THE BERIK PARTICLE 'GA'

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This paper provides an analysis of the Berik particle 'ga', and describes the many meanings of 'ga' and its variants 'gan' and 'gam'. These particles occur in a variety of environments and can cooccur with one another. The thread of meaning running throughout, however, indicates a change of some sort. On the sentence level, the change is usually associated with a change in time or event, either a progression of events in time or a flashback in time. On the discourse level, 'ga' marks a change in topic, such as after proper names as they occur in the discourse, or a change in a location. Marking such changes is helpful in tracking participants in the discourse.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 The object of this paper is to present a more thorough analysis of the Berik particle 'ga' than that which was given in my Master's thesis written in 1980. In that thesis the particle 'ga' was glossed in section 2.1.9 as a conjunction meaning 'and' (p. 10), and in section 5.4.2.1 as a relational particle (p. 65).

The difficulty in glossing the meaning of 'ga' consistently in Berik discourse is due to the fact that it occurs with different constituents and in different environments. Furthermore, many occurrences are actually optional, which has also contributed to the difficulty in its analysis.

As this paper will show, the particle 'ga' has several meanings. There are also related variants 'gam' and 'gan'. However, there is a common thread of meaning running throughout the various forms, which indicates a change of some sort, generally a progression. Depending on the constituent with which it occurs, 'ga' may indicate progression in timo, topic, logic, or a change in location. This paper will detail the several meanings of the particle 'ga' and its variants 'gam' and 'gan.'

- 1.1 The Berik language is spoken by about 1,000 people living in several villages along the banks of the Tor River in Jayapura county, in the province of Irian Jaya (Western New Guinea) in Indonesia. Berik, the largest among the Upper Tor languages, is the "lingua franca" for smaller language groups in the area. The Upper Tor languages constitute a subgroup of languages coordinate with other subgroups including Nimboran, Sentani, Demta, and Orya, and one large subgroup, Tami, to form the North Papuan language group which in turn is a member of the Central New Guinea macrophylum (Wurm 1971c).
- 1.2 The data for this analysis includes a variety of discourse types:
 - 90 conversations consecutively numbered 1-90. Each conversation comprises four or five exchanges between two people. (From Westrum, Peter N. and Susan. 1979, 1985)
 - 8 narratives of varying lengths. Two shorter ones, lettered A and B, and one longer one, lettered C are printed in full at the end of this paper.
 - 1 procedural
 - 1 hortatory message
 - 1 personal letter
 - 1 ethnic song which is sung on the occasion of producing sago powder.

The examples used in this paper to illustrate the occurrences of the 'ga' particles are taken from not only the three narratives in the appendices, but from the other discourse types listed above as well. These examples are identified in parentheses by text and sentence number. Since the particle 'ga' may occur multiple times in a single example, capital letters are used to indicate which one is being discussed.

2. THE PARTICLE GA

- 2.0 The basic meaning of the particle 'ga' indicates a progession, or a sequence, in time (usually preceding verb phrases), in topic (usually following a noun phrase), in logic, or a change in location. 'Ga' is not a high-level discourse particle. Rather, it functions on the relatively low sentential or intersentential level. As is true of many discourse particles, this particle occurs optionally in its many different environments. Longacre (1976) describes this phenomenon as giving a "salt and pepper" effect to a text. Therefore not all potential occurrences of 'ga' as predicted by the analysis in this paper are in fact realized; however, I have attempted to account for all the actual occurrences.
- 2.1 'Ga' can occur sentence initially, although it seldom does. In this position it relates the sentence in which it occurs to the previous sentence as a sequence-in-time marker (s.t.). Since sentence initial is the normal postion in Berik for sentence connectives, 'ga' in this position might be regarded simply as a conjunction with the meaning 'so then' or 'therefore'.
 - GA aiya munbosiafsant jamer futu. s.t. we shot until died

'So then we shot until (it) died.'
(Appendix B, sentence 14)

GA teyel jamer taban, ... s.t. cut-up until finished

'Therefore having finished cutting (him) up, ...' (Appendix C, sentence 32)

GA aa ge jeniwil, "Aguisa ke jereye?" then they 2 called Aguisa ques. mk. there

'Then they called, "Aguisa, are you there?"' (Appendix C, sentence 40)

A: Twiri fas. B: GA bas is tumili? sago none s.t. what you eat

A: '(I don't have) any sago.'
B: 'So then what will you eat?'
(Conversation 43)

'Ga' can also occur before a verb or verb phrase. This is its most common occurrence, and it relates the clause in which it occurs to the previous clause as a sequence-of-event marker, even across a sentence boundary. 'Ga' signals that the activity of the verb it tags succeeds the activity of the previous verb. It indicates a progression of events, like

a pointer which moves in small increments along the timeline of the text. I have glossed its usual meaning in this position as 'then,' 'and,' or 'and then.'

Ane Aguisa ga nunu ga folbal GA tatel te. and Aguisa c.t. eyes c.t. felt then lay down sleep

'And Aguisa feit sleepy, then (he) lay down to sleep.' (Appendix C, sentence 26)

(For an explanation concerning the other two occurrences of 'ga' in this sentence, see section 2.3.1.)

Jaume ga nombe je GA goltel, Jaume c.t. machete she then took.

GA firnulnul seselna jamer te, futu. and then struck neck until severed died

'Jaume then took a machete, and then struck (him) on the neck, until his head was severed, he died.'
(Appendix C, sentence 30)

Awelna waakenfer, jiga abakef GA is gwena. work good result longer then you do

'If you do good work, then you can work longer.' (Conversation 49)

2.3 'Ga' also often occurs following a noun or noun phrase. In this position, it alerts the reader to a change in topic in the discourse, usually in the subject position. The notion of 'topic' used here is a semantic notion, which is operative at the low level of the proposition. There is a long tradition of 'topic' in this semantic sense, beginning with the Prague School (e.g. Firbas 1966) and Halliday, and continuing into the 1970's in works such as Subject and Topic (Li 1976). Topic is 'what is being talked about' in the proposition. Note that 'topic' here contrasts with paragraph or discourse 'theme'.

When 'ga' is used to indicate a change in topic, it follows a noun or noun phrase. At times it may be used to track participants in a narrative as they interact, with the spotlight shifting back and forth from one to the other, as 'ga' marks first one then the next participant. However, as one would expect, when one participant stays in focus throughout several sentences, there is diminished use of 'ga' following noun phrases to mark change of topic; note, for example, sentences 22-24 in appendix C.

Aguisa ga ofona tufa-wer ga ayel, Aguisa c.t. pig feet-loc. c.t./then followed

jamer sita-bo. until yard-to

'Aguisa followed the pig tracks to the yard.'

Ofona ga sita-ber ga tal, ofona futu. pig c.t. yard-loc. then shot pig died

'The pig was shot in the yard, and it died.'

Jaume ga jena ga jam bitbituwel Jaume c.t. herself c.t. her surprised

'Jaume herself was surprised at the pig which squealed.' (Appendix C, sentences 17-19)

Another use of 'ga' as change of topic is to introduce a new participant into the narrative. The following examples illustrate this common use of 'ga'.

...ga ai anggatasant fona-be. then I looked water-into

'...then I looked into the water.'

Bwidisi GA ai domoltesant. turtle c.t. I saw

'A turtle (is what) I saw.'
(Appendix A, sentences 1 and 2)

Ai namwer Pinehas ajartaf. I today Pinehas want to teach

'Today I want to teach Pinehas.'

Pinahas GA fina. Pinehas c.t. stands

'Pinehas stands (over there).'
(Procedural, sentences 1 and 2)

Change of topic may also be used for objects that are important in the text, not just animate participants, as can be seen in the following example.

Aare Rp 5000. here Rp 5000

'Here is Rp 5000.'

Doini tomna GA Rp 2000. money left over c.t. Rp 2000

'The change is Rupiah 2000.' (Conversation 82)

Note that in this last example 'ga' marks a subtle change of topic - from the full amount of money (Rp 5000) to the change (Rp 2000). In a sense, it is similar to the whole and part of a topic as explained in the following section.

Since 'ga' is optional, it does not always occur on every occasion of change in topic. However, a native speaker of Berik will not object to inserting 'ga' to tag a new participant in the discourse, though he cannot explain why it was originally omitted.

2.3.1 A special use of 'ga' as a change of topic marker occurs where the change in topic includes the division of the topic into two parts, its whole and its parts. In these instances, the particle 'ga' follows both the whole and the part, which usually occur in this order in Berik.

Ane Aguisa GA nunu GA folbal ga tatel te. and Aguisa c.t. eyes c.t. felt then lay down sleep

'And Aguisa's (whole) eyes (part) felt sleepy, then (he) lay down to sleep. (Appendix C, sentence 26)

Ofna GA tufawer GA onsobal, pig c.t. feet-loc. c.t. followed

'(He) followed the pig's (whole) feet tracks (part).' (Appendix C, sentence 15)

Tane, ola GA nensa GA fas. child words c.t. other c.t. none

'My child, words (whole) other (part) there are none.' (Letter, sentence 10)

'Ga' occurs following a locative, especially when there is a change in location (c.l.) from one scene in the discourse to another.

Samem ga jep wofesant enggama awilsint. slowly then there walked like this crossed

'Then (I) walked slowly, and like this crossed over.'

Fona jimwer GA ai sarsant. water other side c.l. I heard

'On the other side of the river I heard it.' (Narrative: Hunting, sentences 2 and 3)

...aa nunggirtisint. it ran

'...it ran.'

Tefer anna- n GA jep tersent. Tefer headwaters-locc. c.l. there died

'There at the headwaters of the Tefer it died.' (Narrative: Hunting, sentences 4 and 5)

Fona- bo funtan jem ulum aa ge damtabel. water-at net bag his bow which 2 saw

'At a river they saw his other net bag and bow.'

Fona nafsi-be jep GA aa ge fial, river other-loc. there c.l. where 2 waited

'At another river where they waited, ...'
(Appendix C, sentences 38 and 39)

2.5 'Ga' also occurs sentence finally, especially when it tags a noun or noun phrase that has been transposed (or postposed) to the end of the sentence from some other position. In the first example that follows, the time phrase has been postposed from its more usual sentence-initial position. In the second example the subject 'Jaume' is postposed from its normal pre-verbal position. Postposing is possibly a highlighting device.

Aguisa ga onna- p ga iranul gwinibener GA. Aguisa c.t. jungle-loc. c.l. hunt morning c. pos.

'Aguisa went into the jungle to hunt in the morning.' (Appendix C, sentence 14)

jem bola- p nuin Jaume GA. its summit-loc. live jaume c. pos.

'and on its summit lived Jaume.'
(Appendix C, sentence 16)

- 2.6 There are some restrictions on the distribution of 'ga'.
- 2.6.1 Certain conjunctions may include or replace 'ga', such as 'jengga' (but), 'jeuga' (then), and 'jamer' (until), when a more specific meaning in the sentence is desired. But both the 'ga' particle and these conjunctions cannot co-occur.

Jaume jengga sirwaka tifil taban, ... Jaume but betelnut got finished

'But Jaume got some betelnut, ...'
(Appendix C, sentence 27)

2.6.2 On the other hand, there are certain conjunctions which may co-occur with 'ga' such as 'ane ga' and 'jewer ga.' Whether these conjunctions change or add meaning to the basic meaning of 'ga' is not clear at this time of study.

Ane GA ai warauso jamer jina-bo. and then I returned until house-to

'And then I returned to the house.' (Appendix A, sentence 3)

2.6.3 As would be expected, the Berik particle 'ga' does not occur in sentences involving simultaneous actions. This is because there is no change of time in simultaneous events.

Emai anggatesant twina duka-wer, ai domoltesant. I saw boar head-loc. I looked

'I saw the boar's head, as I looked.'
(Narrative: Hunting, sentence 7)

Susi nana aa wirtababsini, Susi veg she washes

Niko je titiki jeber sapusona. Niko he floor he sweeps

'Susi washes vegetables, while Niko sweeps the floor.' (Elicited sentence)

Berik speakers do not accept the insertion of 'ga' any place in the two sentences above, or others like them.

2.6.4 'Ga' has not been observed to occur preceding negated verbs. Probably this is because there is no change in time, and no progression of events when the situation has been negated.

Masef, irtel gamjon irtel, jam irweyan not able awaken again awaken him not get up

'Unable to awaken him again and again, he didn't get up.' (Appendix C, sentence 26)

- 2.6.5 'Ga' does not occur in a Berik song that was analyzed. This song, which includes four verses of four lines each, does express changes in topics and events, but nowhere throughout the song does the 'ga' particle occur. This is perhaps because of certain restrictions such as the use of abbreviated grammatical forms and meter in songs
- 2.7 In some cases, there is an ambiguous use of the 'ga' particle. In such cases, one needs to examine more closely the greater context of the discourse or give alternate readings of the same sentence or sentences.
- 2.7.1 Because of the order of clause constituents in Berik, it sometimes happens that a single occurrence of 'ga' both follows a noun phrase and precedes a verb phrase. There is potential ambiguity: does the 'ga' signal a topic shift or does it signal progression of events? Sometimes the context may determine which, but if not, it probably doesn't matter as the 'ga' could plausibly be argued as signaling both these functions.

..., tas nanki GA tuin. sago middle part c.t./then ate

Either: '..., ate the middle part of the sago trunk (new topic).' Or: '..., then ate the middle part of the sago trunk.' (Appendix C, sentence 9, alternate readings)

2.7.2 In certain cases of rapid speech which have been transcribed, where there is no pause or intonational difference occurring between sentences, it is difficult to ascertain whether the 'ga' particle is tagged

to the ending of one sentence or should be analyzed as the beginning of a new sentence. Again, the greater context of the discourse may help to decide where to place the 'ga' particle. In sentence 14 of appendix B, for example, the 'ga' particle has been glossed at the beginning of sentence 14 as a sequence in time marker. If, however, it had been tagged at the end of sentence 13, it would have been analyzed as a postposed instrument, and the conjuction 'then' would have been omitted from sentence 14.

3 THE PARTICLE GAN

3.0 Another Berik particle which occurs in discourse is the particle 'gan'. It occurs much more seldom than 'ga' and is often found in the conclusion of a scene, event, or discourse. In this position it carries the meaning of 'finally' or 'lastly'. Both the following examples occur near the conclusion of their respective texts.

Aa ge tabatil ona fer they pl. slept ground-brightness

gan sofobil jam munbife. finally went her kill

'They slept until dawn, then finally went to kill her.' (Appendix C, sentence 49)

Afa at peti gan eyebili, ... if canoe coffin finally make

'If (one) finally makes a canoe coffin, ...' (Conversation 89)

3.1 The two Berik particles 'ga' and 'gan' have been observed co-occuring in the same sentence. In this use they carry the meaning of both particles, 'then at last'. The following example concludes a conversation about what happens when parents get old.

Waakenfer, tane jita ga gan daiwena. good children father then at last care for

'It's good for children then, at last to care for their parents.' (Conversation 32)

3.2 The Berik particle 'gan' also occurs as a hortative marker as described in section 3.9.5 of my Master's thesis. Used thus it takes a reader into a hypothetical or future situation.

Gan toteni! hort. go out

'Let's go out!'
(Master"s thesis, page 46, sentence 2)

4. THE PARTICLE GAM

- 4.0 Whereas the Berik particle 'ga' and 'gan' marks a progression of events or indicates some finality, the particle 'gam' indicates a regression of events or indicates some prior action.
- 4.1 The particle 'gam' occurs before a verb phrase and conveys the meaning of present or past perfective, although it is not actually a tense/aspect marker. It is often associated with a '-rVm' suffix on the verb, where V stands for a vowel that harmonizes with the vowel immediately preceding it. It can be used to mark a flashback in a narrative.

Usafe ga wini naura gam tet. Usafe c.t. woman two had married

'Usafe had married two women.'
(Appendix 3, sentence 5)

Ofona tas gam tumili, anna gam ge nasbana. pig sago had eaten husband had two angry at

'The pig had eaten the sago (often), and they had become angry at their husband.'
(Appendix C, sentence 11)

Wa, Koranos i gam aibani tateris jemna, oh chief you have pass by words his

aa jes gam nasbilirim. which he has spoken

'Oh, you have ignored the chief and his words, which he has spoken.' (Hortatory, sentence 6)

4.2 The particles 'gam' and 'gan' can be used together, usually preceding verb phrases. When used as such they combine the meanings of both particles and are glossed as 'had at last.'

gam gan terbene je- be jamer bar. had at last given they-loc. until all gone

'and had at last given (it) to them until (it was) all gone.' (Appendix C, sentence 55)

4.3 The particles 'ga' and 'gam' can occur together and carry a basic meaning of some change of state or a final outcome.

Twirife ga gam janton akuyunu- be. sago final state falls basket bottom-loc.

'The final state of the sago powder falls to the bottom of the basket.'
(Conversation 58)

ga gam Tokwafe bwerowa. fire for final outcome ignites

'The final outcome ignites a spark.' (Conversation 31)

CONCLUSION 5,

My Master's Thesis, written in 1980, concludes with the following 5.0 sentence, "Especially needful is an analysis of the relational particle, 'ga', and its further use in the sentence and on the grammatical levels above the sentence." The present paper has provided that analysis and has described the many meanings of 'ga' and its variants 'gan' and These particles occur in a variety of environments and can co-occur with one another. The thread of meaning running throughout, however, indicates a change of some sort. Change of semantic topic, especially the alternation of participants being talked about or the introduction of a new participant, is often indicated by the use of 'ga'. Change in the semantic events, particularly the progression of events succeeding one another chronologically on the event line, is also commonly tagged by 'ga'. are other sorts of changes that 'ga' may mark, as discussed in the paper.

What is important to realize, however, is that these all function on the same structural level in the discourse-- the focus being the relationship between clauses, whether in the same sentence or in a sequence sentences. It is a relatively low level relationship, which explains 'ga' occurs so frequently: one occurrence per sentence is quite common two or even three is not unusual. Consequently, 'ga' can be regarded as an indicator of flow or movement in a text, along both the participant axis and the event axis. This explains why it does not occur in static parts of a text, such as descriptions (unless change of topic enters in), evaluative comments, simultaneous activity, or 'negative' activity (where what DIDN'T happen is mentioned).

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ABBREVIATIONS

c.1. change of location

c.pos. change in sentence position

c.t. change of topic

dist. distance

hort. hortative marker

imp. imperative

inst. instrument

loc. locative

neg. negative

pl. plural

pos. position

poss. possessive

ques. mk. question marker

s.t. sequence in time

V vowel

APPENDIX A

BWIDIS

TURTLE

by Essau Timbwat

- 1. As ga ai tisi- nt Kanardi jamer ga opener then I go- past Kanardi until then
 - ai anggatasa- nt fona- be. I look- past water-into
- 2. Bwidisi ga ai domoltesa-nt. turtle-it c.t. I see- past
- 3. Ane ga ai warausono- nt jamer jina- bo. and then I return- past until house-to

- 4. Ulum mese, gina, kalowai ai kitulfesa-nt. bow also arrow arrow I take- past
- 5. Gamjon ai tisi- nt jamer bwidis again I go- past until turtle tarna-bo ai anggabistenansa-nt. place-at I look- past
- 6. Ga ai domoltesa-nt. s.t. I see- past
- 7. Ane ga ulumu o kalawaiya ga ai tetesa-nt. and then bow and arrow c.t. I take- past
- 8. Samem ga ai ge tensen-nt. slowly then I 2 aim- past
- 9. Am sa bwidis! I imp. turtle
- 10. Kalawaiya ga duka-p denbitesa-nt futu. arrow c.t. head-in enter- past died

THE TURTLE

by Essau Timbwat

1. Now then, I went as far as Kanardi, then I looked into the water.
2. A turtle (is what) I saw. 3. And then I returned to the house.
4. I took a bow also an arrow. 5. Again I went to the turtle's place (and) I looked. 6. Then I saw (it). 7. And I took the bow and arrow.
8. Slowly I almed. 9. Got my turtle! 10. The arrow entered into the head and (it) died.

APPENDIX B

BANGGE

SQUIRREL

by Essau Thimbwat

1. Ai bangges nasona. I squirrel speak

- 2. Aiya difsa-nt sekolana-p, ga aiya kausa-nt. we go- past school- to then we enter-past
- 3. Taban, gamjon ga aiya totisinye-nt. finished again then we return- past
- 4. Aiya tiyese-nt jamer nele-bo. we go- past until path-to
- 5. Banggena aiserem ga aiya damtasa-nt. squirrel this c.t. we see- past
- 6. Jam tausa-nt tini-p. it climb-past tree-up
- 7. Ai ga goros aiya erbasa-nt, jam ton. I c.t. slingshot we hold- past it stone
- 8. Sinwaf ga damtasa-nt. Sinwaf then/c.t. see- past
- 9. "Ama, ima sa ti! friend you imp. go
- 10. Nenna matoa nes nuinmini." our meat already sits
- 11. Ai, Sarles ane Martinus ga aiya nunggirtisi-nt.
 I Sarles and Martinus c.t. we run past
- 12. Banggena je ga angasantam aba angtane-sam ga sqirrel it c.t. see that people- are then tausa-nt tini-be. climb-past tree-up
- 13. Aa ge gorna ga ajya ketatesa-nt ton- em. opener 2 slingshot c.t. we take- past stone-with
- 14. Ca aiya munbosiafsa-ni jamer futu. s.t we shoot- past until died
- 15. Jensenya-nt. fall- past
- 16. Aiya gartesa-nt, ga aiya tisi-nt we get- past then we go- past jamer jina- bo. until house-to

- 17. Aiya eyebasa-nt jamer taban. we cook- past until finished
- 18. Tesado, aiya tafobasa-nt jamer taban. sago pudding we make- past until finished
- 19. Tesa jam ga aiya tumasa-nt jamer bar. sago pudding it c.t. we eat- past until all gone

THE SQUIRREL

by Essau Thimbwat

- 1. I'm going to tell about a squirrel. 2. One morning we went to achool, then we entered it. 3. When school was finished, we returned again. 4. We went back to the path. 5. It was the squirrel we saw. 6. It climbed up the tree. 7. We held our slingshots each with its stone. 8. Sinwaf then saw it.
 - 9. (I said), "Friend, go! 10. Our meat sits there."
- 11. Sarles, Martinus, and I then ran. 12. The squirrel saw that these are people, then climbed up the tree. 13. Now we took the sling-shots each with its stone. 14. So then we shot until (it) died. 15. It fell. 13. We got it, then went to the house. 17. We cooked it until it was done. 18. We made sago pudding until it was done. 19. The sago pudding is what we ate until it was all gone.

APPENDIX C

JAUNE

JAUME

by Musa Borom

- 1. Angtane bosna Usafe je ga tas tarna-p ge nuin. person name Usafe he c.t. sago place-at 2 live
- 2. Tesa ga belim taban, ga jes talebowel. sago c.t. cut down finished then it pounded
- 3. Ofona ga Jaume-mana, bosna ga Sebaf. pig c.t. (whole) Jaume-poss. name c.t. (part) Sebaf
- 4. Ofo aiserem je ga tesa ga jes tumawel. pig this it c.t. sago c.t. it ate

- 5. Usafe ga wini naura gam tet.
 Usafe c.t. woman two had married
- 6. Wi naurana aiserem je ga tesa ga je ge talebawel. woman two this they c.t. sago c.t. it 2 pounded
- 7. Tesa gam ge wilni, ofona gam fortia tesa gam tumili sago had 2 pound pig would arrive sago would eat ga jeber ge nuin. then there pl. stay
- 8. Jamere abaka tesa ga umef until long time sago c.t. (whole) remainder ga nanki fal. c.t. (part)/then middle part lies
- 9. Ofo Sebaf gamjon ga forial, pig Sebaf again then arrived tas nanki ga tuin. sago middle part c.t./then ate
- 10. Wi naurana ga jam ge nasbalwel. woman two c.t. him 2 angry
- 11. Ofcna tas gam tumili, anna gam ge nasbana. pig sago had eat husband had 2 angry
- 12. "Aam ke twina aa ke i bas tat? you ques. mk. pig which ques. mk. you what kill
- 13. Aam je ban twin gwilyene?" you it don't know pig kill
- 14. Aguisa ga onna- p ga iranul gwinibener ga.
 Aguisa c.t. jungle-to c.l. hunt morning c.pos.
- 15. Of ona ga tufa-wer ga onsobal, pig c.t. (whole) feet-loc. c.t. (part)/then followed jamer Jaume aa jep nuini taarena- be. until Jaume who there live mountain-upon
- 16. Taaren bosna ga Sebaf ga jem bola- p mountain name c.t. Sebaf c.t. its summit-on nuin Jaume ga. live Jaume c.pos.
- 17. Aguisa ga ofona tufa-wer ga ayel, Aguisa c.t. pig feet-loc. c.t./then followed

jamer sita-bo.
until yard-to

- 18. Ofona ga sita-ber ga tal, ofona futu. pig c.t. yard-loc. then shot pig died
- 19. Jaume ga jena ga jam bitbituwel ofona aa Jaume c.t. herself c.t. her surprised pig which jes gwarna-nt. it squeal-past
- 20. Gwanan irfue-ni Jaume ga aa damtal ofona futu, then turn- past Jaume c.t. who saw pig died ga tenebal, "Aam ke ofona ke aame tana?" then asked you ques. mk. pig ques. mk. you kill
- 21. Nan gut "Ofona aina tana." who answered pig I kill
- 22. Jaume ga irwet garter one- wer titika- bo, Jaume c.t. stood up picked up ground-loc. platform-on gamer ateyel. then cut open
- gareniwil ofona ifara-be taban; 23. fone daktal Aa when place pig rack-upon finished water hung olmol taban; gamjon jagin tesa sago pudding stir finished again jungle chicken fataibel taban; bunulbantel aa tuin. ga finished which placed divided then ate
- 24. Jamere taban, unubuguf aa tikwel. until finiched satisfied then stopped
- 25. Jaume ga nuena ga bilibel Aguisa-fe. Jaume c.t. eye hex then said Aguisa-on
- .26. Ane Aguisa ga nunu ga folbal ga and Aguisa c.t. (whole) eyes c.t. (part) felt then tatel te. lay down sleep
- 27. Jaume jengga sirwaka tifil taban gamjon mertan chalk tree got finished again betelnut Jaume but tabual taban. climbed finished

- 28. Masef, irtel gamjon irtel, jam irwe- yan. not able awaken again awaken him get up-neg
- 29. Gamjon dauran tagalbanswel jam irwe- yan. again tree type cut down he get up-neg
- 30. Jaume ga nombe je ga goltel, ga firmulnul Jaume c.t. machete she then took and then struck seselna jamer te, futu. neck until sever died
- 31. Gamer burna gweleniwil aawisi jep tenbantial then basket took blood there drained jamer taban. until finished
- 32. Ga teyel jamer taban, ifara siol aa s.t. cut-up until finished rack made then buntoniwil ifara-be. placed rack-upon
- 33. Ga gamer ga tuin, jem ofona o angtane s.t. like that then ate her pig and person jamer taban. until finished
- 34. Wina naurana masef ge angbasil, jamer ona gigit woman two in vain 2 watched until ground darkness jam foro- yan jina- be. he arrive-neg. house-at
- 35. Funa jemna tanbatiel. net bag his dropped
- 36. Jentowai ge tatil jamer ona- fer. alone pl. slept until ground-brightness
- gwinibener 37. Wina naurana ga c.t. morning woman two tufa-wer onsobal jamer tatait. ge ga aa 2 followed until far dist. then which feet-loc
- 38. Fona- bo funtan jem ulum aa ge damtabel. water-at net bag his bow which 2 saw
- fial, 39. Fona nafsi-be jep ge ane aa ge aa ga waited where there c.1. then water other-at and

- anggawil taarna- wer. looked mountain-loc.
- 40. Ga aa ge jeniwil, "Aguisa ke jereye?" then they 2 called Aguisa ques. mk. there
- 41. Jaume ga aa sar ga irtial, angtane Jaume c.t. then hear then went down person o ofo tele gam tetuil. and pig fat had taken
- 42. Afwer tafa-wer je angtane tel girinsil, other hand-loc. she person fat carried

 afwer je ofo tel girinsil, ga jenmiwil, other she pig fat carried then called

 "Ijero, Ijero."
 I'm here I'm here
- 43. Wina naurana ga jes ge sar. woman two c.t. it 2 hear
- 44. Jem ga aa ge warau gunahaner ga. they then they 2 return weep c.pos.
- 45. ge forol jina- bo, anggwana Aa arrived house-at when 2 man unggwanfer jepserem aa forol, ge aa they pl. there arrived they many ge towastababil Usafe futu. 2 told Usafe dead
- 46. Jaume mes tegila-nt nombey- eme. Jaume already out- past machete-inst.
- 47. Ane jem ebey aiserem je ga eswata and they news this they c.t. broom

 o mol aa ga tet taman- tamana gamerserem. and leaf which then sent village-redup. there
- 48. Anggwana ga gamer betwel, jamer tap. man c.t. then gathered until all
- 49. Aa ge tabatil ona- fer gan sofcbil they pl. slept ground-brightness finally went jam munbife. her kill

- 50. Ga jep ne erayafel jamer ona gigit then there they shot arrows until ground darkness aa ge sofobiyel jina- bo. they pl. went house-loc.
- 51. Aa ge tabatil gamjon aa ge sofobil they pl. slept again they pl. went gamjon an eral jamere abaka. again started shoot until long time
- 52. Angtane ga gwetet- gweteta naura person c.t. (whole) left handed-redup. two
 ga je ge gwil nausamer.
 c.t. (part) they 2 struck together
- 53. Gina- me ga nuintel ona- be. arrow-within c.t. sat ground-on
- 54. Angtane afwer jeserem ga an people other that c.t. started munbil, jamer futu, aa ter. kill until died who dead
- 55. Gan siansol angtane nini o ofo finally divided person flesh and pig

 nini, gam gan terbene je- be jamer bar. meat had finally give they-loc. until all gone
- 56. Jem ga aa ge sofobiwel jelem tamna- be. they c.t. then pl. went their village-to
- 57. Tabana ga aaf. finished then here

FEMALE CANNIBAL

by Musa Borom

- 1. There was once a person named Usafe who lived near the sago acre-2. Whenever he finished cutting down a sago tree, he pounded it. ages. There was also a pig belonging to Jaume, whose name was Sebaf. 4. This pig always ate the sago. 5. Usafe had married two women. 6. These two women often pounded sago there. 7. Whenever they had pounded sago, the pig would arrive, and would eat the sago, then stay there with them. 8. This continued for a long time so that (only) a little sago remained in 9. Sebaf the pig then arrived, then ate the middle part the middle. of the sago trunk.
 - 10. The two women were angry with him (Usafe). 11. The pig had

eaten the sago, they had become angry at their husband. 12. "What are you going to do about killing that pig? 13. Don't you know how to kill that pig?"

- 14. Aguisa (Usafe's other name) went into the jungle to hunt in the morning. 15. (He) followed the pig tracks until he came to Jaume's, who lived upon the mountain. 16. The mountain's name was (also) Sebaf, and on its summit lived Jaume. 17. Aguisa (or Usafe) followed the pig tracks to (Jaume's) yard. 18. The pig was shot in the yard, and it died. 19. Jaume herself was surprised at the pig which squealed. 20. Then turning, Jaume saw the dead pig then asked, "Did you kill the pig?" 21. (Usafe) who answered (said), "I killed the pig." 22. Jaume stood up, picked up (the pig meat) from the ground, (placed it) on a platform, then cut it open.
- 23. When finished placing the pig meat on the rack, she finished hanging water (for boiling); and when done stirring sago, then finished dividing out some jungle chicken meat; and placed it and ate until it was finished. 24. When he was finished, he was satisfied then stopped (eat-25. Then Jaume placed a sleeping hex on Aguisa. 26. And Aguisa ing). felt sleepy, then (he) lay down to sleep. 27. But Jaume got some betelnut, and finished climbing a chalk tree. 28. Unable to awaken him again and again, he didn't get up. 29. Again, a dauran tree was cut down, (but) he didn't get up. 30. Jaume then took a machete, and then struck (him) on the neck until his head was severed, he died. 31. she took a basket, and drained the blood into it until it was finished (draining). 32. Therefore having finished cutting (him) up, she made a rack, then placed him upon the rack. 33. Therefore like that she ate her pig and the person until she was finished.
- 34. The two women watched in vain until dark, but he didn't arrive. 35. His net bag dropped (to the floor). 36. They slept alone until dawn. 37. The two women in the morning followed the tracks to a far distance. 38. At a river they saw his other net bag and bow. 39. At another river where they waited, they then looked towards the mountain. 40. Then they called, "Aguisa, are you there?"
- 41. Jaume then heard them, and went down having taken the person and pig fat (with her). 42. In one hand she carried person fat, and in the other she carried the pig fat, then called, "I'm here, I'm here." 48. The two women heard the reply. 44. Then they returned (home) weeping.
- 45. When they arrived home, many men had arrived there, (and) they (the women) told about Usafe being dead. 46. Jaume killed (Usafe) with a machete. 47. And they sent this news with (a symbol of) a broom and a leaf to all the villages there. 48. The men then gathered, until all were there. 49. They slept until dawn, then finally went to kill her. Then they shot arrows until dusk (and) they went home. 51. They 50. morning) and again they started shooting for a long time. 52. Finally, two left handed people together struck (her). 53. With an arrow in her (she) slumped to the ground. 54. Other persons there. started to kill (her), until she died, and was dead. 55. Finally, they divided up the person's flesh and the pig meat, and had at last given (it) to others until (it was) all gone. 56. Then they all went to their own village. 57. It's finished then, here. (The end).

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