasau.
3PL.GEN-I-RED-chase-PV GEN dog
I hunted them with dogs in Tapataarea and let dogs chase after them.
- (9) saa-pati-laŋusa m-ati-saŋalə n alamuru vutulu mas-laŋau
3SG.GEN-PATI-male AV-ATI-catch OBL young deer MAS-male
rumalaə pakacania ka ifaku m-ati-saŋalə k<um>iilii.
then immediate NOM 1SG AV-ATI-catch tie<AV>
I caught up with a young male deer, caught it and tied it up.
- (10) pa-ləmə-ləməŋə pi-api-a ka ifaku
CAUS-RED-tie PI-carry.by.tumpline-PV NOM 1SG
m-ali-ka-kua n salia um-upaŋə.
AV-ALI-RED-move OBL house AV-raise
Having tied it up, I carried it home with a tumpline on my back and raised it.
- (11) m-aru-riŋai ka ta muʔu=ku n vutulu aruusa.
AV-ARU-snare OBL PN Muʔu=1SG.GEN OBL deer female
Uncle Muʔu snared a female deer.
- (12) aruaka ifaku a-puli-usumanə isana rumalaə m-arauma=cu
take 1SG IRR-PULI-match 3PL.OBL then AV-reproduce=COS
m-aru na salia.
AV-stay OBL house
I matched them, and then they reproduced in the house.
- (13) tamu tumalaɪ=cu n mamisa kaniʔi hi-upaŋi=ku vutuf.
really many=COS OBL now this PFV-raise.PV=1SG.GEN deer
I'm raising many deer now.

⁴⁰ This is the only instance of a bound nominative form that is reduplicated to indicate emphasis.

- (14) maacu ka vutuŋu ia, u-cani caiŋ-a ia, pi-tarua-cani.
concerning NOM deer TOP AV-one year-LOC TOP PI-produce-one
As for the deer, one deer is born each year.
- (15) maaci kanaʔa paliilii ia, aa-sia vulala pi-a-lamulu=cu.
when that pregnant TOP IRR-nine month PI-IRR-give.birth=COS
When (a female deer is) pregnant, it takes nine months before a cub is born.
- (16) maaci pi-lamulu ia, aa-sua caiŋ-a pi-a-lamulu=cu.
when PI-give.birth TOP IRR-two year-LOC PI-IRR-give.birth=COS
It will take two more years before (we) get another cub.
- (17) maacu ka mas-laŋau ia, aa-sua caiŋ-a t<um>a-ʔuuŋ-a=cu
concerning NOM MAS-male TOP IRR-two year-LOC grow<AV>-horn-?=COS
a-caŋii=cu, m-ari-ŋətəŋ ka ʔuuŋu=isa.
IRR-can=COS AV-ARI-saw NOM horn=3SG.GEN
It takes a male deer two years to grow a pilose antler (tender horn with hair), which can be sawed off (for medical purposes). A pilose antler can be sawed off.
- (18) maacu ka vutuŋu ia, maaci m-ata-pusi ia, laiŋa⁴¹
concerning NOM deer TOP when AV-begin-drop.off TOP ten
u-sua vulala.
AV-two month
It takes twelve months for a horn to drop off (that takes place once a year).
- (19) maaci kanaʔa m-ata-pusi t<um>a-ʔuuŋ-a=cu na kanaʔa
when that AV-begin-drop.off grow<AV>-horn-A=COS OBL that
vaŋuru m-ara-luviŋi ka ʔuuŋu=isa.
pilose.antler AV-become-soft NOM horn=3SG.GEN
When a horn drops off, a tender pilose antler will grow.
- (20) maaci mə-təkətəki=cu na kanaʔa u-tulu vulala u-patə
if AV-that.time=COS OBL that AV-three month AV-four
vulala ia, la u-lima vulala ia, a-ria-ŋətili-i=cu.
month TOP and AV-five month TOP IRR-off-saw-I=COS
We cut it off in three to five months.

⁴¹ Note that there are two terms for ‘ten’ in some Formosan languages, as in Saaroa: one term is used in counting from one to ten, and the other term is used as a base while enumerating above ‘ten’.

- (21) maaci m-ari-ŋətətə na ʒuuŋu=isa ia, a-pu-la-lavaə=mana
 if AV-ARI-saw OBL horn=3SG.GEN TOP IRR-PU-RED-remain=still
 ka mani-təkəka.
 LNK MANI-little
 We have to leave a section when we cut it off.
- (22) maaci ala-ka-kiliŋi ia, m-ata-pusi=mana.
 if ALA-RED-hard TOP AV-begin-drop.off =still
 If it hardens, it will still drop off.
- (23) maaci m-ata-pusi ia, t<um>a-a-ŋała-ŋała=mana t<um>a-ʒuuŋ-a
 if AV-begin-drop.off TOP TA<AV>-IRR-RED-begin=still grow<AV>-horn-?
 After a horn drops off, a pilose antler will start to grow.
- (24) maaci ku=ari-a-ŋətətə ia, vaŋuruʒu maaci m-a-tə-ləpəŋə
 if not=ARI-IRR-saw TOP pilose.antler when AV-STA-RED-finish
 ia, m-ara-cula-culaətə ka ʒuuŋu=isa.
 TOP AV-become-RED-bone NOM horn=3SG.GEN
 If you do not cut it off in due course of time, it will harden and become a horn.
- (25) taka-cii-citi m-ata-pusi.
 TAKA-RED-self AV-begin-break
 Horns drop off by itself.
- (26) t<um>a-ŋała-ŋała t<um>a-ʒuuŋ-a n kanaʒa vaŋuru.
 TA<AV>-RED-begin grow<AV>-horn-? OBL that pilose.antler
 Then a pilose antler grows.
- (27) maacu ka vutułu maaci kanaʒa m-ara-vałaə ia,
 concerning NOM deer if that AV-become-match TOP
 a-aŋaŋi na u-pitu ła u-alu u-sia vulala itaisa
 IRR-begin OBL AV-seven and AV-eight AV-nine month 3PL
 a-aŋaŋi isana.
 IRR-begin 3PL.OBL
 As for the deer, they match in the 7, 8 or 9th month of the year.
- (28) vutułu m-ara-vałaə n arusa.
 deer AV-become-match OBL female
 A (male) deer matches with a female.

- (29) maacu ka maaci pi-lamulu ia, pi-a-lamulu na
 concerning NOM if PI-give.birth TOP PI-IRR-give.birth OBL
 u-cani vulala, u-sua vulala, u-tulu vulala, u-patə vulala,
 AV-one month AV-second month AV-three month AV-four month
 ə-nəmə vulala pi-talu-a-lipiŋi=cu pi-lamulu
 AV-five month PI-TALU-IRR-finish=COS PI-give.birth
 A cub is born in the first, second, third or fourth month of the year, and the birth is
 all over in the 5th month.

- (30) au-naana ka vutuŋu, maacu ka kiariari-a u-cani ka
 like-that NOM deer concerning LNK past-LOC AV-one NOM
 iŋaku ka pii-vutuŋu ka.
 1SG LNK have-deer LNK
 This type of deer, I had one before.

- (31) iŋaku kai hi-m-ati-**alualu** m-ati-**saŋalə** n vutuŋu n cucuʔu.
 1SG LNK PFV-AV-ATI-first AV-ATI-catch OBL deer OBL person
 I was the first person to catch a deer (alive).

- (32) maacu n mamisa=na ia, pii-vutuŋu=cu məməə ka.
 concerning OBL now=DEF TOP have-deer=COS all LNK
 I have had deer all the time until now.

- (33) hi-puʔa=cu paariki aŋali n iŋaku um-upaŋə pa-arauma.
 PFV-buy=COS ? from OBL 1SG AV-raise CAUS-reproduce
 (People) buy deer from me and keep raising them.

- (34) m-a-vacaŋə=mau ka um-a-upaŋə n vutuŋu
 AV-STA-good=wish NOM AV-RED-raise OBL deer
 ka tamu laŋəlaŋə.
 LNK really expensive
 It is good to raise deer, and they are expensive.

- (35) maacu ka ʔuuŋu=isa ka u-cani ka vutuŋu ia,
 concerning NOM horn=3SG.GEN LNK AV-one OBL deer TOP
 maaci icimumi ia, u-lima ħimiŋ ɬa ma-lima-ɬə.
 when unit TOP AV-five hundred and ten-five-ORD
 A small unit (*icimumi*) of the pilose antler costs \$550.

- (36) tama-vacaŋ ka um-a-upaŋə isana misai.
 TAMA-good NOM AV-RED-raise 3PL.OBL therefore
 It is, therefore, best to raise deer.
- (37) maaci=kia m-ali-vutu n um-upaŋə na talaku ia,
 if=1PL AV-ALI-dislike OBL AV-raise OBL pig TOP
 um-a-upaŋə=kia na vutuŋu ka ku=u-laŋəlaŋə ka.
 AV-RED-raise=1PL OBL deer LNK not=AV-difficult LNK
 If you do not like to raise pigs, it is not hard to raise deer.
- (38) um-a-upaŋə n vutuŋu ka um-ala a-saŋaru n
 AV-RED-raise OBL deer NOM AV-take IRR-only OBL
 səəsəŋ pa-u isana.
 grass CAUS-eat 3PL.OBL
 To raise deer, you only have to feed them with grass.
- (39) maaci=kia m-ati-a-saŋalə n vutuŋu ia, maaci ukaʔa
 if=1PL AV-ATI-IRR-catch OBL deer TOP if none
 ka tasau m-a-ŋanu ia, kuu=kia a-ama=cu isana.
 NOM dog AV-STA-strong TOP not=1PL AV=have=COS 3PL.OBL
 If we want to catch a deer (alive), we cannot catch one without a strong dog.
- (40) maaci m-a-vacaŋə ka r<um>a-riŋai ʔa kuu=a-tumuŋu
 if AV-STA-good NOM RED<AV>-snare and not=IRR-many
 ka m-a-ŋusipi.
 NOM AV-STA-alive
 It is alright to snare, but not many can be snared alive.
- (41) m-u-a-riŋai ka m-a-arū ka m-i-a-pusi ka
 AV-U-IRR-snare LNK AV-IRR-exist LNK AV-I-IRR-break NOM
 uŋuŋu=isa m-ata-a-paci.
 leg=3SG.GEN AV-begin-IRR-die
 If snared and a leg is broken, it will (leap) until it dies.

- (42) u-cani ka um-arua-tasau ka m-a-vacaŋə ɭa
 AV-one LNK AV-ARU-IRR-dog NOM AV-STA-good and
 maaci ukaʔa ka tasau m-a-vacaŋə m-a-ŋanu m-i-ciŋusu
 if none NOM dog AV-STA-good AV-STA-strong AV-I-chase
 ia, kuu=kia pati-ɭaʔusu isana.
 TOP not=1PL PATI-catch 3SG.OBL

It is alright to hunt with a dog, but if it is not good and strong enough, it cannot catch up and catch (a deer).

- (43) tai-naana=cu ka kari=ku kia-vutu-vutuɭ.
 all-that=COS NOM word=1SG.GEN talk-RED-deer
 That is all I have to say about deer.

- (44) maacu ka pii-kari na kaniʔi ia, əɭəŋan
 concerning NOM have-word OBL this TOP Əɭəŋan
 aŋun. tai-naana=cu.
 Angun all-that=COS

It is Elengan Angun who said these words. That is all.

Text 5. Marriage

muriusuman

Informant: 謝清忠(?)

Location: 桃源村, Date: March, 1976

- (1) ki-ała-ałamu=aku u kanaʔa pału-pału-pałumiamia=isa ka
KI-RED-talk=1SG.NOM ? that RED-RED-story=3SG.GEN NOM
kiariari alukaala-ala na ałaina.
past marry-RED OBL woman
I shall talk about how to take a wife in the past.
- (2) maacu ka kiariari maaci alukaala na ałaina ia,
concerning NOM past if marry OBL woman TOP
ku=ausi n mamisa.
not=like OBL now
Taking a wife in the past is different from now.
- (3) maacu ka mamisa ia, k<um>a-kita maaci kanaʔa
concerning NOM now TOP RED<AV>-look if that
pu-a-vacajə isana ia, m-u-riatařivaə=mana.
PU-IRR-good 3SG.OBL TOP AV-U-make.fun=still
Now (you) have to take a look, and if (you) are satisfied, (you) still have to make fun.
- (4) alukaala=cu.
marry=COS
Then (you) get married,
- (5) maacu ka kiariari ku=au-naana.
concerning NOM past not=like-that
It was not like this in the past.
- (6) maacu ka kiariari paki-a-turu na laamaama.
concerning NOM ancient PAKI-IRR-follow OBL elder
In the past (you) had to follow the elders (parents).
- (7) maaci kanaʔa ka a-aliumiia, paki-a-turu ka mamaini.
if that NOM IRR-will.marry PAKI-IRR-follow NOM child
If they said you should marry that (person), the child had to follow.

- (8) maaci kanaʔa ka a-aliumiia, a-ʔukaakuu=cu m-u-a-sala=cu
 if that NOM IRR-will.marry IRR-look=COS AV-U-IRR-go=COS
 ka ʔaʔusa.
 NOM man
 If you would like to marry that (girl), the boy had to go and take a look.
- (9) m-aʔu-kua n ʔaamaama=isa ka aʔaina maa-kari-kari.
 AV-go-move OBL elder=3SG.GEN NOM woman AV.RECP-RED-talk
 You have to consult the girl's elders.
- (10) aunini=iau ʔaamaaruka kari=ʔamu?
 how=wonder wish.to.talk word=1INCL.GEN
 How about our talking to you?
- (11) ʔaumaala=amu n mamaini u-apaaru n
 wish.to.marry=1INCL.NOM OBL child AV-marry OBL
 mamaini=ku amiʔaa.
 child=1SG.GEN say
 My child would like to marry your child.
- (12) maaci maa-kari-kari=cu ia, tari-si-a-cəpə-cəpəŋə=mana
 when AV.RECP-RED-talk=COS TOP TARI-SI-IRR-RED-think=still
 pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə.
 CAUS-RED-think
 After the discussion, each one had to reconsider.
- (13) maaci k<um>a-kita ka aʔaina na ʔaʔusa. Maacu
 if RED<AV>-look NOM woman OBL man concerning
 ka ʔaʔusa maaci kuu=vaasu ku=a-pana ia,
 NOM man if not=brave not=IRR-shoot TOP
 ku=arumuku ka aʔaina na au-naana.
 not=not.willing NOM woman OBL like-that
 If the girl would like to examine the boy, and if the boy did not work hard and did not know how to hunt, the girl would not agree.

- (14) amianisua=cu ia, maacu ka ʔafusa maaci kanaʔa vaasu
 so.that=COS TOP concerning NOM man if that brave
 ʔaa u-a-pana tama-ʔiarə ia, maakacani m-a-siəŋəcə ka
 and AV-IRR-shoot TAMA-work TOP immediate AV-IRR-settle LNK
 maaci maa-kari-kari ka.
 when AV.RECP-RED-talk LNK
 Therefore, if the boy was good, knew how to hunt, and worked hard, the talk would go smoothly right away.

- (15) tara-a-rianə ka ʔaina n maaci kanaʔa tama-ʔiarə
 TARA-IRR-agree NOM woman OBL if that TAMA-work
 vaasu ka ʔafusa.
 brave NOM man
 The girls would agree if the boy worked hard and was brave.

- (16) amiansua=cu ia, cucuʔu kiariari maacu ka ala-alamurua
 so.that=COS TOP people past concerning NOM RED-young
 ʔafusa ia, tamu=cu tama-ʔiarə tamu=cu aluka-paipaiiula.
 man TOP really=COS TAMA-work really=COS compete-brave
 Therefore, for people in the past, a young man worked very hard and liked to compete bravely with others.

- (17) mə-ləvə n taku-a-ʔu-ʔupu maaci m-a-arua ka
 AV-go.along OBL TAKU-IRR-RED-hunt.with.dogs if AV-STA-exist NOM
 kanaʔa u-a-pana na aləmələ, kuu=kuri-a-paciʔi na aləmələ ia,
 that AV-IRR-shoot OBL wild.pig not=not-IRR-die OBL wild.pig TOP
 aluka-paipaiiula m-ati-saŋalə n aləmələ ka maaci
 compete-brave AV-ATI-catch OBL wild.pig LNK if
 ʔi-m-ati-saŋali=cu ia, vaasu ia, paki-a-samu=cu
 PFV-AV-ATI-catch=COS TOP brave TOP PAKI-IRR-famous=COS
 n cucuʔu ia, ʔaisa kanaʔa ka maakacani=cu m-uri-usumanə.
 OBL people TOP 3PL that LNK immediate=COS AV-URI-marry
 Going hunting with others and if they caught a wild pig, he never failed to kill it.
 Competing in catching a wild pig, if they caught one, he was noted for his bravery.
 That type of man could get married easily.

- (18) maacu ka ausi itakia, la⁴² cucu?u la ku=vaasu la
concerning NOM like 1SG and people and not=brave and
ku=a=pana ia, kuu=arumuku isana ka alaina.
not=AV=shoot TOP not=love 3SG.OBL NOM woman
A person like me, not brave, and does not know how to shoot, no girl loves him.
- (19) maacu ka alaina ia, t<um>a-amaaru na vaa-vaasu-a.
concerning NOM woman TOP TA<AV>-love OBL RED-brave-NMLZ
Girls love brave men.
- (20) tamu=cu ka alaina kiariari.
really=COS NOM woman past
Girls were too demanding in the past.
- (21) tamu lasuura ka alaina kiariari tamu=cu tipa-a-pili
really too.much NOM woman past really=COS TIPA-IRR-choose
n lafusa.
OBL man
Girls were very choosy about boys in the past.
- (22) maacu ka lafusa ia, arəta ə kuu=tipa-a-pili-a
concerning NOM man TOP more ? not=TIPA-IRR-choose-PV
ka caa-caala=isa.
LNK RED-do.anything=3PL.GEN
As for boys, they were not so choosy and they were casual.
- (23) maaci m-a-aru ka tara-rianə ia, maakacaani
if AV-IRR=exist NOM TARA-agree TOP immediate
m-a-siəŋəcə maaci maa-kari-kari.
AV-IRR-settle when AV.RECP-RED-talk
If anyone (girl) was willing, and there was discussion, it would soon be settled for
them.
- (24) ku=au-naana ka alaina ka.
not=like-that NOM woman LNK
Girls were not like that.

⁴² The first coordinator *la* precedes a nominal, while the second and the third precede verbals, which function as clauses, meaning “and one who is not brave and one who does not hunt”. This is unusual.

- (25) maaci kanaʔa kuu=tama-ʔiarə kuu=vaasu ka ʔaʔusa ia,
 if that not=TAMA-work not=brave NOM man TOP
 kuu=tara-rianə ka aʔaina.
 not=TARA-agree NOM woman
 If the boy did not work hard and was not brave, the girl would not agree.
- (26) kuu=tara-rianə ka ʔaamaama=isa paki-a-turu na ʔaamaama=isa.
 not=TARA-agree NOM elder=3SG.GEN PAKI-IRR-follow OBL elder=3SG.GEN
 Her elders did not agree and then she would follow them.
- (27) maaniki pasamaŋanə ka ʔaʔusa.
 what say NOM man
 What would the boy say?
- (28) maa-kari-kari “sinaminiai.”
 AV.RECP-RED-talk doesn't.matter
 They discussed, saying, “It does not matter.”
- (29) um-ala=amu isana miia.
 AV-take=1INCL.NOM 3SG.OBL say
 We would like to marry her.
- (30) kuu=tara-rianə.
 not=TARA-agree
 She did not agree.
- (31) maaci hi-m-ati-saa-saŋarə=cu na aləməʔə hi-mə-ləvi=cu
 if PFV-AV-ATI-RED-catch=COS OBL wild.pig PFV-AV-go.along=COS
 na m-u-aʔisu ia, iʔaisa kanaʔa ka ukaʔa=cu ka kari=isa.
 OBL AV-U-kill TOP 3SG that LNK none=COS NOM word=3SG.GEN
 If the boy had caught a wild pig and participated in killing someone, no word
 would have been said against him.
- (32) a-aŋaʔi=cu isana miinisə amianisua=cu ia, ka kiariari
 IRR-begin=COS 3SG.OBL so so.that=COS TOP OBL past
 ka tamu=cu vaa-vaasu-a tama-m-a-ʔa-ʔatəra ka.
 NOM really=COS RED-brave-NMLZ TAMA-AV-STA-RED-strong LNK
 This is how it was in the past, (boys) were brave and strong.

- (33) tamu aʔuka-paipaiiula=mana ka tari-si-a-vaa-vaasu ka
 really compete-brave=still NOM TARI-SI-IRR-RED-brave LNK
 t<um>u-a-apua-val t<um>a-a-apua-lajəlaŋə n aʔaina.
 TU<AV>-IRR-APUA-praise TA<AV>-IRR-APUA-admire OBL woman
 Moreover, they loved competition and wanted to be heroic, so that they would be
 admired by girls.
- (34) maacu ka ʔak-ausii iʔakia ʔa ku=vaasu ia, kaamucui
 concerning NOM this-like 1SG and not=brave TOP not.want
 tala-ka-kua isana ka aʔaina.
 TALA-RED-move.to 3SG.OBL NOM woman
 A person like me and not brave, a girl would not want to meet with him.
- (35) maacu ka kanaʔa tama-ʔiarə ʔaa vaa-vaasu-a ia,
 concerning NOM that TAMA-work and RED-brave-NMLZ TOP
 tamu=cu u maaci k<um>ita isana ka aʔaina
 really=COS ? when look<AV> 3SG.OBL NOM woman
 ia, tamu ruaili isana.
 TOP really love 3SG.OBL
 That fellow worked hard and was brave, so a girl would look at him and love him.
- (36) maaci um-a-ala na aʔaina ia, maaci m-a-siəŋəci=cu ia,
 if AV-IRR-take OBL woman TOP if AV-IRR-decide=COS TOP
 t<um>a-tuu-tuku=cu na ripasə a-aucaucam paka-ləʔə-ləʔə-ləʔə
 RED<AV>-RED-strike=COS OBL bullet AV-particle CAUS-RED-RED-round
 ripasə.
 bullet
 If he was taking a wife, and if it was decided, he would make bullets, each one a
 round one.
- (37) a-riapə=isa kanaʔa ta-turua=isa ka aʔaina.
 AV-mark=3PL.GEN that RED-sibling=3SG.GEN NOM woman
 The bullets must be marked for the girl's brothers.
- (38) pa-pia-ini pa-pia-ini mii c<um>a-cuʔuku=cu.
 RED-how.many-? RED-how.many-? say RED<AV>-pound.rice.cake=COS
 He had to make several rice cakes.

- (39) maacu ka hi-cuʔuku ia, tuaʔoisaaisau iuŋci⁴³ kiŋ⁴⁴ ka
 concerning NOM NMLZ-rice.cake TOP almost forty unit NOM
 kanaʔa hi-cuʔuku ta-taina kanaʔa talaku na
 that NMLZ-rice.cake RED-big that basket OBL
 m-a-la-hialipii ka.
 AV-STA-RED-flat LNK

Each piece of cake weighs about 40 *jin* (unit of weight), about the size of a basket, flat in shape.

- (40) hi-cuʔuku maaru-m-a-aru ka ma-u-pat-əʔə, m-a-aru
 NMLZ-rice.cake RED-AV-STA-exist NOM ten-U-four-ORD AV-STA-exist
 ka ma-lima-ʔə.
 NOM ten-five-ORD

There were forty or fifty pieces of rice cake.

- (41) maaci kanaʔa maa-siŋici=cu=na ia, um-ara=cə n
 when that AV.RECP-decide=COS=DEF TOP AV-take=COS OBL
 ripasə na pa-i-ca-cakic isana hi-cuʔuku.
 bullet OBL CAUS-I-RED-paste 3SG.OBL NMLZ-rice.cake

It was agreed to paste a lead bullet to rice cake.

- (42) pa-rua-viiri=cu=isa n kanaʔa ŋaa-ŋaʔana=isa ka
 CAUS-RUA-share=COS=3SG.GEN OBL that RED-relative=3SG.GEN NOM
 aʔaina.
 woman

The rice cake was shared with the girl's relatives.

- (43) maaci pa-rə-rəpəŋə isana ia, picu-a-mapaci=mana maaci
 if CAUS-RED-distribute 3SG.OBL TOP make-IRR-wine=still when
 picu-a-tai-naana picu-a-mapaci mii ka kanaʔa ʔaamaama=isa
 make-IRR-all-that make-IRR-wine say NOM that elder=3SG.GEN
 kanaʔa ia, picu-a-tai-naana maaci tai-naana ka
 that TOP make-IRR-all-that when all-that NOM
 hi-cuʔuku mia au-naana.
 NMLZ-rice.cake use like-that

If that was done, he was to make wine, as much as what the elders had said. He was

⁴³ The term *iuŋci* is a loanword from Japanese よんじゅう ‘40’.

⁴⁴ The term *kiŋ* is a loanword from Japanese 斤 *kiŋ*, a unit of weight.

supposed to do (as he was told), just like the number of rice cake as he was told.

- (44) ama=isa ka ałaina ia, tai-naana ka a-tamałəŋa=isa.
 father=3SG.GEN NOM woman TOP all-that NOM IRR-create=3SG.GEN
 What a girl's father had to do was like this.

- (45) tai-naana ka kanaʔa au-naana ka łaʔalua n
 all-that LNK that like-that NOM Lha'alua OBL
 kiariari maaci m-uri-ʔusumanə.
 past when AV-URI-marry
 That is all about how the Lha'alua people got married in the past.

- (46) maacu ka kiariari-a tamu=cu łaŋəłəŋə maaci
 concerning NOM past-LOC really=COS difficult when
 m-uri-ʔusumanə.
 AV-URI-marry
 It was very hard to get married in the past.

- (47) maaci aru-pali-a-vilau ia, tamu=cuu kuu=łaŋəłəŋə.
 if ARU-PALI-IRR-throw.away TOP really=COS not=difficult
 But it was not very hard to get divorced.

- (48) maaci m-ali-a-vilau ia, m-ali-a-vilau ku=ausi
 if AV-ALI-IRR-throw.away TOP AV-ALI-IRR-throw.away not=like
 mamisa.
 now
 Unlike the present, you could get divorced if you wanted it.

- (49) maaci pata-sunru=cu m-uri-ʔusumanə ia, ku=c<u>a-całia
 when PATA-finish=COS AV-URI-marry TOP not=RED<AV>-able
 m-ali-vilau au-naana ka kiariari.
 AV-ALI-throw.away like-that OBL past
 Once you got married, you could not get divorced as in the past.

- (50) tai-naana=cu.
 all-that=COS
 That is all.

Part Four: Texts by Paul Jen-kuei Li

Text 1. My life

hiałumiaku

Informant: ələkə 余美女, Female, Age 75

Location: 高中村, Date: September 9, 1999

- (1) aŋali=aku maini t<um>ajula małəłə na
begin=1SG.NOM small live<AV> AV.stay.together OBL
ama=ku ina=ku himalua m-u-łakali.
father=1SG.GEN mother=1SG.GEN residence AV-U-place.name
I lived with my parents in Lhakalhilhi ever since I was a little child.
- (2) aŋal=cu=aku isana milatəkə na łaamaama=ku
begin=COS=1SG.NOM 3PL.OBL AV.leave OBL elder.people=1SG.GEN
mapuałə caili=ku taka-ci-cili=cu=aku.
twenty age=1SG.GEN TAKA-RED-self=COS=1SG.NOM
I left my parents and lived by myself at twenty.
- (3) um-upaŋə tiłaʔali=ku.
AV-take.care body=1SG.GEN
I took care of my own health
- (4) taku-liacə a tiki=ku pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə na
TAKU-bad NOM heart=1SG.GEN PA-RED-think OBL
fi-ałumia=ku.
NMLZ-experience=1SG.GEN
I feel bad when I think of my past.
- (5) łaamaama=cu=aku ia, a-tələŋə=aku na
old=COS=1SG.NOM TOP IRR-recall=1SG.NOM OBL
fi-takumia=ku taku-ʔii-ʔiarə na taku-liacə
NMLZ-experience=1SG.GEN TAKU-RED-work OBL TAKU-bad
tiki=ku pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə.
heart=1SG.GEN PA-RED-think
I'm old and when I think of my past and work, I feel bad in my heart.

- (6) m-aʎu-caci-acili=cu=aku ukaʎa=cu ama=ku
 AV-go-RED-alone=COS=1SG.NOM none=COS father=1SG.GEN
 m-aʎu-caci-acili=cu=aku.
 AV-go-RED-alone=COS=1SG.NOM
 I'm alone. I lost my father and I became alone.
- (7) fi-umia=ku taku-ʎii-ʎiarə minisə kaniʎinnai a
 NMLZ-experience=1SG.GEN TAKU-RED-work till now NOM
 taku-liacə tiki=ku.
 TAKU-bad heart=1SG.GEN
 What I have experienced and worked on up to now makes me feel bad.
- (8) ukaʎa=cu ama=ku, ina=ku. ukaʎa=cu
 none=COS father=1SG.GEN mother=1SG.GEN none=COS
 lailaivi=ku, m-u-sala=cu.
 husband=1SG.GEN AV-U-leave=COS
 I lost my father and mother, and I lost my husband.
- (9) mamaini=ku u-cani.
 child=1SG.GEN AV-one
 I had only one child.
- (10) taka-ci-citi=cu=aku pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə.
 TAKA-RED-self=COS=1SG.NOM PA-RED-think
 I think I'm all alone.
- (11) au-niini=cu=ʎai=iau=ku m-u-lavau=kia.
 like-how=COS=perhaps=wonder=1SG.GEN AV-U-remain=1SG.NOM
 It is uncertain how I shall lead my life.
- (12) taka-ci-ciʎ=kia m-alualu-salia na m-i-ŋula-ŋulaʎə.
 TAKA-RED-self=1SG.NOM AV-stay-house OBL AV-I-RED-sad
 I feel sad to stay home all by myself.
- (13) au-niini=cu=ʎai=iau m-u-lavau=kia ku=kia
 like-how=COS=perhaps=wonder AV-U-end=1SG.NOM not=1SG.NOM
 a-cafia na aʎu-a-lava=kia ka cucuʎu.
 IRR-know OBL go-IRR-end.PV=1SG.GEN NOM person
 I don't know how my life will end.

- (14) maaci=kia atələŋə na fi-ałumia=kia aŋali maini
 if=1SG.NOM recall OBL NMLZ-experience=1SG.NOM begin small
 minisə kani?i łaamaama=ci=kia.
 till this old=COS=1SG.NOM
 As I recall my past from my childhood up to now, I'm old.
- (15) m-ału-caci-acifi=kia ka łaamaama=cu ia, uka?a=cu
 AV-go-RED-alone=1SG.NOM LNK old=COS TOP none=COS
 um-a-upaŋə ifakia.
 AV-RED-support 1SG.OBL
 I'm alone and old, with no one to support me.
- (16) uka?a=cu fi-palava pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə uka?a=cu um-a-upaŋə
 none=COS PFV-rely PA-RED-think none=COS AV-RED-support
 When I think of it, I've got no one to rely on and no one to support me.
- (17) pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə au-niini=?ai=iau ka
 PA-RED-think like-how=?perhaps=wonder NOM
 ałua-lava=kia na siŋəŋə.
 AŁUA-end=1SG.NOM OBL light
 I think of how my life will end.
- (18) pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə=kia cu-łaumaŋ=iau maaci=kia
 PA-RED-think=1SG.NOM FUT-when=wonder if=1SG.NOM
 m-ali-usəpə na siŋəŋə=na=ami=kia.
 AV-ALI-close.eye OBL light=DEF=said=1SG.NOM
 I wonder when I shall close my eyes to the light.
- (19) tainaana=cu a kari=ku ka ifamu=na m-u-sala
 that's.all=COS NOM word=1SG.GEN LNK 2PL.NOM=DEF AV-U-leave
 mamaini.
 child
 That's all I have to say to you about my son who has left us.
- (20) tainaana=cu kari=ku. maacu=aku m-a-ruriri a
 that's.all=COS word=1SG.GEN when=1SG.NOM AV-IRR-tell NOM
 t<um>uacu=aku m-ulu-a-ləə.
 want<AV>=1SG.NOM AV-ULU-IRR-tears
 That's all I have to say. When I want to talk about it, I shed tears.

- (21) taku-liacə=mana ka təkə.
 TAKU-bad=still NOM heart
 My heart still breaks.
- (22) maacu=aku pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə kani?inaia, m-a-carimi=cu
 when=1SG.NOM PA-RED-think now AV-IRR-hurt=COS
 a saai=ku ku=cu=aku a-caŋia taku-?ii-?iarə.
 NOM leg=1SG.GEN not=COS=1SG.NOM IRR-able TAKU-RED-work
 Now I consider that my legs hurt and I cannot work.
- (23) m-a-carimi=cu a saai=ku=na məməə,
 AV-IRR-hurt=COS NOM leg=1SG.GEN=DEF all
 ku=cu puamaŋə ka vulaiŋi=ku.
 not=COS clear NOM eye=1SG.GEN
 My legs hurt. My vision is all unclear.
- (24) u-cani=cu ka li-atəŋə=aku na ama?a laŋica
 AV-one=COS NOM NMLZ-think=1SG.NOM OBL Father sky
 atə-atəŋə=aku.
 RED-think=1SG.NOM
 I have only one concept, and that is God.
- (25) maacu=aku m-alualu-salia ia, ʔatumu=aku
 when=1SG.NOM AV-stay-house TOP want=1SG.NOM
 t<um>a-tamaŋə na saŋi a-timafə=isa=mana
 RED<AV>-create OBL song IRR-hear=3PL.GEN=still
 ka mamaini m-u-va-vilifi.
 NOM child AV-U-RED-offspring
 When I'm at home, I want to create songs so that the younger generation can still hear them.
- (26) maaci=kia ku=a-tamaŋə na saŋi=na m-a-taili
 if=1SG.NOM not=IRR-create OBL song=DEF AV-IRR-leave
 na mamaini, a uka?a atə-atəŋə-a.
 OBL child NOM none RED-recall-LV
 If I don't create songs and leave them for the younger generation, they won't cherish them.

- (27) atə-atələŋ-a=isa ka mamaini m-u-va-viliti.
 RED-recall-PV=3PL.GEN NOM child AV-U-RED-offspring
 (We'd like to have) the younger generation to cherish them.
- (28) maaci=kia ku=a-tamaləŋə na sati=na m-a-taili
 if=1SG.NOM not=IRR-create OBL song=DEF AV-IRR-leave
 mamaini ia, m-aru=manai ka a-timala=isa
 child TOP av-exist=probably OBL IRR-hear=3PL.GEN
 ka mamaini.
 NOM child
 If I don't create songs and leave them for the younger generation, they cannot hear them.
- (29) maaci m-a-aru ka li-pa-taili-a mamaini ia,
 if AV-STA-exist NOM PFV-CAUS-leave-LV child TOP
 maaci m-a-aru ka li-pa-taili-a a pa-atu-saa-sali
 if AV-STA-exist OBL PFV-CAUS-leave-LV NOM CAUS-go-RED-song
 pa-timala mamaini.
 CAUS-hear child
 If we left (traditional) songs for the younger generation, they will keep singing the songs for the next generation to listen to them.
- (30) ukaʔa ka a-cafia ka mamaini.
 none LNK IRR-know NOM child
 (Or else), the younger generation will not know.
- (31) maaci t<um>imala ka mamaini, a-ʔəʔəra=isa=mau
 if hear<AV> NOM child IRR-thank=3PL.GEN=wish
 tamu=ku na m-a-taili=mana na kari isana.
 grandmother=1SG.GEN OBL AV-IRR-leave=still OBL word 3PL.OBL
 If the younger generation hears them, they will be grateful to their grandmothers for the words they left behind.
- (32) ku=ci=kia a-kita-kita isana ka m-u-sala=cu.
 not=COS=1SG.NOM IRR-RED-see 3SG.OBL NOM AV-U-go=COS
 Once one dies, he can no longer see anything.

- (33) maruʔaʔia ka təkə=isa ka mamaini pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə
 ? OBL mind=3PL.GEN NOM child PA-RED-think
 t<um>imaʔa na au-naana?
 hear<AV> OBL like-that
 When the younger generation hears this, will they consider it in this way?
- (34) iʔamu mamaini a maacu=mu=ʔai t<um>imaʔa na
 2PL.NEU child NOM when=2PL.NOM=perhaps hear<AV> OBL
 kari=ku=na ia, m-a-caʔia=mu=ʔai ia,
 word=1SG.GEN=DEF TOP AV-IRR-know=2PL.GEN=perhaps TOP
 ŋaʔai-ʔai=iau kaniʔi m-aruriri-ri=na?
 what-RED=wonder this AV-tell-RED=DEF
 When you the younger generation hear my words, will you understand what
 this is and who said it?
- (35) ami=mu=ʔai maaci t<um>imaʔa na kari=ku=na.
 must=2PL.NOM=perhaps if hear<AV> OBL word=1SG.GEN=DEF
 You must understand my words.
- (36) maaci ukaʔa=kia ʔa-ʔamu na iʔamu na
 if none=1SG.NOM RED-tell OBL 2PL OBL
 mamaini a maacu-a iʔaku ia, ŋaʔaisa
 child NOM concerning-LOC 1SG.NOM TOP how
 maupi-kari kaniʔi na ʔami=mu=ʔai maaci
 MAUPI-word these OBL must=2PL.NOM=perhaps if
 ku=a-caʔia na ŋaʔa=ku.
 not=IRR-know OBL name=1SG.GEN
 If I did not tell you the younger generation, how would you know where these
 words come from, or what my name is.
- (37) ta-tulu=cu=mu=ʔai mul-turu-turu a maacu=mu
 RED-three=COS=2PL.NOM=perhaps MUL-RED-sister NOM if=2PL.NOM
 t<um>imaʔa kari=ku=na ia, aru-taku-liacə
 hear<AV> word=1SG.GEN=DEF TOP become-TAKU-bad
 tiki=mu t<um>imaʔa kari=ku.
 heart=2PL.GEN hear<AV> word=1SG.GEN
 When you three sisters hear my words, you feel bad at heart.

- (38) au-niini ka hi-arumia=isa ka ina=ku um-upaŋə
 like-how LNK PFV-use.PV=3SG.GEN GEN mother=1SG.GEN AV-raise
 na ifata pa-ara-taisa minisau.
 OBL 1INCL CAUS-get-big so
 How did my mother raise us and make us grow up like that,
- (39) ukaʔa=ʔai tiki=mu pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə?
 none=perhaps heart=2PL.GEN PA-RED-think
 Didn't you ever consider it?
- (40) pak-calai=cua=isa=mau ina=ta=nai
 CAUS-pity=?=3SG.GEN=wish mother=1INCL.GEN=perhaps
 hi-aʔumia=isa m-a-ŋusipi.
 NMLZ-experience=3SG.GEN AV-IRR-live
 Our mother led a miserable life.
- (41) tai-tainaana hi-pasamia=isa taku-ʔii-ʔiarə.
 RED-that's.all NMLZ-do=3SG.GEN TAKU-RED-work
 She worked and just worked.
- (42) ukaʔa ka ifata hi-m-u-pula=isa na taku-ʔii-ʔiarə.
 none NOM 1INCL PFV-AV-U-help=3SG.GEN OBL TAKU-RED-work
 We did not help her work.
- (43) ukaʔa=ʔai tiki=mu mamaini taku-liacə t<um>imala
 none=perhaps heart=2PL.GEN child TAKU-bad hear<AV>
 kari=ku?
 word=1SG.GEN
 Don't you younger people feel bad when you hear my words?
- (44) m-a-taili=aku ifamu mamaini kari=ku=na
 AV-IRR-leave=1SG.NOM 2PL.NOM child word=1SG.GEN=DEF
 maacu=aku m-u-sala na sa-sarəə-ana ia,
 when=1SG.NOM AV-U-go OBL RED-earth-LOC TOP
 taka-ci-cif=kia pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə au-niini=iaua ka
 TAKA-RED-self=1SG.NOM PA-RED-think like-how=wonder OBL
 hi-arumia=isa ka ʔaamaama um-upaŋə ifata.
 NMLZ-method=3SG.GEN NOM old AV-raise 1INCL.NOM
 I leave you younger people my words: When I leave this world, I had better

think it over myself how the old people raised us.

- (45) m-u-sala=cu a ta-tulu-a=mu⁴⁵ ʔafusa=na ia,
AV-U-leave=COS NOM RED-three=2PL.GEN male=DEF TOP
m-aʔu-ra-ri-riamicu=mu aʔaina.
AV-go-RED-RED-all=2PL.NOM female
You three sisters are all female since your brothers (men) have all left.

- (46) m-ari-tiki=mu pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə pak-caalai=cu=isa=mau.
AV-carry-heart=2PL.NOM PA-RED-think CAUS-pity=COS=3SG.GEN=wish
You may think what a pity it is!

- (47) m-i-a-c-aaci-aacili pii-tiki=mu=?ai ia, au-naana.
AV-I-IRR-C-RED-alone PII-heart=2PL.NOM=perhaps TOP like-that
You may think how lonely it is in this way!

⁴⁵ The circumfix *ta-...-a* plus numeral indicate human.

Text 2. My sympathy

macuisa

Informant: 宋玉秀, Female, Age 60(?)

Location: 高中村, Date: September 10, 1999

- (1) ruvana kaniʔi=(n)a fi-m-aruriri a taʔəv-əʔəkə
night this=DEF PFV-AV-tell NOM TAʔƏV-person.name
kicuvanana=na ia, c<um>a-cumuʔu=aku na kari=isa.
just.now=DEF TOP RED<AV>-continue=1SG.NOM OBL word=3SG.GEN
I shall continue with what Aunt Əʔəkə has just said tonight.
- (2) fi-t<um>imaʔ=aku kicuvanana maacu=aku
PFV-hear<AV>=1SG.NOM just.now when=1SG.NOM
t<um>imaʔa isana ia, m-a-cuisa kanaʔa.
hear<AV> 3SG.OBL TOP AV-STA-true that
What I have just heard is all true.
- (3) ukaʔa=cu ka fi-palava pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə.
none=COS NOM NMLZ-rely PA-RED-think
She believes there is not anyone for her to rely on.
- (4) pi-a-raŋa-raŋatəa kanaʔa ina-lan-əʔəkə.
PI-IRR-RED-endure that aunt-LAN-person.name
Aunt Əʔəkə is in a difficult situation.
- (5) miina itau kicuvanana ia, “m-ala-misaini=aku
how 2SG.NOM just.now TOP AV-ALA-how=1SG.NOM
ka ukaʔa=cu um-a-upaŋə=na itaku?”
LNK none=COS AV-RED-support=DEF 1SG
How can you manage with the problem “What shall I do without anyone to support me?”
- (6) “lamuna m-u-sala ka mamaini=ku ʔaʔusa.”
recently AV-U-leave NOM child=1SG.GEN boy
“My son died recently.”
- (7) “riani=cu aʔaina mamaini=ku,” amiʔaa.
all=COS female child=1SG.GEN said
She said, “I’ve got only daughters.”

- (8) t<um>imaḷa ka itaku kari=isa minisaə
 hear<AV> NOM 1SG.NOM word=3SG.GEN in.this.way
 m-i-uḡu=cu li-pamia=ku paa-cəpə-cəpəḡə
 AV-I-reach=COS NMLZ-opinion=1SG.GEN PAA-RED-think
 kanaʔa kari=isa.
 that word=3SG.GEN
 I heard those words of hers reaching the ends, and I have similar thoughts and feelings.
- (9) m-a-cuisa paka-calai tətərə.
 AV-STA-true CAUS-pity real
 She is really pitiable.
- (10) li-aḡali=(ami) ma-maini minisaə um-upaḡə isana
 PFV-begin=said RED-little in.this.way AV-raise 3SG.OBL
 ka ʔaamaama=isa. m-u-sala tupuru na cucuʔu.
 NOM parents=3SG.GEN AV-U-leave marry OBL person
 Her parents brought her up and married her to someone.
- (11) m-i-uḡu m-a-ʔələpəḡə minisaə m-u-sala tupuru
 AV-I-reach AV-STA-mature in.this.way AV-U-go marry
 (na) cucuʔu.
 OBL person
 She was married to someone as soon as she grew up.
- (12) pau-mamaini a alu-aluana=isa ʔa cani-cani
 beget-child NOM RED-fortunate=3SG.GEN and RED-one
 mamaini=isa ʔaʔusa ia, ʔamuna m-u-sala kaniʔi.
 child=3SG.GEN boy TOP recently AV-U-leave this
 Thank God that she gave birth to a son, yet he died recently.
- (13) kətəkəḷə ka m-a-arū=mana ka m-ati-tərəḡə
 fortunately LNK AV-STA-exist-still NOM AV-ATI-strong
 təkə-təkə-a=isa.
 RED-mind-LOC=3SG.GEN
 Fortunately she has a strong mind.

- (14) təaʎu=isa=mana rupuʎə na təkə=isa.
able=3SG.GEN=still offer OBL mind=3SG.GEN
She may still bring up her own thoughts.
- (15) m-ari-a-taraʎəʎ=aku t<um>imafə na kari au-naana.
AV-ARI-IRR-accept=1SG.NOM hear<AV> OBL word like-that
I accept the words that I have heard.
- (16) m-i-uju=cu kanaʎa fi-pamia=ku paa-cəpə-cəpəŋə
AV-I-reach=COS that NMLZ-opinion=1SG.GEN PAA-RED-think
kari=isa.
word=3SG.GEN
That is all I can think of concerning her words.

Text 3. Adopted child

uvura ifaku cucu?u

Informant: Kitakitau 余中清, Male, Age 73

Location: 高中村, Date: September 11, 1999

- (1) m-a-arū ka au-niini tu?
AV-STA-exist OBL like-how ?
What does my life look like?
- (2) akuisa piramuru ifaku m-a?ava ina=ku
when was.born 1SG.NOM AV-bring mother=1SG.GEN
m-a?u-kua cucu?u.
AV-go-move.to person
When I was born, my mother brought me to another person (she married).
- (3) m-a-arū=cu ifaku u-vura cucu?u pa-upaŋə ifaku.
AV-STA-exist=COS 1SG.NOM AV-give person CAUS-raise 1SG.OBL
I was given to another person to raise me.
- (4) u-vura ifaku ina=ku cucu?u.
AV-give 1SG.OBL mother=1SG.GEN person
My mother gave me to another person.
- (5) maaini=aku=mana ku=aku a-ca?ia
small=1SG.NOM=still not=1SG.NOM IRR-know
I was too young to know anything.
- (6) u-vura ina=ku cucu?u vua?a=mana.
AV-give mother=1SG.GEN person baby=still
My mother gave me to another person when I was still a baby.
- (7) ku=aku a-ca?ia tu au-niini akuisa u-vura
not=1SG.NOM IRR-know ? like-how when AV-give
ina=ku pa-upaŋə cucu?u.
mother=1SG.GEN CAUS-raise person
I don't know how my mother gave me to another person for adoption.

- (8) ku=aku a-caŋia li-aramia=ku ara-taisa
 not=1SG.NOM IRR-know NMLZ-experience=1SG.GEN become-big
 m-a-aru cucuʔu.
 AV-STA-exist person
 I don't know how I grew up in another family.
- (9) ku=aku a-caŋia m-a-aru cucuʔu ara-taisa
 not=1SG.NOM IRR-know AV-STA-exist person become-big
 vuaʔa=aku=mana.
 baby=1SG.NOM=still
 I don't know how I grew up in another family because I was still a baby.
- (10) li-um-alamisaini=aku m-a-aru cucuʔu ara-taisa=cu=aku?
 PFV-AV-how=1SG.NOM AV-STA-exist person become-big=COS=1SG.NOM
 How did I grow up in another family?
- (11) m-a-aru cucuʔu taisa=cu=aku maaini.
 AV-STA-exist person big=COS=1SG.NOM small
 I grew up in another family as a little kid.
- (12) m-a-caŋia=cu=aku maaini
 AV-IRR-know=COS=1SG.NOM small
 I knew it when I was a little kid.
- (13) pa-cəpə-cəpəŋə=cu ka iʔaku taaʔiara=isa ina=ku
 PA-RED-think=COS NOM 1SG.NOM why=3SG.GEN mother=1SG.GEN
 maaci m-a-ʔava iʔaku
 if AV-IRR-take 1SG.OBL
 I keep wondering why my mother gave me to another family.

(7) maacu a ma-m-a-ini a ałaina ia,
 concerning LNK RED-AV-STA-small GEN woman TOP
 ta-tulu.

RED-three

There are three daughters.

(8) maacu a ałalua ia, ələkə ijuruu aruai.
 concerning LNK older.sibling TOP Eleke Ijuruu Aruai

Older siblings include Eleke, Ijuruu and Aruai.

(9) tai-naana ma-m-a-ini=ku.
 all-that RED-AV-STA-small=1SG.GEN

That is the story about my children.

Text 2. Introducing wild kiwis

Informant: Amalanamaŋə Salapuana 游仁贵(1948-) , Male , Age 60

Location: Relhece , Date: December 4, 2008

Person who helped Pan to transcribe: Eleke Lhauracana 余宋美女(1924-2014)

- (1) mamisa ia, ma-sia-lə u-pitu caihi.
 this.year TOP ten-nine-ORD AV-seven year
 This year is 2008.
- (2) laiŋa u-sua vulaŋə u-patə a-ari takuupataari.
 ten AV-two moon AV-four RED-day Thursday
 Thursday, 4th December.
- (3) kisu-a-capə-capəŋə=aku=ami ki-lamu-lamu
 talk-IRR-RED-casually=1SG.NOM=said talk-RED-talk
 kani?i luvi.
 this wild.kiwi
 I will be talking casually about this wild kiwis.
- (4) akuisa na t<um>aŋə hi-k<um>ita kaaiu
 when LNK many.people<AV> PFV-<AV>see there
 ku=a-cafia kani?i luvi=na.
 not=IRR-know this wild.kiwi=DEF
 When many people saw it over there, they didn't know the wild kiwis.
- (5) ka maacu a i?a?ana ia, rianə hi-a-ŋa-ŋali
 LNK concerning LNK shop TOP all NMLZ-IRR-RED-from
 ?isiparə tənəmə.
 opposite.shore sea
 Concerning those in the shops, they all have been from the opposite shore of
 the sea.
- (6) ku=a-cafia m-a-arū a məəməa
 not=IRR-know AV-STA-exist NOM also
 luvi=ta m-aa kani?i vuvuluŋa-a=na.
 wild.kiwis=1INCL.NOM AV-be this mountain-LOC=DEF
 People don't know that our wild kiwis also exist in the mountains.

- (7) maacu ka luvi ia, maacu ka kiuʔu, kiuʔu
 concerning LNK kiwis TOP concerning LNK tree tree
 ka ukaʔa vuici.
 LNK none rattan
 Concerning wild kiwis and trees, there are trees without rattan.
- (8) m-ata-vararə n kiuʔu.
 AV-begin-climb OBL tree
 They grow and climb over the trees.
- (9) m-ata-a-supulu m-i-a-vararə kiuʔu ka vuici=isa.
 AV-begin-IRR-stalk AV-I-IRR-climb tree NOM rattan=3.GEN
 Stalks grow and the rattan climb over the trees.
- (10) maacu luvi=na ia, ausi kana iʔaʔana
 concerning wild.kiwi=DEF TOP resemble that shop
 m-a-liʔəʔə u-canii ta-m-a-ini.
 AV-STA-round AV-only TA-AV-STA-small
 Like those round-shaped wild kiwis in the shops, they are only a little small.
- (11) ta-m-a-ini ka luvi vuvuluŋa-a.
 TA-AV-STA-small NOM kiwi mountain-LOC
 The wild kiwis in the mountains are a little small.
- (12) maacu a luvi ia, ca-calaisa parana=isa kaniʔi.
 concerning LNK wild.kiwi TOP RED-random place=3.GEN this
 Wild kiwis can grow in these places randomly.
- (13) mapuʔarə=na maaci m-aa kana kiu-kiuʔu-a.
 low.land=DEF if AV-be that RED-tree-A
 They grow in the lowlands if they exist in that forest.
- (14) kiu-kiuʔu-a ia, m-aŋusipi t<um>a-tajuura isana.
 RED-tree-A TOP AV-live RED<AV>-sprout 3.OBL
 They grow in the forest and sprout there.
- (15) ku=m-aka-tumuʔu kaniʔi.
 not=AV-fructify-a.lot now
 They do not fructify a lot now.

- (16) kaniʔi ia, ara-vu-vurai=cu m-a-aru=mana=ʔai
 now TOP become-RED-ripe=COS AV-STA-exist=still=perhaps
 saa-kukucu-a=cu kana tapuʔacəŋə ʔa kana
 3PL.GEN-eat.up-PV=COS that monkey and that
 takuʔu taruvavuiana.
 fox masked.palm.civet
 If they become ripe now, there are still monkeys, foxes and masked palm civets that eat them up.

- (17) maacu a raʔəŋə=isa ia, taŋaŋiaŋitira.
 concerning LNK leaf=3PL.GEN TOP serrated
 Their leaves are serrated.

- (18) taŋaŋiaŋitira raʔəŋə=isa kaniʔi luvi=na ʔa
 serrated leaf=3PL.GEN this wild.kiwi=DEF and
 ku=taisa aŋatə.
 not=big too
 These leaves of the wild kiwis are serrated and they are not too big.

- (19) kuʔaisai luvi=na maaci para-vuraə ia, m-ataiŋalə
 therefore wild.kiwi=DEF if become-ripe TOP AV-exceed
 iʔaʔana saʔau ʔa m-a-ami
 shop tasty and AV-STA-sweet
 Therefore, if the wild kiwis become ripe, they are tastier and sweeter than those in the shops.

- (20) m-a-vurai=cu=na kuu=kiia saa-liakəʔ-a kuliʔi
 AV-STA-ripe=COS=DEF not=please 3SG.GEN-obtain-PV animal
 vuvuluŋa-a ka a-anə=isa tapuʔacəŋə taruvavuiana.
 mountain-LOC LNK IRR-eat=3PL.GEN monkey masked.palm.civet
 Please do not let monkeys and masked palm civets get and eat ripe wild kiwis!

- (21) tai-naana hi-ki-a-ʔa-ʔamu=aku n kaniʔi
 all-that PFV-talk-IRR-RED-talk=1SG.NOM OBL this
 This is the story I have been talking about.

(22) ami=aku isana ku=tararianə cucu likaʔa kaaiu
 say=1SG.NOM 3.OBL not=hear person outside there
 m-a-arua luvi=ta vuvuluŋa-a=ami.
 AV-STA-exist wild.kiwi=1INCL.NOM mountain-LOC=said
 I said it because people from other places didn't hear the existence of wild
 kiwis in the mountains.

(23) tai-naana.
 all-that
 That's all.

Text 3. Introducing wild roosters

Informant: Amalanamaaḷə Salapuana 游仁贵(1948-) , Male , Age 60

Location: Relhece , Date: December 4, 2008

Person who helped Pan to transcribe: Eleke Lhauracana 余宋美女(1924-2014)

- (1) mamisa ia, ma-sia-lə u-pitu caihi.
 this.year TOP ten-nine-ORD AV-seven year
 This year is 97th (In Republic of China) = 2008.
- (2) laiḷa u-sua vuləḷə u-patə a-ari takuaupataəari.
 ten AV-two moon AV-four RED-day Thursday
 It's Thursday, fourth of December.
- (3) iḷaku ia, amalanamaaḷə salapuana.
 1SG.NEUT TOP name name
 I am Amalanamaaḷə Salapuana.
- (4) ki-a-ḷa-ḷamu=aku n kaniʔi ḷatarəəə.
 talk-IRR-RED-talk=1SG.NOM OBL this wild.rooster
 I am going to talk about this wild rooster.
- (5) maacu a kana aḷamə n m-ataiṅalə ta-taisa
 concerning LNK that bird LNK AV-exceed RED-big
 ia, m-u-a-sa-sala m-aa sa-saru-ana ia,
 TOP AV-U-IRR-RED-go AV-be RED-place/earth-LOC TOP
 u-canii=ʔai ka ḷatarəəə ka ta-taisa.
 AV-only=perhaps NOM wild.rooster LNK RED-big
 Concerning that little bigger bird, only the little big wild rooster exists in the place.
- (6) maacu ka kana taia=ʔai=maanai m-ataiṅalə
 concerning LNK that approximate=perhaps=probably AV-exceed
 m-a-lisəḷə ia, taia=ʔai u-tulu
 AV-STA-heavy TOP approximate=perhaps AV-three
 tiṅatiṅa maaci m-a-lisəḷə=ʔai.
 Taiwanese.kilogram if AV-STA-heavy=perhaps
 Concerning the approximate weight, perhaps it weighs about three Taiwanese kilograms.

- (7) maacu a kana tapaə=isa ia, m-a-laŋiŋu a
concerning LNK that color=3SG.GEN TOP AV-STA-green NOM
kaniʔi ʔalapuŋu=isa=na.
this feather=3SG.GEN=DEF
The color of its feather is green.
- (8) maacu a ʔisisi=isa ia, m-ələŋəsə.
concerning LNK tail=3SG.GEN TOP AV-long
Its tail is long.
- (9) pi-m-a-puli pi-m-a-laŋiŋu.
have-AV-STA-white have-AV-STA-green
There is white and there is green.
- (10) m-a-arū a m-a-liçəçə.
AV-STA-exist NOM AV-STA-black
There is black.
- (11) u-tulu ŋaʔana.
AV-three type
There are three types in total.
- (12) maacu a viravira=isa vuŋu=isa ia, m-a-tavuliu.
concerning LNK comb=3.GEN head=3.GEN TOP AV-STA-red
Concerning the comb of its head, it is red.
- (13) maacu a ʔuŋuʔu=isa ia, m-a-tavuliu məəməə.
concerning LNK animal.feet=3.GEN TOP AV-STA-red also
Its feet are red, too.
- (14) maacu ka aʔamə a kaniʔi ia, m-aa
concerning LNK bird LNK this TOP AV-be
n kaniʔi mapuʔarə.
OBL this low.land
This bird lives in this lowland.
- (15) mapuʔarə.
low.land
It is in the lowland.

- (21) raʔua=cu=ʔai=maanai m-ara-uka-uka ʔaamama kana
 long=COS=perhaps=probably AV-get-RED-lost old.man that
 kana m-u-sala m-ələvə=n akuisa k<um>ita
 that AV-U-road AV-follow=DEF when <AV>see
 n kaniʔi ʔatarəaə=na.
 OBL this wild.rooster=DEF

When old people saw the wild rooster, it had been a long while that they got lost and followed it.

- (22) m-u-sala=cu m-ələvə isana m-ətəʔə
 AV-U-road=COS AV-follow 3.OBL AV-encounter
 n kana saʔumu ruməʔə, aŋaʔi=cu isana
 OBL that water when from=COS 3.OBL
 ka kana ʔaama kiariari.
 LNK that ancestor past

Ancestors followed it and found water by chance from there.

- (23) maacu a kuliʔi a kana ia, ʔi-ru-avici
 concerning LNK animal LNK that TOP PFV-RU-bring
 isana ausi ʔi-para-ŋusipi=cu isana ka ʔi-m-ara-uka
 3.OBL like PFV-CAUS-alive=COS 3.OBL LNK PFV-AV-get-lost
 ʔa ʔi-m-ara-uka-uka ku=pai-ta-təʔə=ʔai=maanai
 and PFV-AV-get-RED-lost not=find-RED-ACHI=perhaps=probably
 i<a>ma=isa saʔumu.
 drink<IRR>=3.GEN water

That animal brought them and perhaps saved them, who were lost and couldn't find the water to drink.

- (24) kuʔaisai um-arumia=cu kani ʔisisi=isa=na kaniʔi
 therefore AV-use=COS this tail=3.GEN=DEF this
 naani t<um>amaʔəŋə kana paʔaunə ka
 here <AV> make that plume.on.hat LNK
 ʔi-ələŋəŋə isana=ami.
 PFV-reminisce 3.OBL=said

Therefore, it is said that they used its tail at this place to make plume on a hat to reminisce about it.

(25) au-naana ka kana p-aŋu-mia-mia ɬatarəəə=n
 like-that LNK that P-AŁU-RED-meaning wild.rooster=DEF
 ka kaniʔi pataujanə.
 LNK this plume.on.hat

That's the figurative meaning of wild roosters about the plume on hat.

Text 4. The big dipper

Informant: Laꞗui Tavuiana 石唐里金(1934-2016) , Age 74

Location: Selhengane , Date: December 1, 2008

Person who helped Pan to transcribe: Eleke Lhauracana 余宋美女(1924-2014)

- (1) ki-a-ł̥a-ł̥amu=aku p-ał̥u-mia-mia=isa kanaʔa
 talk-IRR-RED-talk=1SG.NOM P-AŁ̥U-RED-meaning=3.GEN that
 ʔacangərał̥a pa-pitu=na.
 star RED-seven=DEF

I am going to talk about the figurative meaning of the Big Dipper.

- (2) au-naana=ami ka kiariari m-u-sala=ami
 like-that=said LNK past AV-U-road=said
 kana m-ał̥u-kua n vuvuluꞗa-a.
 that AV-go-move.to OBL mountain-LOC

It is said that people went to the mountains in the past.

- (3) m-a-aru=ʔai vu-vuluꞗ-aa kana
 AV-STA-exist=perhaps RED-mountain-LOC that
 u-pia-ini=ʔai=iau vulala=ʔai.

AV-how.many-?=perhaps=probably moon=perhaps
 Perhaps, they stayed in the mountains for several months.

- (4) m-a-aru=ʔai vuvuluꞗa-a taramuarə=ʔai
 AV-STA-exist=perhaps mountain-LOC procrastinate=perhaps
 ka tasau=isa kana m-icəngəł̥ə=mana=ami n
 NOM dog=3PL.GEN that AV-chase=still=said OBL

kana kuli vuvuluꞗa-a.
 that animal mountain-LOC

In the mountains, their dogs were late because they chased animals of the mountain.

- (5) m-a-arū isana=?ai m-ara-pi-a-pihi n
 AV-STA-exist 3PL.OBL=?perhap AV-get-RED-IRR-for.the.purpose.of OBL
 tasau=isa u-pa-pa-palua ʔa pu-a-ili=cu=ami n
 dog=3.GEN AV-RED-RED-wait and PU-IRR-return=COS=said OBL
 salia=?ai m-i-a-tu-tuŋusu=cu=ami
 home=?perhaps AV-I-IRR-RED-rite=COS=said
 n m-aa n salia saa-patalikuc-a=cu
 OBL AV-be OBL home 3PL.GEN-locked-PV=COS
 kana cucu?u=na.
 that person=DEF

(Seven) people kept waiting for their dogs, and after returning home, they saw people practicing the Ritual of God of Shells at home. They were not allowed to join the ritual.

- (6) m-a-arū=ami n aʔa-aʔapa=isa
 AV-STA-exist=said OBL RED-above=3.GEN
 m-i-a-tu-tuŋusu=na m-i-pi-piʔi.
 AV-I-IRR-RED-rite=DEF AV-I-RED-fly
 They were flying above the Ritual of Sacred Shells.

- (7) muara=mau m-ucapi-a=mau
 come.over=wish AV-come.down-AV.IMP=wish
 m-u-a-əʔəʔə=ita=mana kana m-i-tungusu=ami
 AV-U-IRR-together=1INCL=still that AV-I-rite=said
 isana=ami=?ai ku=cu=ami a-caʔia m-ucapi
 3PL.OBL=said=?perhaps not=COS=said IRR-know AV-come.down
 ka saa-patalikuc-a=cu ka m-i-a-tu-tuŋusu.
 LNK 3PL.GEN-locked-PV=COS NOM AV-I-IRR-RED-rite
 Come down! Let's practice the Ritual of Sacred Shells together! However, people didn't know the seven people were locked and separated from the the Ritual of Sacred Shells.

- (8) m-u-sala=cu=ami n m-aʔu-kua n lajica=na
 AV-U-road=COS=said LNK AV-go-move OBL sky=DEF
 m-ara-ʔacaŋəraʔa.
 AV-become-star

It is said that they went to the sky and became stars.

(9) m-ara-ʔaca-ʔacaŋərəʔa.

AV-become-RED-star

They became stars continuously.

(10) kufaisai u-pitu ʔacaŋərəʔa tu-a-puru akuisa

therefore AV-seven star sit-IRR-sit when

ʔaamaama=na kanaʔa ka kari=isa ka

old.man=DEF that LNK word=3PL.GEN LNK

ʔaamama kiariari.

old.man past

Therefore, this is old people's words in the past about the Big Dipper

(11) tai-naana ka a-cali=ku.

all-that NOM IRR-know=1SG.GEN

That's the story I know.

(12) ʔi-timaʔa=ku n ʔaama kiariari.

PFV-hear.PV=1SG.GEN OBL ancestor past

That's the story I have heard from the ancestors in the past.

(13) tai-naana=cu.

all-that=COS

That's all.

Text 5. Saaroo people's life in the past from January to December

Informant: Amalanamaŋ Salapuana 游仁贵(1948-) , Male , Age 60

Location: Relhece, Date: December 04, 2008

Person who helped me to transcribe: Eleke Lhauracana (余宋美女, 1924-2014)

- (1) mamisa ia, ma-sia-ŋə u-pitu caifi.
 this.year TOP ten-nine-ORD AV-seven year
 This year is 2008.
- (2) laiŋa u-sua vulaŋə u-patə aari takuaupatə.
 ten AV-two month AV-four day Thursday
 It is Thursday, fourth of December.
- (3) ki-a-ŋa-ŋamu=aku kaniʔi sitakuamia ŋaʔalua
 talk-IRR-RED-talk=1SG.NOM this life Saaroo
 aŋali u-cani vulaŋa m-iuŋu laiŋa u-sua vulaŋə=na.
 from AV-one month AV-arrive ten AV-two month=DEF
 I am going to talk about Saaroo people's life from January to December.
- (4) aŋaama kiariari a aŋali kaniʔi u-cani vulaŋə=na
 ancestor past LNK from this AV-one month=DEF
 m-ələpəŋə kaniʔi u-sua vulaŋə=na,
 AV-finish this AV-two month=DEF
 aŋali=cu vulaŋə=na um-a-saasapa.
 from=COS month=DEF AV-IRR-reclaim.wasteland
 In the past, from January to February, ancestors would reclaim wasteland starting from the month (January).
- (5) maatataŋamə=mana maaci m-a-vacaŋə=ʔai
 ritual.of.reclaiming.wasteland=still if AV-STA-good=perhaps
 ka kana, ru<a>mi=c=isa um-a-saasapa.
 NOM that begin<IRR>=COS=3PL.GEN AV-IRR-reclaim.wasteland
 They needed to practice the ritual of reclaiming wasteland if that land was good, and they would begin to reclaim wasteland.
- (6) um-asaasapa.
 AV-reclaim.wasteland
 They reclaimed wasteland.

- (7) maaci=ʔai u-sua=cu maacu u-sua vulatə ia,
 if=perhaps AV-two=COS concerning AV-two month TOP
 a-lamarə=c=isa.
 IRR-set.the.wasteland.on.fire=COS=3.GEN
 If it's February, they set the wasteland on fire.
- (8) maaci kana hi-u-lamarə=cu ia,
 if that PFV-AV-set.the.wasteland.on.fire=COS TOP
 maacu a ku=u-cuʔu=cu kiu-kiuʔu=na aʔa səəsəŋə ia,
 concerning LNK not=AV-burn=COS RED-wood=DEF or grass TOP
 aʔuaələtə=c=isa=ami minisaə papucu ʔa cuʔu-a.
 heap.up=COS=3.GEN=EVID in.this.way heap and burn-PV
 If they had set the wasteland on fire, they heaped up the unburned wood or
 grass in heaps and burned them.
- (9) maaci hi-cuʔu-a=cu ia, u-a-pa-palu=cu n kaniʔi u=tulu
 if PFV-burn-PV=COS TOP AV-IRR-RED-wait=COS OBL this AV-three
 vulatə=na.
 month=DEF
 If they had been burned, ancestors would be awaiting the arrival of March.
- (10) maaci u-tulu=cu vulatə ia, um-a-urapi=cu.
 if AV-three=COS month TOP AV-IRR-sow.seeds=COS
 If it's March, they would sow seeds.
- (11) maaci hi-urap-a=cu ia, tuaʔə=isa m-iuŋu maaci
 if PFV-sow.seeds-PV=COS TOP can=3PL.GEN AV-arrive if
 u-patə vulatə ia, u-pate vulatə ia, ru-a-mi-mia=cu
 AV-four month TOP AV-four month TOP begin-IRR-RED-begin=COS
 a kana kaniʔi ʔəvəcəŋə=na araa-taisa t<um>aŋura.
 NOM that this millet=DEF become-big sprout<AV>
 If they had sown seeds, they could await the arrival of April, and the millet
 would begin to grow and sprout.
- (12) tumasəsəŋa=cu məəməa ka uumuma, mu-a-uumuma=cu ka kana
 grow.grass=COS also NOM farm MU-IRR-farm=COS NOM that
 cucuʔu məəməa paa-pa-uuma kana umuuma u-cani umana=na
 person also RED-CAUS-farm that farm AV-one farm=DEF
 When grass grew on farms, they would let people mow the grass on the whole

farm.

- (13) maaci m-ati-ləpəŋə ia, l<um>a-lamuɸu=cu.
if AV-hand.motion-finish TOP RED<AV>-fertilize.new.seedlings=COS
If they finished mowing, they would fertilize new seedlings.
- (14) l<um>a-lamuɸu=cu n li-urapə=isa.
RED<AV>-fertilize.new.seedlings=COS OBL PFV-sow.seeds.PV=3.GEN
The sown seeds would be fertilized by new seedlings.
- (15) maaci maacu n kana u-lima vulaɸə maaci m-iuŋu ənəmə
if concerning LNK that AV-five month if AV-arrive six
vulaɸə=na ia, kana l<um>a-lamuɸu=mana.
month=DEF TOP that RED<AV>-fertilize.new.seedlings=still
From May to June, they would still fertilize new seedlings.
- (16) maaru=mana l<um>a-lamuɸu ɸa kana
exist=still RED<AV>-fertilize.new.seedlings=still and that
pa-ki<a>ɸuɸu cucuʔu takacicili ka pi-ʔəvəcəŋə=isa=na
CAUS-come.out<IRR> person self LNK have-millet=3.GEN=DEF
kana l<um>amuɸu kaniʔi ta-maʔə-m-a-ʔəvəcə=isa.
that fertilize.new.seedlings<AV> this TA-RED-AV-STA-tight=3.GEN
They would still fertilize new seedlings, and let people who had millet come to
fertilize these new seedlings that were becoming denser.
- (17) maaci m-iuŋu=cu u-pitu vulaɸə ia,
if AV-arrive=COS AV-seven month TOP
kana ta-taisa=cu ka kana ʔəvəcəŋə maa-maa-maɸu=cu.
that RED-big=COS NOM that millet RED-RED-grow=COS
In July, the millet that kept growing seeds became bigger.

- (18) maaci taia=cu maa-maa-maalu=na ia,
 if approximate=COS RED-RED-grow=DEF TOP
 ami-a=cu ka kana laa-laa-laamama t<um>a-maləŋə
 say-PV=COS NOM that RED-RED-old.person TA<AV>-make
 n kana si-paalim-a⁴⁶ la cacalaisa aru-a-mia=isa
 OBL that INST.NMLZ-scare.birds and casually use-IRR-use=3PL.GEN
 kana m-aalimu n alamə.
 that AV-scare.birds OBL bird

If the millet was about to keep growing seeds, it was said that old people would make the bird scarer and scare birds with it casually.

- (19) kana maaci u-pitu=cu vulatə m-ələpəŋə ia,
 that if AV-seven=COS moon AV-finish TOP
 m-aalimu=cu minisə m-iugu m-a-vəraə.
 AV-scare.birds in.this.way AV-reach AV-STA-ripe

If July was over, they scared birds, and in this way, the millet reached ripeness.

- (20) maaci araa-vəraə kana ʔəvəcəŋə ia, taia=ʔai=cu
 if become-ripe that millet TOP approximate=perhaps=COS
 n vulatə ia, u-sia=cu vulatə lamasə.
 OBL month TOP AV-nine=COS month half

It took about one month for the millet to become ripe until the mid-September.

- (21) u-sia=cu lamasə u-sia=cu kana vulatə m-a-və-vərai=cu.
 AV-nine=COS half AV-nine=COS that month AV-STA-RED-ripe=COS
 The millet became ripe completely in mid-September or in September.

- (22) maaci m-a-vərai=cu ka kana ʔəvəvəŋə ia,
 if AV-STA-ripe=COS NOM that millet TOP
 m-aa=ʔai=maanai kaniʔi lamunaa maatə vulatə=na ia,
 AV-be=perhaps=probably this just.now ten month=DEF TOP
 m-a-vərai=cu m-ari-a-ʔəvicijij=cu ka kana
 AV-STA-ripe=COS AV-hand.motion-IRR-millet=COS NOM that
 laamama.

old.person

If the millet became ripe, old people would harvest the millet that was ripe in October.

⁴⁶ The circumfix *si-...-a* indicates an object of scarecrow.

- (23) maaci m-ali-ləpəŋə ia, paari=c=isa.
 if AV-hand.motion-finish TOP dry=COS=3.GEN
 If finishing harvesting it, they dried it.
- (24) minisə rətua məməə ka rətua məməə
 in.this.way long also LNK long also
 maaci pari-ʔəvəcəŋə ka kana a-uca-ucani ləməta=na ia,
 if take-millet LNK that A-RED-one bundle=DEF TOP
 ku a-talakialə araa-ŋanə.
 NEG STA-simple become-dry
 In this way, it also took a long time to collect the millet in bundles, and it's not easy to make it become dry.
- (25) taia=ʔai məməə a-laiŋa u-lima aari.
 approximate=perhaps also IRR-ten AV-five day
 Approximately, it would also take 15 days.
- (26) u-sua taluavaəlana ka kana ʔəvəcəŋə maaci paari-a
 AV-two week NOM that millet if dry-PV
 maaci araa-ŋanə.
 if become-dry
 The millet took two weeks to be dried and become dry completely.
- (27) maaci kana m-a-ŋani=cu ia, m-aa kana kilialiali
 if that AV-STA-dry=COS TOP AV-be that ceremony
 kilialalii=cu matasakə.
 worship=COS warehouse
 If it was dry, they worshiped in a ceremony to enter into the warehouse.
- (28) akuisa um-ai=cu n kana hi-ari-a-ʔəvəcəŋə=isa
 when AV-store=COS OBL that PFV-hand.motion-IRR-millet=3PL.GEN
 hi-ari-a-ʔəvəcəŋə hi-ari-a-ʔəvəcəŋə=isa=na
 PFV-hand.motion-IRR-millet PFV-hand.motion-IRR-millet=3PL.GEN=DEF
 minisə um-aini kana tafiulu.
 in.this.way AV-store that granary
 When they stored the millet that had been harvested, the harvested millet would be stored in the granary.

- (29) maaci li-ai-a=cu ia, kani?ii laita u-cani=cu vulaḷə=na ia,
 if PFV-store-PV=COS TOP this ten AV-one=COS month=DEF TOP
 pasamia=isa tam pi-pasamia=cu ka ḷaa-ḷaa-ḷaamama.
 free.time=3PL.GEN very have-free.time=COS NOM RED-RED-old.person
 If it was stored in November, then old people would have a lot of free time.
- (30) minisə alupa-taku-a-lii-liuju ḷa minisə paḷu-sa-saḷi
 in.this.way RECI-play-IRR-RED-play and in.this.way sing-RED-song
 m-iima minisə m-a-sasaṇarə.
 AV-drink in.this.way AV-STA-happy
 In this way, they would play games, sing songs and drink wines happily.
- (31) kani?i u-cani caiḷ-a ia, au-naana ka kana si-pasamia
 this AV-one year-LOC TOP like-that NOM that INST.NMLZ-free.time
 n ḷaama kiariari maaci m-əlipiji=cu.
 OBL ancestor past if AV-finish=COS
 Just like that, that's ancestors' activities during the free time in a year if they
 finished harvesting.
- (32) laita u-sua vulaḷə=na ia, m-i<a>uju laita u-sua vulaḷə=na
 ten AV-two month=DEF TOP AV-<IRR>arrive ten AV-two month=DEF
 ka pi-pasamia=isa ka ḷaama kiariari.
 NOM have-free.time=3PL.GEN LNK ancestor past
 In the past, ancestors would have free time when December arrived.
- (33) mau ka maaci kana u-sua caiḷi miaṇaḷə
 see NOM if that AV-two year practice.once
 m-i-tuṇusu ia, m-aa n kani?i u-cani vulaḷə
 AV-I-Ritual.of.Sacred.Shells TOP AV-be OBL this AV-one month
 ḷa u-lima aari=na ia, tuaḷə=isa kana m-i-tuṇusu
 and AV-five day=DEF TOP can=3PL.GEN that AV-I-Ritual.of.Sacred.Shells
 ka ḷaḷalua kiariari ka u-sua caiḷi miaṇaḷə.
 NOM Saaroa past LNK AV-two year practice.once
 You see that Saaroa people could practice the Ritual of Sacred Shells once two
 years in five days of January.

- (34) ku=ausi kaniʔi ka u-cani caihi a mianʔə
 not=like now LNK AV-one year LNK practice.once
 marapili n itakia kana muvavili ka ku=cu
 for.the.purpose.of OBL 1PL that descendant LNK not=COS
 a-ca-cafia asapuu=cu məəməa si-arua-mia=isa
 STA-RED-know forget=COS also INST.NMLZ-use-A-use=3.GEN
 ka si-kilaliali=na.
 LNK INST.NMLZ-worship=DEF
 Unlike now, we practice once a year for the descendants not to forget
 everything about the ceremony.

- (35) kuʔaisai au-naana ka kana sitakuamia ʔaʔalua
 therefore like-that NOM that life Saarooa
 aŋali u-cani vulaʔə m-iuŋu laifa u-sua vulaʔə.
 from AV-one month AV-arrive ten AV-two month
 Therefore, that's Saarooa people's life (in the past) from January to December.

- (36) tai-naana=cu kari=ku kaniʔi=na.
 all-that=COS word=1SG.GEN this=DEF
 That's all of my words now.

Appendix: Saaroa Songs, including *miatungusu*

Paul Jen-kuei Li

1. Introduction

The most important Saaroa traditional ritual ceremony is *miatungusu*, as described in Text 7 by Tung, Text 12 by Tsuchida, and Text 3 by Ting in this volume. It is held every other year now. The Saaroa people dance and sing for three to seven days and nights. The complete set of songs was recorded and made in a CD by the government of Kaohsiung, entitled: *Hla'alua and Kananavu Folksongs* 南鄒族民歌. The songs were recorded again by the professional ethno-musician, Professor Rong-shun Wu 吳榮順, with musical notes, and the words were transcribed by Paul Li, with a CD and a pamphlet written in Chinese, issued by the Wind Records in Taipei in 2001. The songs were then discussed and published in Chinese in a paper by Li (2006). In section 3, nineteen of all the twenty-one recorded songs are included. Song 5 is left out because it shows a fixed pattern of counting people from one to ten, and not very interesting. Song 11 is also left out because Saaroa people do not know any of the words, although they can still memorize and sing the song.

Many words in the traditional songs are obsolete and unintelligible even to native Saaroa speakers, such as 3.11, which is left out in the appendix. Sometimes different speakers may give different interpretations for the same words.

I often encountered serious problems when I tried to translate the words of traditional songs, which may be different from daily language spoken by the natives. Even the native speakers may not know what some of the words mean, or they may not know how to explain them clearly. Words of ritual songs are usually much more difficult than those of non-ritual song to comprehend. Ritual songs, which can only be performed during a ceremony at a particular period of time, are more likely inherited and passed down through successive generations of an ethnic group. Speakers often do not know what the obsolete words mean. These songs are not up to be borrowed. On the other hand, non-ritual songs may be borrowed or influenced by the surrounding people, genetically related or unrelated. Singers of non-ritual songs may vary the words they sing from time to time.

There are metaphoric expressions or figurative speech. For example, the words “gourd”, “pomelo”, and “papaya” all refer to female breasts in a Saaroa traditional song (see 3.16 below). It is hard to come to grips with the problem without a good knowledge of the cultural background. Translators often lack such a background. It varies from language to language if a language has rich metaphorical expressions. Saaroa, for example, is rich with metaphorical expressions in traditional songs. I have to add grammatical notes when I come across such a case.

2. Interesting expressions in the traditional folk songs of Saaroa

Saaroa has some uncommon expressions, such as:

- (1) a-uka-uka=cu ka caliŋa=ku.
AV-RED-forget=COS NOM ear=1SG.GEN
My ear forgot (= I have forgotten).

Metaphorical expressions often appear in Saaroa traditional songs. For instance, the line below says that “It is hot in my stomach” on the surface, while the hidden meaning is “I have a broken heart”, as in (2):

- (2) masiamə civuka=ku
hot stomach=1SG.GEN
It is hot in my stomach. = I have a broken heart.

A girl who was disappointed in a love affair cried too much, so that she could hardly see well. Yet she would tell a lie to other people that her eyes got hurt by cogon-grass, as in (3):

- (3) t<um>u-vuŋa-vuŋa i tupi?i na ?əŋəŋa
TU<AV>-RED-blur ? get.blind OBL cogon.grass
My vision is much blurred because my eyes got hurt by cogon-grass.

In the same song, the other people tried to console her and tell her that it may be annoying to have a husband and that she may not really want one, as in (4):

- (4) misa?inta sumanə i patali ruca-rucakə
not.want spouse ? nuisance RED-angry
(I) do not want a husband because he is annoying and irritable.

These are interesting instances of the subtle descriptions of a young girl’s mind.

The lines below say that a young man likes to hide under a tree and to try to shoot a bird with the tender root of a plant, which is not powerful enough to hit the head of the bird. This implies that he is too young to get married. The word *ripase* ‘bullet’ implies ‘testicles’.⁴⁷ Several terms in the line are used metaphorically. No vulgar language is used.

⁴⁷ It is understandable that the term *ripase* ‘bullet’ implies ‘testicles’. Another term *atu* ‘honeybee’ also implies ‘testicles’ in another song, as in:
tulisua kana mulikapə atu.
deserve that steal bee
They deserve stealing the sacrifice (honeybee).

- (5) ɭa-m-ulu-aili=aku kuvavani na ʔulufanə,
 ɭA-AV-ULU-want=1SG.NOM eat OBL plant.name
 ʔicəvərə mana vuju ripasə=isa.
 tender.root as head bullet=3.GEN
 ku=pa-sikəra na vuju tamulumula.
 not=CAUS-achieve OBL head type.of.bird
 I'd like to hide under a tree to shoot a bird with the tender root of a plant as
 a bullet. But it is not powerful enough to catch the bird.

In another Saaroa song the singers use the term *tahuku* 'bottle gourd', *tapaʔia* 'papaya', and *vaakə* 'pomelo' to refer to female 'breasts'. Both a bottle gourd and pomelo look smooth and lovely on the surface, and these are the terms used by a female singer, while a papaya may look rough on the surface, and that is the term used by a male singer who mocks at a girl, as in (6) and (7):

The girl sings :

- (6)a. pasakulaia=mau m-ati-alu taʔuku maraucuʔai
 hurry=wish AV-ATI-take gourd hurry
 taturu=isa.
 younger.sister=3.GEN
 I hope he will come soon to take his younger sister's gourd (= breasts).
- b. k<um>ita na ʔususu=isa taina-ni taina vaakə.
 look<AV> OBL breast=3.GEN big-NI big pomelo
 (You can) see her breasts bigger than pomelos.

The boy sings :

- (7) tapaiaʔa luva-ŋana luva-tiŋa-tiŋala.
 papaya LUVA-uneven LUVA-RED-rough
 (Your breasts) are as rough as a papaya.

Sometimes it may take a little imagination to realize the hidden meaning of a song, as in (8):

- (8) calai=kia=isa=mau kua-vuŋavuŋa na vuvuŋa=na.
 pity=1SG=3.GEN=wish KUA-flower.name OBL flower=DEF
 murakici m-ia-mələ na m-a-cici a taliaria.
 plant.sp. AV-IA-wither OBL AV-STA-hot LNK sun
 Please have pity on me, a flower. It withers in the hot sun

In the song in (8), the girl considers herself a type of flower, which blooms at night but withers in daylight. She was very pretty. Unfortunately, she married lazybones. She was ruined just like a pretty flower which withered in the hot sun.

Saaroa speakers do not know what the words mean in many ritual songs. They may give different interpretations for some of the words. We usually follow the older speakers, while treat younger speakers' interpretations in footnotes.

Vocabulary in traditional songs may differ from that in ordinary daily language. For example,

(9)	Traditional	Ordinary	Gloss
	ilavəəsa	suamuŋumuŋa	'drizzle'
	taruramə	taɬak	'domesticated pig'
	liarusiluamu	likitalia	'hemp fiber string'

Similarly, Saaroa people use special hunting terms for wild animals, different from the ordinary daily language, perhaps due to taboo. Compare the differences between the special hunting terms and ordinary terms in Saaroa language below:

(10)	Hunting terms	Ordinary terms	Gloss
1)	ɬatakəmənə	tauruŋu	munjac 山羌
2)	ɬatikasə	vutulu	deer 山鹿
3)	apilupaɬupai	taɬulacəŋə	monkey 猴
4)	kuvukuvura	ʔarəmə	pangolin 穿山甲
5)	ɬamilanɟica	takaukau	hawk 老鹰
6)	ɬimakafiuməra	aləmələ	boar 山猪
7)	kəŋkəŋramucu	ʔukui	goat 山羊
8)	ɬavuruvuru	lukulu	leopard 豹
9)	ɬasəməsəma	cumiʔi	bear 熊

Not only vocabulary, but also grammatical terms may differ between traditional songs and ordinary language. For instance, slightly different forms of personal pronouns are used in traditional songs and ordinary language, as shown below:

(11)	Traditional songs	Ordinary	Gloss
	imu	=mu	'second person, plural, nominative'
	łaita, =tai	=ita	'first person, plural, inclusive, nominative'
	kiaisa	na itaku	'first person, singular, oblique'

More careful comparison between the language used in traditional songs and that in ordinary language in Saaroa may reveal even more interesting differences between the two.

3. Songs

Song 1. Dye yam

likih

[1]

- (1) i likih, likih iui, i lavah⁴⁸, lavah.
? dye.yam dye.yam ? ? plant.sp. plant.sp.
dye yam, dye yam, *Asplenium antiquum* Makino, *Asplenium antiquum* Makino.

- (2) ina muli vəŋəli⁴⁹ iui mulilaləə vuai.
? leaves tree.sp. ? grow ?
The plant (to make a pestle) dropped its leaves and is growing again.

- (3) ina ma-taru taruufu iui m-a-talaləə vuai.
? AV-take carry ? AV-STA-wither ?
(The mothers) brought (their) children by carrying them on back and (waited for the hunters) below the withered plant.

- (4) ina hi-sapəta⁵⁰, vinau⁵¹ i sa-rama-rukaruka.
? PFV-gain.nothing tree.sp. ? 3PL.GEN-RAMA-lost
(The hunters) caught no game and they were lost at the divine plant (for fortune-telling).

- (5) ina vəŋa-vəŋa vihuua⁵² i ku=pa-taratapəə⁵³
? RED-blossom tree.sp. ? not=CAUS-see
The plant is blossoming (with yellow flowers), and don't let it be seen.

- (6) ku=pa-taratapəə k<um>iakui iaiai.
not=CAUS-see ? ?
Don't let it be seen. (The blossoming is a warning of the approaching enemies.)

⁴⁸ *lavah* 'plant sp.', *Asplenium antiquum* Makino, a type of wild vegetable, used to protect human life during a ritual ceremony.

⁴⁹ *vəŋəli* 'plant sp.', hard wood, used to make a pestle.

⁵⁰ *hisapəta*, informant Eleke Lhauracana (age 75) interpreted it as 'having no game'; informant Amalanamał Salapuana (age 50) interpreted it as 'holding, pressing down'.

⁵¹ *vinau* 'plant sp.', informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted it as 'men use it for fortune-telling'; informant Amalanamał Salapuana interpreted it as 'wood used to start a fire in a mountain'.

⁵² *vihuua* 'plant sp.', informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted it as 'its bark is used to make string or a basket to carry on back.'; informant Amalanamał Salapuana interpreted it as 'having yellow flowers, warning the approach of enemies while blossoming'.

⁵³ *kupataratapəə*, informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted it as 'don't let it be seen'; informant Amalanamał Salapuana interpreted it as 'don't cut it'.

[2]

- (1) ʔamatakupuhlainaia⁵⁴ inacaliʔana aʔupu ia,
place.name intrude hunting.area TOP
We intruded into other people's hunting territory.

- (2) anikialikiʔa patulu, patulu pavau, pavau palilivauvau
start celebrate celebrate wait wait ?
We started celebrating and waiting.

[3]

- (1) nasicui, ruma-ʔarəə ruma-iʔavəsa⁵⁵.
go.to.mountain RUMA-return RUMA-drizzle
(They) went to the mountains. It was drizzling while they returned.

- (2) iʔavəsa im-iravusa vulala.
drizzle IM-drizzle moon
It was drizzling, and there was moonlight.

- (3) vulala ui ʔaluma-lumai.
moon ? dog.name
There was the moon when the barking of the dog was heard.

- (4) ʔaluma-lumai ʔi-m-aʔu-lailai ʔampulai laita iaiaai.
dog.name PFV-AV-go-? grow.big limit ?
(The dog) grew very tall.

[4]

- (1) kisuaʔalau kai ʔacupuana takuarau rauvaku
? LNK ? search companion
um-a-ala na ʔumanə tamani.
AV-IRR-take OBL iron spearhead
(The chief visited every family) looking for a companion to go and take an iron spearhead.

⁵⁴ *ʔamatakupuhlainaia* is the name of a place, and we intruded into other people's hunting territory and felt exciting.

⁵⁵ *iʔavəsa* 'drizzle' is an obsolete word, and *suumungumunga* is a modern term.

[5]

- (1) nasicui paskialəə m-u-ał-ałaina culvanə, uiiaia
already before AV-U-RED-female evening interjections
lakəməaia ipalai.
? ?

You made an appointment with a girl to meet with her on that evening, ah! yet you did not go. (Then forget it!)

[6]

- (1) nasicui patuali=ku, patanikaʔulu, hatamulaʔalavau, micau.
already cook=1SG.GEN regrettably leave fine
micau mihai mikama ʔałani mihai.
fine ten.day ? return ten.day

I prepared to cook (food). Regrettably (the guests) left. It is alright.
It is alright. (I hope) they will return in ten days.

Song 2. Preparation song

malalalaŋə

[1]

- (1) uau m-al-al-alaŋ ku=pil-alaŋ s<um>alikai=u
? AV-RED-RED-prepare not=?-prepare all.ready<AV>=2SG.NOM
sikianaku? kiniu pasa-manəŋ m-al-al-alaŋ, tal-aili⁵⁶
things ? PASA-focus AV-RED-RED-prepare TAL-back
lapalai, ʔamata raŋi-raŋi⁵⁷ ai aku.
girl.friend don't RED-ruin ? ?

Be well prepared with all you need for the ritual ceremony. Are you all ready?
Concentrate in your preparation. Concentrate, and do not think about your girl
friend. Don't ruin the ritual ceremony.

⁵⁶ *talaili* 'don't get distracted', informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted as 'look back'; informant Amalanamałə Salapuana interpreted it as 'don't get distracted'.

⁵⁷ *raŋirahi* 'ruin', informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted as 'associate chief'; informant Amalanamałə Salapuana interpreted it as 'ruin'.

[2]

- (1) capali capali cælək cælək, capali capali
 strengthen strengthen power power strengthen strengthen
 cælək cælək.
 power power
 (When the men dance in a circle and sing, they wish to) strengthen their power
 (in order to drive away the evil spirits).

[3]

- (1) taruramə⁵⁸ łasəŋ⁵⁹ haia, m-u-ŋała-ŋała aiu
 pig holy.shell ? AV-U-RED-again ?
 taruramə łasəŋ haia, m-u-ŋała-ŋała.
 pig holy.shell ? AV-U-RED-again
 (We offer you) a pig as sacrifice, (and hope) you will return (next year).
- (2) takiarə łasəŋ haia, m-u-ŋała-ŋała aiu.
 originate place.name ? AV-U-RED-again ?
 takiarə łasəŋ haia, m-u-ŋała-ŋała.
 originate place.name ? AV-U-RED-again
 (We Lha'alua people) originated from Lhaseng, (and hope) you will return
 (next year).
- (3) takiarə łasəŋ, ku=pi-paru kuara⁶⁰ aiu. takiarə
 divine.pot place.name not=PI-have plant ? divine.pot
 łasəŋ, ku-pi-paru kuara aiu.
 place.name not=PI-have plant.sp. ?
 (We Lha'alua people) originated from Lhaseng, even though there is no *kuara*
 (to cleanse the holy shells).

⁵⁸ *taruramə* 'pig' is an obsolete word; *tatake* 'pig' is a modern term, and *aləmətə* 'wild pig' is also a modern term. *vavutu* 'wild pig' is used for hunting.

⁵⁹ *łasəŋ* 'the residence of holy shells', it indicates the holy shells.

⁶⁰ *kuara* 'plant.sp.', used to brew wine. During the ritual ceremony, it is used to wash holy shell and protects soldiers.

Song 3. Prepared *lavati*

hialu lavati

[1]

- (1) aru-sihi⁶¹ sili?in samiaku takupiti aiu.
take-daytime sacrifice ? bowl ?

(We) get the bowls for the ceremony in the daytime.

- (2) aru-sihi paŋicui hiarusituamu⁶² aiu.
take-daytime pork hemp.fiber ?

(We) get the pork and hemp fiber for the ceremony in the daytime.

- (3) aru-sihi paŋicui hi-alu-lava=himu aiu.
take-daytime pork IRR-ALU-finish=1EXCL.GEN ?

(When we) get the pork for the ceremony in the daytime, we are ready.

- (4) aru-sihi paŋicui lililiŋusuŋa aiu.
take-daytime pork drive.away.evil.spirits ?

(When we) get the pork for the ceremony in the daytime, it is ready (for us to start) driving away evil spirits.

- (5) ari-puŋalau kai tula-tulalauŋa aiu.
ARI-gather LNK RED-pregnant.woman ?

(The chief) gathered (all the people to dance and sing) together, (but not any) pregnant woman.

- (6) m-u-a-paca lavai manacama kuanaana aiu.
AV-U-IRR-invite friend ? ? ?

Friends (from other villages) are invited (to join dancing and singing).

⁶¹ *aru-sihi* 'to take it in daytime', cf. *sili-ane* 'daytime', and *um-aala* 'take'.

⁶² *hliarusihluamu* 'hemp fiber', used to form a circle during the ritual ceremony, cf. *?urane* 'hemp', *tausu* 'Boehmeria densiflora Hook. et Arn.', and *hikitalia* 'rope'. The song has different term.

Song 4. Dance

miatuŋusu

[1]

- (1) m-i-tuŋu m-i-tuŋu raikucui-a-ləpəŋə aiu.
AV-I-dance AV-I-dance never-finish ?
Dance, dance, and never stop.

- (2) rari tua-mapaci kita na kə-tənəmə aiu.
diligent brew-wine look OBL ?-sea ?
(We) worked hard brewing a lot of wine, and it looked like a sea of wine.

- (3) kita na kə-tənəmə kucu patakusaŋi aiu.
look OBL ?-sea together ? ?
It looked like a sea of wine.

- (4) calu camamanəŋ calu ʔalaʔalasu aiu.
? ? ? ? ?
?

[2]

- (1) kucu ra-ruvanə kucu ʔa-t<um>aŋəə aiu.
together RED-evening together not-many.people<AV> ?
Not many people were at the ceremony at night.

- (2) aruai vavaə kia-cifi m-ari-pəsərə aiu.
Aruai rib KIA-alone AV-carry-kidneys ?
Aruai wished to get the ribs and kidneys by herself.

- (3) kia-cifi m-ari-pəsərə ku=pari-a-pəsərə aiu.
KIA-alone AV-carry-kidneys not=carry-IRR-kidneys ?
She wished to get the kidneys by herself, but she could not get them.

- (4) vali-hulalaŋu vali-valiutai aiu.
VALI-resist VALI-replace ?
(Older people) would dance no more, (younger people) continued instead.

[3]

- (1) ʎataʎakəcan m-arinu m-u-su-rauvu aiu.
place.name AV-modest AV-U-SU-dance ?

People from Lhatalhakecan were too polite to dance with them.

- (2) m-arinu m-u-su-rauvu maca-macaciŋaʎa aiu.
AV-modest AV-U-SU-dance RED-gossip ?

They were too polite to dance with them, and (the dancers) complained.

[4]

- (1) aripəʎa⁶³ rautai tauruŋə ʎamuliana⁶⁴ aiu.
bamboo.flute drive muntjac mountain.name ?

Play the bamboo flute to attract muntjacs to come over from 'Amulhiana.

[5]

- (1) ʎarikura rautai tauruŋə ravaravau aiu.
surround drive muntjac place.name ?

Besiege muntjacs and drive them to Ravaravau.

- (2) m-u-su-lava-lava-cui ʎaʎalu mi-a-tuŋusu aiu.
AV-U-SU-RED-end-? Saaroa AV-A-rite ?

Our Saaroa ritual ceremony will end.

Song 6. It serves you right. We have stolen the holy shells.⁶⁵

tulisua kana mulikapə aʎuu

[1]

- (1) tulisua kana m-u-likapə aʎuu⁶⁶
deserve that AV-U-steal shell

It serves you right. We have stolen the holy shells.

- (2) ausi=mana m-i-a-ŋaʎa mitu
like=still AV-I-IRR-again miatuŋusu

Shall we still dance in a circle performing the ritual ceremony?

⁶³ *aripəʎa* 'bamboo flute', used to imitate the sounds of muntjac.

⁶⁴ *ʎamuliana* 'name of the mountain', it is a place full of muntjacs.

⁶⁵ As mentioned in Section 1, Song 5 has a fixed pattern of counting people from one to ten. It is not very interesting, so it is left out.

⁶⁶ *aʎuu*, informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted it as 'bee, implying testicles' and it requires further research to understand the explanation; informant Amalanamaʎ Salapuana interpreted it as 'shell', the shells used for *miatuŋusu*.

- (3) aru-sali-u=tai⁶⁷ ka sali talanəə=ta.
 ARU-sing-?=1INCL.NOM OBL song protect.against.demon=1INCL.GEN
 Let's sing the ritual songs and hope that the holy shells will guard us against evil.

Song 7. Love song for men and women⁶⁸
 taluku mai

- (1) taluku⁶⁹, taluku mai⁷⁰.
 scoop scoop small
 Boy: Girls, you're too young to have fun with us.
- (2) ku=mai, ku=mai, ipala.
 not=small not=small full.and.round
 Girl: Even though small, we're well-developed
- (3) ipala, ipala=isa.
 full.and.round full.and.round=3.GEN
 Boy: They believe they are full-developed.
- (4) laisa, laisa=kia!
 come come=please
 Girl: Come on! Come on!
- (5) sakia, sakia lalu.
 sooner.or.later sooner.or.later ?
 Boy: Sooner or later, sooner or later.
- (6) alalu, alalu=kia.
 let.it.be let.it.be=Iplease
 Girl: Let it be! Let it be!

⁶⁷ *tai*, '1INCL.NOM', the modern personal pronouns in Saaroa for the first person nominative inclusive is =*ita* and for the first person genitive inclusive is =*ta*. In the text, it writes *tai*, and the function of *i* is unknown. It may be the metathesis of *i*: =*ita* > =*tai*.

⁶⁸ This is a male and female love song sung in the style of anadiplosis, which repeats the last word in one phrase at the beginning of the next.

⁶⁹ The form *taluku* means 'scoop', which implies 'vulva'.

⁷⁰ The first sentence sung by *Vilanganu* is:
 kalatuu?anane tiuku, tiuku mai.
 vulva still still small

- (7) lukia, lukia patanə.
in.that.case in.that.case chaste
Boy: In that case, be chaste
- (8) patanə, patanə viki⁷¹.
chaste chaste lily
Girls: Chastity, chastity, (we're as chaste as) lilies.
- (9) nav-iki nav-kinula.
NAV-lily NAV-do.not.forget
Boy: (Chaste) like lilies, keep it in mind.
- (10) kinula kinu-vasanəə.
do.not.forget KINU-oath
Girl: (We'll) keep our oaths in mind.
- (11) vasanəə, vasanaəə piupiu tamaaka kari-a.
oath oath sing until.now word-PV
kuripaspasə kərkərau⁷².
drop banana.flower
Chorus: Oath, oath, sing songs, until now. The banana flowers dropped.

⁷¹ While *viki* 'lily' is an obsolete word, *tavacili* 'lily' is a modern term.

⁷² *kərkərau* 'banana.flower' is the form from *Paiciana*, and the form from *Vilanganu*, Gao Jhong Village, is *tavə̀ə̀və̀ə̀*.

Song 8. You men's aprons

tapisimu

[1]

- (1) tapisi=mu, tapisi=mu hiturapura⁷³ ai.
 apron=2PL.GEN apron=2PL.GEN cloth.with.a.wrinkled.pattern ?
 Women: Your male apron, your male apron, wrinkled and ugly.

- (2) ?aluli=mu, ?aluli=mu hi-ma-tararu ai.
 female.skirt=2PL.GEN female.skirt=2PL.GEN PFV-AV-wear.fancy.clothes ?
 Men: Your female apron, your female apron, reaching the knees and pretty.

- (3) m-ali-?aŋku, m-ali-?aŋku hi-ma-?ukui ai.
 AV-ALI-ugly AV-ALI-ugly PFV-AV-wear.goat.leather ?
 Women: Ugly, ugly, in goat leather (your wear).

- (4) m-ali-?a-salaŋsaŋ ?ələŋan=ku hi-ma-lukuŋu ai.
 AV-ALI-?A-handsome ?Ələŋan=1SG.GEN PFV-AV-wear.leopard.leather ?
 Men: My son 'Elengan is handsome in his leopard leather coat.

- (5) misamisa?inta na panavai ?ara-a-puŋi⁷⁴ ai.
 don't.want OBL Panavai become-IRR-white ?
 Women: We don't like a lazy bones like Panavai with a white face.

- (6) ?iliki=mu, ?iliki=mu himpakau ai.
 name=2.NOM name=2.NOM fat ?
 Men: We don't like a stout woman like 'iliki.

- (7) misamisa?inta i ɭatuaŋ ?ara-a-puŋi ai.
 don't.want ? Lhatuang become-IRR-white ?
 Women: We don't like a lazy bones like Lhatuang with a white face.

- (8) m-a-lia-salau⁷⁵ ka hi-m-a-avu⁷⁶ ?arisapəta ai.
 AV-STA-LIA-unfit LNK PFV-AV-IRR-pull.up belt ?
 Men: A pregnant woman wears her belt above her big belly.

⁷³ Saaroa *hiturapura* 'cloth with a wrinkled pattern' is borrowed from Kanakanavu *hiturapura*.

⁷⁴ Saaroa *?araaputi* 'become white' < *puŋi*, cf. *maaputi* 'white'.

⁷⁵ Saaroa *mali-a-salau* 'unfit' as not good looking as pregnant women, cf. *takuliacə* 'ugly', *paliŋali* 'pregnant'.

⁷⁶ Saaroa *himaavu* 'wear it too high' < *-avu* 'high', cf. *?ivavu* 'upward, high'.

- (9) m-a-siamə civuka=ku⁷⁷ pu-acurunu na ʔin-tapuəʔ
 AV-STA-hot belly=1SG.GEN PU-see.off OBL ʔIN-cross.mountain
 na ʔaʔavitiŋa ai.
 OBL ʔalhavitinga ?
 Women: I feel bad when I see my boy friend leaving for Mountain ‘Alhavitinga.

Song 9. Song for departing

varatəvatə

[1]

- (1) varatə-vatə, varatə-vatə-i=mu. m-a-raʔia ʔaita⁷⁸, ʔaita.
 wind-? wind-?-IMP=2PL.NOM AV-IRR-separate 1INCL 1INCL
 You’re fast like the wind. Let’s keep separate.
- (2) m-uru-iaʔə, m-uru-iaʔə-i=mu.
 AV-URU-divide.into.two.sides AV-URU-divide.into.two.sides-IMP=2PL.NOM
 m-a-raʔia ʔaita, ʔaita.
 AV-IRR-separate 1INCL 1INCL
 Let’s keep separate. You dance over there, while we dance here.
- (3) səsəra⁷⁹, səsəra=i=mu. m-a-raʔia ʔaita, ʔaita.
 make.a.circle make.a.circle=IMP=2PL.NOM AV-IRR-separate 1INCL 1INCL
 You dance in a circle, let’s dance separately.
- (4) nucanuca n<um>akita kiʔakila
 pair hand.in.hand.and.raise<AV> male.name
 akivaʔatə kivili kiʔakila.
 put.hands.on.one's.shoulders ? male.name
 Each dancer has a partner, holding hand by hand high while dancing in a circle,
 and holding the shoulder in the front.

⁷⁷The form *civuka* means ‘belly’, which implies ‘incenter’. *masiamə* means ‘hot’, which implies ‘unwell’.

⁷⁸ The common form is *itata* ‘1INCL’, while it is *ʔaita* here.

⁷⁹ Men in a row, and women in a row. They dance in circles, and switch positions.

[2]

- (1) *kia-uliuli*⁸⁰ tana *lisuʔihicu*⁸¹, *kia-uliuli* tana *lisuʔihicu*.
 KIA-rattan.sp. take Lisuʼilhicu KIA-rattan.sp. take Lisuʼilhicu
 (We) shall gather vine at Lisuʼilhicu to decorate our heads.
- (2) *kiasa paruraitana*⁸² *turuŋutuŋu* *kiasa paruraitana* *turuŋutuŋu*
 pick orchid Turungutungu pick orchid Turungutungu
turuŋutuŋu
 Turungutungu
 (We) shall go and pick orchid plant at Turungutungu (to plant it at the gathering house).

[3]

- (1) *anumita* *lavifi* *kiʔakila* *sipaiʔa* *ʔumuta*
 there.is.a.man leaf male.name make rice.dumpling
kiʔakila, *kiʔakila*.
 male.name male.name
 A man named Kilhakilha will go to the mountain to gather leaves to make rice balls.
- (2) *anumita* *laʔumu* *kiʔakila* *sipaʔila* *uculucu*
 there.is.a.man rice.ball male.name catch bee
kiʔakila *kiʔakila*.
 male.name male.name
 Kilhakilha will take the rice balls to catch honeybees.
- (3) *anumita* *uculucu* *kiʔakila* *kiatarasəkəpə* *navuŋu* *mita*
 there.is.a.man bee male.name worship head.hunt ?
navuŋu *mita*.
 head.hunt ?
 Kilhakilha will catch honeybees and return to the ritual ceremony, then he will go head-hunting.

⁸⁰ *kiauliuli* ‘rattan.sp.’ is about one meter long and grows on a tree. Women use it as a headdress garland during the ritual ceremony.

⁸¹ *lisuʔihicu* ‘deep water, ghost bathing place’, Above the Tian Chi, there are many big trees, flowers and beautiful scenery.

⁸² *paruraitana* ‘orchid.sp.’, used to avoid evil spirits, and it is planted at the top of the assembly room during ritual ceremony.

Song 10. Happy song⁸³

aiana

[1]

- (1) paʔu-saʔi⁸⁴-a=ita=mau⁸⁵, mamaini. kiʔamu=na=ita
 PAʔU-sing-AV.IMP=1INCL.NOM=wish young just=DEF=1INCL.NOM
 tali-cuvuŋu!
 TALI-meet
 Let's sing, young men! We've just met!

[2]

- (1) s<um>ulusulu-a=ita=mau, muri-turu-turua!
 sing<AV>-AV.IMP=1INCL.NOM=wish MURI-RED-sibling
 Let's sing, siblings!
- (2) kua-ləəŋəə tai-təətəərəə m-a-ləəŋəə-ŋəə=ami=mu=ʔai?
 KUA-miss all-real AV-IRR-miss-RED=said=2PL.NOM=perhaps
 Do you really miss (me)?
- (3) muri-turu-turua m-a-ləəŋəə-ŋəə ta-taʔuvatana?
 MURI-RED-sibling AV-IRR-miss-RED RED-unreal
 Do the siblings really miss each other?

[3]

- (1) paʔu-saʔi-a=ita=mau, mamaini. masikaricu
 PAʔU-sing-AV.IMP=1INCL.NOM=wish child empty
 lakua=isa⁸⁶!
 urn.for.wine=3.GEN
 Let's sing, young men! Let's drink up the wine in the big wine container!
- (2) ʔau-nini masikarəə ka lakua=isa?
 like-how empty NOM urn.for.wine=3.GEN
 How can we drink up the wine in the big wine container?

⁸³ This “Happy Song” has different forms for different people. Although the melody is the same, the forms of this song as sung by informant Eleke Lhauracana are different. The forms sung by Eleke are as follows:

aia ana aʔiahina aiaʔana ‘meaningless’

⁸⁴ The same song may use both an obsolete form and a modern term at the same time. For example, the word ‘singing’:

s-um-ulusulu (obsolete form) = *paʔu-a-saʔi* (modern term)

⁸⁵ =*mau* ‘wish, imperative’.

⁸⁶ *lakua=isa* ‘container for wine=3.GEN’.

- (3) pa-ari-kiaŋali⁸⁷ na vatunjalita⁸⁸ m-ata-lisau a saŋumu=isa.
 PA-ARI-incessant OBL urn.for.wine AV-begin-clean LNK water=3.GEN
 We have endless resource of wine just like the stream water, as pure as the
 stream water.

[4]

- (1) paŋu-saŋi-a=ita=mau, mamaini. taiac=ita
 PAŋU-sing-AV.IMP=1INCL.NOM=wish child going.to=1INCL.NOM
 ʔi-m-a-ruaru!
 ʔI-AV-IRR-dissemble
 Let's sing, young men! We shall leave each other.

Song 12. Head-hunting song⁸⁹

musuaala

[1]

- (1) uinaui muli-vəŋəli-u⁹⁰ ʔukaʔani ŋausa⁹¹.
 ? AV.ULI-plant-U none compete
 I am as strong as hardwood plant, without any competitor.

[2]

- (1) uinaui vuŋavuŋa viŋua ʔukaʔani ŋausa.
 ? flower plant.sp. none compete
 The head I hunted withered like a flower, which can no longer blossom.

[3]

- (1) uinaui kilimui nakamura⁹² kilimui camaku na vinau.
 ? kill name kill smear OBL plant.sp.
 I cut a Japanese head named Nakamura. I smeared his blood on the plant *vinau*.

⁸⁷ *paarikiangali* = *marikiasalingusu* 'incessant water'.

⁸⁸ *vatungaliti*, informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted it as 'not dry up', while informant Amalanamaŋ Salapuana interpreted it as 'urn for wine'.

⁸⁹ As mentioned in Section 1, Saaroa people can still memorize and sing Song 11, but they do not know any of the words, So, it is left out.

⁹⁰ *ŋəŋəli* 'tree.sp.', this tree is very hard and used to make a pestle; *muliveŋeli* means 'as strong as *ŋəŋəli*'.

⁹¹ *ʔukaʔanang ŋausa* or *ʔukaʔani ŋausa* 'unparalleled', *ʔukaʔa* 'none'.

⁹² *nakamura* 'Japanese surname, 中村'.

Song 13. Hunting song

umaiapə ɲala kuli

[1]

- (1) palatakailia tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
spear ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I have a spear.
- (2) ɬami-laɲica tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
black-sky ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a black kite.
- (3) ɬatakəmənə tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
muntjac ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a muntjac.
- (4) apitupapapai⁹³ tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
monkey ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a monkey.
- (5) kəŋkəŋramucu tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
goat ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a goat.
- (6) kuvukuvura tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
pangolin ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a pangolin.
- (7) ɬatikasə tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
deer ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a deer.
- (8) ɬimakahuməra tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
wild.pig ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a wild pig.
- (9) ɬavuruvuru tulisi na hi-kuri-cani-ani tulis.
leopard ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ?
I caught a leopard.

⁹³ Someone thinks *apitupapapai* means goat, while *kəŋkəŋramucu* means monkey. It is uncertain.

- (10) ʎasəməsəma tulisi na ʎi-kuri-cani-ani tulis. iaiai
 bear ? OBL PFV-catch-one-LV ? ?
 I caught a bear.

Song 14. Love song

tumaŋitaŋi-aku

- (1) t<um>aŋi-taŋi=aku⁹⁴ i t<um>u-cani⁹⁵ vulala.
 RED<AV>-cry=1SG.NOM ? TU<AV>-one month
 I've been crying for a month.
- (2) t<um>u-cani vulala i t<um>u-vula-vulala⁹⁶.
 TU<AV>-one month ? TU<AV>-RED-blur
 For a month, (tears) blurred (my eyes).
- (3) t<um>u-vula-vulala i tupi?i⁹⁷ na ?ərəla.
 TU<AV>-RED-blur ? blind OBL cogon.grass
 (Tears) blurred (my eyes), which were made blind by cogon grass.
- (4) tupi?i na ?ərəla i=iau vancumaci?i⁹⁸.
 blind OBL cogon.grass I=wonder die.with.sorrow
 Made blind by cogon grass, grief to death.
- (5) ala vancumaci?i ia, aluka-sailəŋəŋa.
 and die.with.sorrow TOP very-sorrowful
 And grief to death, very sorrowful.
- (6) misa?inta sumanə⁹⁹ i patali ruca-rucakə.
 not.want spouse ? nuisance RED-angry
 I don't want a husband, annoying, and keeping you upset.

⁹⁴ t<um>aŋi-taŋi 'keep crying' < taŋi 'cry'. A reduplicated form indicates continuous action.

⁹⁵ t<um>u-cani 'one (verb)' < cani- (noun).

⁹⁶ t<um>u-vula-vulala '(eyes) are very blurry, suffering from cataract'.

⁹⁷ tupi?i means 'blind', and it indicates eyes were made blind by cogon grass. One's eyes were swollen from crying but made up an excuse that they were hurt by cogon grass.

⁹⁸ vancu-maci?i 'with sadness = die with sorrow'.

⁹⁹ sumanə 'spouse'.

- (7) i tavi¹⁰⁰ sumanə!
 ? give.up spouse
 Give up a husband!

Song 15. Meal box song

pupuŋa

[1]

- (1) kutacu ʔaruai ʔaau “ciʔacu, ciʔacu” mina iʔaku,
 wife name because hurry hurry AV.say 1SG.OBL
 ʔapunaasə na puupuŋa ʔasiku aʔikiʔaimau.
 forget OBL meal.box bag regretably
 ku=pi-vərəkaə¹⁰¹ ʔirtamʔaiʔa.
 not=have-cover lacquer

Because my wife ʔAruai rushed me, I regret to have forgotten to bring the meal box. Even without a cover, the box was coated with lacquer.

[2]

- (1) kutacu ʔaruai ʔaau “ciʔacu, ciʔacu” mina ʔiʔaku, ʔapunaasə
 wife name because hurry hurry AV.say 1SG.OBL forget
 na tapisi=ku ʔu-cani. ʔatumu=aku puria-təpələ¹⁰²
 OBL apron=1SG.GEN ʔU-one want=1SG.NOM wear-the.second.piece
 puria-tapisi. ʔaku=aku apautuaʔaŋi na vuŋripasə=isa.
 wear-apron don't.want=1SG.NOM expose OBL private.part=3SG.GEN

Because my wife ʔAruai rushed me, I forgot to wear another apron. I planned to wear two aprons to avoid exposing my private part.

¹⁰⁰ *tavi¹⁰⁰* ‘to cast away ; to abandon’, cf. *ma-tavi¹⁰⁰* ‘to cast away’.

¹⁰¹ *ku-pi-vərəkaə* ‘not have cover’ < *vərəkaə* ‘cover’.

¹⁰² *puria-* + N ‘wear’, *puria-təpələ* ‘wear the second piece’, *puria-tapisi* ‘wear an apron’.

[3]

- (1) ʔa-m-ulu-aili=aku kuvavani ʔuʔuʔaŋə
 ʔA-AV-ULU-want=1SG.NOM eat plant.sp.
 ʔicəvərə mana vuŋu ripasə =isa¹⁰³.
 tender.root as head bullet=3.GEN
 ku=pa-sikəra na vuŋu tamulumula¹⁰⁴.
 not=CAUS-achieve OBL head type.of.bird

I'd like to ambush a bird under the tree, using the tender root of the plant to hit the bird, but it's too weak to make it.

[4]

- (1) ʔaʔaku=mana=mau sin-alamuru mə-rəvə-na
 1SG=still=wish SIN-young AV-together-NA
 m-u-a-kanakanav-aə, ʔa-pi-pi-piʔili na paʔauŋaniku.
 AV-go-IRR-Kanakanavu-LOC ʔA-RED-RED-move OBL feather.on.the.head
 When still young I visited Kanakanavu people together with others, the feather on my head swayed with the wind.

[5]

- (1) cani-cani-utai ka tama-ʔiarə m-ia-ra-ruma.
 RED-one-only NOM TAMA-diligent AV-IA-RED-village
 Only this lady is the most industrious in the entire village.

¹⁰³ *ripasə* 'bullet', which implies 'testicles'.

¹⁰⁴ The meaning behind this part is that these young people are too young to get married.

Song 16. Flirting song

ifau, ifau

[1]

- (1) ifau, ifau tama-ʔavi¹⁰⁵ raikakuʔait-ana səəsəma
 2SG 2SG TAMA-male.name go.to.a.place-LOC dark
 ʔaliŋataitai¹⁰⁶ m-ari-tamaku.
 unfinished AV-ARI-smoke
 Girl: You, you, Uncle ‘Avi, let’s go to a dark place for a while.

[2]

- (1) ʔiʔu-afi ʔiʔu caəpə ʔiʔu m-a-lipi-lipi.
 necklace-AŁI necklace name necklace AV-STA-RED-bright
 Girl: Necklace, necklace, Caepe is glittering like a necklace.

[3]

- (1) pasakulaia=mau m-ati-alu taʔuku¹⁰⁷ maraucuʔai
 hurry=wish AV-ATI-take gourd hurry
 taturu=isa.
 younger.sister=3.GEN
 Girl: I hope he will come soon to take his younger sister’s gourd (= breasts).

- (2) k<um>ita na ʔususu=isa taina-ni taina vaakə.
 look<AV> OBL breast=3.GEN big-NI big pomelo
 Girl: He sees that her breasts are bigger than a pomelo.

[4]

- (1) tapaiaʔa luva-ŋana luva-tiŋa-tiŋala.
 papaya LUVA-uneven LUVA-RED-rough
 Boy: (Your breasts) are as rough as a papaya.

[5]

- (1) aʔita=mau ʔanimuaturua na taʔi-vəʔəkə.
 IINCL.NOM=wish stay.overnight OBL aunt-name
 m-aa-taʔua-tulu na tama-ʔavi. aiana iaina uiaia.
 AV-IRR-sleep-three OBL uncle-name ? ? ?
 Boy: We hope we three (aunt, uncle and I) can spend the night sleeping together.

¹⁰⁵ *tama-ʔavi*, *tama* ‘father generation’, *ʔavi* ‘male name’.

¹⁰⁶ *ʔaliŋataitai* ‘unfinished’.

¹⁰⁷ *taʔuku* ‘gourd’, which implies women’s breasts.

Song 17. Memories of the past

alukakikita

[1]

- (1) calai=kia=isa=mau ramuru, tinalu ?a-pacaca na
pity=1SG=3.GEN=wish orphan lonely ?A-make.fun OBL
laə-laəvə.

RED-companion

Guest: Please pity me as an orphan. The others ridicule me.

[2]

- (1) calai=kia=isa=mau, mitalua vuvula na vuvula likifi apuŋu.
pity=1SG=3.GEN=wish fumigate coal.dust OBL coal.dust train fire

Host: Please pity me that I suffered the smoke of coal in a train (in the old days).

[3]

- (1) calai=kia=isa=mau, łaaminasə m-a-arumu=ku s<um>ulusulu.
pity=1SG=3.GEN=wish very AV-sta-love=1SG.GEN sing<AV>
sinamini=ta ka si-ravuŋa-ravuŋ=ta tua-rəŋə?

never.mind=1INCL.GEN LNK SI-RED-catch.a.cold=1INCL.GEN TUA-cough

Please pity me. I love to sing but we have caught a cold and cough, how can we sing?

[4]

- (1) kuacapa, kuacapa fi-rialama. alu-atələŋa na mia-ŋula-ŋulaŋə.
smoke.pipe smoke.pipe PFV-clean ALU-recall OBL AV.IA-RED-sad
Tobacco pipe, tobacco pipe, it has been cleaned up. (I) feel bad as it reminds me of my good friend (=pipe).

[5]

- (1) tukucu=ku łaapata na kaamcəmanaai!
friend=1SG.GEN name OBL warm.fire
(My) friend Lhaapata, let him warm himself by a fire!

- (2) piangsuaisa¹⁰⁸ na ?aaŋiki?ai=mau. kuuŋamiŋaŋuai.
heat OBL skinny=wish thin

Please let him warm himself by a fire. He's thin. He's too thin.

¹⁰⁸ *piangsuaisan* 'warm oneself by a fire', cf. *sumasaasang* 'to warm oneself by a fire, to dry by a fire'.

Song 18. Song of birds eating fruit trees

kuvavani murakici

[1]

- (1) calai=kia=isa=mau kua-vuṅavuṅa vuvuṅa=na.
 pity=1SG=3.GEN=wish KUA-flower.name flower=DEF
 Please pity me, like the flowers of a plant.

- (2) murakici¹⁰⁹ mia-məḷə na m-a-cici a taḥaria.
 plant.sp. AV.IA-wither OBL AV-STA-hot LNK sun
 The flowers of the plant *murakici* wither in hot sun.

[2]

- (1) macu=mu macu=isa m-a-ləṅəṅə, taṅmia=?ai=mau
 if=2PL.NOM if=3.GEN AV-STA-miss don't=perhaps=wish
 mataili na tulilivaḷə i.
 AV.leave.behind OBL comment ?
 If you miss her, please do not make harsh remarks about her.

[3]

- (1) palisia=?ai mataili na tulilivaḷə pa-mia-lakupu
 taboo=perhaps AV.leave.behind OBL remarks PA-AV.IA-fall
 na sala?au=mu i.
 OBL road=2PL.GEN ?
 It is a taboo to leave behind harsh remarks. You may have a fall if you do.

[4]

- (1) macu=mu macu=isa m-a-ləṅəṅə iḷaku ia,
 if=2PL.NOM if=3.GEN AV-STA-miss 1SG TOP
 pu-a-ili-a=mana=?ai taku-lii-liuju i.
 PU-IRR-return-AV.IMP=still=perhaps TAKU-RED-have.fun ?
 If you miss me, please return to have fun with me.

¹⁰⁹ *murakici* 'plant sp.', which has beautiful flowers and butterflies love it. It can cure a cold and its leaves can be used to fry with wine and rub legs to reduce swelling.

[5]

- (1) mani=mu=?ai ?in-tapuafə ?isəŋərə vituŋa,
even=2PL.NOM=perhaps ?IN-cross.mountain lake blue
pu-a-ili-a=mana=?ai taku-lii-liuju i.
PU-IRR-return-AV.IMP=still=perhaps TAKU-RED-play
You cross over the mountains to go the blue lake, please return to have fun with
me.

[6]

- (1) k<um>ita-kita na italamu=na, pa-a-ku=?a-kita
RED<AV>-look OBL 1EXCL=DEF PA-IRR-not=?A-see
pu-ŋafa-ŋafa.
PU-RED-again
You keep looking at us lest you should not see us again.

Song 19. Celebrating New Year in the plain
matapaapakiau

[1]

- (1) veləvu-a=ita=mau mamaini m-ata-pa-a-pakiau,
take-AV.IMP=1INCL.NOM=wish child AV-begin-PA-IRR-worship
ku=akəla na hi-cuŋuku kamusia.
not=bring OBL NMLZ-rice.cake sweet
Let's bring our children to spend the new year in the plain. They will give us too
much sweet rice cake for us to bring it all back.

[2]

- (1) veləvu-a=ita=mau mamaini m-uŋuŋu na sala?au=mu
take-AV.IMP=1INCL.NOM=wish child AV-walk OBL road=?
miŋu na tapatapu, ma-tumuŋu ŋaŋŋaŋuv=isa.
reach OBL stream.name STA-many moss=3.GEN
Let's bring our children to walk on the main road to the Tapatapu (stream),
where there is plenty of (edible) moss.

[3]

- (1) vələvu-a=ita=mau mamaini m-uluulu na
 take-AV.IMP=1INCL.NOM=wish child AV-walk OBL
 hikalia saʔumu miuju na miiminiʔa
 ditch water reach OBL mountain.name
 mia-ti-ticau na salaʔau=mu.
 AV.IA-RED-look.around OBL road=?

Let's bring our children to walk along the canal to get to Mountain Miimini'a to look at the main road at a distance from a high place.

[4]

- (1) p-aʔu-a-safi=kia, mamaini, masi-karicua lakua=isa.
 P-go-IRR-sing=1PL.GEN young AV.ASI-empty container=3.GEN
 Let's sing, young men, and drink up the wine from the container.

- (2) maaniki=?ai masi-karicua lakua=isa,
 even.if=perhaps AV.ASI-empty container=3.GEN
 p-aʔu-a-safi=kia=ta m-a-ʔava-ʔavaə!
 P-go-IRR-sing=?=1INCL.GEN AV-STA-RED-drunk
 Although the wine is drunk up, let's sing and pretend to be drunk.

- (3) s<um>ulusulu=?ai=ta=mau! muri-aina-aina muri-turu-turua
 sing<AV>=perhaps=1INCL.GEN=wish MURI-RED-relative MURI-RED-sibling
 taia=ci=ta m-a-arua-arua-ʔə.
 soon=COS=1INCL.GEN AV-STA-RED-exist-AŁƏ
 Let's sing! All relatives and friends, we'll say farewell soon.

Song 20. Songs that make fun of ‘ape

ʔapə ʔamaŋi

[1]

- (1) ʔapə, ʔapə, ʔamaŋi, ʔamaŋi ʔama-muruka¹¹⁰.
 name name tease tease ʔAMA-explode
 ‘apə, ‘apə, your waste scattered on the ground.

- (2) muruka, muruka, liusu, liusu, liusu kapia¹¹¹,
 explode explode hip hip hip clean
 kapia, kapia lalu.
 clean clean ?

Your waste scattered on the ground. Wipe your anus clean!

Song 21. The lullaby

miasasəsəŋa

[1]

- (1) alu-a=mau itaku ka taʔimuaʔa ʔuumasana¹¹².
 receive-IRR=wish 1SG.OBL NOM name name
 I wish to hold in my arms the little girl named Talhimua’a ’uumasana.

- (2) mu-muara=ku siʔianə pa-təʔətəʔə rə-təʔətəʔə.
 RED-take.care.baby=1SG.GEN daytime PA-shake RƏ-shake
 I play with her in daytime, swinging up and down.

[2]

- (1) itaku ka ʔausimaŋka¹¹³.
 1SG NOM doll
 I’m a doll.

- (2) ʔəʔəŋan ka ʔaʔiuŋu ʔ<um>aitu¹¹⁴=kia itu m-a-lipi-lipi.
 name LNK worker necklace<AV>=1SG.GEN necklace AV-STA-RED-glitter
 The worker ’Əʔəŋan wears a glittering necklace.

¹¹⁰ *muruka* ‘explode (poop)’.

¹¹¹ informant Eleke Lhauracana interpreted *kapia* as ‘clean’, cf. modern term: *maticuy*, while informant Amalanamalhe Salapuana interpreted it as ‘grow thick skin’.

¹¹² *taʔimuaʔa* ‘Bunun female name’, *ʔumas* ‘Bunun male name’. The little girl *taʔimuaʔa* has a father named *ʔumas*.

¹¹³ *mangka* ‘doll’ (Japanese).

¹¹⁴ *ʔ<um>aitu* ‘wear a necklace’ < *ihuʔu* ‘necklace’.

