

Tales from the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea

Gunter Senft

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Tue, 01 Aug 2017 13:31:02

Culture and Language Use

16

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Culture and Language Use (CLU)

Studies in Anthropological Linguistics

ISSN 1879-5838

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Nijmegen

Volume 16

Tales from the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea. Psycholinguistic and anthropological linguistic analyses of tales told by Trobriand children and adults by Gunter Senft

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John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

guest IP: 195.169.108.24 On: Tue, 01 Aug 2017 13:31:02

DOI 10.1075/clu.16

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:

LCCN 2015017518 (PRINT) / 2015019811 (E-BOOK)

ISBN 978 90 272 4453 6 (HB)

ISBN 978 90 272 6826 6 (E-BOOK)

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*Nie wierzcie bajkom! Były prawdziwe.
Glaubt den Märchen nicht! Sie waren wahr.*

Stanisław Jerzy Lec (1982: 73)

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Acknowledgements

This book is the result of by now more than 30 years of researching the language and culture of the Trobriand Islanders in Papua New Guinea. Writing this book would have been impossible without the help of many people and institutions. First I would like to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG: Ei-24/10-1-5; Se-473/2-1-2) especially Ursula Far Hollender and Manfred Briegel; the Research Unit for Human Ethology of the Max-Planck-Society and its director Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt; and the Department of Language and Cognition (formerly the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group) at the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics and its director Stephen C. Levinson for their support during and after my field research.

The technical group of the MPI for Psycholinguistics, especially Paul Trilsbeek, Nick Wood, Chris Haskins, Ad Verbunt and Reiner Dirksmeyer made it possible to combine the data presented in this book with the Internet access to the original audio- and video-documents. I very gratefully acknowledge their excellent cooperation.

I am also indebted to my colleagues at the MPI for Psycholinguistics for the general stimulating atmosphere of research and I especially want to thank Richard Bauman, Ad Foolen, Farzana Gounder, Volker Heeschen, Denis Hilton, David Meyer, Ulrike Mosel and Christiane von Stutterheim for their helpful comments and constructive criticism. I thank Nanjo Bogdanowicz, Monika Kopytowska and Piotr Cap for the original Polish version of the German quote from Stanisław Jerzy Lec's "*Myśli nieuczesane*" (Unkempt Thoughts). I also thank the participants of the the 9th International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics, (University of Newcastle, Australia, February 2013) and the participants of the panel session "Emancipatory Pragmatics" at the 13th International Pragmatics Conference (New Delhi, September 2013) for their questions and contributions to the discussion of my talks "Murder in Milne Bay: The Kavalokwa Case" and "Morevaya and Bukuruvi – or: The miserable end of a love story".

I thank Michael Dunn and especially Angela Terrill, the head of "punctilious editing", for making the maps and for editing them according to my wishes.

I want to thank the National and Provincial Governments in Papua New Guinea, the Institute for PNG Studies – especially Don Niles, and the National Research Institute – especially James Robins, for their assistance with, and permission for, my research projects.

I express my great gratitude to the people of the Trobriand Islands, and above all the inhabitants of Tauwema and my consultants for their hospitality, friendship, and patient cooperation over all these years. Without their help, none of my work on the Kilivila language and the Trobriand culture would have been possible.

I would also like to thank Serah Kalabaku and Rod Clark as well as Lydia Kalabaku for their generous support of my research and for their hospitality and friendship over the years.

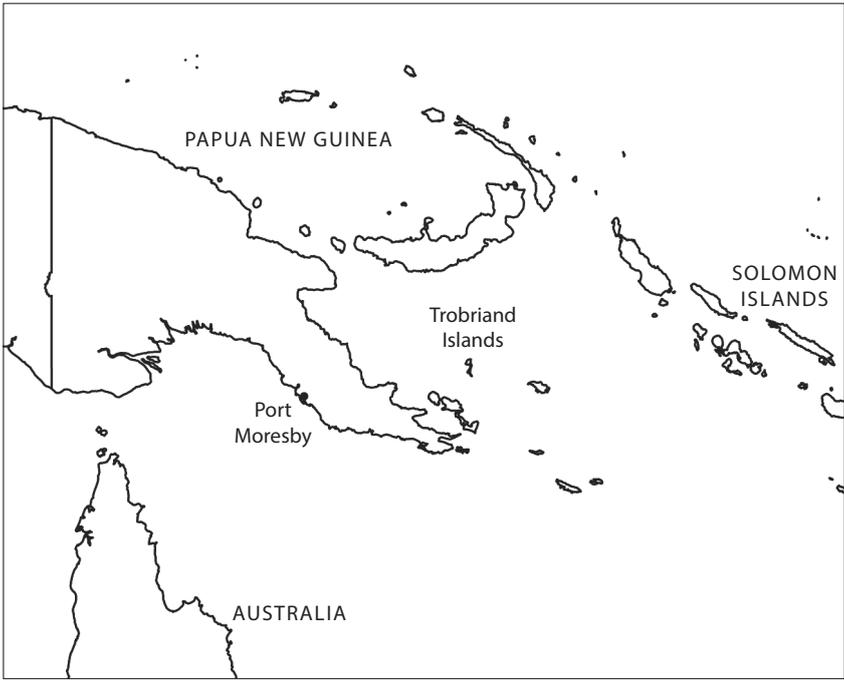
Last but not least I thank my wife Barbara for her patience and perseverance in discussing my research with me, criticizing it, and living and working with me in the field in 1983 and in 1989 and I would also like to thank our children Frauke and Sebastian very much for their understanding that their father almost annually left the family to do his field research and for living with their parents in Tauwema in 1989.

Abbreviations

1.	first person
2.	second person
3.	third person
A	adult
ADVR	morpheme which derives adverbs from adjectives
ART	article
B	boy
CP	Classificatory Particle, classifier
DEM	Demonstrative
DIR	Directional
EMPH	Emphasis
EXCL.	exclusive
FUT	Future, Irrealis
HABIT	Habitual
INCL.	inclusive
LOC	Locative
NONSPEC	nonspecific
OBJ	Object
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
REDUP	Reduplication
SG	Singular
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood

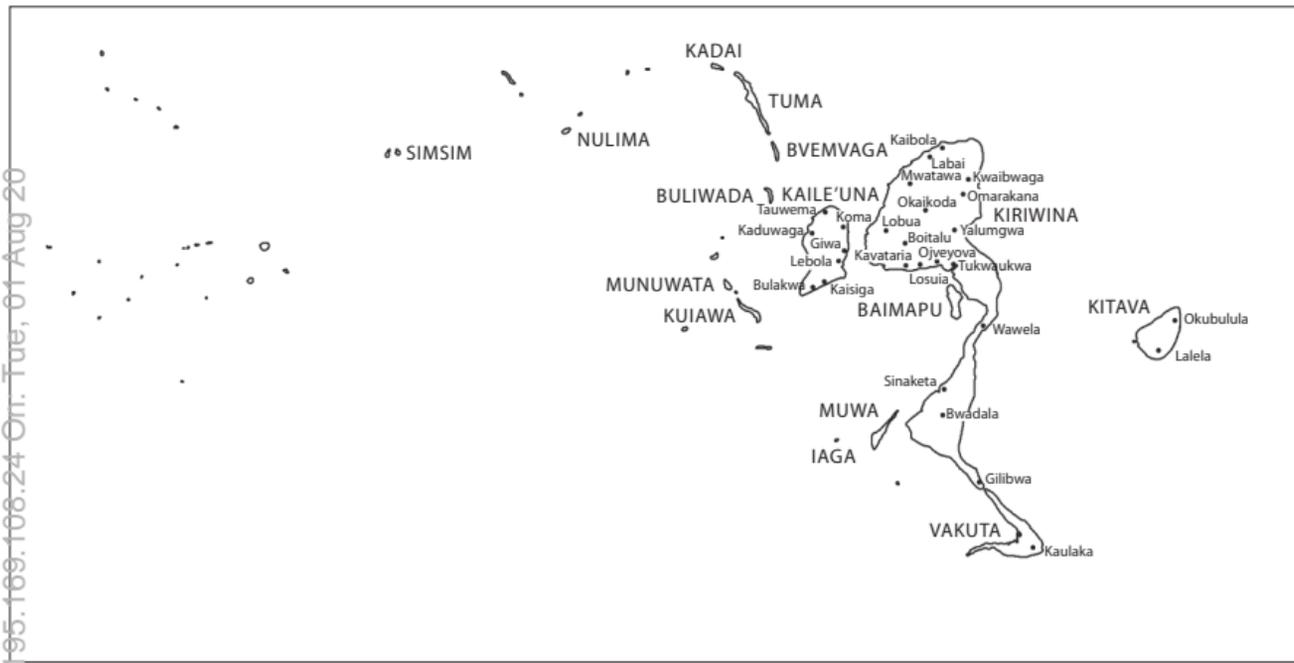
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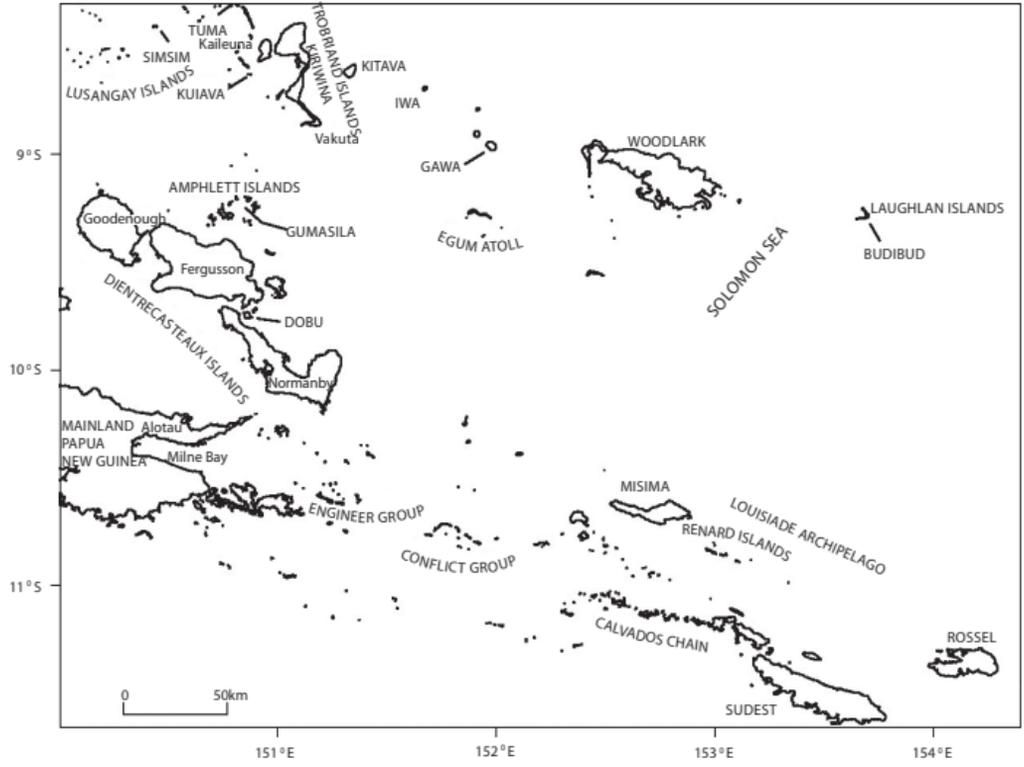
Map 1. Map of Papua New Guinea

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Map 2. Map of the Trobriand Islands

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Map 3. Map of Milne Bay Province

Introduction

Denn wenn ich die Sachen der Ordnung nach sagen soll,
so muss doch eins auf das andere folgen.
(Christoph Martin Wieland 1795:265)

1.1 The tradition of text collections – The anthropological linguistic motivation for this study

In his programmatic introduction to his monograph “Argonauts of the Western Pacific” Bronislaw Malinowski (1922: 24f.) points out that “[a] collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folk-lore and magical formulae has to be given as a *corpus inscriptionum*, as documents of native mentality”. This is one of the prerequisites to “grasp the native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world”. This maxim is probably one of the best known reminders of how important the collection of a broad variety of texts produced by members of the researched speech community is for every ethnographic – and ethnolinguistic – field research. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Senft 2010a: viif.), the collection of texts has a rather old tradition. It was especially important for European classic philology for “which texts constituted the basis for the study of languages and texts and languages together constituted an essential frame of reference for the study of culture history” (Bauman 1992: 145). Influenced by the German ‘Sturm und Drang’ literary movement Johann Gottfried Herder was probably the first scholar who collected folk songs from various cultures. He understood this collection of folk songs (“Volkslieder”) that were published in two volumes in 1778–79 and that became famous under their later title “Stimmen der Völker in Liedern” (peoples’ voices in songs) as the expression of the dynamic relationship between the peoples of the world and their environment and thus as the verbal manifestation of their mentality (or “Denkart” in Herder’s words). And under the influence of Herder’s ideas on folk poetry Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm collected the famous folk tales which they published in 1812–1815 as “Kinder- und Hausmärchen” (Grimms’ Fairy Tales) in two volumes (see Grimm & Grimm 2007). For the Grimms these fairy tales represented to a very high degree their tellers’ culture, their feelings, joys, hopes and fears. With this collection and with the notes on the collected tales the Grimms laid the foundation for the science of folk narrative and of folklore.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the importance of texts not only for linguistic but also for ethnographic studies was recognized by scholars like Franz Boas (see, e.g., Boas 1917) and Edward Sapir (see, e.g., 1919). In his second volume of “Coral Gardens and their Magic” Malinowski (1935 Vol II: 79–342) documents his “Corpus Inscriptionum Agriculturae Quiriviniensis”. However, with the exception of a few examples of actual Kilivila utterances that are scattered over his Trobriand oeuvre and that illustrate some other Kilivila speech genres, including myths and tales (see e.g. Malinowski 1922: 455ff; 1929: 240ff, 26 5f., 333ff, 401ff, 529, 555ff), he himself did not come up with such a ‘*corpus inscriptionum*’ for the Trobriand Islanders. One of the main aims I have been pursuing in my research on the Kilivila language and the Trobriand Islander’s culture has been to fill this ethnolinguistic niche.¹ In 2010 I published the monograph “The Trobriand Islanders’ Ways of Speaking” in which I present, document and illustrate the Trobriand Islanders own indigenous typology of their non-diatopical registers and their constitutive genres.² Amongst these genres are a number of different forms of narratives, both fictive and veridical, like the myth of Tudava, stories told while gossiping, a joke in form of a tale (see also Senft 1985a), a (fairy)-tale about a snake (see also Senft 1992), a story on the origin of coconuts and a story about a real event, a murder near Tuma island. However, during my long term field research on the Trobriands I collected many more such stories and tales than the ones just mentioned.

In this volume I present 22 such tales and stories³ that boys between the age of 5 and 9 years and men between the age of 26 and 54 years told me during my various field trips to the Trobriands between 1982 and 2012. This collection of Trobriand tales is unique.⁴ However, this volume is not only motivated by the

1. See Senft 1985 a–d; 1987a&b; 1991, 1992, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2009; 2010a, 2011; Senft & Senft 1986.

2. Studies that attempt to describe the inventory of genres for specific speech communities are still relatively rare. For an overview see Senft (2010a: 4ff).

3. All the “*kukwanebu*” presented here are fictive; therefore – contrary to Senft (2010a) – I do not differentiate between “tales” and “stories” but use these technical terms as synonyms.

4. For other myths, legends, songs and stories of the Trobriand Islanders – besides those already mentioned above – see Baldwin (1945, 1950; especially 1971), Kasaipwalova (1978, 1979), Kasaipwalova & Beier (1978 a&b; 1979), Leach 1981 and Scoditti (1996). For (other collections of) myths, legends, songs and stories in Papua New Guinea see, e.g., Meier (1907–1909), Vicedom & Tischner (1943–1948), Höltker (1965), A. Becker (1971), Longacre 1972a&b; Beier & Chakravarti (1974), McElhanon (1974), Kelm & Kelm (1975), Vicedom & Strathern (1977), Schild (1977), Le Roy (1985), Z’Graggen (1992), Fischer (1994), Hambruch (1998), Slone (2001 a&b) and Mosel et al. (2007). And for collections of such texts in West Papua see, e.g., Drabbe

anthropological linguistic aim to present a broader collection of these texts with the thematic approach to illustrate what topics and themes constitute the content of the stories. The volume also pursues the psycholinguistic question of how children acquire linearization and other narrative devices, how they develop them and how they use them to structure the tales conceptually.

Chapter two of this volume not only presents 13 tales told by children, but also pursues the psycholinguistic and textlinguistic questions just mentioned.

Chapter three of the book presents 9 tales that were told by experienced adult narrators. These texts are also analyzed with respect to linearization and other narrative strategies the narrators use and the question of how the adults structure these texts conceptually.

The tales told by the children and the adults are first documented in a morpheme-interlinear transcription. This documentation is followed by an interpretative re-narration providing the cultural background information necessary to fully understand the stories and by an analysis of the macro- and micro-structure of each story. The presentation of each tale ends with a summary of the verbal means the narrators use for structuring the story, with observations with respect to the narrative tense used and with some final comments especially on peculiarities and/or culture-specific features of the contents of the story.

Chapter four provides a summarizing comparative analysis of the tales from the Trobriand Islands presented in the two previous chapters from a psycholinguistic and anthropological linguistic point of view. This chapter first takes up the question of linearization strategies that are acquired by children and pursued in the tales by both children and adults. Research on narratives by Colby (1973), van Dijk (1977) Kintsch and Greene (1978) and more recently Holmes (2003) and Klapproth (2004) has shown that culture-specific components, schemata, or plots can be identified which underlie stories in different languages and cultures (but see Mandler et al. 1980; see also Senft 2006). On the basis of this research, the tales are then compared and finally analyzed with respect to their underlying schemata or components, the verbal means their narrators use to structure them, their structural complexity and their cultural specificity. After a description of situative contexts of story-telling on the Trobriands, the chapter then discusses the role of the “*biga sopa*” language variety of Kilivila which is co-constituted by the

(1947–1948, 1948, 1949–1950), Heeschen (1990, 1998 (see also 2001)) and Miedema (1997, 1998); see also Miedema & Reesink (2004)). The majority of the literature quoted here does not present the texts in a morpheme-interlinear transcription, though. And the tales presented in Schild (1977) and Hambruch (1998) are heavily edited for their German readership. For a bibliography of works that are “representational of the narrative traditions of the whole of Polynesia” (Kirtley 1971: vi) see Kirtley (1971: xi–xxvi).

genre “*kukwanebu*” (story, tale), summarises the topics of the tales, presents some hypotheses about their cultural functions and looks at the tales from a deliberately taken Eurocentric point of view to find probably culture-specific features of the Trobrianders’ *kukwanebu*. In the final subsection of this chapter the issue of culture-specificity is discussed from a general comparative philological point of view.

Appendix I presents a reanalysis of seven year old Dudaavelu’s “Tale of these children and the Dokonikani” based on the discussion of the complexity of this story in Subsection 4.4.

The interested reader of this book has the opportunity to access the original data presented in chapters two and three – which were documented on audio- and video-tapes – via the internet. The data can be found on my website under the following URL: <http://www.mpi.nl/people/senft-gunter/research>. In order to access the recordings, please make sure that you have a modern browser.

In this introduction I will elaborate a bit more on the psycholinguistic motivation for the documentation and analysis of these 22 tales. But before I do this I first briefly introduce the Trobriand Islanders and their language:

The Trobriand Islanders belong to the ethnic group called ‘Northern Massim’. They are gardeners, doing slash and burn cultivation of the bush; their most important crop is yams. Moreover, they are also famous for being excellent canoe builders, carvers, and navigators, especially in connection with the ritualized ‘*Kula*’ trade, an exchange of shell valuables that covers a wide area of the Melanesian part of the Pacific (see Malinowski 1922; Leach & Leach 1983; Persson 1999). The society is matrilineal but virilocal.

Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is an agglutinative language and its general unmarked word order pattern is VOS (Senft 1986). The Austronesian languages spoken in Milne Bay Province are grouped into 12 language families; one of them is labeled Kilivila. The Kilivila language family encompasses the languages Budibud (or Nada, with about 200 speakers living on Budibud Island), Muyuw (or Murua, with about 4,000 speakers living on Woodlark Island) and Kilivila (or Kiriwina, Boyowa, with about 28,000 speakers); Kilivila is spoken on the islands Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kitava, Kaile’una, Kuiuwa, Munuwata and Simsim. The languages Muyuw and Kilivila are split into mutually understandable local dialects. Typologically, Kilivila is classified as a Western Melanesian Oceanic language belonging to the Papuan-Tip-Cluster group (Senft 1986:6).

1.2 The psycholinguistic motivation for this study

In his seminal volume “Speaking: From Intention to Articulation” Willem Levelt (1989: 138) discusses the linearization problem, a problem extremely relevant for the research on language production and comprehension. He points out that this central aspect of speaking “has been the subject of rhetorical treatises since Aristotle”. The rhetoricians called this problem “*dispositio*” or arrangement (see Levelt 1983: 281). In a first approach to this problem Levelt (1981: 305) points out that

[t]he process of speaking is traditionally regarded as a mapping of thoughts (intentions, feelings, etc) onto language. One requirement that this mapping has to meet is that the units of information to be expressed be strictly ordered. The channel of speech largely prohibits the simultaneous expression of multiple propositions: the speaker has a linearization problem – that is, a linear order has to be determined over any knowledge structure to be formulated... the speaker has to decide what to say first, what to say next, and so on.

Like the 16th century philosopher Pierre de la Ramée, Levelt (1981: 306; see also 1982: 201, 1983: 279f) repeatedly emphasizes

that arrangement and judgment are independent of the faculty of speech, and are solely a matter of the faculty of thought... The linearization problem, therefore, should not be treated as a problem of language, but as a problem of thought... [I]n studying the speaker’s generation of discourse one should carefully distinguish between the selection of information to be expressed, the ordering of this information for expression, and the linguistic formulation of the information.

However, Levelt (1981: 306) also points out that

this strict separation between thought and language does not... entail a denial of their interaction. The grammar of a language may put certain boundary conditions on the order in which thoughts can be expressed, and the order of expression decided on will in turn limit the choice of appropriate grammatical forms.

The way of how speakers order their utterances influences their listeners: with this order they invoke certain inferences in the listeners’ minds (see Levelt 1981: 307). This is strikingly illustrated with the following example that presents two different ways in which a speaker orders and arranges information for expression (Levelt 1989: 138):

She married and became pregnant.
She became pregnant and married.

The order of the constituents of these two sentences differ, and the implicatures the listener/reader will make differ correspondingly. This is the main purpose of linearization (of propositions).

Levelt (1981:306) differentiates between a natural order of events as the unmarked form of linearization and artificial orders which create special effects. He formulates the following “principle of natural order” (1989: 138): “Arrange information for expression according to the natural order of events”. Natural order in linearization is effective because we know that chronological order constructions are easier to understand than non-chronological order constructions.

Already in 1970 Eve Clark showed that children have a hard time to acquire event structures in which chronology is not preserved. Recently Habets et al. (2008) found that “the brain distinguishes between sentences in which the sequence of events is uttered in chronological or non-chronological order”; they show “that conceptualization of ‘Before’ and ‘After’ order sentences leads to more conceptualization processing when non-chronological order constructions are being built.”⁵ This supports Levelt’s (1981: 307) claim that retrieving processes are “easy if each just retrieved event can function as a retrieval cue for the next event”, that is to say, chronological order is cognitively less demanding.

Another constraint on linearization derives from mutual knowledge. This conversational source of natural order starts with the idea that a speaker who “intends the listener to derive certain implicatures from the order in which things are said ... should base his speech on mutual knowledge” (Levelt 1981: 307). This mutual knowledge consists of tacit assumptions and agreements (e.g. that causes precede effects) that are culture dependent. Levelt himself compares them to scripts (see Schank 1975; also Schank & Abelson 1977a, b) that give further specifications “of what the order should be in a particular culture” (Levelt 1989: 139). I will come back to the notion of scripts in Subsection 1.3 below. If speakers use such stereotypical or canonical orders or scripts as a linearization strategy, this unmarked order of events makes it easier for the listeners because they can use the joint cultural stereotype to infer an informational structure from speakers’ discourses (see Levelt 1983: 282). Thus natural order “allows for easy retrieval on the part of the speaker and for easy inference on the part of the listener” (Levelt 1981: 308).

Other restrictions on the linearization process are imposed by the fact that speakers have to keep track of what they have said and what they still have to say, and cooperative speakers also have to keep in mind that listeners have to reconstruct the at times complex structures from the linearly ordered discourses. These bookkeeping requirements, however, are quite general and do not seem to be very

5. For examples in sentences like the following ones: “*After I read the book I sat down on the couch*”. “*Before I sat down on the couch I read the book*”.

culture dependent; moreover, they are different from the content-related principles discussed above (see Levelt 1981: 309, 1983: 282). Levelt refers to these principles as process-related determinants and – on the basis of his experiments in which speakers had to describe spatial structures with different degrees of complexity – he formulates the following first major principle of connectivity: “Wherever possible, choose as the next node to be described one that has a direct connection to the current node” (Levelt 1989: 140). A more general formulation of this principle runs:

[T]he connectivity principle says that a complex information structure is linearized as much as possible without ‘lifting the pencil’: new concepts should wherever possible, be introduced by virtue of their communicatively relevant relations to the most recent concept expressed. (Levelt 1981: 300)

Levelt points out that violations of this principle are rather rare. There may be situations where people violate it making return leaps; however, in these situations the repetition of old terms which would preserve connectivity then usually violates a quantity maxim (see Levelt 1989: 242).⁶ The connectivity principle also helps listeners to link new information to most recent items which are still available in their working memory.⁷

These principles are relevant for the macroplanning of ordering information for expression. In the microplanning for the generation of messages speakers have to assign accessibility status to the referents in the message – that is, they have to check whether a referent was already introduced and whether the listener can be assumed to still have access to it. If speakers introduce a new referent, they have to assign conceptual prominence to it, indicating its news value. Another means speakers use to guide the listeners’ attention is topicalization. Putting a referent the message is about in topic position tells the listener where to store the information being processed. Speakers also have to propositionalize the information to be expressed; that is they have to translate information into a propositional format; this involves the assignment of perspective – that means, speakers have to decide on the preferred way to express their message.

In his publications Levelt illustrates and supports his findings on linearization and message planning with carefully controlled psycholinguistic experiments in which participants had to describe linear spatial structures or networks of different

6. Levelt refers here to H. Paul Grice’s conversational maxims of quantity which run: “Make your contribution as informative as is required...” and “Do not make your contribution more informative than is required”(Grice 1975: 45f.).

7. Levelt formulates 2 other principles of linearization; the stack principle (Levelt 1989: 143) and the minimal load principle (Levelt 1989: 143f.); but these principles are only of marginal relevance for the present study.

degrees of complexity. The principle of natural order as the unmarked form of linearization and the principle of connectivity is also illustrated by Charlotte Linde's and William Labov's (1975) work on apartment descriptions; they found that people who give such descriptions follow a tour-like linearization strategy. This idea was taken up by Veronika Ehrich (1982; see also Ehrich & Koster 1983) who researched descriptions of living rooms – she found that her consultants used a kind of gaze tour as their linearization strategy. Natural ordering was also observed in route directions given by adults (Klein 1979, 1982; Wunderlich & Reinelt 1982) as well as by children (Weissenborn 1986). Levelt (1981:308) points out that empirical studies like the ones mentioned show that although

... there are as many natural orders as there are things to talk about ... some general observations can ... be made: if the structure is itself linearly arranged, the unmarked or natural way is to follow that order. For event structures the rule is to follow the order of events ... For linear spatial structures it is to follow the spatial connectivity.

Another major result of these studies was that “the dominant strategy for linearizing a spatial structure is by projecting an event structure onto it” (Levelt 1981:308).⁸

All these studies researched linearization and linearization strategies in Indo-European languages only. Although Levelt (1981:308) points out that “the culture dependency of natural order cannot be stressed enough”, referring to A. L. Becker (1980) who

... shows that the Aristotelian temporal-causal sequencing is no basis for linearization in Javanese Wayang, but rather something he calls ‘coincidence’, which is a deep motive for action in the culture ... (Levelt 1981:308)

we only find systematic studies on the topic for some non-Indo-European cultures in research on narratives and studies with narratives where stories serve as tools to explore topics like for example aspects of human memory or experience (see for example Bartlett 1932; Bavins & Shopen 1985; Kay-Raining Bird & Kluppel-Vetter 1994; Colby 1966; Darnell 1974; Holmes 2003; Kintsch & Greene 1978; Klapproth 2004; Mandler et al. 1980). And if we look at the theoretical frameworks on which these studies are based we observe that many of the ideas and hypotheses put forward there are very similar to Levelt's theory of linearization in language.

8. In their handbook article on “message encoding” Agnieszka Konopka and Sarah Brown-Schmidt (2014) provide a comprehensive overview (with an excellent list of references) on more recent experimental psycholinguistic research on linearization. This important article also presents current controversies in this research domain and sketches new directions for research on message encoding.

1.3 From the psycholinguistic approach to linearization to research on the conceptual structure of narratives

In his classic work on memory for stories – “Remembering” – Frederic Bartlett (1932: 312) points out that this human faculty “is ‘schematically’ determined. The circumstances that arouse memory orientations, whether they occur in the laboratory or in everyday life, always set up an attitude that is primarily towards a particular ‘schematic’ organisation”. This insight was taken over by a number of other researchers who were also interested in research on and with narratives which constitute “a universal type of discourse” (Berman 2009: 355).⁹

Wallace Chafe (1990: 80f.), for example, emphasizes the importance of these schemata in connection with the human mind which he understands as “an organ for building models of the world”. He points out that

[t]he mind is at the same time guided and constrained by schemas: prepackaged expectations and ways of interpreting that are already available to it... To a large extent ... they will have been supplied by the society of minds of which that individual mind is a member... Prepackaged models of the world are supplied for us above all by our cultures; they are what a culture is all about.

For Chafe (1990: 79) narratives and their schematic structures are “overt manifestations of the mind in action ... windows to both the content of the mind and its ongoing operations”.

Walter Kintsch and Edith Greene (1978: 1) also point out that “[c]ertain types of texts, e.g., stories ... have a conventional structure that is familiar to the general reader... the knowledge of these conventions aids the reader in comprehending the text as well as reproducing it later ... [T]his knowledge has been called a ‘schema’”.

Other scholars like George Miller, Eugene Galanter and Karl Pribram (1960: 16) speak of plans and define them as “*any hierarchical process in the organism that can control the order in which a sequence of operations is to be performed.*” They claim that these plans not only control the sequentiality of speech, but all kinds of forms of human behavior.

Roger Schank and Robert Abelson (1977a, b) differentiate between plans and scripts that are relevant for stories.

9. Note that all the insights and theories presented and discussed in this section are based on data from what Benjamin Lee Whorf in his “Yale Report ... for the Term September 1937–June 1938” called “Standard Average European” languages (Whorf 2012: 358). The analyses of the Trobriand tales will show whether they are also applicable to data from Non-Indo-European languages like Kilivila (see e.g. Holmes (2003), Klapproth (2004), Senft (2006); see also Subsection 1.1 above and the caveat filed in the last paragraph of Subsection 1.2).

Benjamin Colby (1966:794) assumes that there is a “basic cultural system of mental “templates” or pattern components which are used in telling folk tales”.

Teun van Dijk (1977) differentiates the notions of “semantic macro-structures” – a notion which was first used by Manfred Bierwisch (1965) for specific structures of discourse (van Dijk 1977:7) – and “knowledge frames” which represent “our conventional knowledge of the world” (van Dijk 1977:13). The interplay between these macro-structures and knowledge frames are crucial for our understanding of texts in general and narratives in particular.¹⁰

Deborah Tannen (1979:138f.) notes that the notion of frames was also taken up by scientists like Dell Hymes (1974), Erving Goffman (1974), and Charles Frake (1977) in their attempts to analyze specific communicative situations, situative appropriate ways of speaking and – in general – what people are doing when they speak. And she rightly points out that

... all these complex terms and approaches amount to the simple concept of ... “structures of expectations”, that is, that based on one’s experience of the world in a given culture (or combination of cultures) one organizes knowledge about the world and uses this knowledge to predict interpretations and relationships regarding new information, events and experiences.

Tannen’s conclusion agrees with Jean Mandler’s (1978:15) definition of story schemata: For Mandler these “schemata consist of sets of expectations about stories, about the units of which they are composed, the way in which those units are sequenced, and the types of connections between units that are likely to occur”.

But how do these “structures of expectations”, these schemata, plans, scripts, templates, frames and macro-structures actually look like with respect to narratives?

William Labov (1972:360) defined a “minimal narrative” as “a sequence of two clauses which are *temporally ordered*” and he differentiates between unevaluated and evaluated narratives or stories.¹¹ Thus, the following sentence

I went to the bookshop to buy a map of Australia for my children, but I forgot my purse.

constitutes an unevaluated narrative, whereas the following sentence

10. Almost all the scholars quoted in this subsection work on and with monologic narratives told by one narrator. However, there are also jointly told stories, e.g., about family relations, stress situations, romantic relationships within our western societies and in some cultures it is the default that narratives are told jointly (see, e.g. Blythe 2009; Hill: 2010).

11. See also Kay-Raining Bird and Vetter (1994:1354) who point out that “a minimally structured story” consists of an “animate protagonist participating in temporally related actions”; see also Holmes 2003:117).

*I went to the bookshop to buy a map of Australia for my children, but I forgot my purse,
so this errand was a complete waste of time.*

constitutes an evaluated story. Thus narratives have not only a referential but also an evaluative function.

Usually narratives are more complex, of course. Lisa Dasinger and Cecile Toupin (1994: 467) describe more complex narratives as follows:

[N]arratives in general consist of a sequence of events experienced by a set of characters located in time and space. Consequently, to construct a narrative entails describing a series of events as related both temporally and causally. Typically a story also resolves around “complicating actions” or problems ... which need to be resolved.

For such complex narratives Labov and Waletzky (1967, 2003) differentiate the following six components (see also Klein & von Stutterheim 1987; von Stutterheim & Klein 2002; Holmes 2003: 117; Bamberg 2012: 82f.):

1. The (optional) ABSTRACT tells us what the story is about (Holmes 2003: 117).
2. The ORIENTATION serves the function “to orient the listener in respect to person, place, time and behavioral situation” (Labov & Waletzky 2003: 93).
3. The COMPLICATION is “the main body of a narrative”, consisting of “a series of events” which is “regularly terminated by a result” (Labov & Waletzky 2003: 93).
4. The EVALUATION consists of “that part of the narrative that reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative” (Labov & Waletzky 2003: 97).
5. The RESOLUTION tells us how it all ended (see Holmes 2003: 117).
6. The CODA is defined as “a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment”. Deixis, for example, is one such device in the coda “And that was that” (Labov & Waletzky 2003: 100).

This approach to narrative structure is known as “high-point analysis”, because its proponents argue that “narrative structure is characterized by an evaluatively marked point of maximum complication, the narrative’s high-point, around which the narrative is structured” (Klapproth 2004: 94). Janet Holmes (2003: 117) summarizes the components of Labov’s and Waletzky’s approach as follows:

- What is the story about?
- Who, where, when and why?
- What happened?
- Why is this story worth telling
- How did it all end?
- That’s it.

Ruth Berman and Dan Slobin (1994:13) point out that “[a] skillful narrative does not simply consist of a linear chain of successive events located in time and space ... events must be packaged into hierarchical constructions”. Berman (2009:355) also notes that “canonic narratives – at least in western cultures – are all organized around a shared ‘action structure’ with an initial setting, episodes, resolution and coda”. Referring to David Rumelhart (1975), Nancy Stein and Christine Glenn (1979:58) also confirm that

stories can be described in terms of a hierarchical network of categories and the logical relations that exist between these categories ... The categories are types of information which recur in most folktales or fables. The intercategory relations specify the degree to which a category influences or logically precedes the occurrence of a subset category.

These hierarchical constructions or networks are represented by the above mentioned schemata, plans, scripts or macro-structures. Thus, Walter Kintsch and Edith Greene (1978:1) point out that

the schema for stories ... consists of the knowledge that simple ... stories have a hero ... with respect to whom the roles of the other characters in the story are defined; that the events in the story must be causally and temporally related, that stories contain episodes, each consisting of ... [an] exposition, [a] complication, and [a] resolution.¹²

This kind of knowledge is conventional and this schema for stories belongs to our general knowledge which we share with other members of our culture (see van Dijk 1977:17). Elizabeth Kay-Raining Bird and Dolores Kluppel-Vetter (1994:1358) specify what Kintsch and Greene call “events” as “goal based actions” without and/or with an obstacle which lead either to “the successful completion of the goal” or to the abandoning of it. The episodes to which Kintsch and Greene refer are marked. As Bamberg and Marchman (1990:59) point out,

[t]he use of these markers evolves toward packaging larger discourse units, resulting in a global structuring of the episodic configuration of the narrative whole ... [The] marking of episode boundaries involves a complex interplay between two kind of narrative orientations: (a) the horizontal alignment of lineary-ordered narrative events, and (b) the vertical organization of events along a hierarchical axis of narrative structure.

Thus, these markers or “juncture indicators” (Colby 2011:194) reveal the macro-structure or the schema of the narrative.

12. For a similar description see also Mandler (1978:16, 1984).

If narrators want to tell a story they are confronted with a linearization problem; however, story schemata provide them with templates that help and support them in structuring their narrative with respect to the appropriate temporal order of events, in monitoring what they have already presented and what they have to introduce as new information and thus in creating a connected and coherent overall story with an appropriate beginning, with the essential story component(s) proper and with an appropriate end.

On the basis of these insights on linearization strategies in general and on the structure of narratives in particular I will present and analyze tales told by children and adults from the Trobriand Islands. In my structural analyses of these stories I differentiate between **simple and complex episodes** of tales, and **events** that constitute them. A simple episode consist of one event, a complex episode consists of two or more **subevents**. Episodes represent the macro-structure of tales – i.e., the plot which summarizes the narrative as a whole (see Georgakopoulou 2011: 194; also Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 27). The events or subevents that constitute episodes represent the micro-structure – with the main narrative sequences – of a tale. This differentiation of episodes and their (sub-)events is based and justified on linguistic grounds – referring to the verbal means the narrators use for structuring their narrative – and on context information given. I am aware of the fact that this analysis may be relatively subjective at times and that readers may come up with different proposals for the structural analysis of these narratives, but this is the general and inherent problem of all philologic analyses.

After this brief theoretical introduction and the discussion of the motivation for this study we will now first look at tales told by Trobriand children.

Trobriand children's tales and how they reflect the acquisition of linearization strategies, other narrative skills and cultural knowledge in these young narrators

In this chapter I present, analyze and discuss thirteen tales that were told by five boys on the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea. The youngest of these boys was 5 years old and the oldest 9 years. They were born and lived in Tauwema, the northernmost village on Kaile'una Island, one of the Trobriand Islands in Milne Bay Province (see map of the Trobriand Islands). The data were gathered during my second 11 month long field research in Tauwema in July 1983. The aim of this chapter is not only to document these tales and to reveal and unfold culture-specific issues observed in these texts, but also to sketch out the development of linearization strategies and other narrative skills that are reflected in the plots, in the conceptual structures of the stories. Presenting and analyzing the stories in this way makes it impossible "to avoid ... repetitive citation of items which recur in a number of the stories" (Jacobs 1959: 4); however this allows to read and treat the Subsections 2.2.2.1 to 2.2.2.13 that present the various tales as case studies in their own right. But before I present the tales, I provide a brief survey of some basic findings presented in developmental studies that focus on narratives and then introduce the young narrators of the Trobriand tales.

2.1 Developmental studies on narratives – A brief survey of some basic findings

"Stroytelling is one of the first uses of language ... and one of the most skilled", as Susan Kemper (1984: 99) points out. In her seminal paper on "language development in narrative contexts", Ruth Berman (2009) provides a survey of insights psycholinguists have gained with respect to this topic. She points out that narrative discourse emerges early in child language: at the age of 3 years children usually have acquired the morphosyntax at the simple clause level; here the critical facet of this early phase of the acquisition of narrative skills – in western cultures – is

the use of past tense marking. Complex syntax is more or less mastered at the age of 5; however, it takes until the age of 9 to 10 years before children “are able to recruit these forms flexibly and skillfully in extended discourse” (Berman 2009: 374; see also Kemper 99f.). The acquisition of the rhetoric skills that are necessary for good narrators to plan and control the information flow in their construction of hierarchically organized narratives, however, takes until adolescence and adulthood (see Berman 2009: 355).

The telling of tales or other narratives requires linguistic as well as cognitive abilities (see Berman 2001, 2004, 2009). First of all children have to know that narratives have a plot-organization. As Ulrike Mosel (p.c.) points out, they may gradually gain this knowledge just by imitation of their parents, older siblings or older peers in their group which tell them stories and tales. This knowledge of the plot-organization of narratives requires that children who tell narratives have to master the – probably universal – narrative schema mentioned above, consisting of “an initiating event or problem, one or more episodes directed at solving that problem, and an eventual resolution” (Berman 2001: 2). This scheme supports them in their preplanning of the overall text of the narrative and in structuring it as a hierarchical sequence of related events which requires the adequate temporal sequencing of episodes, the marking of transitions from one episode to the other and thus the establishing of the proper connection between events. Children have to learn how to mark simultaneity of events which are reported in their narratives, how to use flash-backs and signal them as information in retrospection to their listener(s) and what linguistic means are appropriate to express foreground-background distinctions (see Berman 2009: 364ff). Children also have to learn how to introduce and refer to story participants; this implies that they acquire the relevant forms of deixis and anaphora. Before they start their story they have to recognize that their listener(s) may need some initially “relevant background setting information to frame events in place and time and ... [some] motivation for the events” to be reported (Berman 2001: 25). They have to monitor throughout their narration what information their listeners already share with them, i.e., what information they have already given, and what information they report is new for their interlocutors. This ability to differentiate between given and new information implies that children have to acquire and command a “theory of the listener” (Berman 2009: 359).

Children are socialized into narrative discourse, not only by their parents and siblings, but also – and possibly most effectively – by members of their play- and peer-groups. Ageliki Nicolopoulou (1996) rightly emphasizes the importance of the children’s peer-relations and peer-group activities for their narrative development. She points out that children learn from each other how to tell narratives, that they acquire narrative skills and the relevant cognitive abilities to narrate in sociocultural contexts. Play with members of their peer-group, especially “pretend

play, which is dominated by the composition and enactment of fictional or fantasy narratives" (Nicolopoulou 1996: 375) is the socially structured practice which fosters the children's narrative development (see Nicolopoulou 1996: 383). The gist of her argument runs as follows:

The shared symbolic space of the play world (to use the term of Huizinga, 1955) creates a field of activity for the children's symbolic imagination that generates both opportunities and motivations for development.

What Vygotsky [(1976) G.S.] says of children's play applies equally to their narrative activity: both represent the union of expressive imagination with rule-governed form. And in both, as Vygostky emphasizes with regard to play, the elements of fantasy and imagination are central to the **cognitive** significance of the activity, in terms of both its motivations and its developmental value. It is through the creation and elaboration – in imagination – of a symbolic world dominated by meanings, with its own inner logic, that children are first able to emancipate their thinking from the constraints of their immediate external environment and, thus, to take the first steps towards organizing thought in a coherent and independent way. But the creation of this autonomous world of imagination also leads the child, paradoxically, back to reality. Inserting elements from a larger culture into the symbolic universe of the "make believe" forces the child to try to make sense of them, even as they are stylized and transformed. In short, it is precisely by fostering the development of children's symbolic imagination and providing a field for its exercise that fantasy play – and, we can add, narrative activity – prepares the way for the development of abstract thinking and "higher mental processes". As children come to realize the possible purposes and satisfactions that can be pursued in narrative activity – which are symbolic, expressive, and emotional as well as instrumental – they are driven to learn and appropriate the narrative forms culturally available to them and to turn these to their own ends; and they gradually discover that, in order to do so, they must attend to and grasp the (mostly implicit) rule-governed structures in these narrative forms. Children are both impelled and enabled to do this through their participation in practices of shared symbolic activity that serve as collectively constituted fields within which to use and master these narrative forms, to explore and extend their inherent possibilities through performance and experimentation, and to push on to greater narrative range and proficiency. It is in this sense, if we follow Vygotsky, that certain types of peer-group activity can serve as especially powerful contexts promoting development.

(Nicolopoulou 1996: 374)

As we will see in the following section and in chapter four, the peer-groups of Trobriand children, who enjoy much freedom and independence, indeed play an important role for the socialization of young children into narrative discourse.

2.2 The children's tales

In this section I present and analyze 13 different (fairy-) tales that children told me and my wife in July 1983. However, before I do this I first provide some information about the narrators and report why the children came to us and told us some of their stories.

2.2.1 The narrators and their motivation to tell us some of their stories

On a sunny morning in 1983 my wife Barbara and I walked via the shore of Tauwema to the fresh water grotto in the bush near Tauwema. Just as we were entering the path that leads from the sea through the bush to the grotto we saw a big group of children storming out of the bush to the beach. The children formed up into two groups and we realized that the children's group of our village sector "*Va Seda*" was going to fight the children's group of the neighboring village sector "*Oluvala*". The kids had picked little round seed heads and started to throw them at each other and then engaged into individual fights. The leaders of the two groups just monitored the battle and intervened if things got too tough. We briefly told the two older boys that we knew that we as adults were not supposed to interfere in the children's activities, but that we would highly appreciate if they would come after the fight to our house to tell us what had happened. On our way back to the village we took the inland path to not disturb the children at the beach again. And our tactful behavior was appreciated and honored. About 30 minutes after we had returned from the grotto to the village the children came to us, the most daring ones even came into our house and briefly told us about their fight. They were still quite agitated, but when we distributed some sweets the atmosphere relaxed. The kids were surprised that we were really interested in their actions and Dauya, the leader of our village sector's children's group, asked us whether we would also be interested in their stories and tales – he and other children had realized how enthusiastic we listened to Mokopei who came from the neighboring village Kaduwaga two months ago to tell us the mythical story of *Imdeduya* and *Yolina* (see Senft in preparation). Both Barbara and I answered that we would love to hear these stories, and the children – realizing that we got somehow lost in talk and that it was already time for lunch – promised to come to us again another time to tell us some of their tales. And six weeks later they kept their promise. A relatively large group of children came to us, again the bravest came into our house and sat down on the floor or on our Zarges-boxes. Dauya told me to prepare my tape recorder and my microphone and when I was ready

some of the boys started telling us (fairy-) tales and stories that they had either learned from their parents, especially from their fathers or from their peers in their children's group. That the boys had the courage to tell us their stories was certainly strongly supported by the fact that the narrators felt comfortable because they were in the company of members of their peer-group. They were also rather proud to (re-)present their peer-group's narrative skills and thus aspects of their cultural knowledge and competence. The girls in this group were too timid and shy to tell their stories.

In what follows I will present and analyze 13 of the tales which were told by five boys.¹³ I have ordered the stories with respect to the age of their narrators. With the exception to the story "*Pepekwa*" all the stories presented here were told to us on the 25th of July, 1983. A few weeks earlier Towesei had told us this last mentioned story, while other children explained us how they use the heads of rotten boats as boards to surf from the edge of the reef to the beach of Tauwema. While they recited the "*vinavina*", the ditties they use to sing while surfing, Towesei offered to fill a pause during this documentation session and told us the tale of *Pepekwa*. Table 1 presents the narrators, their age, their clan membership,¹⁴ the title of the tales and the numbers of the lines the stories encompass in my transcriptions.

During the July session Dauya told a story which I already published (Senft 1987) and a school-tale of "*Deki Wetintani*" (i.e., Dick Whittington, which I have excluded from these analyses because of the school background in which Dauya learned to tell this English tale); Tosulebu also told a story which I published in 2010 (Senft 2010a: 158–162); and Towesei told a story about an old woman which was so highly repetitive that I thought it would be rather boring to present it here. In what follows I present and analyze thirteen tales that were told by the boys (B) Yabilosi, Towesei, Dudaavelu, Dauya and Tosulebu.

13. The tales were told by the following boys in the following order: Towesei: The tale of this girl (and the mirror); the tale of this monkey, the tale of this pig; the tale of this rooster. Dauya: The tale of the fearless tailor (Senft 1992), Dick Whittington (not presented here), the tale of the cat. Towesei: The tale of the girl (who was killed by a tree), the tale of Tokositagina. Tosulebu: The tale of Naulivali and Nabubukwaku. Dudaavelu: The tale of these children (and the *Dokonikani*). Towesei: The tale of the old woman (not presented here). Dudaavelu: The tale of these children. Tosulebu: The tale of the snake (Senft 2010a: 158–162). Towesei: The tale of the white caterpillar. Yabilosi: The tale of the red ant.

14. The Trobriand clan hierarchy consists of four clans with the Malasi clan as the socially highest ranking clan followed by the Lukuba clan, the Lukwasisiga clan, and finally the Lukulabuta clan. All four clans also differentiate between named subclans.

Table 1. The tales told by the boys (B)

Narrator	Clan	Age	Title	No of lines transcribed
Yabilosi	Lukwasisiga	5	B1. The tale of the red ant [Attempt to tell: The Tale of Pepekwa]	3 [3]
Towesei	Lukuba	6	B2. The tale of the white caterpillar B3. The tale of this girl (and the mirror) B4. The tale of this monkey B5. The tale of this pig B6. The tale of this rooster B7. The tale of this girl (who was killed by a tree) B8. The tale of Tokositagina B9. The tale of Pepekwa	3 12 30 12 11 14 49 37
Dudaavelu	Malasi	7	B10. The tale of these children (and the Dokonikani) B11. The tale of these children	193 96
Dauya	Malasi	9	B12. The tale of the cat	10
Tosulebu	Malasi	9	B13. The tale of Naulivali and Nabububwaku	70

2.2.2 The thirteen tales told by Yabilosi, Towesei, Dudaavelu, Dauya and Tosulebu

This subsection presents the 13 tales the children told us. As mentioned above, the tales are ordered with respect to the age of their narrators and the sequence in which they were told.¹⁵ As mentioned in Subsection 1.1 above, every tale is first documented in a morpheme-interlinear transcription. This documentation is followed by an interpretative re-narration together with an analysis of the macro- and micro-structure of the story. The presentation of each story ends with a summary of the narrative verbal means the children use for structuring the story (in episodes and (sub)-events), with observations with respect to the narrative tense used and with some final comments especially on peculiarities and/or culture-specific features of the contents of the story.

15. The Kilivila orthography is based on Senft (1986: 14ff).

2.2.2.1 *Yabilosi tells the “Kwanebuyeee subwa’eki” – The “Tale of the red ant” and attempts to tell the “Kwanebuyeee Pepekwa” – The “Tale of Pepekwa”*

In 1983 the then five year old Yabilosi told the following “Tale of the red ant”:

Kwanebu-yeee subwa’eki. I-la i-kakaya i-ma i-putu-putuma
 tale-EMPH red.ant 3.-go 3.-bath 3.-come 3.-REDUP-oil

The tale of the red ant (Once upon a time there was a red ant). It goes it takes a bath it comes it oils its body

i-taina osusuna. I-dau ala nene’u i-kariga.

3.-walk around behind.the.house 3.-hurt its anus 3.-die

it walks around behind the house. It hurts its asshole, it dies.

Bogwa me-sinau

Already 3.HABIT-finish

Already it is finished.

This tale of the red ant is one of the shortest tales in my corpus. At the very end of the story telling session in July 1983 young Yabilosi, inspired by the tale of the white caterpillar (see 2.2.2.2) which Towesei had just told, plucked up all his courage and volunteered to tell this story.

He starts with the ritualized introduction that all narrators – young or old, experienced or inexperienced – use to announce that they are going to tell a story. This introduction consists of the noun “*kwanebuyeee*” and the nominal reference to the protagonist of this tale, “*subwa’eki*” – a red ant (line 1). The syllable “yeee” is suffixed to the shortened variant of the noun “*kukwanebu*” to elongate the final vowel and to emphasize that what follows represents a specific genre of oral literature. Malinowski (1922: 299) glossed the expression “*kukwanebu*” as “fairy tales, recited for amusement, ... and related avowedly untrue events”. However, the definition of this genre is a bit more complex (see Senft 2010b: 153ff; 244ff). It is true that the genre “*kukwanebu*” encompasses what we call “fairy tales”, “amusing stories” and “stories about untrue events”, i.e. stories that we would subsume under the label “fiction”. However, the Trobriand Islanders use the term “*kukwanebu*” – at least these days – to refer to amusing or not so amusing “non-fiction” stories, to stories that report real events or even to stories that resemble myths (to which the Trobrianders refer with the metalinguistic expression “*liliu*”). This ritualized formula is comparable to the opening formula of English and German fairy tales – “once upon a time” (which I added to the free translation in brackets) – however I wish to point out that this Kilivila formula specifies the genre of the narration that follows and introduces the protagonist(s), but it does not set the stage with respect to the tale’s space and time whatsoever.

The introduction is followed by three simple serial verb constructions (Senft 2008a)¹⁶ which report the protagonist's activities (lines 1&2). The red ant takes a bath, oils it's body (with coconut oil, as the Trobriand Islanders do it) and walks around behind the house. These events are followed by the climax of the tale, the fatal incident of the ant which hurts it's anus and dies. All the event reports are codified in verbal expressions formed with person prefixes unmarked for tense, aspect and mood (TAM; see Senft 1986: 36ff).¹⁷ Yabilosi ends his tale with the explicit and also ritualized ending formula "*bogwa mesinau*" – "already it is finished". Together with the adverb "*bogwa*" the verbal expression with the habitual aspect marker "*m-*" (which is prefixed to the 3rd person singular marker "*e*") explicitly marks the end of the tale in a coda-like way (line 3).¹⁸ Although this tale reports 7 actions of its protagonists in just 7 verbs, the structure of the story can be summarized in Table 2 as follows:

Table 2. The structure of the "Tale of the red ant"

	lines
Ritualized introductory formula	1
<i>Episode 1 The ant has a bath, oils its body and walks around behind the house.</i>	1–2
<i>Episode 2 It hurts its anus and dies.</i>	2
Ritualized formula (coda) that indicates the end of a tale	3

Having heard this tale the listeners know what the story is about, who the protagonist is, what happened to it, how it all ended and that that is the end of the the story. Thus, this tale does not provide all the components and all the information Labov and Waletzky (1967, 2003) and Holmes (2003: 117) claim to be constitutive for (at least complex) narratives (see Section 1.2 above). I will come back to observations like this one in Chapter 4.

16. This tale illustrates that these relatively complex structures are acquired at a rather early age. We observe the production of serial verb constructions in all the tales told by the young boys of Tauwema.

17. Discussing the narrative means adults use to structure their tales in Subsection 4.3 (Table 27a) I compare these verbs without TAM-markers with what Indo-European scholars call "aorist" when they refer to unmarked verb forms. They point out that the aorist is the narrative tense in fairy tales in many languages.

18. The use of the habitual aspect may express similar concepts as the ones that are manifest in the respective coda forms with which English and German fairy-tales end: "... and they lived happily ever after" and "... Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind, dann leben sie noch heute". However, this is just a speculation.

Yabilosi learned this tale from his father and his older sister and he told us that the other children in the “*Vaseda*” children’s group also know and tell this story to each other. We can summarize that five year old Yabilosi has already learned how to ritually introduce and end a story and to tell a relatively simple plot of a short tale (which consists of 2 episodes).

Tales like this one are generally assumed by the Trobrianders to be adequate, entertaining and funny for children of Yabilosi’s age – not least because of the body part where the ant hurts itself. This kind of humor is rather typical for the Trobriand Islanders (see Senft 1985a).

Immediately after this “Tale of the red ant” Yabilosi announced that he now would tell another story, the “Tale of Pepekwa”, and he started as follows:

Kwanebu-yeee Pepekwa. Mna amyaga mna ka...
 tale-EMPH Pepekwa hm what's.the.name hm. well...

The tale of Pepekwa (Once upon a time there was Pepekwa). Hm, what’s the name, hm, well...

I-suvi kwe-ta(la) mna ve +++ ve
 3.-go.in CP.thing-one hm ... nope ... [Pause] nope
 He goes into one ... hm... nope ... nope ...

bogwa la-kitumvau
 already 1.PAST-forget
 already I forgot it.

Again Yabilosi starts the story with the introductory formula I have already discussed above. This introduction with the genre specification and the reference to the protagonist of the tale is followed by a hesitation phenomenon, typical for both children and adult conversations – a “*hm*” particle in connection with the (rhetorical) question word “*amyaga*” – “what’s the name” (actually another hesitation phenomenon), another “*hm*” particle and the interjection “*ka*” – “wow” (line 1). In line 2 he wants to start an event report, hesitates again, produces the negation interjection “*ve*” – “nope” and makes a short pause before he produces the negation interjection once more. Finally he concedes that he forgot the story he wanted to tell. Although Yabilosi failed to produce the story, his attempt to tell the tale of Pepekwa illustrates the importance of the ritualized introductory formula for and in the acquisition of narrative skills by Trobriand children.

2.2.2.2 Towesei tells the “*Kwanebuyeee kakavaku*” – The “Tale of the white caterpillar”

Six year old Towesei was the boy who started telling us and his peers in and around our house some of the Trobriand children’s stories. The “Tale of the white caterpillar” was the last of all in all 8 tales he told, and he narrated it just before

Yabilosi took his turn to tell his tale of the red ant. Thus, as I mentioned above, it is quite likely that Towesei's *Kwanebuyeee kakavaku* inspired Yabilosi to tell his tale. Towesei's story runs as follows:

Kwanebu-yeee kakavaku. I-la i-sum-soma reboaga.
 tale-EMPH white.caterpillar 3.-go 3.-REDUP-eat coral.garden
 The tale of the white caterpillar (Once upon a time there was a white caterpillar).
 It goes it eats and eats in the coral garden.

Kaila i-ma i-meki kaugiwagina. I-kapu kudu-la
 Kaila.tree 3.-come 3.-come.to Kaugiwagina.tree 3.-break tooth-its
 To the Kaila tree it comes, it comes to the Kaugiwagina tree. It breaks its teeth

i-kariga. Bogwa me-sinau.
 3.-die already 3.HABIT-finished
 it dies. Already it is finished.

As we see at first sight this story is structurally almost identical with Yabilosi's story of the red ant. In the ritualized introductory formula Towesei first specifies the genre again and refers to the protagonist of the tale, a white caterpillar (line 1). Two serial verb constructions (... *ila isumsoma* ... / ... *ima imeki* ...) and just two more verbal expressions describe that the caterpillar is eating in a coral garden, that he comes first to a "Kaila" tree and then to a "Kaugiwagina" tree. The caterpillar breaks its teeth and this fatal accident leads to its death (lines 1–3). The story ends with the ritualized language specific coda which marks the end of the tale (line 3). The structure of this tale – which consists of two episodes is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. The structure of the "Tale of the white caterpillar"

	lines
Ritualized introductory formula	1
<i>Episode 1 The caterpillar goes and eats something in a coral garden</i>	1
<i>Episode 2 It comes to two trees, breaks its teeth and dies</i>	2–3
Ritualized formula (coda) that indicates the end of a tale	3

From this tale we can infer that Trobriand children learn quite early to categorize and classify their biological environment. However, why the tale is worth to be narrated escapes our western attention. But the children of Tauwema enjoyed listening to it in the same way as they enjoyed listening to the more complex stories that were told by their peers. All in all it seems that stories like the "Tale of the Red Ant" and the "Tale of the White Caterpillar" are tales that Trobriand children learn to tell at a rather young age.¹⁹

19. Note that Rölleke (1999:272) presents a German fairy tale collected by the Grimm brothers which also consists of three sentences only. The telling name of this story is "The short fairy-tale".

2.2.2.3 Towesei tells the “Kwanbuyeee minana vivila” – The “Tale of this girl (and the mirror)”

The first tale Towesei told us – to which I refer as the “Tale of this girl and the mirror” to differentiate it from the “Tale of this girl (who was killed by a tree)” – runs as follows:

Kwanebu-yeee, amyaga, kwanebu-yeee mi-na-na
 tale-EMPH what's.the.name tale-EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM
 The tale of (Once upon a time), what's the name, the tale of (once upon a time there was) this

vivila. E-sisu bi-kau ma-kwe-na salibu
 girl 3.-be 3.FUT-take DEM-CP.thing-DEM mirror
 girl. She is there she will take this mirror

i-salibu i-gisi: “Ina sena na-migaga yegu!”
 3.-look.into.mirror 3.-see mother very CP.female-ugly I
 she looks in the mirror she sees herself: “Mother I am so ugly!”

I-kau i-lei e-katugunu-gunu, e-sisu-ga.
 3.-take 3.-throw 3.-smash.into.pieces-REDUP 3.-stay-EMPH.
 She takes it she throws it she wants to smash it into small pieces, but it does not break.

(5)

I-kau ma-kwe-na salibu ... i-salibu,
 3.-take DEM-CP.thing-DEM mirror 3.-look.into.mirror
 She takes this mirror, ... she looks in the mirror,

amyaga, i-salibu i-gisi – “Sena na-migaga!”
 what's.the.name 3.-look.into.mirror 3.-see very CP.female-ugly
 what's the name, she looks in the mirror, she sees herself – “Very ugly!”

I-lei, i-mwa i-kanamwa, e-katugunu-gunu.
 3.-throw 3.-come 3.-lie.down 3.-smash.into.pieces-REDUP
 She throws it, it comes it lies down there, she smashes it into small pieces.

Iva tuta i-kariga. ... I-kariga e-sisu-go
 3.-go time 3.-die ... 3.-die 3.-be-EMPH
 Time passes and she dies. She dies but it is there

ma-kwe-na salibu, amyaga, i-vavagi-go
 DEM-CP.thing-DEM mirror what's.the.name 3.-make-EMPH
 this mirror, what's the name, it fixed itself.

(10)

I-sunapula mi-na-na vivila omatala
 3.-appear DEM-CP.female-DEM girl in.front.of
 She appears this girl in front of

salibu ma-kwe-na, amyaga, ... ma-kwe-na
 mirror DEM-CP.thing-DEM what's.the.name ... DEM-CP.thing-DEM
 this mirror, what's the name, this

salibu. I-simwa i-siga-ga.
 mirror 3.-stay 3.-stay.permanently
 mirror. She stays she stays forever.

Again, the narrator starts the tale with the introductory formula which specifies the genre of the fictive narrative and a rather unspecified introduction of an unnamed girl as the protagonist of the story (lines 1&2). We then learn that there is a mirror which she takes to look into it. In this story we find only one verb which is marked by the irrealis TAM marker “*b-*” (*bi-kau*) that is prefixed to the third person singular prefix “*i-*”. All other verbal expressions are formed with person prefixes which are unmarked for TAM. Towesei reports the girl’s first reaction to her mirror image in direct speech – she is shocked that she is so ugly. As a consequence she throws the mirror away, trying to smash it into small pieces, but the mirror does not break (lines 2–4). This episode is repeated once more in lines 5 to 7: The girl takes up the mirror again, looks into it, is shocked by her ugliness and throws the mirror away (note that in lines 4 and 7 Towesei produces serial verb constructions). This time she manages to smash it into pieces. In line 8 we learn that time has passed and that the girl has died. In this line we observe that Towesei uses the quite sophisticated rhetorical device of a so-called “tail-head linkage”: in line 8 he finishes the phrase

Iva tuta i-kariga.

with the verb “*ikariga*” (she dies). In the next sentence he takes up this verb in sentence initial position and uses it to introduce a new episode of the overall story:

I-kariga e-sisu-go ma-kwe-na salibu ...

In this last episode we learn that the mirror has fixed itself – probably because a magician put a spell on it²⁰ – and that the spirit of the dead girl has to appear in

20. As pointed out elsewhere (Senft 2010a:40ff), the Trobriand Islanders have always been famous for being great magicians. Until recently all Trobrianders used magical formulae to reach certain aims with the firm conviction that they can thus influence and control nature and the course of, and events in, their lives. The magical formula is the most important part of the magical rite(s). Besides the knowledge of how to perform the magical rite, the possession of the magical formulae guarantees that the desired effect of the magic will come true. The Trobrianders differentiate between various forms of magic; they know weather magic, black magic, healing magic, garden magic, fishing magic, dance magic, beauty magic, love magic, sailing and canoe magic, smoke magic, carving magic and magic against theft, earthquakes, witches, and sharks.

front of this mirror forever (lines 8–11). The tale ends with a different, but also ritualized coda in line 12 which reminds the Western listener of codas like “And they lived happily ever after”, although there is certainly no aspect of happiness in the plot of this Kilivila tale. Immediately after this coda Towesei announces that he will tell another tale. However, before we look at this story I first summarize the structure of the “Tale of the girl in the mirror” in Table 4:

Table 4. The structure of the “Tale of the girl and the mirror”

	lines
Ritualized introductory formula	1–2
<i>Episode 1 A girl looks into her mirror, thinks she is ugly, tries to smash the mirror to pieces, but it does not break.</i>	2–4
<i>Episode 2 The girl takes the mirror again, looks into it, thinks she is ugly and this time she smashes the mirror to pieces.</i>	5–7
<i>Episode 3 Time passes and the girl dies.</i>	8
<i>Episode 4 The mirror fixed itself and the spirit of the dead girl has to appear in front of this mirror forever.</i>	9–11
Ritualized formula (coda) that indicates the end of a tale	12

It may well be that the reference to the girl's life after death reflects Towesei's beginning understanding of the Trobriand Islanders' belief in immortal spirits of the dead that live a happy and carefree life in an underworld located on Tuma, one of the Trobriand Islands (see Senft 2011). But this interpretation is sheer speculation.

With this tale Towesei illustrates that children at the age of six years are not only able to introduce and finish a tale in the language specific way. They also use repetition and direct speech to narrate the tale in a more lively way and are able to produce the relatively complex rhetoric device of a tail-head linkage construction for indicating elements which are relevant for the conceptual structure of a tale.

2.2.2.4 Towesei tells the “Kwanebuyeee manana manki” – The “Tale of this monkey”

After he had finished the “Tale of the girl and the mirror” Towesei announced that he will tell another story:

E ba-kwanebu pila-tala:
and 1.FUT-tell CP.part-one
And I will tell another one:

and he immediately started to narrate the “Tale of this monkey”:

From a very early age on Trobriand children are fully aware of the importance of magic within their society.

Kwanebu-yeee ma-na-na manki i-... Kwanebu-yeee
 tale-EMPH DEM-CP.animal-DEM monkey ... 3.- tale-EMPH
 The tale of (Once upon a time there was) this monkey, it... The tale of

ma-na-na manki. I-sisu-wa i-vakola
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM monkey 3.-be-only 3.-hold.hands
 this monkey. It was there it holds hands with

na-tana ka'ukwa. I-veya e-kebiga:
 CP.animal-one dog 3.-bring 3.-say
 a dog. It brings it (to its place) it says:

“*So-gu ta-mweki-ga ula bwala ma-na-kwa*”. ...
 friend-my DUAL.INCL-see-EMPH my house DEM-DEM-CP.thing...
 “My friend, we see my house there”.

(5)

“*La-gisi sena kwe-manabweta*” *I-ve-si i-tobu-si*
 1.PAST-see very CP.thing-beautiful 3.-go.to-PL 3.-stop-PL
 “I saw it, it is very beautiful”. They go there they stop

ma-na-na manki oluvi ma-na-na ka'ukwa
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM monkey then DEM-CP.animal-DEM dog
 this monkey and then this dog

i-ve-si. “Yokwa sena na-nagova yokwa!
 3.-go.to.PL you very CP.animal-stupid you
 they go there. “You are very stupid, you!

Ba-la ba-ligemwe-m, ku-bugwabogina.” I-la i-ligemwa
 1.FUT-go 1.FUT-leave-you 2.-rot 3.-go 3.-leave
 I will go I will leave you, you rot away”. It goes it leaves and

i-bugwabogina. I-ma i-vakoli bunukwa. I-veya
 3.-rot 3.-come 3.-hold.hands pig 3.-bring
 it rots away. It comes it holds hands with a pig. It brings (it to its place)

(10)

e-kebiga: “So-gu ta-mwa, ku-gisi – amyaga –...
 3.-say friend-my DUAL.INCL-come 2.-see what’s the name
 it says: “My friend, we come, you see – what’s the name –

ula bwala m ma-na-kwa.” I-va i-...
 my house hm DEM-DEM-CP.thing 3.-go.to 3.-
 my house, hm, there”. It goes to it, it...

i-va i-tobu-si. Amyaga, mi-na-na, oluvi,
 3.-go.to 3.-stop-PL what’s.the.name DEM-CP.animal-DEM then
 it goes to it, they stop. What’s the name, this, then,

amyaga, mi-na-na manki e-kebiga
 what's the name, DEM-CP.female-DEM monkey 3.-say
 what's the name, this monkey it says

*mi-na-na manki: "Yokwa sena *to-nagoa*
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM monkey you very CP.human-stupid
 this monkey: "You are very stupid [* the correct classifier here is "na-"]

(15)

yokwa! *Amyaga? "A-ligemwe-m, ku-bukwabogina ba-la*
 you". What's.the.name 1.-leave-you 2.-rot 1.FUT-go
 you!" What's the name... "I leave you, you rot away, I will go

be(ya)". I-ma i-vakoli pusa. I-veya e-kebiga:
 there 3.-come 3.-hold.hands cat 3.-bring 3.-say
 there". It comes it holds hands with a cat. It brings it (to its place) it says:

"So(-gu) iga ta-mwa ku-gisi ma-na-kwa ula
 friend (my) later DUAL.INCL-come 2.-see DEM-DEM-CP.thing my
 "My friend, later we come (to)... you see there my

bwala". I-veya, i-tobu-si, ma-na-na manki,
 house 3.-bring 3.-stop-PL DEM-CP.animal-DEM monkey
 house". It brings it, they stop, this monkey,

oluvi, amyaga, ma-na-na pusa, amyaga,
 then what's.the.name DEM-CP.female-DEM cat what's.the.name
 and then, what's the name, this cat, what's the name,

(20)

oluvi ma-na-na pusa, e-tobu-si e-kebiga
 then DEM-CP.animal-DEM cat 3.-stop-PL 3.-say
 then this cat, they stop and it says

*ma-na-na manki: "Yokwa sena *to-nagoa*
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM monkey you very CP.human.stupid
 this monkey: "You are very stupid [* the correct classifier here is "na-"]

yokwa! A-la a-ligemwe-m, ku-bukwabogina". E i-ma
 you 1.-go 1.leave-you 2.-rot and 3.-come
 you! I go I leave you, you rot away". And it comes

i-vakoli amyaga ... amyaga ... i-ma
 3.-hold.hands what's.the.name what's.the.name 3.-come
 it holds hands, what's the name..., what's the name..., it comes

i-vakoli tomwota. I-veya, amyaga, i-tobu-si
 3.-hold.hands man 3.-bring what's.the.name 3.-stop-PL
 it holds hands with a man. It brings him, what's the name, they stop

(25)

o la bwala, i-tobu-si ma-kwena-na kunu-na.

LOC its house 3.-stop-PL DEM-CP.pot-DEM head-its
in its house, they stop at this pot-like entrance.

I-veya, amyaga, i-ta... i-tobu-si ma-pwana-na

3.-bring what's.the.name 3.- 3.-stop-PL DEM-CP.hole-DEM
It brings him, what's the name, it... they stop at this

moropu. E-kebiga mi-na-na manki: "Yokwa

hole 3.-say DEM-CP.animal-DEM monkey you
hole. It says this monkey: "You

sena to-nagoa yokwa. Ku-tota, ba-la-ga,

very CP.human-stupid you 2.-stand 1.FUT-go-EMPH
are very stupid you. You stand there, I will go indeed,

ku-bukwabogina ba-la". E, amyaga, e-bukwabogina.

2.-rot 1.FUT-go and what's.the.name 3.-rot
you rot away, I will go". And, what's the name, he rots away.

(30)

I-ma-go o i-sisu i-simwa i-si... i-sigaga.

3.-come-EMPH oh 3.-be 3.-stay 3.- 3.-stay.permanently

Indeed it comes, oh, it is there, it stays it it stays there forever.

As we may have expected by now, Towesei starts this tale with the introductory formula which specifies the genre of the fictive narrative and the introduction of the protagonist of the story – a monkey. He repeats this introductory formula – probably to gain some additional time for planning his narration and then he starts to tell the first episode of this tale (lines 2–9) in which we learn that the monkey is holding hands with a dog and that it brings the dog to its house. There it addresses the dog in direct speech and tells it that they now see the monkey's house. The dog's reaction is also provided in direct speech: it thinks the monkey's house is beautiful. After this they go to the house and stop there, and out of the blue the monkey insults the dog, leaves it and puts a deadly curse on it. The insult and the curse is again narrated in direct speech. The monkey leaves the dog and the dog dies.

The scene changes: we learn that the monkey is now holding hands with a pig – and some of the subevents presented in the first episode of this tale are repeated – this time with a pig as the monkey's partner (lines 9–16). However, in this second episode we can only infer that the pig has the same fate as the dog before and the pig's reaction to the house of the monkey is not reported. In the third episode (lines 16–22) the actions and events reported in episode two happen with a cat as the partner of the monkey. In the fourth episode (lines 22–29) the things reported already three times now happen with a man as the monkey's

partner. Again the man's reaction to the monkey's house is not reported, but we are told that the man dies because of the monkey's curse. The tale ends with the ritualized coda which reports that the monkey will live forever (line 30). Table 5 summarizes the structure of this tale:

Table 5. The structure of the "Tale of this monkey"

	lines
Ritualized introductory formula (2x)	1–2
<i>Episode 1 The monkey and the dog</i>	
Subevent 1 A monkey and a dog hold hands, the monkey invites the dog to its house.	2–4
Subevent 2 The dog finds the house beautiful.	5
Subevent 3 They go to the house, the monkey insults the dog, puts a curse on it and leaves it.	5–8
Subevent 4 The monkey leaves the dog and the dog dies.	8–9
<i>Episode 2 The monkey and the pig</i>	
Subevent 1 The monkey and a pig hold hands, the monkey invites the pig to its house.	9–11
Subevent 2 They go to the house, the monkey insults the dog, puts a curse on it and leaves it.	11–16
<i>Episode 3 The monkey and the cat</i>	
Subevent 1 The monkey and a cat hold hands, the monkey invites the cat to its house.	16–18
Subevent 2 The monkey brings the cat to its house, insults it, puts a curse on it and leaves it.	18–22
<i>Episode 4 The monkey and the man</i>	
Subevent 1 The monkey and a man hold hands, the monkey brings the man to its house and they stop at the entrance.	22–27
Subevent 2 The monkey insults the man, puts a curse on him and leaves him.	27–29
Subevent 3 The man dies.	29
Formula marking the end of the tale	30

In Towesei's narration we observe only 6 instances where verbs are marked with TAM markers: The prefix "l-" marks a completed action (see line 5) and five verbs are marked by the irrealis or future indicating TAM marker "b-" (see lines 8, 15, 28, 29). All the other verbs are formed just with person prefixes which are unmarked for TAM.

The tale illustrates that repetition of subevents experienced by the protagonist of a story with different partners or interactants is a characteristic feature of many narratives of the Trobriand Islanders; it can be observed not only in tales like this one, but also in rather long and complex myths (see Senft 2010: 81–148). However,

6 year old Towesei does not repeat all subevents in the 4 episodes verbatim and completely, as most of the adult narrators do. The repeated actions with animals and a man as partners of the monkey and a house as an object of attraction may have the function to train children in using the correct classificatory particles (CPs) for referring to human and non-human animates and to inanimate objects. The classifier “*na-*” (e.g. line 1) refers to animals, the classifier “*to-*” (e.g. line 28) refers to men, the classifier “*pwana-*” (line 26) refers to holes, the classifier “*kwena-*” (line 25) refers to pots and pot-like objects and the classifier “*kwe-*” (e.g. line 5) refers to things. Usually, the classifier “*ke-*” refers to wooden things – (houses on the Trobriands are made of wood). Towesei uses the general classifier “*kwe-*” to refer to the monkey’s house (and not the correct classifier “*ke-*”); he also uses the classifier “*to-*” (which refers to humans) to refer to the pig and the cat in lines 14 and 21 (and not the correct classifier “*na-*” which refers to animals). This indicates that he has not yet fully acquired these basic classificatory particles in Kilivila. This agrees with my research results on the acquisition of these classifiers by the children of Tauwema (Senft 1996).

What is quite surprising with this story is the fact that a fairy tale told in a Melanesian village has a monkey as its protagonist. This may indicate that the story has its origin in other places of the world – there are no monkeys in Oceania. It may have been introduced to the Trobriands either by foreigners like traders or tourists who got in contact with the Trobrianders or by teachers or missionaries who lived for a while on the Islands. However, it may also be that this protagonist personates “the stranger” *per se* for the children – this reading is quite plausible, too, especially if we look at the moral of this tale (see below).

With respect to the plot of the story it is interesting that no reasons for the monkey’s rude and unpredictable behavior are given – this may indicate that Towesei either did not hear and learn the complete tale or that he only remembered some but not all story-relevant pieces of information that are necessary to create the proper setting of the story for the listeners. However, as we will see in other stories presented below, not all forms of behavior and not all actions of protagonists are explained and justified in Trobriand narratives. Moreover, the narrator provides no information on why this tale is worth telling – at least for our Western expectations it is not really entertaining. However, it may have a very culture-specific moral: The fact that somebody who first treats others very friendly can unexpectedly change into someone who curses and even kills these acquaintances may serve as an implicit warning for children to not trust other persons too quickly. Until recently the Trobriand Islanders were very much afraid of “*bwagau*”, that is sorcerers who use black magic to kill people. The monkey in this story has these capacities of a *bwagau* – it is able to not only kill a dog, a pig and a cat but also a human being. Thus the moral of this tale may well be: “Be on your alert, don’t trust strangers too quickly and don’t accompany them to their living places”.

Towesei's frequent production of the hesitation utterance "*amyaga*" – "what's the name" indicates some insecurity in his report of the subevents of the tale; moreover, the frequency of this rhetorical question may also be indicative of Towesei's nervousness which may have resulted in his growing awareness of the fact that he is in the focus of interest not only of his peers, but also of two adult foreigners while he is telling his stories. However, if he indeed felt nervous, it did not prevent him from telling four more tales in this session.

2.2.2.5 Towesei tells the "Kwanebuyeee manana bunukwa" – The "Tale of this pig"

The next story Towesei told us was "The Tale of this pig":

E ba-kwanebu kwanebu-yeee amyaga ma-na-na
and 1.FUT-tell tale-EMPH what's.the.name DEM-CP.animal-DEM
And I will tell the tale (Once upon a time there was) – what's the name – (of) this

bunukwa. E-sisu na-tabwabogwa. I-vilulu te-tolu
pig 3.-be CP.animal-very.fat 3.-give.birth CP.man-three
pig. It was there a very fat pig. It gives birth to three

tauwau. Amyaga, i-sisu-si, amyaga i-...
men what's.the.name 3.-be-PL what's.the.name 3.-
men. What's the name, they lived, what's the name, they...

*i-lo-si i-tisitasi-si i-lo-si *i-tisitsat-si (!) si keyala.*
3.-go-PL 3.-sharpen-PL 3.-go-PL 3.-sharpen-PL their spears
they go they sharpen they go they sharpen their spears.

(5)

I-meye-si i-meye-si, amyaga i-migai ina-si
3.-bring-PL 3.-bring-PL what's.the.name 3.-make.magic mother-their
They bring they bring them, what's the name, and she makes magic, their mother

i-vokwa. I-kau-si ma-ke-na keyala –
3.-finish 3.-take-PL DEM-CP.wooden-DEM spear
it is finished. They take this spear –

ma-ke-si-ta keyala i-... i-tau-si i-sisu-si-ga
DEM-CP.wooden-PL-DEM spear 3.- 3.-put.up 3.-be-PL-EMPH
these spears they... they put them up they are there

otabwala Ina-si i-sisu-si-wa. E-ma-ga
in.the.middle mother-their 3.-be-PL-only 3.-come-EMPH
in the middle. With their mother they just live there. He comes

Dokonikani, amya, i-ma. I-luvalua-si,
Dokonikani what's.the.name 3.-come 3.-rise-PL
a Dokonikani, what's the name, he comes. They rise.

(10)

tua-la *i-somata*, *amya* *i-tokeva* *bwada*,
 older.brother-his 3.-be.tired what's.the.name 3.-stand.up brother
 his older brother is tired of this, what's the name, he stands up the brother,

bwada-si *i-veya* *m-to-na* *Dokonikani*
 brother-their 3.-hit DEM-CP.human.DEM Dokonikani
 their brother, he hits this Dokonikani

e-katumati. *E-lau-si* *i-baku-si*. *Bogwa* *me-sinau*
 3.-kill 3.-take.away-PL 3.-bury-PL already 3.HABIT-finished
 he kills him. They take him away they bury him. Already it is finished.

Towesei starts his tale with the ritualized introductory formula. We learn that a very fat pig gave birth to three men. These men sharpen their spears, then bring them to their mother. The pig puts a spell on the weapons, the men put the spears away and stay with their mother. After a while a *Dokonikani*, a man-eating ogre, comes to their place.²¹ The men are worried and the oldest of the brothers puts an end to this situation, killing the cannibal. Then he buries the *Dokonikani*. Towesei marks this end of the story with the ritualized closing formula. Table 6 summarizes the structure of this rather short tale:

Table 6. The structure of the “Tale of the pig”

	lines
Ritualized introductory formula	1–2
<i>Episode 1 The fat pig and its sons</i>	
Subevent 1 The pig gives birth to three men.	2–3
Subevent 2 The men sharpen their spears and the pig puts a spell on them.	4–6
Subevent 3 The men put the spears away and stay with the pig.	8
<i>Episode 2 The three brothers and the Dokonikani</i>	
Subevent 1 A <i>Dokonikani</i> comes to the area where the pig and the three men are living.	8–9
Subevent 2 The men are worried, the oldest brother kills the ogre; then the men bury him.	9–12
Ritualized formula (coda) marking the end of a tale	12

This tale consists of two episodes the first of which is subdivided into three sub-events and the second into two. The subevents of the first episode are marked by a change of characters (line 3) from the pig to its sons, the end of a joint action

21. Baldwin (1971:7) defines a *Dokonikani* as follows: “DOKINIKANI is a childish corruption of TUKANIKANITAU, Man-eating-man”.

(line 6) and an indication of a time shift (line 8 “*Inasi isisusiwa*”). The first subevent of the second episode introduces a new protagonist, a Dokonikani. The second subevent of this episode is marked by a shift from the ogre to the three men and reports their reaction to the arrival of the cannibal.

With the exception of the verb in the coda all the verbs in this tale are produced without TAM-markers. No explanation is provided why a pig can give birth to three men and whether some time had passed after the birth and the first reported action of these men – the sharpening of their spears. That the pig puts magic on these weapons is the only hint that we need not ask the question of why a pig can be the mother of men – in the realm of magic and tales like this one everything is possible for the Trobriand Islanders. This is the first tale in which a Dokonikani is introduced as an important protagonist. Dokonikani is actually the name of a terrifying man-eating ogre that plays an important part in the famous myth of Tudava, the “great mythological culture hero” of the Trobriand Islanders (Malinowski 1974: 121, 124, 228, 1935 Vol. II: 200ff; see also Senft 2010: 81–148). However, here we are not dealing with a myth – a “*liliu*”. In tales like the ones presented in this volume – in tales that are explicitly metalinguistically labeled as “*kukwanebu*” – the name “Dokonikani” is generalized and used for man-eating ogres in general – be they male or female. However, note that the Dokonikani is just introduced in this tale without any further specification of his qualities – listeners have to infer on the basis of their cultural knowledge why the oldest son of the pig kills this protagonist and why he has reasons for doing this. Telling this tale Towesei produces the phrase “*amyaga*” only three times (lines 1 & 3) as a hesitation phenomenon. Note, however, that he makes a mistake in uttering the verbal expression “*itisitasisi*” when he repeats it in line 4. To sum up, Towesei reports in this tale a series of unexplained events in a chronological order which is not further specified.

2.2.2.6 Towesei tells the “*Kwanebuyeee manana lekolekwa*” – The “*Tale of this rooster*”

The next story Towesei told us was “The Tale of the Rooster”:

O ba-kwanebu ke kwanebuye, amyaga ...
oh 1.FUT-tell well tale what's.the.name
Oh, I will tell another tale, what's the name...

Kwanebu-yeee sali... ve, kwanebu-yeee lekolekwa.
tale-EMPH mir... eh tale-EMPH cock

The Tale of (Once upon a time there was) a mir... eh, the tale of a cock.

I-isisu i-sisu i-sisu, amyaga, i-sisu i-gela:
3.-be 3.-be 3.-be what's.the.name 3.-be 3.-crow

He is there, he is there, he is there, what's the name, he is there he crows

“lekoleko lekoleko!” – *Namba wan. E-yam, amyaga,*
 lekoleko lekoleko number one 3.-be.day what’s.the.name
 “lekoleko, lekoleko!” – First class. Day breaks, what’s the name,

(5)

e-kalitavoi. i-la Dokonikani o la bagula i-kam.
 3.-go.away 3.-go Dokonikani LOC his garden 3.-eat
 it goes away it goes to Dokonikani’s garden (and) it eats (there).

I-kam-kwam i-kam-kwam i-kam-kwam i-vokwa
 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-finish

It eats and eats, it eats and eats, it eats and eats, it is finished,

i-ma. Amyaga e-va-ga Dokonikani i-gisi
 3.-come what’s.the.name 3.-go.to-EMPH Dokonikani 3.-see
 it comes (back to the village). What’s the name, he goes there, the Dokonikani,
 he sees it

e-kebiga: “Avenai m-to-na e-kam-kwam?”
 3.-say Who DEM-CP.human.DEM 3.-eat-REDUP
 He says: “Who is this who ate (this up)?”

E-ma, e-salili mi-na-na lekolekwa.
 3.-come 3.-leave.early DEM-CP.animal-DEM cock
 It comes it leaves early this cock.

(10)

Oluvi Dokonikani i-lola i-va i-va i-weki
 then Dokonikani 3.-walk 3.-go.to 3.-go.to 3.-go.and.rush to
 Then the Dokonikani goes for a walk he goes there he goes there he goes and
 rushes there where

e-kam-kwam. E-katumati. Bogwa me-sinau
 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-kill already 3.HABIT-finished
 it eats and eats. He kills it. Already it is finished.

After the tale introducing formula we learn that the protagonist is a “number one” rooster. One day he goes to the garden of a Dokonikani, eats there and returns to its village. Then the ogre comes to his garden and wonders who was eating the tubers he had planted there. The next day the rooster goes to the cannibal’s garden again. However, this time the Dokonikani roams around there, sees the rooster eating in his garden and kills it. The ritualized coda marks the end of this rather short tale. Table 7 summarizes the structure of this tale.

This tale consists of 5 simple episodes, which are clearly marked from each other. The triple repetition of the first verb after the introductory formula sets the scene for the description of the qualities of the protagonist – and after the

Table 7. The structure of the “Tale of the rooster”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula	1–2
<i>Episode 1 The cock is an excellent rooster.</i>	3–4
<i>Episode 2 The rooster goes to the garden of a Dokonikani, eats there and then goes back to its village.</i>	3–7
<i>Episode 3 The Dokonikani goes to his garden he wonders who was eating the food he planted there.</i>	7–8
<i>Episode 4 Next day the rooster goes again to Dokonikani's garden.</i>	9
<i>Episode 5 The Dokonikani goes for a walk in his garden, sees the cock eating there and kills it.</i>	10–11
Ritualized formula that marks the end of a tale	11

demonstration of the cock's crowing qualities the episode ends with an evaluation provided in English. The second episode starts with a time shift (“*eyam*”, line 4) and ends with an explicit marking of its end (“*ivokwa ima*”, line 6–7). The third episode introduces the Dokonikani as a new protagonist. Like the demonstration of the cock's crowing (in line 4) – the use of direct speech that is marked as reported speech by the verb “*ekebiga*” (line 8) makes the story more colorful. The fourth period shifts to the rooster again and the fifth period is marked by the adverb “*oluvi*” together with the shift of focus from the cock to the Dokonikani. Towesei starts narrating this story with a false start which he immediately repairs – using the interjection “*ve*” as an indication that he made a slip of the tongue. With the exception of the verb in the coda all other verbs in this tale are produced again without TAM markers. Towesei produces four times the rhetorical question “*amyaga*”, however, this time this hesitation phenomenon does not disturb the narrative flow of the tale too much. As in the “Tale of the pig” the narrator does not provide any specific information about the qualities of a Dokonikani – obviously he presupposes that this is common knowledge between him and his audience.

2.2.2.7 Towesei tells the “Kwanbuyee minana vivila” – The “Tale of this girl (who was killed by a tree)”

Among the 8 tales that Towesei told us was also the following one to which I refer with the title the “Tale of this girl (who was killed by a tree)” to differentiate it from the “Tale of this girl (and the mirror). The story runs as follows:

Yegu ba-kwanebu: kwanebu-yeee ma-na-na vivila.
 I 1.FUT-tell tale-EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM girl
 I will tell a tale: The tale of (Once upon a time there was) this girl.

I-ma i-kili i-keula, amyaga, asi sopi.
 3.-come 3.-fetch 3.-carry what's.the.name their water
 She comes she fetches and carries, what's the name, their water.

I-ma i-ma ma-na-kwa, i-ma i-meki
 3.-come 3.come DEM-DEM-CP.thing 3.-come 3.-come.to
 She comes, she comes to this, she comes she comes to

ma-na-kwa sopi. Amyaga ka... i-kau
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing water what's.the.name well 3.-take
 this waterhole. What's the name, well ... she takes

(5)

ma-ya-na yavesi, i-gi-gisi bogeokwa.
 DEM-CP.flexible-DEM leaf 3.-REDUP-see already.finished
 this leaf, she looks at it, it's over.

I-kili i-kili ala sopi, i-ligemwa-ga mi-ya-na
 3.-fetch 3.-fetch her water 3.-forget-EMPH DEM-CP.flexible-DEM
 She fetches she fetches her water, she forgets about this

yavesi, i-la i-sisu-wa. I-va i-vavagi-ga.
 leaf 3.-go 3.-be-only 3.-go.to 3.-make-EMPH
 leaf, she goes away she is there. She goes to (the waterhole) and makes (this).

Ma-ke-na kai i-kapusi-wa omata-la. I-katulisi
 DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM tree 3.-fall-only in.front.of-her 3.-drop
 This tree just falls down in front of her. She drops

la gugua, amyaga, i-.... i... i-ka... i-katulisi
 her goods what's.the.name 3.- 3.- 3.-dro... 3.-drop
 her goods, what's the name, she... she... she dro... she drops

(10)

la gugua, i-katumati, i-vokwa. I-la i-sisu i-sisu.
 her goods 3.-kill 3.-finish 3.-go 3.-stay 3.-stay
 her goods, it kills her, it is finished. She goes (to Tuma) she stays she stays there.

E-ma-ga te-ta(la) tomwota, i-sukwani i-sukwani:
 3.-come-EMPH CP.male-one person 3.-smell 3.smell
 There comes one man he is smelling something, he is smelling something:

"Sena bogina!" I-la i-luki amyaga veyala.
 very rotten.smell 3.-go 3.-tell what's.the.name relative-her
 "What a very rotten smell!" He goes he tells, what's the name, her relatives.

I-me-si i-baku-si. I-baku-si amyaga ka i-baku-si.
 3.-come-PL 3.-bury-PL 3.-bury-PL what's.the.name well 3.-bury-PL
 They come they bury her. They bury her, what's the name, well, they bury her.

I-kanamwa i-sigaga

3.-sleep 3.-stay permanently

She sleeps she stays forever.

Again Towesei starts this tale with the ritualized introductory formula; however, before he utters this formula he explicitly points out that he will tell a tale now. With this utterance he takes up his turn again after Dauya had finished telling one of his stories (line 1).²² The story reports that a girl goes to fetch water at a waterhole, finds a leaf, takes it up, looks at it, wonders about it but does not really care (lines 2–5). After she has fetched the water a tree falls down in front of her, she drops her goods and tries to run away but she is killed by the falling tree (lines 6–10). In line 10 we learn that the dead girl then goes away and stays somewhere. After a while a man comes to the place and smells something rotten. He goes to the girl's relatives and reports that he found her corpse (lines 11–12). The girl's relatives come to bury her (line 13). The tale ends with the reference that the girl is sleeping forever – the last verbal expression of the tale is one of the ritualized formulae to mark the end of a tale (line 14). Table 8 summarizes the structure of this tale:

Table 8. The structure of the “Tale of this girl who was killed by a tree”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula of a tale	1
<i>Episode 1 The accident</i>	
Subevent 1 A girl goes and fetches water, sees a leaf in the water but does not care.	2–5
Subevent 2 She fetches water, a tree falls down in front of her, she drops her goods but she is killed by the falling tree.	6–10
Subevent 3 The dead girl goes away and stays at an unspecified place.	10
<i>Episode 2 The burial</i>	
Subevent 1 A man smells something rotten, sees the girl's corpse, goes to her relatives and reports the girl's death.	11–12
Subevent 2 The girl's relatives go to the waterhole and bury her.	13
Ritualized formula marking the end of a tale	14

Looking at the tales content it is interesting to note that Towesei does not provide any explicit information about the role of the leaf in the water (– could it be taken as a warning that something was wrong at the waterhole?), nor about the fact that he reports that the dead girl goes away and stays somewhere else, nor about the fact that the rotten smell led the man to the dead girl's corpse, nor about his encounter with

22. See footnote 13.

the girl's relatives, either. The fact that her corpse already started to putrefy points out that these relatives obviously did not look after the girl properly – this is something that would never ever happen in real life on the Trobriands. Thus, this report of the man finding the girl's body because of the smell which emanated from her corpse clearly characterizes the tale as fictitious. Towesei's rather cryptic remark that after her death the girl "goes and stays there" (line 10) hints to the Trobriand Islanders' belief in immortal spirits. After the death of a person, his or her "*baloma*" – the spirit of the dead – goes to the Trobriand underworld located on Tuma, one of the Trobriand Islands where the *baloma* live a happy and carefree life (see Senft 2011; see also 2.2.2.3 above). However, inferences like this one which are necessary to fully understand the tale and its coherent plot have to be made by the listeners.

Towesei uses the culture-specific formulae for marking the beginning and the end of the story. The explicit marking that an event is over (lines 5&10) and the introduction of new characters are used to indicate the structure of the tale. It is interesting to note that all the verbs in this tale are not marked with TAM markers. Towesei only uses the future indicating marker "*b-*" when he takes up his turn – before he starts telling the tale. We also observe again that Towesei quite often produces the rhetorical question "what's the name" as an hesitation phenomenon with which he sometimes indicates word-finding problems (see line 9).

The tale can be understood as a warning for children to always carefully monitor their environment, especially when they are in the bush. It could also be interpreted as providing an incentive for children to inquire with their parents how somebody who has died can go away and stay at another place.

2.2.2.8 Towesei tells the "Kwanbuyeee Tokositagina" – The "Tale of Tokositagina"

The most complex of Towesei's tales is "The Tale of Tokositagina" which consists of 49 lines of transcribed text. It runs as follows:

E ba-kwanebu: Kwanebu-yeee m-to-na Tokositagina.
and 1.FUT-tell tale-EMPH DEM-CP.male-CP Tokositagina
And I will tell the tale of (Once upon a time there was) this Tokositagina.

I-sisu-wa, sena bi-va... i-valam. I-valam e-ma
3.-be.only very 3.FUT-cr... 3.cry 3.-cry 3.-come
He is just there, he will cr... he cries. He cries and he comes

m-to-na Dokonikani. E-kebiga: "Moa avaka
DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-say chap what
this Dokonikani. He says: "Chap, what

ku-vilam?" E-vavagi-ga m-to-na amyaga
2.-cry 3.-say-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM what's.the.name
are you crying about?" He says this, what's the name,

(5)

m-to-na ... Tokositagina: "A *ina-gu tama-gu*
 DEM-CP.male-DEM ... Tokositagina ah mother-my father-my
 this ... Tokositagina: "Ah, my mother and my father

e-lo-si o buyagu lau-valam." *E-vavagi-ga:* "A,
 3.-go-PL LOC garden 1.PAST-cry 3.-say-EMPH ah
 they went to the garden and I cried". He says: "Ah,

ku-daukwali ina-m tama-m ba-lagi." *E-vavagi-ga:*
 2.-call mother-your father-your 1.FUT-listen 3.-say-EMPH
 call your mother and your father I will listen". He calls:

"*Ina-gu tamag-u:u!*" *E-vavagi-ga:* "*Ma-ya-si-ta*
 Mother-my father-my 3.-say-EMPH DEM-CP.flexible-PL-DEM
 "Mother, faaaather!". He says: "These

(10)

bologu ya-yu e-kapusi-si. *Amyaga, e-kebiga:*
 bologu-tree CP.flexible-two 3.-fall-PL what's.the.name he says:
 two *bologu*-tree leaves fall down". What's the name, he says:

"*O bwena ku-sisu ba-la,* *e i-la. I-valam*
 oh good 2.-stay 1.FUT-go and 3.-go 3.-cry
 "Oh good, you stay I go", and he goes. He cries,

i-valam i-valam i-valam. I-va tuta bogwa e-geda
 3.-cry 3.-cry 3.-cry 3.-go time already 3.-bite
 he cries, he cries, he cries. Time flies, already it bites

ala leya m-to-na Dokonikani. I-ma i-katupoi bogwa
 his anger DEM-CP.ame-DEM Dokonikani 3.-come 3.-ask already
 the anger of this Dokonikani. He comes he asks already

e-kebiga: "Avaka *ku-vilam?*" *I-vavagi-ga:* "A *ina-gu*
 3.-say what 2.-cry 3.-say-EMPH ah mother-my
 he says: "What are you crying for?" He says: "Ah, my mother

(15)

tama-gu e-lo-si o buyagu. *E-kebiga:* "O *ku-daukwali*
 father-my 3.-go-PL LOC garden 3.-say oh 2.-call
 and my father went to the garden. He says: "Oh call

ina-m tama-m ba-lagi." *E i-dau, e-kebiga i-dau:*
 mother-your father-your 1.FUT-listen and 3.-call 3.say 3.-call
 your mother and your father I will listen". And he calls, he says he calls:

"*Ina-gu tama-gu:u!*" *E-vavagi-ga i-ta... i-tama:*
 mother-my father-my 3.-say-EMPH 3.-no... 3.-nod
 "Mother, faaaather!". He says he no..., he nods:

Ma-ya-na bologu e-kapusi-si. *I-va tuta. I-tokeya*
 DEM-CP.flexible-DEM bologu-tree 3.-fall-PL 3.-go time 3.-stand.up
 “These *bologu*-tree leaves fall down”. Time passes. He stands up

m-to-na Tokosikuli: Ih ma-ke-na Dokonikani
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Tokosikuli ih DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM Dokonikani
 this Tokosikuli: “Ih, this Dokonikani’s

(20)

ala nuya, amyaga, taga keuva! *I-kau*
 his coconut what’s.the.name but plenty. 3.-take
 coconut tree, what’s the name, but it has plenty coconuts!” He takes

kai-ta(la) regisa, i-mwena i-la o dogina i-sisu.
 CP.long-one saw 3.-climb 3.-go LOC top 3.-be
 a long saw, he climbs he goes to the tree top he stays there.

I-ma-ga m-to-na Dokonikani, i-sisu o la bwala.
 3.-come-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-be LOC his house
 He comes this Dokonikani, he is in his house.

M-to-na Tokositagina i-sisu e-kebiga e-kebiga amakala
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Tokositagina 3.-be 3.say 3.-say like
 This Tokositagina he is there and he says he says the following

m-to-na e-s... amakala: M-to-na gwadi gala
 DEM-CP.male-DEM 3.- like DEM-CP.male-DEM child not
 this, he... the following: “This child does not

(25)

i-valam. *E-sisu-wa o ko... o kaukweda, e-sisu-wa*
 3.-cry 3.-be-only LOC va... LOC veranda 3.-be-only
 cry any more”. He just sits on the va... the veranda, he just sits

o kaukweda, amyaga, e-kebiga: Ma-ke-na
 LOC veranda what’s.the.name 3.-say DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM
 on the veranda, what’s the name, he says: “This

nuya – makala tomwota. *E, amyaga i-u’u*
 coconut like person and what’s.the.name 3.-blow
 coconut tree – as if there was somebody”. And, what’s the name, it blows

yagila e-mweki ma-ke-na nuya. Makala tomwota.
 wind 3.-climb DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM coconut like person
 the wind it blows up these coconut leaves. “As if there was somebody”.

I-u’u yagila. Ma-ke-na nuya makala
 3.-blow wind DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM coconut like
 It blows the wind. “This coconut tree – as if there was

(30)

tomwota. *E-kanta'ila i-mweki o dogina*. “*Ku-you* –
 person 3.-turn 3.-come.straight.to LOC top 2.-fly
 somebody. He turns his head he comes straight to the top. “Fly –
ku-la Dobu lagela ba-kome-m”. *Bogeokwa*.
 2.-go Dobu today 1.FUT-eat-you already.finished
 you go to Dobu today, I will eat you”. He has already finished (saying this).

I-mwem-wena i-mwem-wena bi-yosa-wa. I-kilisi-ga
 3.-climb-REDUP 3.-climb-REDUP 3.FUT-seize 3.-throw-EMPH
 He climbs and climbs, he climbs and climbs he will seize him. He throws

e amyaga, i-kilisi ma-bukwa-na nuya –
 eh, what's.the.name 3.-throw DEM-CP.bunch-DEM coconut
 eh, what's the name, he throws a bunch of coconuts –

sedididi – otinava. Buyai vovo-la ta-doki avaka.
 whoosh on.the.ground blood body-his DUAL.INCL-think what
 whoosh – down to the ground. There is blood on his body, one thinks, or what.

(35)

E i-mwena i-va i-doki-wa bi-yosa. E i-kilisi
 and 3.-climb 3.-go.to 3.-think-only 3.FUT-seize and 3.-throw
 And he climbs he goes to the top he thinks he will seize him. And he throws

bwebwai – sedididi – otinava. E i-mwena i-va
 green.coconuts whoosh to.the.ground and 3.-climb 3.-go.to
 green coconuts – whoosh – to the ground. And he climbs he goes to the top

i-doki bi-yosi. I-kilisi amyaga bwebwai –
 3.-think 3.FUT-seize 3.-throw what's.the.name green.coconut
 he thinks he will seize him. He throws, what's the name, green coconuts –

sedididi – otinava. I-mwena i-va i-doki
 whoosh to.the.ground 3.-climb 3.-go.to 3.-think
 whoosh – to the ground. He climbs he goes to the top he thinks

bi-yosa. I-kilisi amyaga bwebwai sedididi
 3.FUT-seize 3.-throw what's.the.name green.coconuts whoosh
 he will seize him. He throws – what's the name – green coconuts – whoosh –

(40)

otinava. Lasta ma-bukwa-na bogwa
 to.the.ground at.last DEM-CP.bunch-DEM already
 down to the ground. At last this bunch already

e-katumati vovo-la e-vinaku – ma-bukwa-na-ga
 3.-kill body-his 3.-finish DEM-bunch-DEM-EMPH
 smashes his body it is finished – (it was) this

bukwa-veaka kavala. I-mwena i-va i-doki
 CP.bunch-heavy coconut.leaf 3.-climb 3.-go.to 3.-think
 heavy bunch of coconut leaves. He climbs he goes to the top he thinks

bi-yosa, I-kapituni ma-bukwa-na bukwa-tabwabogwa.
 3.FUT.seize 3.-cut.off DEM-CP.bunch-DEM CP.bunch-very.thick
 he will seize him. He cuts off this very thick bunch of coconut leaves.

I-isewa bi-sili – gala – a amyaga i-sedidiya
 3.-stay 3.FUT-sit no ah what's.the.name 3.-slide.down
 He is there he wants to sit – no – ah, what's the name, he slides down

(45)

i-la-wa i-katumati. I-ma e-tobusi e-ma
 3.-go-only 3.-kill 3.-come 3.-come.down 3.-come
 he just goes there, he killed him. He comes he comes down, he comes

amyaga ka i-tobusi i-ma i-m...
 what's.the.name well 3.-come.down 3.-come 3.-co...
 what's the name, well, he comes down, he comes, he co...

amyaga i-bia i-lau i-baku. Amyaga
 what's.the.name 3.-pull 3.-take.away 3.-bury what's.the.name
 what's the name, he pulls he takes him away he buries him. What's the name,

i-simwa-ga i-sigaga i-kam ala bwebwai.
 3.-stay-EMPH 3.-stay.permanently 3.-eat his green-coconuts.
 he stays, he stays forever, he eats his green coconuts.

Bogwa m-esinau.
 already 3.HABIT-finish
 Already it is finished

After the ritualized introductory formula the tale reports that its protagonist Tokositagina is a child who cries a lot. A Dokonikani hears him crying, goes to the boy and asks him why he is crying. The child tells the ogre that his parents went to the garden and left him alone. The Dokonikani tells Tokositagina to call his parents and he does so. Then the boy tells the ogre that he saw two tree leaves falling down. The ogre takes this as a good sign and leaves the boy. However, the child continues to cry all the time. The Dokonikani gets angry, goes to the boy again and they have the same conversation as before. Time passes, the boy thinks of the ogre's coconuts, takes a saw, goes to the tree and climbs to its top. While the boy is in the tree top, the Dokonikani comes back home and notices that the child is not crying anymore. He sits down on his veranda and notices that something is wrong with his coconut tree – and he assumes that somebody has climbed up to its top. The wind starts blowing and the ogre suspects that there is somebody in the

top of the tree. He climbs up the tree, sees the boy and threatens him that he will eat him. He comes closer and closer and the boy takes a bunch of coconuts and throws them at the Dokonikani who falls down to the ground. He is bleeding, but he climbs up to the tree-top again to get hold of Tokositagina. The boy throws green coconuts down onto the ogre who falls to the ground again. The ogre tries two more times to get hold of the boy but Tokositagina twice throws green coconuts towards him which make the ogre fall down to the ground and almost smashes him. Nevertheless the Dokonikani does not give up and climbs up to the tree top again. Tokositagina cuts off a thick bunch of coconut leaves and throws them onto the Dokonikani. The ogre slides down the tree and dies. Tokositagina comes down from the tree, pulls the ogre away from the tree and buries him. Tokositagina stays at the ogre's place and eats his coconuts forever. The ritualized coda marks the end of this tale. Table 9 summarizes the structure of this tale:

Table 9. The structure of the "Tale of Tokositagina"

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula of a tale	1
<i>Episode 1 The crying Tokositagina and his first encounter with The Dokonikani</i>	
Subevent 1 Tokositagina is crying.	2
Subevent 2 A Dokonikani comes to the boy and asks him why he is crying.	2–4
Subevent 3 The boy answers because of his parents who went to the garden and left him alone.	4–6
Subevent 4 The Dokonikani tells him to call them.	6–7
Subevent 5 The boys does it and tells the ogre that he sees two tree leaves falling down.	7–10
Subevent 6 The Dokonikani takes this as a good sign and leaves the boy.	10–11
<i>Episode 2 The crying Tokositagina and his second encounter with the Dokonikani</i>	
Subevent 1 Tokositagina continues crying for a long time.	11–12
Subevent 2 The Dokonikani gets angry, comes to the boy again and asks him why he is crying.	12–14
Subevent 3 The boy answers because of his parents who went to the garden and left him alone.	14–15
Subevent 4 The Dokonikani tells him to call them.	15–16
Subevent 5 The boys does it and tells the ogre that he sees two tree leaves falling down.	16–18
<i>Episode 3 Tokositagina tries to steal coconuts from the Dokonikani who suspects that somebody is in his tree when he comes home</i>	
Subevent 1 Time passes and Tokositagina thinks of the Dokonikani's coconut tree, he takes a saw and climbs up to the tree top.	18–21
Subevent 2 The Dokonikani comes home, realizes that the boy does not cry anymore and suspects that someone is in the top of his coconut tree.	22–30

Table 9. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 4 The Dokonikani's first attempt to catch the intruder</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani climbs the coconut tree, sees the boy, threatens him and tries to seize him.	30–32
Subevent 2	Tokositagina throws a bunch of coconuts at him, the Dokonikani slides down to the ground and is bleeding.	32–34
<i>Episode 5 The Dokonikani's second attempt to catch the intruder</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani climbs up the tree again and tries to seize the boy.	35
Subevent 2	Tokositagina throws a bunch of green coconuts at him and the Dokonikani slides down to the ground.	35–36
<i>Episode 6 The Dokonikani's third attempt to catch the intruder</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani climbs up the tree again and tries to seize the boy.	36–37
Subevent 2	Again Tokositagina throws a bunch of green coconuts at him and the Dokonikani slides down to the ground.	37–38
<i>Episode 7 The Dokonikani's fourth attempt to catch the intruder</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani climbs up the tree again and tries to seize the boy.	38–39
Subevent 2	Tokositagina throws a heavy bunch of green coconuts at him and the Dokonikani slides down to the ground, his body is smashed.	39–42
<i>Episode 8 The Dokonikani's fifth attempt to catch the intruder</i>		
Subevent 1	Dokonikani climbs up the tree again and tries to seize the boy.	42–43
Subevent 2	Tokositagina cuts off a very thick bunch of coconut leaves and throws them onto the ogre, who slides down to the ground and this time the boy has killed him.	43–45
<i>Episode 9 Tokositagina climbs down the tree and buries the Dokonikani</i>		
	First ritualized formula indicating the end of a tale – with the comment that Tokositagina will stay there and eat green coconuts forever	45–47 48
	Second ritualized formula that marks the end of a tale	49

After the ritualized formula that marks the beginning of the tale, its first episode consists of 6 subevents. The subevents are indicated and marked by the change of speakers. The use of direct speech makes this report of the first encounter of the ogre and the boy very colorful and vivid. The reference to the two leaves that fall from a tree after Tokositagina has called for his parents remain cryptic and it is also unclear why the Dokonikani takes this observation as a sign that makes him leave the boy again. It may be that this is a hint towards some magic in the hands of Tokositagina's parents – but this remains sheer speculation.

The second episode is an almost verbatim repetition of the first episode – the only differences being that Tokositagina is obviously characterized as a “cry-baby”

and that the ogre gets angry to always hear him crying. Moreover, it is not stated explicitly that the Dokonikani leaves the boy after he has made the cryptic remark with respect to the leaves again.

The start of the third episode is explicitly marked with the statement that some time has passed before the things reported in this episode happened. The first subevent reports that the protagonist thinks of the ogre's coconut tree and wants to steal some of its nuts, takes a saw and climbs with it into the top of the tree. Note that the name of the protagonist suddenly changes here from Tokositagina to Tokosikuli (line 19). According to Baldwin (1971: 129, 131) Tokosikuli or Warts or Pocks²³ are names of Dokonikani's "sad sack slave" (Baldwin 1971: 226) who "ordered up the coconut tree by the casual visitor obediently climbs" (Baldwin 1971: 229). This may explain Towesei's slip of the tongue here. The second subevent is marked by the change of characters again – the ogre comes home and has the suspicion that somebody has climbed his coconut tree. In this subevent Towesei refers to the boy with the name Tokositagina again (see line 23). I can neither explain the name change in the previous subevent nor its repair in this subevent.

The following episode reports that the ogre climbs up the tree and sees the boy. The ogre tells him that his only chance to save his life would be if he could fly away – and then he tells Tokositagina that he "will go to Dobu today". This phrase needs some comment. Together with Goodenough, Normanby, Ferguson, Sanaroa and the Amphletts Dobu is one of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands about a 100 km or so south of the Trobriand Islands. Up to the days of Malinowski – who did his field research on the Trobriands between June 1915 and February 1916 and between November 1917 and September 1918 – the Trobriand Islanders were Kula-partners of the people of Dobu Island and the Amphletts (see 1.1 above). In these days the Dobuans and the people from the Amphlett Islands were feared not only because of their strong black magic but also because they were unpredictably fierce cannibals (see Fortune 1932). After this rather elegant innuendo the ogre then explicitly states that he will kill and eat the boy. But when he tries to catch him, the boy throws a bunch of coconuts at him and the ogre slides down the tree to the ground.

The following 4 episodes are highly repetitive – they report in two subevents that the ogre climbs up the tree and that Tokositagina throws coconuts at him so that he slides down to the ground. In episode 8 the boy finally throws coconut leaves towards that ogre and manages to kill the Dokonikani. The subevents are marked by the clear change of characters and the report of their actions.

The last episode reports that Tokositagina buries the ogre and lives at his place. The tale ends with two codas. The first ritualized formula reports that the

23. Note that the two names Warts and Pocks do not agree with Kilivila phonotactics (see Senft 1986: 22ff).

protagonist stays at the ogre's place and eats his coconuts forever, and the second ritualized formula explicitly marks the end of the tale.

Towesei also uses some other narrative means to indicate the structure of this tale. The end of the first and the beginning of the second subevent of episode 1 is marked by a tail-head linkage construction (line 2), the direct speech of the two protagonists is introduced with the appropriate *verba dicendi*, time shifts and the end of an action are explicitly marked (see lines 12, 27–28 and 31).

As mentioned above the use of direct speech makes the narration quite colorful, vivid and thrilling. The thrill of this tale is certainly also due to the five-time repetition of the ogre's attempt to seize the boy and Tokositagina's defensive actions until he manages to kill the Dokonikani. And Towesei's use of the onomatopoeic form "*sedididi*" (lines 34, 36, 38, 39) and the proper verb "*isedidiya*" (line 44) in illustrating the dramatic fight between the boy and the ogre certainly has a cathartic effect. In general, he describes the episodes that report the fight between the Dokonikani and Tokositagina in a rhetorically quite sophisticated manner for a boy at the age of six years.

However, Towesei's frequent use of the rhetorical question "*amyaga*" somehow disturbs the flow of his narration. One could also argue that at the end of subevent 2 of episode 7 the narrator reveals some problems in his temporal linearization of this and the following subevent. In line 41 we learn that the big bunch of coconuts smashed Dokonikani's body – Towesei actually uses the verb "*-katumati-*" (to kill) here. But it is the following episode that reports the ogre's fifth attempt to catch Tokositagina which results in Dokonikani's death.

It could be that Towesei may have mixed up the verb "*-katumati-*" (in line 41) with the verb "*-katubuyani-*" which means "to wound". However, this remains an open issue.

With the exception of four verbs that are produced with the prefix "*b-*" that marks future and/or irrealis and the verb in the last coda that is marked with the prefix "*m-*" that indicates an habitual action all the other verbs in this tale are produced without a TAM marker.

Finally I would like to note here that this tale could be argued to be educational in one sense or another, because it reports that even a boy who once was a prototypical cry-baby can win his fight against a man-eating Dokonikani.

2.2.2.9 Towesei tells the "*Kwanebuyeee Pepekwa*" – The "*Tale of Pepekwa*"

As mentioned above (2.2.1), Towesei told us this story a few weeks before we documented all the other tales in July 1983. Towesei's earlier telling of the "*Tale of Pepekwa*" and Yabilosi's later attempt to also tell this story (see 2.2.2.1 above) nicely illustrates that all these tales and stories are known by many of the children in Tauwema and that there are no special rights whatsoever with respect to who is allowed to tell them. The "*Tale of Pepekwa*" runs as follows:

Kwanebu-yeee Pepekwa. Ina-la tama-la bi-sulu-sulu-si
 tale-EMPH Pepekwa mother-its father-its 3.FUT-REDUP-cook-PL
 Once upon a time there was the Pepekwa-fish. Its mother and its father will cook

kaula, bi-yeya'i-si bi-kam-kwam-si,
 food 3.FUT-take.food.out.of.cooking.pot 3.FUT-REDUP-eat-PL
 food, they will take it out of the cooking pot they will eat (it),

mi-na-na-ga bi-sisu-wala. Ivatu, i-la
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM-EMPH 3.-be-only time.passes 3.-go
 this Pepekwa is just there. Time passes, it goes

i-vawai ala mauna Pwasisikwa. I-ma ...
 3.-kill its bird Pwasisikwa 3.-come
 it kills its bird Pwasisikwa. It comes...

(5)

i-ma i-tokeva i-basi vovo-la, i-vokwa i-you.
 3.-come 3.-stand.up 3.-stitch body.its 3.-finish 3.-fly
 it comes it stands up it stitches (the birds feathers into) its body, it is finished it
 flies (away).

I-yo-you i-va i-toli o si kulumwala
 3.-REDUP-fly 3.-go.to 3.-stand LOC their roof
 It flies and flies it goes it stands on the roof of their house,

o si kulumwala ina-la tama-la.
 LOC their roof mother-its father-its
 on the roof (of the house) of its mother and father.

[song-like]

"Inadai tamadai (ku)-kwam-kwam-si kami.
 Mom Dad 2.-REDUP-eat-PL your.food
 "Mom and Dad you eat your food.

Yegu Pepekwa i-gade-gu molu i-gidumate-gu molu
 I Pepekwa 3.-bite-me hunger 3.-bite.strongly-me hunger
 I Pepekwa I am hungry, I am very hungry

(10)

ba-yobalo Omyuva, ba-kam kaula ba-siwa".
 1.FUT-fly.far.away Omyuva 1.FUT-eat food 1.FUT-stay
 I will fly far away to Omyuva, I will eat food I will stay (there)".

[end song]

E-vina:

3.-sing

She (its mother) sings:

[song-like]

“Tuda Pepekwa ku-busi ku-ma, ba-vai

Child Pepekwa 2.-come.down 2.-come 1.FUT-marry

“My child Pepekwa come down come, I will marry

Kavataria bunukwe-la, kalagila ku-kwam ta-simwa”

Kavataria big-its food 2.-eat DUAL.INCL-stay

a pig from Kavataria, food you eat, we two stay together”.

[end song]

E i-yo i-yo i-va i-la va Liga:

and 3.-fly 3.-fly 3.-go.to 3.-go DIR Liga-tree

And it flies it flies it goes to it goes to the Liga-tree:

(15)

[song-like]

“Inadai tamadai (ku)-kwam-kwam-si kami.

Mom Dad 2.-REDUP-eat-PL your.food

“Mom and Dad you eat your food.

Yegu Pepekwa i-gade-gu molu i-gidumate-gu molu

I Pepekwa 3.-bite-me hunger 3.-bite.strongly-me hunger

I Pepekwa I am hungry, I am very hungry

ba-yobalo Omyuva, ba-kam kaula ba-siwa”.

1.FUT-fly.far.away Omyuva 1.FUT-eat food 1.FUT-stay

I will fly far away to Omyuva, I will eat food I will stay (there)”.

[end song]

E e-vavagi ina-la ... e-vina:

And 3.-say mother-its 3.-sing

And she says its mother she sings:

[song-like]

“Tuda Pepekwa ku-busi ku-ma, ba-vai...

Child Pepekwa 2.-come.down 2.-come 1.FUT-marry

“My child Pepekwa come down come, I will marry...”

(20)

amyaga... m Loseda bunukwe-la, kalagila ku-kwam

whats.the.name hm Loseda pig-its food 2.-eat

whats the name... hm... a pig from Loseda, food you eat,

ta-simwa”.

DUAL.INCL-stay

we two stay together”.

[end song]

I-kalitavoi latu-la i-vina latu-la:
 3.-go.round child-her 3.-sing child her
 It goes around her child it sings her child:

[song-like]

"Inadai tamadai (ku)-kwam-kwam-si kami.
 Mom Dad 2.-REDUP-eat-PL your.food
 "Mom and Dad you eat your food.

Yegu Pepekwa i-gade-gu molu i-gidumate-gu molu
 I Pepekwa 3.-bite-me hunger 3.-bite.strongly-me hunger
 I Pepekwa I am hungry, I am very hungry

(25)

ba-yobalo Omyuva, ba-kam kaula ba-siwa".
 1.FUT-fly.far.away Omyuva 1.FUT-eat food 1.FUT-stay
 I will fly far away to Omyuva, I will eat food I will stay (there)."

[end song]

E e-vina ina-la:
 And 3.-sing mother-its
 And she sings its mother:

[song-like]

"Tuda Pepekwa ku-busi ku-ma, ba-vai...
 Child Pepekwa 2.-come.down 2.-come 1.FUT-marry
 "My child Pepekwa come down come, I will marry...

amyagala... amakala... ba-vai Oyabia bunukwe-la,
 whats.the.name like 1.FUT-marry Oyabia pig-its
 whats the name.... like I will marry a pig from Oyabia,

kalagila ku-kwam ta-simwa".
 food 2.-eat DUAL.INCL-stay
 food you eat, we two stay together".

[end song]

(30)

E... e... e... i-vina amyaga... latu-la:
 And and and 3.-sing what's.the.name child-her
 And... and... and it sings, what's the name... her child:

[song-like]

"Inadai tamadai (ku)-kwam-kwam-si kami.
 Mom Dad 2.-REDUP-eat-PL your.food
 "Mom and Dad you eat your food.

Yegu Pepekwa i-gade-gu molu i-gidumate-gu molu
 I Pepekwa 3.-bite-me hunger 3.-bite.strongly-me hunger
 I Pepekwa I am hungry, I am very hungry

ba-yobalo Omyuva, ba-kam kaula ba-siwa”.
 1.FUT-fly.far.away Omyuva 1.FUT-eat food 1.FUT-stay
 I will fly far away to Omyuva, I will eat food I will stay (there).”

[end song]

E e-vina ina-la:
 and 3.-sing mother-its
 And she sings its mother:

(35)

[song-like]

“Tuda Pepekwa ku-busi ku-ma, ba-vai
 Child Pepekwa 2.-come.down 2.-come 1.FUT-marry
 “My child Pepekwa come down come, I will marry

Losuia bunukwe-la, kalagila ku-kwam ta-simwa”.
 Losuia pig-its food 2.-eat DUAL.INCL-stay
 a pig from Losuia, food you eat, we two stay together”.

[end song]

Bogwa me-sinaku.
 already 3.HABIT-finish
 Already finished.

The ritualized introductory formula introduces Pepekwa as the protagonist of this tale. Towesei and the other children told me later that Pepekwa is a fish. Its mother and its father cook food and eat it while Pepekwa stays with them, however, they do not feed their child. After a while Pepekwa goes to its bird called Pwasisikwa, kills it, stitches the bird’s feathers into its body and flies onto the roof of its parents’ house. There Pepekwa sings a song in which he tells its parents that they eat while it is hungry and that it will therefore fly to Omyuva to eat something and to stay there. My consultants told me that Omyuva is a village on Woodlark as well as the name of this big island south-east of the Trobriands. However, Baldwin (1971:28) points out that “Myuwa” – a variant form for Omyuva – is the “Boyowan [i.e. Kilivila, G. S.] form for Muruwa or Woodlark” only. Pepekwa’s mother answers her child with a song in which she asks it to come down again and announces that she will marry a pig from Kavataria, a village on Kiriwina Island; there she and her child will eat and stay together. Pepekwa flies to a “Liga”-tree and repeats its song. Its mother answers again with a song in which she asks her child to come down and announces that she will marry a pig from Loseda, a village on Kiriwina

Island, that the two of them will eat there and stay together. Pepekwa walks around at the “Liga”-tree and repeats its song again. Its mother answers again with her song, but this time she announces that she will marry a pig from Oyabia, another village on Kiriwina Island. But Pepekwa sings its song for the fourth time and its mother answers again repeating her song, now announcing that she will marry a pig from Losuia, another village on Kiriwina which is the administrative center for all the islands in the Trobriand chain. After this song Towesei produces the ritualized formula which explicitly marks the end of the tale. Table 10 summarizes the structure of the “Tale of Pepekwa”:

Table 10. The structure of the “Tale of Pepekwa”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula	1
<i>Episode 1 Why Pepekwa decides to leave his parent and how he will do it</i>	
Subevent 1 Pepekwa observes how its father and mother cook and eat without feeding their child.	1–3
Subevent 2 After a while Pepekwa goes and kills its bird, stitches the bird's feathers into its body and flies on top of the roof of its parents' house.	3–8
<i>Episode 2 Pepekwa tells its parents that it will leave them and its mother tries to persuade her child to stay with her</i>	
Subevent 1 Pepekwa sings a song, telling its parents that it is hungry and that it will fly to Omyuva to eat something there.	8–10
Subevent 2 Pepekwa's mother answers with a song in which she asks her child to come down and announces that she will marry a pig from Kavataria, they will eat and stay together.	11–13
Subevent 3 Pepekwa flies to a liga-tree and repeats its song.	14–17
Subevent 4 Its mother's answering song – this time announcing that she will marry a pig from Loseda.	18–21
Subevent 5 Pepekwa walks around and repeats its song.	22–25
Subevent 6 Its mother's answering song – this time announcing that she will marry a pig from Oyabia,	26–29
Subevent 7 Pepekwa repeats its song.	30–33
Subevent 8 Its mother's answering song – this time announcing that she will marry a pig from Losuia.	34–36
Ritualized formula marking the end of a tale	37

Towesei indicates the structure of this tale with a reference to time (line 3), a tail-head linkage (line 5 & 6), a change of place (line 7), and the 4 song duets of mother and child. It is obvious that the story centers on Pepekwa's song – sung at two different places – and its mother's answering songs in which she only changes the names of the villages where she wants to marry a pig. This tale illustrates again

buku-seli-si, bi-kuni". *E i-tagwala-si m-to-si-ta*
 2.FUT-put.down-PL 3.FUT-rain and 3.-agree-PL DEM-CP.male-PL-DEM
 you will not put them down, it will rain". And they agree these

(5)

m gugwadi. I-ilo-si ini-sia o buyagu i-sisu-si.
 hm children 3.-go-PL mothers-their LOC garden 3.-be-PL
 hm children. They go their mother and their aunt to the garden they are there.

I-sisu-si-ga i-vokwa i-kominimani-si so-la tua-la.
 3.-be-PL-EMPH 3.-finish 3.-quarrel-PL friend-his older.brother-his
 They are there, it is finished, they quarrel he with his older brother.

I-kominimani-si i-komnigaga tua-la. Amyaga
 3.-quarrel-PL 3.-win older.brother-his what's.the.name
 They quarrel and he wins his older brother. What's the name

i-kau-si si gugua deli veisiya i-seve-si i-kuni.
 3.-take-PL their goods with their.relative 3.-put.PL 3.-rain
 they take the goods of their relatives with them they put them down and it rains.

I-me-si m ma-na-si-ta mwata amyaga
 3.-come-PL hm DEM-CP.animal-PL-DEM snake what's.the.name
 They come, hm, these snakes, what's the name,

(10)

ginapum. I-me-si i-sukwe-si mambeya m
 (small) *ginapum* (snakes) 3.-come-PL 3.-smell-PL where hm
 the small *ginapum*-snakes. They come they smell where hm

amyaga doba. E e-me-si m-to-si-ta
 what's.the.name grass.skirt and 3.-come-PL DEM-CP.male-PL-DEM
 what's the name, the grass-skirts are. And they come these

nunumwaya i-bukoili-si. I-bukoili-si i-sakaula-si. I-sakaula-si.
 old.women 3.-chase-PL 3.-chase-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL
 old women they chase them away. They chase them away and they run. They run

i-vake-si na-ta(la) Dokonikani. Amyaga, e-sisu
 3.-go.to-PL CP.female-one Dokonikani. what's.the.name 3.-be
 they go to one Dokonikani. What's the name, she is there

e-kebiga ma-na-na Dokonikani: "E ku-me-si
 3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani yes 2.-come-PL
 and she says this Dokonikani: "Yes, come

(15)

ku-yamati-si m bwada-m. Ba-la-ga m
 2.-look.after-PL hm younger.sister-yours 1.FUT-go-EMPH hm
 look after hm your younger sister (= her daughter). I will go, hm,

a-kavai kadesi ba-meya ta-kam-kwam-si” *I-ve-si*
 1.-get our.food 1.FUT-bring 1.INCL-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-go-PL
 I (go to the garden and) get our food I will bring it and we will eat”. They go

i-yamati-si i-la-ga m ma-na-na Dokonikani
 3.-look.after-PL 3.-go-EMPH hm DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani
 and look after (their younger sister) and she goes this Dokonikani

i-kavai kasi. I-kavai. I-vokwa i-meya
 3.-get their.food 3.-get 3.-finish 3.-bring
 she gets their food. She gets their food. It is finished she brings (it)

i-sulu-sulu-si. I-vokwa e-kam-kwam si. I-vokwa i-simwe-si
 3.-COOK-REDUP-PL 3.-finish 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-finish 3.-stay-PL
 she cooks it. It is finished they eat. It is finished they stay

(20)

amyaga bi-masisi-si-ga. Bi-vokwa ... kaukwau
 what's.the.name 3.FUT-sleep.PL-EMPH 3.FUT-finish morning
 what's the name they will sleep, indeed. It will be finished, in the morning,

amyaga bi-lo-si ... e bi-yamati-si-ga
 what's.the.name 3.FUT-go-PL and 3.FUT-look.after.PL-EMPH
 what's the name, they will go and look after

ma-gudi-na gwadi. Bi-lo-si-ga e-ka ... e-kavai
 DEM-CP.child-DEM child 3.FUT-go-PL-EMPH 3.-ge... 3.-get
 this child. They will go and she she gets

ma-na-na amyaga Dokonikani kasi
 DEM-CP.female-DEM what's.the.name Dokonikani their.food
 this, what's the name, Dokonikani their food.

I-va tuta. Amyaga gala i-kam-kwam-si bwena
 3.-go time what's.the.name not 3.-erat-REDUP-PL good
 Time passes. What's the name, they did not eat good

(25)

kaula. I-lo-si amyaga i-bani-si na-ta(la)
 food 3.-go-PL what's.the.name 3.-find-PL CP.animal-one
 food. They go, what's the name, they find a

lakum i-vokwa i-poli-si yena i-vokwa e-kau-si
 crawfish 3.-finish 3.-fish-PL fish 3.-finish 3.-take-PL
 crawfish, its finished, they go fishing, its finished, they take

lakum i-kedagi-si va waga i-meye-si. I-sinavila-wa
 crawfish 3.-put.in-PL DIR canoe 3.-bring-PL. 3.-fumble-only
 the crawfish they put it in the canoe they bring it. He just fumbles a bit

i-gadi ma-na-na lakum. I-sisu-si
 3.-bite DEM-CP.animal-DEM crawfish 3.-be.-PL
 and it bites him this crawfish. They are there

soso-la bwada-la amyaga
 friend-his younger.brother-his what's.the.name
 he with his younger brother, what's the name,

(30)

e-katusasapi-ga e-katusapi. I-sisu-si-ga so-la
 3.-shake.hand-EMPH 3.-shake.hand 3.-be-PL-EMPH friend-his
 he shakes his hand, he shakes his hand. They stay there he with

bwada-la e-katusasapi i-sisu-si-ga soso-la
 younger.brother-his 3.-shake.hand 3.-be-PL-EMPH friend-his
 his younger brother, he shakes his hand, they are there he with

bwada-la. I-va tuta i-kalova. Ma-na-na
 younger.brother-his 3.-go time 3.-wean DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 his younger brother. Time passes and she is weaned. This

m amyaga lakum i-katusisapi i-mwa
 hm what's.the.name crawfish 3.-shake.hand 3.-come
 hm, what's the name, crawfish, he shakes his hand and it comes

omakava. ... Amyaga i-sisu-si-ga so-la
 outside. what's.the.name 3.-be-PL-EMPH friend-his
 outside. What's the name, they are there, he and

(35)

bwada-la i-vokwa. E-ma mi-na-na
 younger.brother-his 3.-finish 3.-come DEM-CP.female-DEM
 his younger brother, it is finished. She comes this

Dokonikani i-vagi asi yena i-vokwa i-lau i-sulu
 Dokonikani 3.-make their fish 3.-finish, 3.-take 3.-cook
 Dokonikani she prepares their fish, it is finished, she takes them and cooks for
 them,

i-vokwa, deli kasi i-sulu, i-vokwa i-kam-si.
 3.-finish with their.yam 3.-cook 3.-finish 3.-eat-PL
 it is finished, with their yams she cooks the fish, it is finished, they eat.

I-kam-kwam-si e-yam i-la m ma-na-na
 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-be.day 3.-go hm DEM-CP.female-DEM
 They eat, day breaks, she goes, hm this

Dokonikani o buyagu, i-la i-kawai kaula bwena.
 Dokonikani LOC garden 3.-go 3.-get food good
 Dokonikani to the garden, she goes she gets good food.

(40)

I-meya i-sulu-sulu, i-kam-kwam-si i-vokwa.

3.-bring 3.-cook-REDUP 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-finish

She brings it she cooks it they eat it, it is finished.

Amyaga ... e-ma ma-na-na gwadi

what's.the.name 3.-come DEM-CP.female-DEM child

What's the name, she comes this child

i-yamata-si. I-la ma-na-na Dokonikani o buyagu.

3.-look.after-PL 3.-go DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani LOC garden

they look after her. She goes this Dokonikani to the garden.

I-tokeyaga tua-la e-kebiga: "Bwada amakala

3.-stand.up older.brother-his 3.-say younger.brother how

He stands up his older brother he says: "Younger brother, what

bita-igaki mi-na-na gwadi?" Bogeokwa.

DUAL.INCL.FUT-do DEM-CP.female-DEM child already.finished

will we do with this child?" It is already finished.

(45)

I-gadi-si kova i-vokwa amyaga i-sela-si i-gabu.

3.-kindle-PL fire 3.-finish what's.the.name 3.-put-PL 3.-cook

They kindle a fire, it is finished, what's the name, they put it on it, she is cooked.

I-voli-si bwatai. I-voli-si bwatai i-vokwa. Bogwa

3.-weave-PL basket 3.-weave-PL basket 3.-finish already

They weave a basket. They weave a basket, it is finished. Already

e-menu ma-na-na gwadi, i-bwabu-si i-vokwa.

3.-cooked DEM-CP.female-DEM child. 3.-chop-PL 3.-finish

it is cooked this child, they chop it, it is finished.

I-vaputai-si i-lau-si o kulumala. E-meki-ga

3.-put.in.basket-PL 3.-take LOC roof 3.-come.to-EMPH

They put it in the basket they take it onto the roof. She comes to them

ma-na-na Dokonikani e-kebiga: "Taga

DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani 3.-say but

this Dokonikani she says: "But where is

(50)

bwada-mi?" E-vavagi-si-ga: "Bogwa laka-lau

younger.sister-your? 3.-say-PL-EMPH already DUAL.EXCL.PAST-take

your younger sister?" They say: "Already we took (her)

i-masisi laka-ma-ga". E amyaga:

3.-sleep DUAL.EXCL-come-EMPH and what's.the.name

she sleeps we came here". And, what's the name:

“O-(ku)-kwanobusi-si o ka ku-lo-si soso-m
 binding.vowel-2.-come.out-PL LOC well 2.-go-PL friend-your
 “Come out to..., well, go with your friend

bwada-m ma-ke-na kum ku-mwena-si
 younger-brother DEM-CP.wooden-DEM breadfruit-tree 2.-climb-PL
 your younger brother and climb up this breadfruit tree,

ku-lo-si m amyaga ... ku-golu-si da-yakwesi-si
 2.-go-PL hm what's.the.name 2.-pick-PL our-leaves-PL
 you go, hm, what's the name, you pick our leaves,

(55)

ku-meye-si ba-vakata”. I-ve-si i-ve-si-wa soso-la
 2.-bring-PL 1.FUT-make.earthoven 3.-go.to-PL 3.-go.to-PL-only friend-his
 you bring them and I will make an earth-oven”. They go there, they just go there
 he and

bwada-la i-ka... e amyaga i-mwe-mwena-si
 younger.brother-his 3.-ta... eh what's.the.name 3.-REDUP-climb-PL
 his younger brother they ta... eh, what's the name, they climb up,

i-lo-si o polaila, beya i-toli-si. E-kebiga
 3.-go-PL LOC forked.branch there 3.-stand-PL 3.-say
 they go to the forked branch, there they stand. He says

tua-la: “Kwei-pakau kweitutu-m kwei-pakau
 older.brother-his CP.limb-white knee-your CP.limb-white
 his older brother: “It's white your knee its white

kweitutu-m (ku-)kovana ku-gisi latu-m”. ... Amyaga
 knee-your 2.-look-up 2.-see child-your what's.the.name
 your knee, look up, you see your child”. What's the name

(60)

i-sisu-ga i-wasopu ... i-sisu-ga gala. “Kwei-pakau
 3.-be-EMPH 3.-finish.earth.oven 3.-be-EMPH not CP.limb-white
 she is there she finishes the earth oven but she (her daughter) is not there. “It's white

kweitutu-m kwei-pakau kweitutu-m (ku-)kovana ku-gisi
 knee-your CP.limb-white knee-your 2.-look.up 2.-see
 your knee it's white your knee, look up you see

latu-m”. A e-vavagi-ga ma-na-na Dokonikani:
 child-your ah 3.-say-EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani
 your child”. Ah, she says this Dokinikani:

“Avaka ku-livali-si?” *E-vavagi-ga m-to-na*

What 2.-say-PL 3.-say-EMPH DEM-CP.human-DEM

“What did you say?” He says, this

to-veaka: “*Gala ka-livala so-gu.*” *Tau i-vokwa.*
 CP.male-big not DUAL.EXCL-say friend-my man 3.-finish
 big boy: “We did not say anything my friend”. The boy has finished his answer.
 (65)

I-kululu amyaga i-tota-si-go i-vokwa. E-kebiga
 3.-look.down what’s.the.name 3.-stand-PL-EMPH 3.-finish 3.-say
 He looks down, what’s the name, they stand there it is finished. He says

tua-la e-kebiga: “Kwei-pakau kweitutu-m
 older.brother-her 3.-say CP.limb-white knee-your
 his older brother he says: “It is white your knee,

kwei-pakau kweitutu-m (ku-)kovana ku-gisi latu-m”.
 CP.limb-white knee-your 2.-look.up 2.-see child-your
 it is white, your knee, look up you see your child”.

I-ko... i-kovana ma-na-na Dokonikani i-mweki
 3.-lo 3.-look.up DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani 3.-see
 She loo... she looks up this Dokonikani she sees

latu-la e-rasoya-si. E-kebiga ma-na-na Dokonikani:
 child-her 3.-hang-PL 3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani
 her child whom they hanged up there (in the basket). She says this Dokonikani:
 (70)

“*E iga(u) a-vasopu ba-va-ga agi a-kome-mi!”*
 Yes later 1.-finish.earth.oven 1.FUT-go.to-EMPH oh 1.-eat-you
 “Yes soon I have finished the earth-oven, then I will go to you, oh I will eat you!”

I-vasopu i-vokwa, i-va i-kauvali ke-tala
 3.-finish.earth.oven 3.-finish 3.-go.to 3.-bite.off CP.wooden-one
 She finishes the earth-oven, it is finished, she goes there she bites off a

m amyaga kum. I-mwe-si soso-la
 hm what’s.the.name breadfruit 3.-come-PL friend-her
 hm, what’s the name, a breadfruit. They come he and

bwada-la i-kasulumokana-si. I-kauvali ke-tala.
 younger.brother-his 3.-suspended.in.the.air-PL 3.-bite.off CP.wooden-one
 his younger brother they are suspended in the air [jumping to another tree]. She
 bites off a breadfruit.

I-mwe-si i-kasulumokana-si. Amyaga, ma-ke-na
 3.-come-PL 3.-suspended.in.the.air what’s.the.name DEM-CP.wooden-DEM
 They come they are suspended in the air. What’s the name, this

(75)

lasti i-kauwali-wa. I-mwe-si soso-la bwada-la
 last 3.-bite.off-only 3.-come-PL friend-his younger.brother-his
 last breadfruit she bites it off. They come, he and his younger brother
i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si. E-kebiga ma-na-na
 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM
 they run they run they run. She says this

Dokonikani: "O gala ku-bwabwena-si ku-vake-si, m,
 Dokonikani oh not 2.-stay.well-PL 2.-go.to-PL hm
 Dokonikani: "Oh you will not stay well, you go there, hm,

ke-ta(la) usi e-tobwadi m mata-mi
 CP.wooden-one banana 3.-close hm eye-your
 a banana closes your eyes

(ku-)kwam-kwam-si amyaga ba-vataina ba-yose-mi" –
 2.-eat-REDUP-PL what's.the.name 1.FUT-stroll.around 1.FUT-catch-you
 when you eat it, what's the name, I will stroll around I will catch you" –

(80)

i-vokwa. I-ve-si soso-la bwada-la i-vake-si
 3.-finish 3.-go-PL friend-his younger.brother-his 3.-go.to-PL
 it is finished. They go he and his younger brother they go to

ma-ke-na usi amyaga ke-monogu
 DEM-CP.wooden-DEM banana what's.the.name CP.wooden-ripe
 this banana, what's the name, the ripe banana

e-tobwadi mata-si i-kiui-si soso-la bwada-la
 3.-close eyes-their 3.-pluck-PL friend-his younger.brother-his
 it closes their eyes when they pluck it, his and his younger brother's eyes.

E-kebiga bwada-la: "So iga ta-sili ta-kam".
 3.-say younger.brother-his friend soon DUAL.INCL-sit DUAL.INCL-eat
 He says his younger brother: "My friend, we sit down and eat (it)".

E-vavagi-ga tua-la: "Bata-sili bata-kam
 3.-say-EMPH older.brother-his DUAL.INCL.FUT-sit DUAL.INCL-eat
 He says his older brother; "If we will sit down and eat it,

(85)

amyaga bi-ma bi-kome-da". E i-kivi-si-wa
 what's.the.name 3.fut-come 3.FUT-eat-us And 3.-peel-just
 what's the name, she will come she will eat us". And they just peel it,

i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si. I-va-ga ma-na-na
 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-go.EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM
 they run, they run, they run. She goes there this

Dokonikani, i-va-ga i-veki – kwe-okwa – i-sakaula
 Dokonikani 3.-go-EMPH 3.-go.and.rush CP.thing-empty 3.-run
 Dokonikani, she goes there she goes and rushes there – it's empty – she runs
be(ya). Makala-wa, i-va tuta, gala. E-kebiga Dokonikani
 there like-EMPH 3.-go time nothing 3.-say Dokonikani
 there. It's really like this, time passes – nothing. The Dokonikani says:

“O *gala ku-bwabwena-si, ku-vake-si ke-ta veva*
 oh not 2.-stay.well-PL 2.-go.to-PL CP.wooden mango.tree
 “Oh, you will not stay well you go to a mango tree,

(90)

amyaga e-tobwadi mata-mi (ku-)kwam-kwam-si,
 what's.the.name 3.-close eye-your 2.-eat-REDUP-PL
 what's the name, it closes your eyes when you eat it,

ba-vataina-ga ba-yose-mi, bogeokwa”. I-ve-si-wa
 1.FUT-stroll.around-EMPH 1.FUT-catch-you already.finished 3.-go-PL-just
 I will stroll around I will catch you, it will be finished soon”. They just go

i-vake-si soso-la bwada-la ma-ke-na veva.
 3.-go.to-PL friend-his younger.brother-his DEM-CP.wooden-DEM mango
 they go he and his younger brother to this mango tree.

E-utubola i-seva-si. E-kebiga bwada-la: “Tua
 3.-fall.down 3.-pick-PL 3.-say younger.brother-his older.brother
 It falls down, they pick it up. He says his younger brother: “Brother

iga amyaga ta-sila ta-kam”. E-vavagi-ga: “Gala
 later what's.the.name DUAL.INCL-sit DUAL.INCL-eat 3.-say-EMPH no
 later, what's the name, we sit down and we eat it”. He says: “No,

(95)

bata-sili bata-kam bi-ma, Dokonikani, bi-yose-da
 DUAL.INCL.FUT-sit DUAL.INCL.FUT-eat 3.FUT-come Dokonikani 3.FUT-catch-us
 if we will sit down and eat it she will come, the Dokonikani, she will catch us

e bi-kome-da”. I-vokwa i-seva-si-wa i-sakaula-si soso-la
 and 3.FUT-eat-us 3.-finish 3.-pick-PL-just 3.-run-PL friend-his
 and she will eat us”. It is finished they just pick it and they run he and

bwada-la i-sakaula-si. I-vaga amyaga i-veki –
 younger.brother-his 3.-run-PL 3.-go.to what's.the.name 3.-go.to
 his younger brother they run. She goes there, what's the name, she goes there –

kwe-okwa – *gala*. *I-sakaula i-sakaula i-sakaula i-sakaula*:
 CP.thing-empty nothing 3.-run 3.-run 3.-run 3.-run
 it's empty – nothing. She runs she runs she runs she runs:

gala. “O *gala ku-bwabwena-si ku-vake-si ke-ta(la)*
 nothing oh not 2.-stay,well-PL 2.-go.to-PL CP.wooden-one
 – nothing. “Oh you will not stay well, you go to a

(100)

natu e-tobwadi mata-mi amyaga ... ku-kwam-kwam-si,
 natu-tree 3.-close eye-yours what's.the.name 2.-eat-REDUP-PL
 custard-apple-tree, it closes your eyes, what's the name when you eat its fruit,

ba-vataina ba-yose-mi”. *I-ve-si e-vake-si*
 1.FUT-stroll.around 1.FUT-catch-you 3.-go-PL 3.-go.to-PL
 I will stroll around I will catch you”. They go they go to

ma-ke-na usi e amyaga natu
 DEM-CP.wooden-DEM banana eh what's.the.name natu
 this banana, eh, what's the name, this custard-apple-tree

i-soseva-si, i-vokwa. E-kebiga bwada-la “*Tua*
 3.-pick-PL 3.-finish 3.-say younger.brother-his older.brother
 they pick (a fruit), it is finished. His younger brother says: “Brother

iga ta-sili ta-kam”. *E-kebiga: ”Bita-sili*
 later DUAL.INCL-sit DUAL.INCL-eat 3.-say DUAL.INCL.FUT-sit
 later we sit down and eat (the fruit).” He says: “If we will sit down

(105)

bita-kam, bi-ma ma-na-na Dokonikani
 DUAL.INCL-FUT-eat 3.FUT-come DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani
 and eat it, she will come this Dokonikani

bi-yose-da bogeokwa”. *I-sakaula-si so-la*
 3.FUT-catch-us already.finished 3-run-PL friend-his
 she will catch us – it is finished”. They run he and

bwada-la i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si i-ve-si amyaga
 younger.brother-his 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-go.to-PL what's.the.name
 his younger brother they run they run they go to, what's the name,

bogwa e-lo-si. E-ma-ga ma-na-na
 already they-go-PL 3.-come-EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM
 already they go. And she comes this

Dokonikani e-meki – *kwe-okwa e-kebiga: “O gala*
 Dokonikani 3.-come CP.thing-empty 3.-say oh not
 Dokonikani she comes – it's empty, she says: “Oh

(110)

ku-bwabwena-si ku-vake-si luva-tala m mai... maisi,
 2.-stay.well-PL 2.-go.to-PL CP.wooden.dish-one hm co... corn
 you will not stay well you go to a dish with, hm, co... corn,

e-tobwadi mata-mi ku-gubugwabu-si, ba-vataina
 3.-close eye-yours 2.-burn-PL 1.FUT-stroll.around
 it closes your eyes when you burn it, I will stroll around

ba-yose-mi – bogeokwa.” I-lola-si i-veki-si e
 1.FUT-catch-you already.finished 3.-walk-PL 3.-go.to-PL eh
 I will catch you – already its finished”. They go they go to, eh,

amyaga e e-gudugodu-si soso-la
 what’s.the.name eh, 3.-break.off-REDUP-PL friend-his
 what’s the name, eh, they break it off, (the corn) he and

bwada-la. E-kebiga bwada-la: “Iga ta-si...
 younger.brother-his 3.-say younger.brother-his later DUAL.INCL.sit
 his younger brother. He says, his younger brother: “Later we si...

(115)

ta-toli ta-gudugodu”. E-vavagi-ga: “A ta-toli
 DUAL.INCL-stand DUAL.INCL-break.off 3.-say-EMPH ah DUAL.INCL-stand
 we stand still and we break off (the corn).” He says: “Ah, if we stand still

ta-gudugodu beya, i-taina-ga Dokonikani bi-kome-da –
 DUAL.INCL-break.off there 3.-stroll.around Dokonikan 3.FUT-eat-us
 and break it off there, she will stroll around the Dokonikani she will eat us –

bogeokwa”. I-godu-si soso-la bwadala
 already.finished 3.-break.off friend-his younger.brother-his,
 it is finished”. They break it off, he and his younger brother

i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si. E-va ma-na-na
 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-go.to DEM-CP.female-DEM
 they run they run they run. She goes there this

Doko... Dokonikani e-veki – gala: E-kebiga: “Gala
 Doko... Dokonikani 3.-go and rush nothing 3.-say not
 Doko..., Dokonikani, she goes and rushes there – nothing. She says: “You will not

(120)

ku-bwabwena-si ku-vake-si kada-ta(la) vaya... e-tobwadi –
 2.-stay.well-PL 2.-go.to-PL CP.path-one river 3.-close
 stay well, you go to a river, it closes –

amyaga – mata-mi – amyaga – ku-vapilipili-si e
 what’s.the.name eye-your what’s.the.name 2.-walk.blind-PL and
 what’s the name – your eyes – what’s the name, you walk blinded and

a-vataina a-kome-mi". *I-ve-si soso-la bwadala*
 1.-stroll.around 1.-eat-you 3.-go.to-PL friend-his younger.brother-his
 I stroll around there I eat you". They go he and his younger brother

i-vake-si mna amyaga ma-kada-na vaya
 3.-go.to-PL hm what's.the.name DEM-CP.path-DEM river
 they go there, hm, what's the name, to this river,

amyaga e-sasa, i-vapilipilili-si gala. I-gise-si
 what's.the.name 3.-split 3.-walk.blind-PL not 3.-see-PL
 what's the name, it is split up into creeks, they do not walk blindly. They see

(125)

ma-pa-na kum i-lukwe-si i-kapwagega
 DEM-CP.part-DEM breadfruit-tree 3.-tell-PL 3.-open
 this part of a breadfruit-tree, they put a spell on it (the breadfruit), it opens

i-mwena-si soso-la bwada-la i-lo-si i-kanave-si.
 3.-climb-PL friend-hisr younger.brother-his 3.-go-PL 3.-lie.down-PL
 they climb up he and his younger brother they go there they lie down there.

I-ma-ga ma-na-na Dokonikani i-meki
 3.-come-EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani 3.-come.to
 She comes this Dokonikani she comes to this place

i-sivapilipili gala. Amyaga ... e-kovana i-gisi ma-ya-na
 3.-walk.blind not what's.the.name 3.-look.up 3.-see DEM-CP.flexible-DEM
 she does not walk blindly. What's the name, she looks up she sees this

kum e-kebiga: "A ina ya-ta(la) agu
 breadfruit 3.-say ah mother CP.flexible-one my
 breadfruit and she says: "Ah, mother, one of my

(130)

kum ba-katutuni". I-katutuni
 breadfruit 1.FUT-throw.stick.to.make.sth.fall 3.-throw.stick.to.make.sth.fall
 breadfruits, I will throw a stick to make it fall down". She throws a stick to make it fall,

i-meya, amyaga, i-vigadi kova. I-vokwa i-kau
 3.-come what's.the.name 3.-make.fire fire 3.-finish 3.-take
 it comes down, what's the name, she makes a fire. It is finished she takes it

i-seli, amyaga, i-gigabu. I-vokwa e-kebiga tua-la:
 3.-put what's.the.name 3.-cook 3.-finish 3.-say older.brother-his
 she puts it (in the fire), what's the name, she cooks it. It is finished, he says, his
 older brother:

"*So-gu so-gu ta-bwesi". I-bwesi-si, amyaga,*
 Friend-my friend-my DUAL.INCL-piss 3.-piss-PL what's.the.name
 "My friend, my friend, let's piss". They piss, what's the name,

i-lomati-si ma-kova-na kova ... Amyaga ...
 3.-extinguish-PL DEM-CP.fire-DEM fire What's.the.name
 they extinguish this fire. What's the name,

(135)

amyaga ... i-se... i-seva ma-ya-na kum ...
 what's.the.name 3.-pu... 3.-put.aside DEM-CP.flexible-DEM breadfruit
 what's the name, she pu... she put it aside this breadfruit,

i-semwa ma-ya-na kum i-vigadi-ga la
 3.-get.aside DEM-CP.flexible-DEM breadfruit 3.-make.fire-EMPH her
 it gets aside this breadfruit, she makes a fire again and feeds her

kova. I-va tuta gala amyaga ... gala-wa.
 fire 3.-go.to time nothing what's.the.name nothing-only
 fire. Time passes, nothing, what's the name, just nothing happens.

Bi-menu mi-ya-na kum i-tokeya i-lei
 3.FUT-cooked DEM-CP.flexible-DEM breadfruit 3.-get.up 3.-throw
 It will be cooked this breadfruit, she gets up she throws

ma-ya-na kum i-lei i-la piliyuvela m
 DEM-CP.flexible-DEM breadfruit 3.-throw 3.go other.side hm
 this breadfruit she throws it, it goes to the other side of hm

(140)

vaya. I-tokeya-si soso-la bwada-la i-toli-si e-kebiga
 river 3.-stand.up friend-his younger.brother-his 3.-stand-PL 3.-say
 the river. They stand up he and his younger brother, they stand he says

tua-la: "Yakama-la so-gu bwada-gu amyaga
 older.brother-his we-EMPH friend-my younger.brother-my what's.the.name
 his older brother: "We two, I with my younger brother, what's the name,

ka-ma ka-meki ma-kada-na vaya, amyaga,
 DUAL.INCL-come DUAL.INCL-come.to DEM-CP.path-DEM river what's.the.name
 we have come we have come to this river, what's the name,

e-sasa. A-luki ma-..., amyaga, ma-ya-na
 3.-split 1.-tell DEM-... what's.the.name DEM-CP.flexible-DEM
 that is split up into creeks. I put magic on it, what's the name, on this

kum i-kapwagega laka-suvi laka-(ma).
 breadfruit 3.-open DUAL.INCL.PAST-enter DUAL.INCL.PAST-come
 breadfruit, it opened we went inside we came there.

(145)

E ku-ma-ga kwei..., amyaga,
 and 2.-come-EMPH 2.-thr... what's.the.name
 And you came indeed, you thr..., what's the name,

(*ku*)-*kwatutunema* *soso-gu* *bwada-gu*,
 2.-throw.stick.to.make.sth.fall friend.my younger.brother-my
 you threw a stick to make it fall with me and my younger brother,
laka-ma *o-(ku)kwigadi* *kova. La-luki*
 DUAL.INCL.PAST-come binding.vowel-2.-make fire 1.PAST-tell
 we came down (in the breadfruit) and you made a fire. I told
bwada-gu *a-kebiga* *soso-gu:* “*Ta-bwesi*”, *e*
 younger.brother-my 3.-say friend-my DUAL.INCL-piss and
 my younger brother, I said: “Let’s piss”, and
laka-bwesi *laka-...* *laka-lumati*
 DUAL.INCL.PAST-piss DUAL.INCL.PAST-... DUAL.INCL.PAST-extinguish
 we pissed, we, we extinguished

(150)

ma-kova-na *kova. O-ku-lei* *i-ma*
 DEM-CP.fire-DEM fire binding.vowel-2.-throw 3.-come
 this fire. You threw it away, it came here
laka-ma – *bogeokwa*”. *E-luki, amyaga*,
 DUAL.INCL.PAST-come already.finished 3.-tell what’s.the.name
 and we came (with it) – I have finished (my speech)”. She speaks magic, what’s
 the name,

ma-kada-na *vaya i-kaputa, amyaga,* *i-pela i-la*
 DEM-CP.path-DEM river 3.-close what’s.the.name 3.-jump 3.-go
 this river closes up again, what’s the name, she jumps she goes there

i-sakaula i-va – *gala. E-kebiga* “*O gala*
 3.-run 3.-go.to nothing 3.-say oh not
 she runs she goes to this place – nothing. She says: “Oh, you will not

ku-bwabwena-si ku-vake-si ma-ka-da-na... m ve
 2.-stay.well-PL 2.-go.to-PL DEM-CP.path-DEM hm, no,
 stay well, you go to this riv... hm, no,

(155)

ma-na-kwa *koya* *e-tobwadi mata-mi, amyaga*,
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing mountain 3.-close eye-your what’s.the.name
 this mountain it will close your eyes, what’s the name,

ku-taina-si *ba-vataina* *e e ku-taina-si...*
 2.-stroll.around 1.FUT-stroll.around yes yes 2.-stroll.around-PL
 you will stroll around, I will stroll around, yes, yes, you stroll around

ba-va-ga *ba-kome-mi.” I-ve-si i-vake-si ma-kada-na*
 1.FUT-go.to 1.FUT-eat-you 3.-go.to 3.-go.to-PL DEM-CP.path-DEM
 I will go there I will eat you”. They go they go there to this riv...

e ma-na-kwa koya, amyaga, iga,
 eh DEM-DEM-CP.thing mountain what's.the.name later
 eh to this mountain, what's the name, wait,

kwe-kekita i-ve-si-wa i-mwena-si soso-la bwada-la.
 CP.thing-small 3.-go.to-PL-only 3.-climb-PL friend-his y.brother-his
 this hill, they go there they climb it he and his younger brother.

(160)

I-doke-si bi-tobusi-si i-vavagi-ga ma-na-kwa
 3.-think-PL 3.-go.down-PL 3.-make-EMPH DEM-DEM-CP.thing
 They think they will go down again, however it was like this with this

koya: i-lelia i-la va lakeva. I-veki
 mountain 3-swell 3.-go DIR sky 3.-come
 mountain: it swells and goes up into the sky. She comes

mi-na-na Dokonikani i-veki – gala. I-yosi
 DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani 3.-come nothing 3.-catch
 this Dokonikani, she comes – nothing. She catches

ala bunukwa e-kebiga mi-na-na Dokonikani:
 her pig 3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani
 her pig and she says, this Dokonikani:

“E ku-sive-si soso-m bwada-m ... – amyaga – ...
 yes 2.-stay-PL friend-your younger.brother-your what's.the.name,
 “Yes, you stay, you and your younger brother” – what's the name,

(165)

“i-gigade-mi molu. Ba-kam-kwam-gwa agu bunukwa deli
 3.-bit-you hunger 1.FUT.Eat-REDUP-only my pig with
 “you will get hungry. I will just eat my pork with

kagu”. E i-yosi ala bunukwa i-sela i-vigadi
 my.yams and 3.-seize her pig 3.-put 3.-make.fire
 my yams”. And she seizes her pig, she puts it down, she makes a fire

deli kala i-la-ga i-masisi. I-koya-si kwe-ta(la)
 with her.food 3.-go-EMPH 3.-sleep 3.-tie-PL CP.thing-one
 with her food she goes she sleeps. They tie a

kebila, amyaga, ... i-me i-ma-ga tua-la
 stretcher what's.the.name 3.-come 3.-come-EMPH o.brother-his
 stretcher together, what's the name, he comes, he comes his older brother

e-kedidagi bunukwa deli kaula, i-bia bwada-la
 3.-load pig with yams 3.-pull younger.brother-his
 he loads the pork and the yams onto the stretcher, he pulls it his younger brother

(170)

i-lau i-kam-si. I-va tuta. Gala sita i-kam-kwam ...

3.-take 3.-eat-PL 3.-go.to time not bit 3.-eat-REDUP
he takes it away and they eat. Time passes. She does not eat a bit,

gala i-kam-kwam ma-na-na Dokonikani. I-yosi ala
not 3.-eat-REDUP DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani 3.-catch her
she does not eat this Dokonikani. She catches her

bunukwa i ... i-vakumli i-la-ga okapapala koya
pig 3.- 3.-make.earth.oven 3.-go-EMPH at.the.side mountain
pig, she... she makes an earth oven she goes there to the side of the mountain

i-sisu. E-vabu-gwa tua-la i-ma. I-ma
3.-be. 3.-go.down-only older.brother-his 3.-come 3.-come
she is there. He comes down his older brother, he comes. He comes

e-yayeya. I-vokwa. i-kedidagi – i-doki – bisila.
3.-spy.on 3.finish 3.put.inside 3.-think pandanus.streamer
he spies on her. It is finished (the food in the earth oven), she puts it – he thinks –
inside of pandanus streamers.

(175)

E-kebiga ma-na-na Dokonikani: “Ke yokwa-la mna
3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani well you-EMPH hm
She says this Dokonikani: “Well, you, hm

yokwami soso-m bwada-m ... o-(ku-)kom-koma-si
you friend-your younger.brother-your binding.vowel-2.-eat-REDUP-PL
you two, you and your younger brother, you eat

kagu, lagela ba-kome-mi”. E-vavagi-ga m-to-na
my.food today 1.FUT-eat-you 3.say-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM
my food, today I will eat you”. He says this

gwadi: “A gala iga ku-la ku-komi bwada-gu
child ah no later 2.-go 2.-eat younger.brother-my
boy: “A no, later you go and eat my younger brother

oluvi-ga buku-ma buku-kome-gu. Taga bu(ku)-kome-gu
then-EMPH 2.FUT-come 2.FUT-eat-me but 2.FUT-eat-me
then you will come and eat me. But if you eat me

(180)

amakala buku-vigaki bwada-gu?” E-vavagi-ga: “Gala gala
how 2.FUT-make younger.brother-my 3.-say-EMPH no no
how will you make it (to eat) my younger brother?” She says: “No, no,

m tuta ba-kome-m. *E-vavagi-ga m-to-na*
 your time 1.FUT-eat-you 3.-say-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM
 its your time I will eat you". He says this

gwadi: "Gala iga ku-la ku-komi bwada-gu".
 child No later 2.-go 2.-eat younger.brother-my
 boy: "No, later, you go and eat my younger brother".

E i-ta'ili kala m ma-na-na Dokonikani
 and 3.-take.out her.yams hm DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani
 And she takes out her yams this Dokonikani

deli ... ala bunukwa i-seli o pwepwaya. Amyaga,
 with her pork 3.-put.down LOC ground what's.the.name
 and with her pork she puts it down onto the ground. What's the name,

(185)

amyaga ... a: e i-sila-ga ma-na-na
 what's.the.name ah yes 3.-sit.down-EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM
 what's the name, ah, yes, she sits down there this

Dokonikani, i-bia bwada-la i-bi-bia o tap...
 Dokonikani 3.-pull older.brother-his 3.-REDUP-pull LOC tru...
 Dokonikani, she pulls his older brother she pulls and pulls at his tru...

o tapwa-la. E-kebiga Dokonikani, eh, m-to-na
 LOC trunk-his 3.-say Dokonikani eh, DEM-CP.male-DEM
 at his trunk. He says, the Dokonikani, eh, this

gwadi: "E Dokonikani o-kubia igau i... i-kapituni".
 child hey Dokonikani binding.vowel-pull later 3.- 3.-cut.off
 boy: "Hey Dokonikani you pull now but later he... he cuts off (your head)".

I-ma i-katumati i-tobusi bwada-la. I-ma
 3.-come 3.-kill 3.-come.down younger.brother-his 3.-come
 He comes he kills her he comes down his younger brother. He comes

(190)

i-sigaga-si. E i-kamkwam e-kebiga tua-la
 3.-stay.permanently-PL and 3.-eat 3.-say older.brother-his
 and they stay forever. And he eats and he says, his older brother,

amyaga: "E-bokoile-da-si inadayasi, lata-ma
 what's.the.name 3.-chase-us.two-PL our.mothers DUAL.INCL.PAST-come
 what's the name: "They chased the two of us away, our mother and our aunt, we
 came here

ta-kam-kwam *bwena kaula. E-sisu-si-ga*
 DUAL.INCL-eat-REDUP good food 3.-stay-PL-EMPH
 we eat good food. They (our mother and our aunt) stay there (from where they
 chased us away)

e-kam-kwam-si *gaga kaula". Bogwa me-sinau*
 3.-eat-REDUP-PL bad food already 3.HABIT-finish
 and they eat bad food." Already it is finished.

After the ritualized formula that introduces a tale, the protagonists – two children – are told by their mother and her sister to accompany them to the garden and to look after their goods – that is grass-skirts that are usually transported in big woven baskets. The children are admonished not to put these baskets down on the ground because it soon will rain and the skirts may get soiled by water and mud. The children agree to do this and they go to the garden. Having arrived there the children – two brothers – start to quarrel with each other – they forget about the grass-skirts and put them down on the ground – and while they quarrel it starts to rain. The smell of the wet skirts attracts snakes. The women notice what's going on and chase the snakes away. And while their mother and their aunt do this, the boys run away and seek shelter by a female Dokonikani.

The ogre tells them that they should look after her little daughter and that she will feed them in turn. The boys agree, the ogre goes to the garden, fetches some food, comes back, cooks their meal and then they all go to sleep. The next morning the boys look after the Dokonikani's child and she goes to the garden again.

This routine goes on for some time, but the boys do not like the food the ogre prepares for them. Therefore they go to the beach where they find a crawfish and do some additional fishing in a canoe. When they try to bring the fish and the crawfish to the Dokonikani's place, the younger boy is bitten by the crawfish and shakes his hand because of the painful bite. Some time passes after this incident in which the Dokonikani weans her daughter. The hand of the younger brother still hurts, he shakes it and a crawfish comes out of his hand. The Dokonikani cooks the fish and they eat together. The next day the ogre takes up her usual routine and at the end of the day they have their communal meal. In the meantime the boys look after her daughter while her mother works in her garden.

One day the older brother asks his younger brother what they should do with this child. They make a fire, put the child on it and cook it. They weave a basket and when the child is cooked they chop it into pieces, put them into the basket and hang it onto the roof of the Dokonikani's house.

When the ogre returns from the garden she asks the boys where her daughter is and they respond that they already took her to sleep. The Dokonikani tells the boys to go to a breadfruit tree in the vicinity and get some leaves for the earth-oven she

wants to make. The boys go to the tree, climb up and the older brother sings a kind of mocking song in which he tells the ogre where to find her child. The Dokonikani prepares the earth-oven, still unaware of what has happened with her child. The boy sings his song once more but the ogre cannot understand it. When she asks the younger boy what his brother was singing he answers that he and his brother did not say anything, and the boys remain at the breadfruit tree. After a while the older boy sings his song for the third time. Now the ogre looks up and sees the basket with her butchered daughter in it. She threatens the boys that she will kill and eat them as soon as she will have finished preparing her food in the earth oven.

And after a while she comes to the tree and in her attempt to seize the boys she bites off a breadfruit. The boys make it to jump to two other trees while the Dokonikani bites off two more breadfruits and then they run away as fast as possible.

The Dokonikani curses them and tells them that they will come to a banana tree. If they eat a banana it will make them blind and she will then have no problems to get hold of them. The two boys indeed come to a banana tree, and despite the fact that they know what will happen if they eat a banana, the younger boy proposes to make a pause and eat one. But the older brother tells him that if they eat the banana the ogre will eat them. So they leave the already peeled banana behind and run away again as fast as possible.

The Dokonikani comes rushing to the banana tree but she cannot find the boys. After a while the ogre puts another curse on the boys and tells them that they will come to a mango tree. If they eat a mango they will get blind and she will get hold of them. And indeed the boys come to a mango tree – they have the same conversation as before and finally decide to just pick a fruit and run away as fast as possible.

The Dokonikani comes to the mango tree, runs around there very fast but cannot find the boys, she curses them again and tells them that they will come to a custard apple tree. If they eat one of its fruits it will make them blind and she will seize them. The boys come to this tree – have the same discussion as before and run away without eating one of its fruits.

When the ogre comes to this tree she cannot find them and curses them again. This time she tells them that they will come to a dish with corn. If they roast and eat it they will get blind and she will catch them. The boys come to the corn, have the same conversation as before and although they already broke off some corn they leave it and run away again as fast as possible.

When the ogre comes to the corn she cannot find the boys. She puts another curse on them and tells them that they will come to a river. If they get in contact with its water it will make them blind and then she will get hold of them. The boys come to this river that is split up into many creeks. They do not try to cross it, but they find a breadfruit tree there. They put a spell on one of its fruits, it opens and they climb up the tree and hide inside the breadfruit.

The ogre comes to this place, sees the breadfruit tree, takes a stick and knocks down a fruit, makes a fire and cooks it. It is the same fruit in which the boys are hiding. The older boy tells his younger brother that they must piss into the fire to extinguish it – and they do so. The ogre puts the breadfruit aside and makes a new fire. After a while she takes the half-cooked fruit and throws it to the other side of the river. The boys get out of the breadfruit and tell the Dokonikani – in a kind of flashback – that they used magic to hide within the fruit, that she knocked down the fruit with a stick and tried to cook it, that they extinguished the fire by urinating in it and that because she threw the uncooked fruit away they managed to cross the river and to escape her.

The ogre closes the river again with her magical powers and runs to where the boys got out of the breadfruit. She cannot find them and puts another curse on them. She tells them that they will come to a mountain which will make them blind and when they will stroll around there she will get hold of them and eat them. The boys come to this mountain, they climb up and when they want to go down again the mountain swells up and reaches the sky. When the ogre comes to the mountain she cannot find the boys – obviously her magic did not work this time, either. She catches a pig and shouts that the boys will get hungry while she will eat pork and yams. She cooks her meal, eats it and goes to sleep. In the meantime the boys make a stretcher, go to the place where the ogre sleeps, the older brother steals some food, puts it on the stretcher and the younger brother pulls it away to their hiding place and they eat.

Some time passes and the Dokonikani does not eat anything for a long time. Finally the ogre catches another pig and makes an earth-oven at one side of the mountain. The older brother is watching her. The Dokonikani takes the food out of the earth-oven and covers it with pandanus leaves. She notices the boy and tells him that he and his brother stole and ate her food and that now she will eat them. The older brother responds that she should first go and eat his younger brother and then come back to eat him – because if she eats him first she will have a problem with his younger brother. The Dokonikani answers that she will first eat him, but the older boy again tells her to first go for his younger brother, because otherwise she will have a problem. The ogre unpacks her food, sits down, grabs the boy and tries to tear off parts of his body. The boy tells the Dokonikani that while she tries to tear off parts of his body and to kill him his younger brother will come and cut her head off – and indeed this is what happens – the younger boy kills the ogre.

The two boys are together and will stay there forever. After this first coda Dudaavelu continues the story and tells that the brothers eat and that the older boy kind of summarises what has happened to them – that their mother and their aunt chased them away, that they finally managed to come to this mountain where they have much better food than the bad food their mother and their aunt will eat.

After this brief interlude Dudaavelu explicitly marks the end of this tale with a second coda. Table 11 presents a preliminary summary (see 4.4 and Appendix 1) of the structure of the “Tale of these children and the Dokonikani”:

Table 11. The structure of the “Tale of these Children and the Dokonikani”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula of a tale	1
<i>Episode 1 The children, their mother and their aunt</i>	
Subevent 1 The children go with their mother and aunt to the garden and are told to not put down their baskets full of skirts because it will rain.	1–5
Subevent 2 In the garden the brothers quarrel with each other, put the baskets on the ground and it starts to rain.	6–8
Subevent 3 The smell of the wet skirts attracts snakes.	9–11
Subevent 4 The women chase them away.	11–12
Subevent 5 The boys run away and go to a Dokonikani.	12–13
<i>Episode 2 The boys stay with the Dokonikani and her daughter</i>	
Subevent 1 The Dokonikani invites them to stay, tells them that she will cook for them if they look after her baby daughter while she goes to work in the garden.	13–16
Subevent 2 The boys agree, the Dokonikani works in the garden, cooks their meals and they all go to sleep.	16–20
Subevent 3 The next morning the Dokonikani goes to the garden again and the boys look after her child.	20–23
<i>Episode 3 The boys' incident with a crawfish</i>	
Subevent 1 Their daily routines continue for a while, but the boys do not like the Dokonikani's food and decide to go fishing; they find a crawfish that bites the older boy who shakes his hand full of pain.	24–32
Subevent 2 After some time during which the Dokonikani weans her daughter, the older boy finally shakes his hurting hand again and a crawfish comes out of it.	32–35
Subevent 3 The Dokonikani cooks it and they eat together.	35–37
Subevent 4 Their daily routines continue.	38–42
<i>Episode 4 The boys get tired of looking after the child and kill it</i>	
Subevent 1 One day the older brother asks his younger brother what they will do with the child.	43–44
Subevent 2 They kindle a fire and cook the child on it.	45
Subevent 3 They weave a basket.	46
Subevent 4 They chop the cooked child into pieces.	46–47
Subevent 5 They put the pieces into the basket and hang it on the roof of the Dokonikani's house.	48

Table 11. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 5 The Dokonikani comes back, the boys tell her with a mocking song from a safe distance what has happened and the ogre tells them that she will chase and kill them</i>		
Subevent 1	The ogre comes back, asks about her daughter and the boys tell her that she is sleeping.	48–51
Subevent 2	The Dokonikani asks them to go to a breadfruit tree and get some leaves for an earth-oven.	51–55
Subevent 3	The boys do that, climb up the tree and the older brother sings a mocking song telling the ogre to look up if she wants to see her daughter.	55–59
	The Dokonikani finishes making the earth-oven still not aware of what happened with her daughter.	59–60
Subevent 4	The older brother sings his mocking song a second time.	60–62
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani does not understand him and asks the boys to repeat what they just said.	63–64
Subevent 6	The younger brother answers that they did not say anything.	64–65
Subevent 7	After a while the older boy sings his mocking song for the third time.	65–67
Subevent 8	Now the Dokonikani looks up, sees her butchered child hanging there in the basket and announces that she will chase the boys to kill and eat them.	68–70
<i>Episode 6 The Dokonikani chases the boys at the breadfruit tree</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani finishes the earth oven, goes to the breadfruit tree and bites off a fruit.	71–72
Subevent 2	The boys jump to two other trees while the ogre bites off breadfruits, they come down from the trees and run away.	72–76
<i>Episode 7 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the banana tree</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani curses them and tells them that they will come to a banana tree; if they eat a banana they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	76–80
Subevent 2	The boys come to a banana tree; the younger brother wants to eat a banana, but the older boy tells him what will happen if they do this and they run away.	80–86
<i>Episode 8 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the mango tree</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the banana tree the boys have already gone. The Dokonikani curses them and tells them that they will come to a mango tree; if they eat a mango they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	86–91
Subevent 2	The boys come to a mango-tree and after a similar conversation as before they run away.	91–97

Table 11. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 9 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the custard apple tree</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the mango tree the boys have already gone. The ogre curses them and tells them that they will come to a custard apple tree; if they eat an apple they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	97–101
Subevent 2	The boys come to a custard apple tree, and after a similar conversation as before they run away.	101–108
<i>Episode 10 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the corn field</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the custard apple tree the boys have already gone. She curses them and tells them that they will come to a dish with corn; if they roast and eat the corn they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	108–112
Subevent 2	The boys arrive at the dish with corn and after a similar conversation as before they run away.	112–118
<i>Episode 11 The Dokonikani chases the boys at a river</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the place with the corn the boys have already gone. She curses them and tells them that they will come to a river; the contact with its water will make them blind and she will catch and kill them.	118–122
Subevent 2	The boys come to a river that is split into creeks, they see a breadfruit tree, put a spell on it, climb up the tree and hide inside a breadfruit.	122–126
Subevent 3	The Dokonikani comes to this breadfruit tree, throws a stick at a fruit, it falls down, she makes a fire and cooks it.	127–132
Subevent 4	The boys within the fruit urinate on the fire and extinguish it.	132–134
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani puts the breadfruit aside and makes a fire again, but after a while she takes the breadfruit and throws it to the other side of the river.	134–140
Subevent 6	There the boys get out of the fruit, the older brother tells the Dokonikani that he put magic on this fruit so that they could hide inside of it; that it was the fruit which she tried to cook, that they extinguished the fire and that she threw them with the fruit to the other side of this dangerous river.	140–151
<i>Episode 12 The Dokonikani and the boys on the mountain</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani puts a spell on the river and crosses it, but when she arrives at the other side the boys have already gone. She curses them and tells them that they will come to a mountain; there they will get blind and she will catch and eat them.	151–157
Subevent 2	The boys go to this mountain, they climb it and when they try to go down again the mountain becomes so big that it reaches the sky.	157–161

Table 11. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 3	The Dokonikani comes to the mountain, catches a pig and tells the boys (whom she does not see) that they will stay there without food while she will eat pork and yams; then she cooks, eats and goes to sleep.	161–167
Subevent 4	The boys make a stretcher, put her food on it, take it away and eat it.	167–170
<i>Episode 13 The boys kill the Dokonikani</i>		
Subevent 1	After the Dokonikani has not eaten for a while she catches another pig, cooks it and goes to the other side of the mountain.	170–173
Subevent 2	The older brother spies on her.	173–174
Subevent 3	The Dokonikani fills food into pandanus leaves, she notices the boy and tells him that she knows that he and his brother ate her food but that now she will eat him.	174–177
Subevent 4	The boy tells her that she should better first eat his younger brother and then him because otherwise she will have a problem with his younger brother.	177–180
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani tells him that she will first eat him.	180–181
Subevent 6	The boy tells her again that she should better eat his younger brother first.	181–182
Subevent 7	The Dokonikani takes out her yams and pork, grabs the boy and tries to tear off parts of his body.	183–187
Subevent 8	The boy tells her that while she tries to eat him his younger brother will come and cut off her head, and while he says so his brother comes and kills the Dokonikani.	187–189
Coda that indicates the end of a tale.		189–190
<i>Episode 14 The older boy points out that he and his brother were chased away from home by their mother and their aunt and that they will live forever on this mountain and eat much better food there than their relatives back home.</i>		190–193
Ritualized formula indicating the end of the tale		193

Besides the ritualized introductory formula and two codas with a somewhat unexpected narrative interlude inserted between them, this complex tale consists of 13 subsequent episodes. The shortest episode reports three subevents and the most complex episode is subdivided into eight subevents. The narrative interlude between the two codas – Episode 14 in Table 11 – is a kind of summarizing statement of one of the protagonists. Such an ending of a story is rather unusual. I assume that Dudaavelu produced the first coda more or less as a slip of the tongue – and then realized that he forgot to present the older brother's assessment of his and his brother's situation in a simple last episode. He then told this episode and ended the tale in the appropriate way with the ritualized formula.

Although most of the verbs in this tale are again produced without a TAM marker, Dudaavelu produces more than 40 verbs with the situation adequate marker for future or irrealis, 4 verbs with the marker for a completed action “*l-*” and the final coda with the habitual marker “*m-*”. The young narrator clearly marks the structure of this tale with a variety of different narrative means – which he sometimes even produces in combination – like:

- Explicit marking of the end of an episode / a subevent (lines 6, 20, 35, 46, 47, 65, 151, 174),
- reference to time and to changes of time 24, 32, 170, 38, 76, 86, 118 [the verb is repeated three times to indicate duration of action]);
- tail-head linkage constructions (lines 5–6, 12–13, 37–38),
- change of character (lines 9, 11, 13, 16, 43, 48, 51, 55, 59, 60, 63 etc.)
- change of place (lines 80, 86, 91, 97, 101, 108, 112, 118, 122 etc.)
- use of direct speech announced by adequate verba dicendi (lines 14, 48–49, 76, 140, 151, 177, 180, 181, 187);
- mocking song-like verses (58–59, 60–61, 66–67); and
- repetition of episodes with slight variations (especially episodes 7–10).

The use of direct speech in the conversations between the two brothers and the oldest brother and the Dokonikani as well as the special recitation of the older brother’s mocking song with which he announces their murder of the Dokonikani’s child make the story quite vivid and colorful.

Although Dudaavelu also produces the rhetorical question “*amyaga*” as a hesitation marker rather often (almost 40 times), it is noteworthy that he only produces a few initial repairs of his words or utterances while narrating this tale.

The content of this tale is quite specific. The behavior of the boys’ mother and their aunt is highly atypical for the Trobriand Islanders’ matrilineal society – a Trobriand mother and her sister would never make their closest relatives flee from them because of such a trifle issue like wet and dirty grass-skirts, and Trobriand children would be too afraid of a Dokonikani to seek shelter with such an ogre.

The daily routines of the Dokonikani reported in the tale, however, are quite typical for Trobriand women. They help their husbands working in the garden, take yams, taro and other garden products with them on their way home and cook the meals for their family.

The part of the tale that deals with the crawfish (episode 3) seems to be somehow open-ended, at least for a non-native speaker of Kilivila. However, Dudaavelu’s native audience did not put a blame on him at all, here. They just enjoyed this episode of the story in the same way as they enjoyed all the other episodes of this tale.

The brutal description of how the boys killed the Dokonikani’s child and what they did with the cooked parts of its body is quite bizarre. The only interpretation

I have to offer here is that in the eyes of a Trobriander the Dokonikani are ogres, not humans, despite the fact that they may resemble human beings; thus, they can be treated like animals and butchered like pigs. Obviously, the two boys have no scruples whatsoever to kill the Dokonikani's child.

The episodes that follow this murder are full of suspense for a Trobriand audience, despite their repetitiveness. The role of the older brother in his discussion with his younger brother supports the general educational maxim that younger siblings should follow the advice of their older brothers and sisters. The fact that the older boy was capable to use magic to make it possible for him and his younger brother to hide in a breadfruit and to escape the Dokonikani with her rather strong magical powers by outwitting the ogre in this episode (11) is also quite impressive for the children in the audience.²⁴ That this protagonist is a kind of special character is also documented by his pragmatic solution of how to extinguish the fire on which the Dokonikani tried to cook the breadfruit in which the boys were hiding. The report of subevent 4 in episode 11 has also a cathartic effect and illustrates the Trobriand Islanders' humor with its many scatological innuendos (see Senft 1985a).

The cleverness of the older boy is also documented in his way of how he deals with the Dokonikani when she has seized him and tries to tear off parts of his body. His proposal that she should better eat his younger brother and then him, because otherwise she may have a problem with the younger boy may be misleading not only for the Dokonikani in the story but also for the audience of this tale – it seems that the so far caring and loyal boy tries to betray his younger brother to save his own life. However, the older brother does not betray his sibling at all. On the contrary, he acts out a joint and rather tricky plan in which he boldly puts himself into the hands of the Dokonikani who is ready to kill him. Struggling with her he distracts the ogre's attention, thus enabling his younger brother to approach them unnoticed by the ogre and to kill the Dokonikani. What first sounded as a betrayal was actually a warning and an announcement. The Dokonikani's ignorance of this warning and the announcement that she will have a problem with the younger boy finally leads to her death – the younger boy cuts off her head. The brothers' solidarity and trust in each other, and the older brother's cleverness, wittiness and knowledge of magic enabled them to overcome the adult ogre. This kind of moral of the tale completely agrees with educational ideas and ideals on the Trobriand Islands.

24. This illustrates, by the way, what an important role magic still played in 1982. Even young children were fully aware of its cultural impact. That this has dramatically changed now is documented in Senft (2010b).

The older boy's final announcement, however, that he and his brother will stay at the mountain where they killed the *Dokonikani*, that they will not return to their relatives and that they point out with a certain amount of *schadenfreude* that they will eat better food than their mother and their aunt is again highly atypical for Trobriand Islanders.

2.2.2.11 *Dudauvelu tells the "Kwanebuyee mto-sita gugwadi" – The "Tale of these children"*

Almost immediately after Dudauvelu had told us the longest story of all the tales told by the children, he started to tell us another rather long and complex "Tale of these Children" which consists of 96 transcribed lines of text. Although a female *Dokonikani* is mentioned in this story, too (lines 86 & 87), this ogre does not play any substantial role in this tale.

Kwanebu-yeee m-to-si-ta m gugwadi. I-lo-si
 tale-EMPH DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM hm children 3.-go-PL
 The tale of (Once upon a time there were) hm these children. They go
i-lela'i-si m asi mekela. I-meye-si i-kabwasi-si. Amyaga,
 3.-trap hm their seagull 3.-bring-PL 3.-roast-PL what's.the.name
 they trap hm their seagull. They bring it they roast it. What's the name,
e-va-ga ina-si e-kebiga, e-kebiga: "Ku-meye-si m agu
 3.-go.to mother-their 3.-say 3.-say 2.-bring-PL hm my
 she goes to them their mother she says, she says: "Bring me my
pinupane-na". E-vavavagi-ga m e-vevegi-ga tua-la:
 wing-its 3.-say-EMPH hm 3.-say-EMPH older.sister-her
 wing". She says, hm, she says her older sister:

(5)

"A taga bwada-gu ala pinupane-na o ku-meye-si-ga
 ah but younger.sister-my her wing-its oh 2.-bring-PL-EMPH
 "Ah, but my younger sister's wing, oh bring me

agu keike-na a taga bwada-gu ala kaike-na".
 my leg-its ah but younger.sister-my her leg-its
 my leg, ah but (think also of) my younger sister's leg".

E-vavagi-ga: "O ku-meye-si-ga m agu agu si..."
 3.-say-EMPH oh 2.-bring-PL-EMPH hm my my ba...
 She says: "Oh, bring me my my ba...,

amyaga o e agu sibuvaga". E-vagi-a tua-la:
 what's.the.name oh yes my back 3.-say-EMPH older.sister-her
 what's the name, oh, eh, my back". She says her older sister:

“A *taga bwada-gu m ala ala mauna o*
 ah but younger.sister-my hm her her animal oh
 “Ah, but my younger sister's bird, oh

(10)

ku-meye-si-ga m agu kaike-la a taga bwada-gu
 2.-bring-PL-EMPH hm my leg-its ah but younger.sister-my
 bring hm my leg, hm, but my younger sister's

ala kaike-na o ku-meye-si-ga agu keyo-na. A taga
 her leg-its oh 2.-bring-PL-EMPH my neck-its ah but
 leg, oh bring me my neck. Ah but

bwada-gu ala keyo-na, o ku-meye-si-ga agu dagula”.
 younger.sister her neck-its oh 2.-bring-PL-EMPH my feather
 my younger sister's neck, oh bring me my feathers”.

I-kau-si dagula i-sake-si ina-si ... I-vokwa, amyaga,
 3.-take-PL feather 3.-give-PL mother-their 3.-finish what's.the.name
 They take the feathers they give them to their mother. It is finished, what's the name,

i-kam-kwam-si saso-la bwada-la. I-vokwa i-lau
 3.-eat-REDUP-PL friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-finish 3.-take
 they eat, she and her younger sister. It is finished she takes

(15)

ma-na-na numwaya m e-katubiasi m amyaga
 DEM-CP.female-DEM old.woman hm 3.-adorn hm what's.the.name
 this old woman, hm, she adorns herself with, hm, what's the name,

da... ala dagula e bi-lo-si-ga saso-la
 fea... her feather and 3.FUT-go-PL-EMPH friend-her
 fea... her feathers and they go, she and

bwada-la I-lela'i-si bi-meye-si. Bi-va
 younger.sister-her 3.-trap-PL 3.FUT-bring-PL 3.-go.to
 her younger sister. They make a trap and they bring (a bird). She will go there

ma-na-na numwaya bi-kebiga bi-kebiga: “Ku-meye-si
 DEM-CP.female-DEM old.woman 3.FUT-say 3.FUT-say 2.-bring-PL
 this old woman she will say, she will say: “Bring me

a agu kaike-na, a taga bwada-gu ala kaike-na,
 ah my leg-its a but younger.sister-my her leg-its
 ah, my leg, ah but (also think of) my younger sister's leg.

(20)

O ku-meye-si-ga amyaga agu pinupane-na, a
 oh 2.-bring-PL-EMPH what's.the.name my wing-its ah
 Oh, bring me, what's the name, my wing, ah

taga bwada-gu ala pinupane-na. A ku-meye-si-ga
 but younger.sister-my her wing-its ah 2.-bring-PL-EMPH
 but (also) my younger sister's wing. Ah, bring me

m amyaga agu keyo-na, a taga bwada-gu
 hm what's.the.name my neck-its ah but younger.sister-my
 hm, what's the name, my neck, but (also) my younger sister's

ala keyo-na. O ku-meye-si-ga m agu busi... agu agu
 her neck-its oh 2.-bring-PL-EMPH hm my ba... my my
 neck. Oh bring, hm, my back... my, my,

*busi... e, amyaga, amyaga, agu *busivaga". ((sibuvaga))*
 ba... eh what's.the.name what's.the.name my backbone
 ba... eh, what's the name, what's the name, my backbone".

(25)

E-vavagi-ga tua-la: "Taga bwada-gu ala
 3.-say-EMPH older.sister-her but younger.sister-my her
 She says, her older sister: "But (also) my younger sister's

mauna o ku-meye-si-ga m amyaga, agu dagula".
 animal o 2.-bring-PL-EMPH hm what's.the.name my feather
 bird, oh bring me hm, what's the name my feathers".

I-kau-si-ga ala dagula ina-si i-sake-si.
 3-take-PL-emph its feather mother-their 3.-give-PL
 They take its feathers and give them to their mother.

I-kam-kwam-si-ga i-vokwa. E amyaga e-yam
 3.-eat-REDUP-PL-EMPH 3.-finish. And what's.the.name 3.-be.day
 They eat, it is finished. And, what's the name, day breaks,

i-lo-si soso-la bwada-la. M amyaga, i-la'i-si
 3.-go-PL friend-her younger.sister-her hm what's.the.name 3.-trap-PL
 they go she and her younger sister. Hm, what's the name, they trap with

(30)

asi sikuna i-meye-si i-kikabwasi-si i-vokwa. E-va
 their trap 3.-bring-PL 3.-roast-PL 3.-finish 3.-go.to
 their trap, they bring (the bird) they roast it it is finished. She goes there

ina-si amyaga e-livala, gala i... i-livala ala
 mother-their what's.the.name 3.-say no 3.- 3.-say her
 their mother, what's the name, she says, no, she she says (she wants) her

dagula. I-kau-si i-sake-si. I-sake-si i-lau i-katubiyasi
 feather. 3.-take-PL 3.-give-PL 3.-give-PL 3.-take 3.adorn
 feathers. They take them and give them (to her). They give them (to her) she takes
 them she adorns herself and

i-kam-si-ga, soso-la bwada-la, asi mauna.
 3.-eat-PL-EMPH friend-her younger.sister-her their animal
 they eat, she and her younger sister, their bird.

I-kam-kwam-si i-vokwa amyaga i-la-ga i-katubiyasi ala
 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-finish what's.the.name 3.-go-EMPH 3.-adorn her
 They eat, it is finished, what's the name, she goes she adorns herself with her
 (35)

dagula. I-katubiyasi i-vokwa amyaga, i-seli o yama-la
 feather 3.-adorn 3.-finish what's.the.name 3.-put LOC arm-her
 feathers. She adorns herself, it is finished, what's the name, she put them on her arms

o kaike-la i-vagi, i-vokwa. E i-babi o vovo-la
 LOC leg-her 3.-make 3.-finish yes 3.-stick LOC body-her
 on her legs, she makes it, it is finished. Yes, she sticks them on her body,

o kaike-la amyaga o yama-la, i-vokwa. I-you
 LOC leg-her what's.the.name LOC arm-her 3.-finish 3.fly
 on her legs, what's the name, on her arms, it is finished. She flies

i-toli m va naba bogeokwa. I-keita o
 3.-stand hm DIR doorstep already.finished 3.-return LOC
 she stands at the doorstep, already it is finished. She returns to

si bwala i-lulu dagule-la i-vokwa. I-vokwa
 their house 3.-pull.off feather-her 3.-finish 3.-finish
 their house she pulls off her feathers, it is finished. It is finished

(40)

amyaga i-lo-si soso-la bwada-la i-la...
 what's.the.name 3.-go-PL friend.her younger.sister-her 3.-tr...
 what's the name, they go, she and her younger sister they tra...

i-la'i-si asi mekela i-meye-si-ga. I-va
 3.-trap-PL their seagull 3.-bring-PL-EMPH 3.-go.to
 they trap their seagull and they bring it. She goes there

ma-na-na numwaya amyaga e-nigada. Gala.
 DEM-CP.female-DEM old.woman what's.the.name 3.-ask.for no
 this old woman, what's the name, she asks for it. No.

E-kebiga: "O ku-meye-si-ga amyaga agu dagula".
 3.-say oh 2.-bring.PL-EMPH what's.the.name my feather
 She says: "Oh, bring me, what's the name, my feathers".

I-kau-si ala dagula i-sake-si. I-va i-katubiyasi i-vokwa.
 3.-take-PL its feather 3.-give-PL 3.-go.to 3.-adorn 3.-finish
 They take its feathers they give them to her. She goes she adorns herself it is finished.

(45)

Sena budubadu amyaga i... i-kali o yama-la o
 very many what's.the.name 3.- 3.-put LOC arm-her LOC
 A lot of feathers, what's the name, she... she puts them on her arms, on

vovo-la e-kebiga: "E kapisi a-nigada ami mauna,
 body-her 3.-say yes sorry 1.-ask.for your animal
 her body she says: "Yes, sorry, I asked for your bird,

ku-yusi-si. La-nigada amyaga da... dagula
 2.-refute-PL 1.PAST-ask.for what's.the.name fea... feather
 you refuted (my request). I asked, what's the name, for the fea... the feathers

o-ku-sake-gu-si la-vagi e-okwa. Amyaga
 binding.vowel-2.-give-me-PL 1.PAST-make 3.-finish what's.the.name
 and you gave them to me, I made it it is finished. What's the name,

ba-you ba-loki sigwaya m m ha Omyuva
 1.FUT-fly 1.FUT-go.to relatives hm hm ha Omyuva
 I will fly I will go to my relatives hm, hm, ha, in Omyuva

(50)

ka-kam-si polu". Bogeokwa. Mna amyaga,
 DUAL.EXCL-eat foam already.finished hm what's.the.name
 we two eat foam (of the sea)". Already it is finished. Hm, what's the name,

amyaga i-you i-toli va naba i-va
 what's.the.name 3.-fly 3.-stand DIR doorstep 3.-go.to
 what's the name, she flies she stands at the doorstep, she goes there

amyaga o kubudoga i-you i-la mna amyaga ...
 what's.the.name LOC veranda 3.-fly 3.-go hm what's.the.name
 what's the name to the veranda, she flies she goes, hm, what's the name,

m o kulumwala. E e-kebiga... e-kebiga-si
 hm LOC roof And 3.-say... 3.-say-PL
 hm, to the roof. And she sa... they say

m-to-si-ta gugwadi: "A!" E-kebiga-si: "A ku-ma
 DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM children ah 3.-say-PL ah 2.-come
 these children: "Ah!" They say: "Ah, come,

(55)

iga baka-lo-si baka-la'i-si ada-mekela-si baka-meye-si
 later 1.FUT-go-PL 1.FUT-trap-PL our-seagulls-PL 1.FUT-bring-PL
 later we will go we will trap our seagulls, we will bring them

bata-kam-si", bogeokwa. I-you i-va i-la, amyaga,
 1.FUT-eat-PL already finished 3.-fly 3.-go.to 3.-go what's.the.name
 we will eat", already it is finished. She flies she goes there she goes, what's the name,

kabulu-tala ... m katupo-tala e: m e
 CP.point-one hm CP.point-one yes hm yes
 to one point, hm one point, yes, hm, yes

kwadeva. I-lola-si soso-la bwada-la i-ve-si.
 beach 3.-go-PL friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-go.to-PL
 at the beach. They go, she and her younger sister, they go there.

E-kebiga: "M e sena i-valam!" bwada-la e-kebiga.
 3.-say hm eh very 3.-cry younger-sister-her 3.-say
 She says: "Hm there is much crying!" her younger sister says that.

(60)

Tua-la e i-vina, tua-la e-kebiga:
 Older.sister-her yes 3.-sing older.sister-her 3.-say

Her older sister yes she sings, her older sister says: [she sings]

"Buyo buyo vayo vayo ta-gina ta-gine sinematai
 buyo buyo vayo vayo DUAL.INCL-shout DUAL.INCL-shout they sleep
 "Buyo, buyo, vayo, vayo, we two shout we two shout they sleep

tai. Te-gina susu! O ina-gu ku-ma
 sleep DUAL.INCL-shout breast oh mother.my 2.-come
 sleep. We two shout for the breast! Oh mother come

ku-inunu bwada-gu ka-sisu buku-va-ga".
 2.-breast.feed younger.sister-my DUAL.EXCL-be 2.FUT-go.to-EMPH
 and breastfeed my younger sister, we are here, you will go there".

E-kebiga ma-na-na mna: "O ku-meyo ku-meyo
 3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM hm oh 2.-bring 2.-bring
 She says this girl, hm: "Oh bring it bring it

(65)

ku-meyo!" I-veyaki amyaga i-vinunu i-vokwa
 2.-bring 3.-go.to what's.the.name 3.-breastfeed 3.-finish
 bring it!" She goes there, what's the name she breastfeeds her, it is finished

i-masis-si soso-la bwada-la. I-nei kutu-si
 3.-sleep-PL friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-search lice-their
 they sleep, she and her younger sister. She louses them

i-vokwa i-masisi-si amyaga i-you i-masisi-si-ga i-ma
 3.-finish 3.-sleep-PL what's.the.name 3.-fly 3.-sleep-PL-EMPH 3.-come
 it is finished, they sleep, what's the name, she flies, they really sleep, she comes

ma-na-na. E i-ma m kesai i-lulovi kaike-si
 DEM-CP.female-DEM and 3.-come hm wave 3.-wet feet-their
 this woman. And it comes hm this wave it wets their feet

soso-la bwada-la. I-mamata-si i-valam
 friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-wake.up-PL 3.-cry
 hers and her younger sister's. They wake up, she cries

(70)

bwada-la. I-lola-si i-lola-si katupo-tala kwadeva
 younger.sister-her 3.-go-PL 3.-go-PL point-one beach
 her younger sister. They go they go to a point at the beach

i-seki tua-la: "Buyo buyo vayo vayo" – amyaga –
 3.start older.sister-her buyo buyo vayo vayo what's.the.name
 and she starts her older sister: "Buyo, buyo, vayo, vayo" – what's the name –
"sinematai tai – te-gina: O ina-gu – buyo – ku-ma
 their.sleep sleep DUAL.INCL-shout oh mother-my buyo 2.-come
 their sleep sleep – we shout: Oh my mother – buyo – come

ku-inunu bwada-gu. Ka-sisu buku-va-ga, o
 2.-breastfeed little.sister-my DUAL.EXCL-be 2.FUT-go.to-EMPH oh
 and breastfeed my little sister. We two are here you will go there, oh

ku-meyo ku-meyo!" I-veyaki i-vinunu i-vokwa i-ne'i
 2.-bring 2.-bring 3.-come.to 3.-breastfeed 3.-finish 3.-search
 bring it, bring it!" She comes she breastfeeds, it is finished, she searches

(75)

i-nei m kutu-si. Soso-la bwada-la i-
 3.-search hm lice-their Friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-
 she louses them. She and her younger sister they...

i-sisu-si-wa. I-va-ga i-la i-toli m katupo-tala
 3.-be-PL-only 3.-go.to-EMPH 3.-go 3.-stand hm CP.point-one
 they are just there. She goes there she goes she stands hm at a point

kwadeva. E-masisi-si soso-la bwada-la. I-vokwa
 beach 3.-sleep-PL friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-finish
 at the beach. They sleep, she and her younger sister. It is finished,

amyaga, i-va kesai i-luluvi amyaga
 what's.the.name 3.-go.to wave 3.-wet what's.the.name
 what's the name, it goes there the wave it wets, what's the name,

kaike-si i-mamata-si ... Amyaga, i-lola-si i-valam
 feet-their 3.-wake.up-PL what's.the.name 3.-go-PL 3.-cry
 their feet and they wake up. What's the name, they go and she cries

(80)

bwada-la i-lola-si i-ve-si i-seki tua-la
 younger.sister-her 3.-walk-PL 3.-go.to-PL 3.-start older.sister-her
 her younger sister, they walk they go there and she starts her older sister

e-kebiga “Buyo buyo vayo vayo ta-gi... ta-gi... ...
 3.-say buyo buyo vayo vayo DUAL.INCL-shout DUAL.INCL-shout
 she says: “Buyo, buyo, vayo, vayo, we two shout we two shout ... –

sinematai te-gina susu vayo o ina-gu – buyo –
 their.sleep DUAL.INCL-shout breast vayo oh mother.my buyo
 their sleep, we shout for the breast – vayo – oh my mother – buyo –

ku-ma ku-inunu bwada-gu. Ka-sisu
 2.-come 2.-breastfeed younger.sister-my DUAL.EXCL-be
 come and breastfeed my younger sister. We two are here

buku-va-ga”. I-tulatula-si. Gala e-vina tua-la gala –
 2.FUT-go.to-EMPH 3.-wait-PL not 3.-sing older.sister-her not
 you will go there”. They wait. She does not sing, her older sister, nor

(85)

amyaga – gala i-dou ina-si. I-lola, m,
 what's.the.name not 3.-shout mother-their 3.-walk hm
 what's the name, nor does she shout for their mother. She walks there, hm,

amyaga, ma-na-na Dokonikani. I-lola
 what's.the.name DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani 3.-walk
 what's the name, this Dokonikani. She walks there

ma-na-na Dokonikani i-meki soso-la
 DEM-CP.female-DEM Dokonikani 3.-come.to friend-her
 this Dokonikani she comes to her and

bwada-la e-kebiga: “Amakavam?” E-vavagi-ga:
 younger.sister-her 3.-say how.are.you 3.-say
 her younger sister and she says: “How are you?” She says:

“A *i-*...”, *amyaga*, “*ina-ma e-lo... m e-loki*
 Ah moth... what's.the.name mother-our 3.-go... hm 3.-go.to
 “Ah, moth...” – what's the name – “our mother she went, hm she went to

(90)

silaya m Omyuva, bogeokwa, i-la i-kau
 her.relative hm Omyuva already.finished 3.-go 3.-take
 her relatives, hm, in Omyuva, its already finished, she went she took

ma-ke-na kenuya”. i-meya”. I-sila-si
 DEM-CP.wooden-DEM plate 3.-bring 3.-sit-PL
 this wooden plate she brought it”. They sit on it

soso-la bwada-la i-kuluvi i-ve-si, amyaga.
 friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-drift.off 3.-go.to-PL what's.the.name
 she and her younger sister, it drifts off and they go there, what's the name,

i-lo-si *kwe-tala* *kwadevoa.* *Amyaga* *i-vake-si*
 3.-go-PL CP.thing-one beach what's.the.name 3.-go.to-PL
 they go to a beach. What's the name, they go to

ma-ke-si-ta *bwebwai* *i-mweni* *tua-la*
 DEM-CP.WOODEN-PL-DEM green.coconuts 3.-climb older.sister-her
 these green coconuts she climbs up (one of the coconut trees) her older sister,
 (95)

i-seki *bwada-la* *i-kam-si.* *E* *i-simwe-si*
 3.-give younger.sister-her 3.-eat-PL and 3.-stay-PL
 she gives her younger sister (a coconut), they eat. And they stay there

i-sigaga-si. *Bogeokwa.*
 3.-stay.permanently-PL already.finished
 they stay forever. It is already finished.

After the ritualized introductory formula we learn in the first episode of this tale that the protagonists, children who are not named, trap a seagull at the beach and roast it there. Their mother goes to them and asks them to bring her a wing of the bird and her mother's elder sister also asks them to bring her a leg, the neck of the bird and its feathers. The children do this and the two women eat these parts of the bird, the older woman takes the feathers, adorns herself with them and goes away with the children's mother. The children trap another bird, their aunt goes to them and requests parts of the bird for herself and for their mother, this time she also asks for the bird's backbone. She gives the feathers to her younger sister, the children's mother. The children again give her the requested parts of the bird and the women eat them. The next day the children – two girls – go and catch another bird and roast it. This time their mother comes to them and asks especially for the feathers. She gets them and then she, her older sister and the children eat the bird. After the meal the girls' mother adorns herself with the feathers putting them on her arms and on her legs. She flies away but after a while she comes back to the doorstep of her house and pulls the feathers off her body. The children trap yet another bird, again their aunt asks for the bird and its feathers. However, this time the children only give her the feathers, but refuse to give her the bird. Their aunt takes the feathers, puts them on her body and tells the children that she will leave them and fly away to her relatives in Omyuva on Woodlark Island. The woman then first flies to the roof of her sister's house. The children promise her to trap another bird and give it to her if she stays with them, but she flies from the roof of the house to the point at the beach – and her younger sister, the children's mother, joins her there. The younger sister hears her children cry and mentions this to her older sister.

Alone on the beach with her sister the older girl starts to sing a song in which she asks their mother to come back and breastfeed her sister; and the younger girl begs her mother to come and feed her, too. The mother flies to them and breast-feeds her younger daughter; then her children fall asleep. The mother louses them and then flies away again. After a while a wave wets the feet of the two girls, they wake up, and the younger girl starts crying; they go to a point at the beach and her sister sings the same song as before. Again their mother comes, breastfeeds the young girl and louses her daughters who soon fall asleep again. After a while a wave wets the feet of the two girls, they wake up, the younger girl starts crying. They walk around at the beach and the older girl sings the same song as before. They wait for their mother after the older girl stopped singing and shouting, but this time their mother does not come. However, a female man-eating ogre, a *Dokonikani*, walks along the beach and greets them; The two girls tell the *Dokonikani* that her mother left them and went to her relatives in *Omyuva*, but that she brought them a wooden plate. The girls then sit down on this plate, it drifts off in a calm sea and they reach another beach where they find green coconuts. The older sister climbs up one of the coconut trees, picks a fruit, gives it to her younger sister and they eat it together. With the ritualized formulae “they stay there ... forever” and the explicit marking of the tale's end Dudaavelu finishes his story. Table 12 summarizes the structure of the “Tale of these children”:

Table 12. The structure of the “Tale of these children”

		lines
The ritualized introductory formula		1
<i>Episode 1 The children trap a bird and the reaction of their mother and aunt</i>		
Subevent 1	Two children trap a seagull, kill it and roast it.	1–2
Subevent 2	Their mother and her older sister asks them for parts of the bird and its feathers.	3–12
Subevent 3	The women eat the bird, the older woman adorns herself with the bird's feathers and they go away.	13–17
<i>Episode 2 The children trap another bird and the reaction of their mother and aunt</i>		
Subevent 1	The children trap another bird.	17
Subevent 2	Their aunt goes to them and requests parts of the bird for herself and for her younger sister, and she asks them to give the bird's feathers to their mother.	17–26
Subevent 3	The children do it and the bird is eaten.	27–28
<i>Episode 3 The children trap a third bird and the reaction of their mother and aunt</i>		
Subevent 1	The next day the children – two girls – trap a third bird, bring it and roast it.	28–30
Subevent 2	Their mother asks them to bring her the feathers, the children do it, the mother adorns herself with the feathers and she and her sister eat the bird.	30–33

Table 12. (continued)

		lines	
	Subevent 3	After the meal the mother continues adorning herself with the feathers, putting them on her arms and on her legs.	34–37
	Subevent 4	The mother flies away, comes back and pulls the feathers off her body.	38–39
<i>Episode 4 The children trap a fourth bird and the reaction of their mother and aunt</i>			
	Subevent 1	The two girls trap a fourth bird.	39–41
	Subevent 2	Their aunt goes to them and asks for the bird; when the children refuse to give her the bird she asks just for the bird's feathers.	41–43
	Subevent 3	The children give her the feathers, their aunt puts them on her arms and on her body; then she tells the girls that she will fly away to her relatives in Omyuva because they did not give her the bird.	44–50
	Subevent 4	The aunt flies to to the roof of their house.	50–53
	Subevent 5	The children promise her to trap another bird and give it to her, but she flies from the roof of the house to the point at the beach – and there her younger sister – the children's mother – joins her.	53–58
	Subevent 6	The younger woman remarks that there is much crying.	59
<i>Episode 5 The older girl makes her mother come back and care for her younger daughter</i>			
	Subevent 1	The older girl sings a song in which she asks their mother to come and breastfeed her younger sister.	60–65
	Subevent 2	The mother comes, breastfeeds the young girl and louses her children who soon fall asleep.	5–68
<i>Episode 6 The older girl makes her mother come back and care for her younger daughter</i>			
	Subevent 1	A wave wets the feet of the two girls, they wake up, the younger girl starts crying; they go to a point at the beach and her older sister sings the same song as before.	68–74
	Subevent 2	Their mother comes, breastfeeds the young girl and louses her daughters who soon fall asleep.	74–77
<i>Episode 7 The mother has abandoned her daughters, but left a wooden plate for them with which the girls drift to a secure place where they will live together</i>			
	Subevent 1	A wave wets the feet of the two girls, they wake up, the younger girl starts crying; they walk around at the beach and the older girl sings the same song as before, but the girls wait in vain for their mother.	77–85
	Subevent 2	A Dokonikani walks along the beach and greets them; the girls tell the Dokonikani that her mother left them and went to her relatives in Omyuva but that she brought them a wooden plate.	85–91
	Subevent 3	The two girls sit down on the plate, it drifts off and they reach another beach where green coconuts are growing, the older sister climbs up one of the palms, picks a fruit, gives it to her younger sister and they eat it together.	91–95
	Ritualized formulae that announce the end of the tale		95–96

This relatively complex tale consists of 7 episodes which report up to 6 subevents. After the ritualized introduction formula the first four episodes are clearly structured by different actions of different protagonists – the children – two girls – on the one hand and their mother and her older sister on the other. The older women approach the girls and make their requests. These requests are narrated in direct speech which is marked by the verba dicendi “*ekebiga*” (she speaks, she says) and “*evavagiga*” (she says). This makes the narration quite vivid and colorful. In this tale the change of speakers (see e.g. lines 17ff), references to changes of time (see e.g. line 28, 68 & 77), explicit markings that an action has come to an end (see e.g. lines 30 & 50), tail-head linkages (see e.g. line 39) and the songs serve as structural devices for the organization of Dudaavelu’s narration of this complex story. Again, most of the verbs are produced without any TAM markers, however, there are a few verbs which are formed with the future marker “*b-*” prefixed to the person marker (see lines 16–18, 55–56) and one verb which is formed with the prefix “*l-*” which marks a completed action (see line 47). Person-references are quite often not unequivocal. The kin-terms “older sister” and “younger sister” are used to refer to the adult protagonists as well as to the girls who trap the birds – actually it is only in line 64 of the transcript that we learn that the children the narrator refers to are two sisters. Especially after line 59 listeners will have difficulties to immediately understand that the tale now switches from the adults to the girls. However, these ambiguities in person references seems to be typical for many Trobriand narratives (see e.g. Senft 2010: 85, 93f., 96, 100). This is a remarkable observation, because Kilivila provides the verbal means for disambiguating such unclear references, however, the Trobriand Islanders do not use them; instead they seem to prefer these – at least for a non-native speaker – ambiguous forms of person reference. We also notice repetition of events – almost verbatim in many places with just minor modifications like, for example, the addition of one or more events (see the first three subevents in episode one and the first two subevents in episode two of Dudaavelu’s tale). And as in Towesei’s tale of Pepekwa (see 2.2.2.9) the older girl’s song – which somewhat alludes to magical formulae (see Senft 1997) – plays an important part for keeping up suspense in this tale here. The only indication that 7 year old Dudaavelu has not fully acquired the rhetorical skills of a good narrator is his relative frequent use of the rhetorical question “*amyaga*” – “what’s the name” which he produces as a hesitation phenomenon when he is searching for a specific word or when he needs some additional time for the planning and monitoring of his proper linearization of the subevents in the tale. He also mixes up the morpheme sequence of the noun “*sibuvaga*” (backbone) which he produces as “**busivaga*” (see line 24). The way he starts the story in lines 1–10, however, is just perfect.

The content of this (fairy-) tale is quite gothic. On the Trobriands it is common that children build traps for birds – especially at low tide, and some of these birds are also eaten; however, the fact that the two adult women can stick the birds' feathers on their body and manage to fly with them is extraordinary and indicates that these women must be in command of very strong magical powers. One could even assume that they may be "*munukwausi*", flying witches who are terribly feared by the Trobrianders because they "often go at night to feed on corpses or to destroy shipwrecked mariners" (Malinowski 1922: 241); in addition, they may also eat the insides of living people, especially of babies and young children. The somewhat cryptic remark of the older woman in line 50 "*kakamsi polu*" – "we two eat foam (of the sea)" may support this interpretation. This may also explain why the young woman could finally resist the power of her elder daughter's song which also sounds like magic. And only such a frightening person like a *munukwausi* would be so heartless to abandon her two daughters, the youngest of whom still needs breastfeeding, in a place where a man-eating *Dokonikani* lives in the vicinity. That the mother provides her children with a wooden plate, though, is also not really very supportive in a place in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. However, it seems that the girls' mother put a spell on this plate, because the girls manage to float on it in an obviously unusually calm sea to a safe place where they can live in peace. The fact that the two adult women are somewhat extraordinary and special may also explain the choice of the classifier in the title of the story: the classificatory particle "(-)to(-)" can be glossed as "human" and as "male". When I transcribed Dudaavelu's tale my consultants told me that the two children are girls. The classifier for girls is "(-)na(-)".

However, speakers of Kilivila can also use the classificatory particle "(-)to(-)" if they do not want to differentiate between male and female human beings. Here this classifier may be a rather subtle device to point out that the children of the rather strange mother were humans, indeed.

All in all seven year old Dudaavelu managed very well to tell this rather complex and somewhat spooky tale and to keep the attention of his audience throughout his narration.

2.2.2.12 *Dauya tells the "Kukwanebuyee Pusa" – The "Tale of the Cat"*

After Towesei had told four of his tales Dauya volunteered to tell some of his stories. He first presented the "Tale of the Fearless Tailor" (which I already published as Senft 1992) and then the "Tale of Dick Whittington" which he learned at school and which I therefore excluded from this collection of Trobriand tales.²⁵ The last tale he produced is the shortest of the three stories – it's the "Tale of the Cat" which runs as follows:

25. See footnote 13.

E ba-kwanebu-ga pila-tolu-la: Kwanebu-yeee amyaga
 and 1.FUT-tell-EMPH CP.part-3-EMPH tale-EMPH what's.the.name
 And I will tell a third tale: The tale of (Once upon a time there was) – what's the name –

pusa. I-sisu i-veki m-to-na Dokonikani e-kam-kwam.
 cat 3.-be 3.-go.to DEM-CP.human-DEM Dokonikani 3.-eat-REDUP
 the cat. It is there it goes to this Dokonikani who is eating.

i-lola i-veki m-to-na Dokonikani i-kam-kwam.
 3.-walk 3.-go.to DEM-CP.human-DEM Dokonikani 3.-eat-REDUP
 It walks it goes to this Dokonikani who is eating.

E-kebiga: "Ku-mila ka'ukwa ba-gisi!". I-mila ka'ukwa.
 3.-say 2.-change dog 1.FUT-see 3.-change dog
 It says: "Change into a dog – I will see it". He changes into a dog.

(5)

I-sakaula-si asiteyu o tebeli i-vokwa. E-kebiga:
 3.-run-PL the two LOC table 3.-finish 3.-say
 They run, the two of them, on the table, it is finished. It says:

"O-ku-m(ila) pusa makala yegu ba-gisi!" I-mila
 Bindung-vowel-2.-change cat like I 1.FUT-see 3.-change
 "Change into a cat like me – I will see it!" He changes into

pusa. I-sakaula-si i-vanova-si. E-kebiga: "O magi-gu, amyaga,
 cat 3.-run-PL 3.-finish-PL. 3.-say oh wish-my what's.the.name
 a cat. They run they finish it. It says: "O, I would like, whats the name,

*ku-mila kokoni!" I-mila kokoni *ma-na-na*
 2.-change mouse 3.-change mouse DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 you to change into a mouse!" He changes into a mouse this [*correct form: *m-to-na*]

em m-to-na Dokonikani. E-weva pusa e-va
 ehm DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-go.to cat 3.-go.to
 ehm this Dokonikani. It goes to him the cat it goes to him

(10)

i-koma. I-koma. I-simve-si i-sigaga-si. E bogwa
 3.-eat 3.-eat 3.-stay-PL 3.-stay.permanently-PL and already
 it eats him. It eats him. They stay, they stay forever. And already

me-sinau.
 3.HABIT-finish
 It is finished.

Dauya first indicates that this is his third story and then starts his tale with the ritualized introductory formula. In the first episode we learn that the cat goes to an ogre who is eating at home. In the second episode the cat asks the Dokonikani to change into a dog – he does it and they chase each other for a while. In the next two almost identical episodes the cat first asks the Dokonikani to change into a dog and then into a mouse – and when he does this, the cat catches the mouse and eats it. The tale ends with the ritualized formulae “they stay forever” and the explicit marking that the tale has come to its end. Table 13 summarizes the structure of this brief tale:

Table 13. The structure of the “Tale of a Cat”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula of a tale	1–2
<i>Episode 1 The cat goes to a Dokonikani who is eating his meal</i>	2–3
<i>Episode 2 The cat asks the Dokonikani to change into a dog, the Dokonikani does so and they run after each other on the table</i>	4–5
<i>Episode 3 The cat asks the Dokonikani to change into a cat, the Dokonikani does so and they run after each other on the table</i>	6–7
<i>Episode 4 The cat asks the Dokonikani to change into a mouse the Dokonikani does so, the cat catches the mouse and eats it</i>	7–10
Two ritualized formulae that mark the end of a tale	10–11

It's obvious at first sight that this tale represents the Kilivila version of a very brief excerpt from the plot of Charles Perrault's (1628–1703) fairy tale “The Booted Cat” or “Puss in Boots” which was also published in 1812–1815 by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in their collection of fairy tales. Thus, like the two former tales told by Dauya this third European fairy-tale also found its way to the Trobriands. However, Dauya told me later that his father had heard this story – as well as the tale of the fearless tailer – during an alphabetization course for local village priests at the mission centre of the Methodist Church in Alotau, the capital of Milne Bay Province. Dauya's father transformed this European tale into the Trobriand version told by his son, changing the powerful magician in the European tale into a man-eating ogre with the same strong magical powers as his European equivalent – and with the same presumption and stupidity.

The structure of the tale is clearly marked. The second, third and fourth episode are each introduced by the verbum dicendi “*ekebiga*” (lines 4, 5, 7), and the transition from episode 4 to the first coda is marked by a tail-head linkage construction (line 10). Dauya tells this tale rather fluently – with only one mistake – the use of a wrong classifier (line 8) – which he immediately repairs. With the exception of one verb that is marked for future/irrealis and the habitual marker in the coda all other verbs are produced without TAM markers. Dauya's use of direct

speech makes the tale vivid and quite colorful and the other children in the audience enjoyed the tale very much.

It is interesting to note, however, that Dauya does not provide any information whatsoever about the fact that after the first two transformations of the Dokonikani the ogre regained his former figure – it seems that this is simply presupposed both by the narrator and his audience.

The message of this tale for children is probably that the terrifying Dokonikani may have strong bodily powers and command powerful magic, but that they are also rather stupid at times. And this stupidity might help others – adults and children – to escape from them and their lust to eat them – or, as in the reported case of the cat, to even kill them.

2.2.2.13 *Tosulebu tells the “Kwanebuyee Naulivali Nabukubwabu” – The “Tale of Naulivali and Nabukubwaku”*

During this session the oldest boy of the group – nine year old Tosulebu – told the “Tale of Naulivali and Nabukubwaku”. This rather spooky story runs as follows:

Kwanebu-yeee Naulivali Nabukubwaku. I-sisu-si i-sisu-sii

tale-EMPH Naulivali Nabukukwaku 3.-be-PL 3.-be-PL

The tale of (Once upon a time there were) Naulivali and Nabukubwaku. They live they live

i-sisu-si deli tabu-la. I-ka mna i-gisi lu-le-ta.

3.-be-PL with grandmother-her 3.-... hm 3.-see sister-her-sister

they live with their grandmother. She... hm she looks like her sister.

Sena makala gaga la bunela. I-tokeya i-la deli latu-la

very like bad her manner 3.-get.up 3.-go with child-her

Her manners are very bad. She gets up she goes with her child

i-ligemwa-ga m-to-si-ta te-yu vivila.

3.-leave-EMPH DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM CP.human-two girl

she leaves these two girls.

(5)

I-sisu-si i-sisu-si i-sisu-si. Avetuta bi-kam-si, bi-lo-si

3.-be-PL 3.-be-PL 3.-be-PL when 3.FUT-eat-PL 3.FUT-go-PL

They live they live they live. When they will eat something, they will go

o buyagu bi-keita-si bi-me-si

LOC garden 3.FUT-come.back-PL 3.FUT-come-PL

to the garden they will come back they will come

bi-sulu-sulu-si, bi-vanova-si bi-kam, bi-kam-si.

3.FUT-cook-REDUP-PL 3.FUT-finish-PL 3.FUT-eat 3.FUT-eat-PL

they will cook, they will finish she will eat, and they will eat.

I-vagi m viliyonala vovo-la i-seki i-kam-kwam-si
 3.-make hm meat body-her 3.-give 3.-eat-REDUP-PL
 She makes hm meat of her body, she gives it (to them and) they eat it,

bogeokwa I-sisu tua-la. I-nanali. Bi-yai.
 already.finished 3.-be older.sister-her 3.-feel.bad 3.FUT-serves
 it is already finished. She is there her older sister. She feels bad. She will serve the food.

(10)

Bi-yai tabu-si i-doki bi-kam. Tua-la.
 3.FUT-serve grandmother-their 3.-think 3.FUT-eat older.sister-her
 She will serve (the food) their grandmother she thinks she will eat it. Her older sister

E-luki bwada-la: “Gala ku-la ku-le’i beya viliyonala
 3.-tell younger.sister-her no 2.-go 2.-throw this meat
 she tells her younger sister: “No, go and throw away this meat

e-sake-da ta-kam-kwam”. I-doki bi-la
 3.-give-us.two DUAL.INCL-eat-REDUP 3.-think 3.FUT-go
 which she gives us to eat”. She thinks she will go

i-le’i bwada-la. I-doki bogwa i-le’i.
 3.-throw younger.sister-her 3.-think already 3.-throw
 and throw it away her younger sister. She thinks already she threw it away.

I-va-ga osusuna i-kam-kwam i-vinaku i-vokwa.
 3.-go.to-EMPH behind.the.house 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-finish 3.-empty
 She goes behind the house she eats it she finishes it and it (the plate) is empty.

(15)

I-keita i-ma i-simwa. Yamyam bogwa-la
 3.-come.back 3.-come 3.-stay day.after.day already-EMPH
 She comes back she comes she stays. Day after day it’s always

makala. I-lo-si m o buyagu i-kava’i-si kaula
 like 3.-go-PL hm LOC garden 3.-fetch.food-PL food
 like this. They go, hm, to the garden they fetch food

e ave... avetuta bi-vanova-si e-kebiga: “Naulivali
 and whe... when 3.-FUT-finish-PL 3.-say Naulivali
 and when they have finished this she says: “Naulivali,

Nabukubwaku”. E-vavagi-si-ga so-la bwada-la
 Nabukubwaku 3.-say-PL-EMPH friend-her younger.sister-her
 Nabukubwaku”. They say, she and her younger sister:

“Uuu!” *I-tama-si i-yosi-si i-meye-si beya.*
 Uh 3.-shout-PL 3.-seize 3.-bring-PL there
 “Uh!” They shout, they seize (the food) they bring it there.

(20)

I-do-dou i-suvi-si va bwala. E-kebiga:
 3.-REDUP-shout 3.-go.in-PL DIR house 3.-say
 She shouts they go into the house. She says:

“*Naulivali Nabukubwaku bogwa la-suvi.* *E-vavagi-ga:*
 Naulivali Nabukubwaku already 1.PAST.go.in 3.-say-EMPH
 “Naulivali, Nabukubwaku I already entered (the house)”. She says:

“*O bogwa laka-suvi so-gu bwada-gu.*
 Oh already DUAL.INCL.PAST-enter friend-my younger.sister-my
 “Oh, we already came in I and my younger sister”.

I-koya-si bwala E-kebiga: “*Naulivali Nabukubwaku bogwa*
 3.-close-PL house 3.-say Naulivali Nabukubwaku already
 They close the door (with a coconut string). She says: “Naulivali, Nabukubwaku,
 already

la-kau ula bwala. “*O bogwa laka-kau*
 1.PAST-tie my house oh already DUAL.INCL.PAST-tied
 I tied (the door of) my house”. “Oh, already we tied (the door)

(25)

so-gu bwada-gu. *I-sisu-si e-kebiga:* “*Naulivali*
 friend-my younger.sister-my 3.-be-PL 3.-say: Naulivali
 I and my younger sister”. They are there she says: “Naulivali
Nabukubwaku bogwa la-... la-ugwa-ugule. *e*
 Nabukubeaku already 1.-PAST... 1.PAST-REDUP-Snore and
 Nabukubwaku, already I ... I snored”. And

e-vavagi-si-ga so-la bwada-la: “*Bogwa la-...*
 3.-say-PL-EMPH friend-her younger.sister-her already DUAL.INCL.PAST
 they say she and her younger sister: “Already we...

laka-ugwa-ugula. *I-lagi-si e-vagula e e-ugula. ...*
 DUAL.INCL.PAST-REDUP-Snore 3.-listen-PL 3.-wake.up and 3.-snore
 we snored”. They listen, she wakes up and she snores. ...

I-sa... i-tokeva-si so-la bwada-la i-katubaya-si si
 3.-ra... 3.-get.up friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-prepare their
 They... they get up, she and her younger sister, they pack up their

(30)

gugua bogeokwa i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si i-sakaula-si.
 goods already.finished 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL
 goods, it's already finished and they run they run they run away.

E-yam i-tokeva tabu-si e-kebiga: "Naulivali
 3.-be day 3.-get.up grandmother-their 3.-say Naulivali
 Day breaks she gets up their grandmother and she says: "Naulivali

Nabukubwaku". I-seva bi-tama-si so-la
 Nabukubwaku 3.-leave 3.FUT-shout. "u"-PL friend-her
 Nabukubwaku. She leaves (the house) they will not shout "Uh" she and

bwada-la gala. Bogwa e-lo-si so-la
 younger.sister-her not already 3.-go-PL friend-her
 her younger sister. Already they went away she and

bwada-la I-tobusi i-sakaula i-sakaula mapuna
 younger.sister-her 3.-go.down 3.-sun 3.-run and.also
 her younger sister. She goes down to the beach she runs and runs as

(35)

so-la bwada-la. Bogwa e-lo-si Dayagila.
 friend-her younger.sister-her already 3.-go-PL Dayagila
 she and her younger sister do. Already they go to the Dayagila area.

E-sakaula-si e-sakaula-si, e-do'u-gwa: "Naulivali Nabukubwaku!"
 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-shout-EMPH Naulivali Nabukubwaku
 They run and run, she shouts: "Naulivali, Nabukubwaku!"

E-vavagi-si e-vavagi bwada-la o lopo-la i-tama.
 3.-say-PL 3.-say younger.sister-her LOC belly-her 3.-shout. "uh"
 They talk (with each other and) she says her younger sister in her belly she shouts
 "uh".

[[[the older sister swallowed her younger sister to protect her]]]

E-kebiga: "Ai ku-veki (ku)-kweya vi-la (ku)-koma-si
 3.say ai 2.-go 2.-fuck cunt-her 2.-eat-PL
 She says: "Ai go and fuck her cunt and eat
 [[[older sister cursing her sister and her grandmother]]]

ami popu, ku-ve-si ku-kweta vi-si ba-la-ga".
 your shit 2.-go-PL 2.-fuck cunt-their 1.FUT-go-EMPH
 your shit, go fuck their cunts, I will go".

(40)

I-sili-wa, i-me-si. I-me-si mo... bogwa bi-vabusi-si
 3.-sit-only 3.-com-PL 3.-come-PL hm already 3.FUT-walk.down-PL
 She just sits (and makes magic and) they come. They come hm already they walk
 down

o kadaula m Mwatava. I-dou-gwa tabu-si
 LOC main.road hm Mwatawa 3.-shout.only grandmother-their
 the main road to, hm, Mwatawa. She just shouts her grandmother

e-kebiga: "Naulivali Nabukubwaku!" I-vavagi-si-ga

3.-say Naulivali Nabukubwaku 3.-say-PL-EMPH

she says: "Naulivali, Nabukubwaku!". They talk (with each other)

*so-la bwada-la o *lopo-si [lopo-la!]*

friend-her younger.sister-her in stomach-their [stomach-her]

she and her little sister in her stomach (and)

i-tama E-kebiga: "Ii tua-gu". ... E-do-dou o

3.-shout."hu" 3.-say ih older.sister-my 3.-REDUP-shout LOC

she shouts "uh". She says: "Ih my older sister". "She should not shout in

(45)

lopo-gu gala". Mna... o laodila e-tuma-tama o

stomach-my not Hm LOC bush 3.-REDUP-shout."u" LOC

my stomach. Hm, in the bush she shouts 'uh' and in

lopo-gu, e-tuma-tama... E-kebiga tua-la: "Ku-ve...

stomach-my 3.-REDUP.shout."u" 3.-say older.sister-her 2.-

my stomach, she shouts 'uh'". She says her older sister: "You...

ku-veki ku-kweta'u-si, ba-sakaula-ga ba-la, (ku)-kwetau-si

2.-go 2.-fuck-PL 1.FUT-run-EMPH 1.FUT-go 2.-fuck-PL

go and fuck, I will run I will go away, fuck and

(ku)-koma-si ami popu!" I-sakaula, bwada-la

2.-eat-PL your shit 3.-run younger.sister-her

eat your shit!" She runs, her younger sister

bogwa e-va (e-)kabwatisi kwadewa. I-uvetaula-si i-ve-si

already 3.-go 3.-open.mouth beach 3.-jump-PL 3.-go-PL

already jumped out of her mouth at the beach. They jump they go

(50)

i-libu-si waga ... i-se-sila-si, i-ve-si i-sila-si

3.-push-PL canoe 3.-REDUP-sit-PL 3.-go-PL 3.-sit-PL

they push a canoe (into the sea) they sit (down), they go they sit (down in the canoe)

i-lo-si. I-ma-ga i-lei yama-la i-sonu i-vo-wa.

3.-go-PL 3.-come-EMPH 3.-throw hand-her 3.-fall.down 3.-go-only

they go away. And she comes she throws her hand it falls down it goes to them.

I-doki bi-kikola okobununa waga - i-bwabwabura.

3.-think 3.FUT-hold in.front.of canoe 3.-leak

She thinks she will hold the front of the canoe - it leaks.

"I... *i-gise-m-wa gala i-keita i-keita i-ma*".
 3.- 3.-see-you-just not 3.-come.back 3.-come.back 3.-come
 "She she will not see you, it (the canoe) comes back, it comes back it comes".

M... o dubwadebula i-simwa e-kebiga: "Ku-ve-si-ga
 Hm LOC cave 3.-stay 3.-say 2.-GO-PL-EMPH
 Hm, in the cave she stays she says: "You go

(55)

ku-lukwe-si lu-gu-ta nubyeya bi-ma i-une-gu".
 2.-tell-PL brother-my-brother tomorrow 3.FUT-come 3.-take.aboard-me
 and tell my brother tomorrow he should come and take me aboard (his canoe)".

I-ilo-si so-la bwada-la i-lukwe-si. I-ma
 3.-go-PL friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-tell-PL 3.-come
 They go she and her younger sister they tell (him). He comes

i-uni e-kebiga: "A lu-gu(-ta) avaka beya pupusela?"
 3.-take.aboard 3.-say ah brother-my what this thick
 to take her aboard and she says: "Ah brother, what is this thick thing?"

E-vavagi-ga: "A taga kaike-gu". ... E-vavagi-ga: "A
 3.-say-EMPH ah but leg-my 3.-say-EMPH ah
 He says: "Ah but it is my leg!" She says: "Ah

ada-kaikena-ga yokwa i bogwala makala".
 our-leg-EMPH you ih already like
 our leg, you, ih (it has) already (swollen up) like this"

(60)

I-me-me-si i-me-me-si, bogwa e-me-me-si
 3.-come-REDUP-PL 3.-come-REDUP-PL already 3.-come-REDUP-PL
 They come they come, already they come

Bukwaiga. E-livala lu-le-ta: "Ka ke-ta
 Bukwaiga 3.-say brother-her-brother well CP.wooden-one
 to Bukwaiga beach. He says her brother: "Well one

bweta ma-ke-ne". E-vavagi-ga:
 wreath.of.flowers DEM-CP.wooden-DEM 3.-say-EMPH
 of these wreaths of flowers". He says

"Ada-bweta-la bita-va bita-vai".
 Our-wreath.of.flowers-EMPH DUAL.INCL-FUT-go DUAL.INCL-FUT-pick
 "Our wreaths of flowers we will go we will pick (them)".

I-ve-si i-ve-si, i-luki lu-le-ta, i-vavai
 3.-go-PL 3.-go-PL 3.-tell brother-her-brother 3.-go.pick
 They go they go, she tells her brother, she picks

(65)

bweta ... E-sisu-ga m ... tau m-to-na. I-sisu
 wreath.of.flowers 3.-be.EMPH hm man DEM-CP.male-DEM 3.-be
 a wreath of flowers. He stays there, hm this man. He is there

i-mwem-wena-ga Bogwa e-la o dogina. I-kalibu-si
 3.-climb-REDUP-EMPH already 3.-go LOC treetop 3.-punt-PL
 she climbs (up a tree). Already she is in the treetop. He punts (out his canoe)

e-kebiga: "Am sinapu a-yogagi ku-va ku-vavagi
 3.-say your trick 1.-spoil 2.-go 2.-make
 he says: "You are tricked, I spoil it, you go and make (your things)

ba-la-ga!" I-vola i-la i-ligemwa-ga. I-ligemwa i-sisu
 1.FUT-go-EMPH 3.-paddle 3.-go 3.-leave-EMPH 3.-leave 3.-be
 I will go!" He paddles he goes away he leaves (her behind). He leaves and she is

i-sisu-wa. I-suvi i-la o dubwadebula. E-me-si
 3.-be-just 3.-enter 3.-go LOC cave 3.-come-PL
 she is just there. She enters she goes into a cave. They come

(70)

ginare'u i-sukwe-si. I-sukwe-si i-kariga. Bogeokwa
 hermit.crabs 3.-bite-PL 3.-bite-PL 3.-die already.finished
 the hermit crabs and bite (her). They bite (her) she dies. It's already finished.

After the ritualized introductory formula we learn that Naulivali and Nabubuwaku have been living with their grandmother for a very long time. This old woman looks like her sister, but she has bad manners. When she gets up in the morning she goes away with her child – we do not know whether this is the girls' mother – and leaves the two girls alone. This happens for a long time. Whenever the two girls are hungry, they go to the garden, fetch food, come back, cook and eat it together with their grandmother. The old woman has the magical power to make meat out of the flesh of her own body and she serves this meat to the girls. Naulivali does not like this at all and tells her younger sister to throw this food away, however, Nabubuwaku only pretends to do so, eats the meat behind their house and then comes back again with an empty plate. This is their daily routine, the grandmother calls them when they are in the garden, the girls answer and bring the food from the garden to their home. One evening they go to sleep as usual and the grandmother controls whether the girls closed the door properly and sleep. The girls pretend to sleep and when their grandmother is fast asleep and snores they get up and run away. The next morning their grandmother calls the girls, realizes that they have left, goes to the beach and chases after them. In the area called Dayagila the girls hear that their grandmother is shouting their names and Nabubuwaku, hidden in Naulivali's belly, answers her. Naulivala curses both her grandmother

and her sister. While their grandmother performs magic the girls are already on the main road to Mwatawa, a village in the north-west of Kiriwina Island. Again the grandmother shouts their names, Nabububwaku answers her once more and Naulivali curses her grandmother and her younger sister again. The girls reach the beach, Nabububwaku jumps out of her sister's belly, they push a canoe into the sea and they drift away. The grandmother comes to the sea, throws her hand in front of the canoe and makes it leak. The grandmother recites a magical formula which makes the hand bring the canoe with the girls back to the shore. Now the grandmother is in a cave and tells the girls to go and get her brother who should take her back home with his canoe; and the girls do this. When her brother arrives, the old woman boards his canoe and notices something thick. Her brother tells her that this is his leg – he obviously has elephantiasis – and the woman expresses her disgust that his disease got worse. The two adults in the canoe sail away and come to Bukwaiga beach. The man proposes that he and his sister should go and pick some flowers to make nice wreaths out of them. The old woman agrees and goes ashore. However, her brother remains in the canoe while his sister climbs up a frangipani tree. When she has made it to the treetop, her brother punts the canoe into the sea telling his sister that he has just played a trick on her and that he will leave her behind. And indeed, he abandons her. She goes into a cave nearby, but hermit crabs come into this cave and bite her to death. Tosulebu finishes his tale with the appropriate ritualized formula. Table 14 summarizes the structure of this story.

Table 14. The structure of the “Tale of Naulivali and Nabububwaku”

		lines
The ritualized introductory formula of a tale		1–2
<i>Episode 1 Naulivali, Nabububwaku and their grandmother</i>		
Subevent 1	The grandmother's bad manners.	3–4
Subevent 2	When the girls are hungry, they go to the garden, fetch food, come back, cook and eat.	5–7
Subevent 3	The grandmother's worst manner: She makes meat out of the flesh of her body and serves it to the girls.	8–9
Subevent 4	Naulivali tells Nabububwaku to throw the meat away, but she only pretends to throw it away and eats it.	9–15
Subevent 5	Their daily routine.	15–19
<i>Episode 2 Naulivali's and Nabububwaku's flight</i>		
Subevent 1	In the evening they go to sleep and the grandmother controls whether they closed the door of their house and sleep.	20–28
Subevent 2	One evening the girls wait till their grandmother is fast asleep, then they get up and run away.	28–30
<i>Episode 3 The grandmother chases after the girls</i>		
Subevent 1	The next morning their grandmother notices that the girls have left, goes to the beach and runs after them.	31–35

Table 14. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 2	In the Dayagila area the girls hear their grandmother shouting their names and Nabububwaku, hidden in Naulivali's belly, answers her which makes Naulivali curse both her grandmother and her sister.	35–39
Subevent 3	While their grandmother performs magic, the girls are on the main road to Mwatawa; their grandmother shouts their names and Nabububwaku answers her again which once more makes Naulivali curse both her grandmother and her younger sister.	40–48
Subevent 4	They reach the beach, Nabububwaku jumps out of her sister's belly, they push a canoe into the sea and drift away.	48–51
Subevent 5	The grandmother comes to the sea, throws her hand in front of the canoe, makes it leak, and a magical formula makes the hand bring the canoe with the girls back to the beach.	51–53
<i>Episode 4 The girls' grandmother and her brother</i>		
Subevent 1	The grandmother is in a cave and tells the girls to go and get her brother who should take her back home in his canoe and the girls do this.	54–56
Subevent 2	When her brother has arrived the girls' grandmother boards the canoe, notices her brother's thick leg and expresses her disgust for his disease.	56–59
Subevent 3	They sail away, leaving the girls behind. Near Bukwaiga beach, the man proposes to go to the beach, pick some flowers and make a wreath out of them; his sister agrees and goes ashore.	60–65
Subevent 4	When she has climbed up a tree her brother punts the canoe into the sea telling his sister that he has tricked her and that he will abandon her.	65–68
<i>Episode 5 The end of the girl's grandmother</i>		
Subevent 1	After her brother has left the old woman goes into a cave.	68–69
Subevent 2	When she is in the cave hermit crabs come and bite her to death.	69–70
Ritualized formula indicating the end of the tale		70

Tosulebu marks the structure of this tale with a variety of different verbal devices. The tale consists of 5 episodes which report up to five subevents. Tosulebu produces the ritualized formulae that introduce and end a tale: After his relatively elaborate introduction in which he sets the scene with respect to the protagonists and the events to be told in this story he uses direct speech – which he throughout announces with a number of different *verba dicendi* – for his presentation of a typical conversation between the female protagonists before they go to bed to mark the beginning of the second episode of the tale (lines 20ff). With an explicit reference to the end of the girls' action ("*bogeokwa*" – it's already finished), the triple production of the motion verb "run" which indicates that this action took

place for a long time²⁶ and with the temporal references to the beginning of a new day (lines 30 & 31) he marks the beginning of the third episode of the story. In line 35 Tosulebu introduces the second subevent of this episode of the tale by changing the focus from the old woman to the two run-away girls. The third subevent of episode three starts with a similar change of focus, this time from the girls back to the old woman (line 40). And the end of this episode is marked by a change of place (line 48). The same technique is used to mark the beginning of the fourth episode of this tale – the protagonists are no longer at the beach but in a cave (line 54). This episode is also constituted by four subevents: First the old woman orders the girls to go to her sister and bring him with his canoe to the cave near the beach. The second subevent introduces this man as a new protagonist in the tale. The end of the fourth episode and the beginning of the fifth episode is marked with a tail-head linkage (line 68). Although the majority of the verbs in this story are unmarked with respect to TAM, we also find many more verbs with the markers for future and/or irrealis on the one hand and for completed actions on the other, especially in the very vivid presentations of conversations between the protagonists narrated in direct speech. We again observe repetition of subevents in the third episode and a very vivid use of direct speech throughout the tale. Nine year old Tosulebu tells this tale in an almost adult-like way. The only inconsistency one can find is that two characters that are mentioned in the introduction of this tale – the grandmother's sister and her child (lines 2 & 3) – are never referred to any more in the rest of the tale.

The content of this (fairy-) tale is even more dark and gothic than the story told by Dudaavelu. A woman who makes meat out of the flesh of her own body (line 8) must be in command of strong magical powers – moreover, although the girls ran away from her soon after she felt asleep and given the fact that the old woman only noticed that the girls left her when she got up the next morning, her magical powers not only help her to rather quickly catch up with the run-aways (see lines 30, 31 & 36), but also allow her to throw her hand into the sea to make first a leak into the canoe with which the girls want to flee and then push it back to the shore (see lines 51–53 – line 53 is most probably a quote from a magical formula). However, it is not only the old woman who is well versed in magic. Both girls also must have acquired specific forms of magic, otherwise Naulivali could not have swallowed her little sister to protect her in her stomach during their flight from their grandmother (see line 37) and Nabukubwaku would not have made it to get into her sister's belly and jump out of her mouth again without performing magic, either (line 49).

26. This stylistic feature is also found with other verbs – see lines 1 & 5.

Another very interesting aspect of this tale is that it allows the narrator to utter obscene curses (see lines 38–39 & 47–48) in two succeeding subevents of the story, one of which – “eat your shit” (lines 38–39 & 48) – belongs to the 6 worst insults for Trobriand Islanders, because it breaks a very strong rule of Trobriand etiquette. Malinowski (1929: 446) already noted that social distinctions influence considerably the way in which natives are allowed to speak about excrements and acts of excretion. Even today the Trobrianders never use the respective noun or verb in presence of a chief. If this insult is addressed to a chief – and if the chief's name is mentioned, too, – this is still one of the deadliest insults on the Trobriands (see Malinowski 1929: 447; Senft 1985a: 821–823, 2010: 18ff). That such an insult can be produced by a young boy like Tosulebu in a tale like this one has the following reason: Tales (“*kukwanebu*”) belong to a genre which co-constitutes the so-called “*biga sopa*” variety of Kilivila – the joking or lying speech, the indirect speech, the speech which is not vouched for. This variety offers the only license for the verbal breaking of taboos and thus for the licensed use of insults and swear words. It thus serves the function of what ethnologists refer to as “safety valve customs” (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1984: 492ff). I will elaborate on this concept in Subsection 4.5.2 below. At the moment it should suffice to point out that genres like the “*kukwanebu*” are classified as “*sopa*” – as play, as something fictitious in Trobriand society and the “*biga sopa*” register offers a forum which permits a specially marked way of communication about something “one does not talk about” otherwise.

I just want to add here in connection with the curses that shouting “uh” is the conventional reaction if somebody (visible or non-visible) shouts your name on the Trobriands. And the fact that the grandmother successfully used this strategy – even in her sister's stomach Nabukubwabu reacted to the calling of her name, telling the grandmother where to look for the girls – made Naulivali so angry that she cursed both her grandmother and her sister.

In this tale we also notice a hint towards elephantiasis. This disease is the result of a tropical worm infection called filariasis. Infected mosquitoes transmit the parasitic worm to people and the worm then blocks their lymphatic system. This blockage causes swelling in the legs or other parts of the body, making these body parts appear large and puffy, or elephant-like (see: <http://www.humanillnesses.com/original/EGa/Elephantiasis.html#ixzz1bZ9oSbp>). This disease is found on Pacific Islands and my consultants told me that in former times Trobrianders were infected, too. The reaction of the grandmother to her brother's infection – sheer disgust expressed with the interjection “*i*” – is the reason for why he played a trick on her and abandoned her when she climbed up the frangipani tree – the blossoms of this tree are preferably used to make wreaths of flowers on the Trobriands.

The various references to an area (line 35), a village (line 41) and a beach (line 61) tell the informed listener that the tale is located at the north-western part

of Kiriwina Island. This part is well known for its many caves (see Malinowski 1932: 83f., 95; also Burenhult 2002). Thus the fact that the grandmother was killed by hermit crabs in a cave there is at least geographically plausible. What remains unclear, though, is why such a strong magician like the old woman could not defend herself against these crabs. It may well be that someone else's magic was stronger and more sophisticated than her formulae...

With the tale of Naulivali and Nabububwaku this documentation of tales told by Trobriand boys comes to its end. The next chapter presents tales told by Trobriand adults.

Trobriand adults' tales and how they reflect linearization strategies, other narrative skills and cultural knowledge

In this chapter I present, analyze and discuss 9 tales that were told by 6 men ranging in age from 26 to 54 years. All men were born and lived with their families in Tauwema on Kaile'una Island. The data were gathered during my field research in 1992, 1994, 1996 and 1997. Women also know tales and tell them to their children, of course; however, it would have been against all Trobriand etiquette if a woman would have approached me with the offer to tell me (and some other bystanders) a story.

This chapter aims not only at documenting the men's tales and to reveal and unfold culture-specific issues observed in these texts, but also to point out the speakers' linearization strategies and other narrative skills which are reflected in the plots of the tales. As mentioned at the beginning of chapter two, presenting and analyzing the stories in this way makes it impossible "to avoid ... repetitive citation of items which recur in a number of the stories" (Jacobs 1959: 4); however, this allows to read and treat the subsections that present the various tales as case studies in their own right. Before I present the stories, I provide some more information about the narrators and their motivation to tell these narratives.

3.1 The narrators

Mokeilobu and Taidyeli are brothers, Moagava and Pulia are brothers, too, and Gerubara is one of their uncles. Kalavatu is a member of the same clan as Moagava, Pulia and Gerubara, but otherwise not closer related with these three men. Most narrators told me that they learned the tales they told from their parents. Only Pulia pointed out to me that he got the plot of the tale "Vonu" from a story he read in English in the "Post Courier", the most popular newspaper in Papua New Guinea. For a while the "Post Courier" took up an idea of the newspaper "Wantok" (which is published in Tok Pisin, the Melanesian Pidgin) which regularly published folk tales from various provinces of Papua New Guinea (see Slone 2001 a&b). The fact that the narrators represent only two of the four clans of the Trobrianders is coincidental and can be neglected. All narrators knew that beside my other projects I was also keen on documenting all kinds of stories, fairy tales and myths (see Senft 2010a).

The narrators told the stories at various places and occasions. Most of the tales were told either in the evening or during daytime after I had just finished another project and was sitting with my consultants in my house or on my veranda. Almost always a number of children were around who were constantly curious to see and know what I was doing. The narrators then told me that they would like to tell the children a story – and if I want to record it, I should quickly get ready to do this. At another occasion Kalavatu came to me and told me that some children had asked him to tell them a story; if I want to record his story I should come to his place. And while I was walking with Mokeilobu and his young nephew Moyadoga from Tauwema via Koma to Giwa, a village in the south-west of Kaile'una (see the map of the Trobriand Islands), we passed a local landmark, a reef formation between Koma and Giwa which depicts – according to Mokeilobu – two petrified women – and he told Moyadoga and me their story. Table 15 presents the narrators and the tales they told:

Table 15. The adult (A) story tellers and their tales

Narrator	Clan	Age	Year	Title	No of lines transcribed
Mokeilobu	Malasi	52	1992	A1. The tale of <i>Ilakavayega</i>	172 (+10 lead text)
Mokeilobu	Malasi	54	1994	A2. <i>Pakaya Vivila</i> – The sticking girls	19
Gerubara	Lukwasisiga	50	1994	A3. <i>Dokonikani</i>	102
Pulia	Lukwasisiga	26	1996	A4. <i>Gugwadi asi guguya</i> – Advice for children	207
Taidyeli	Malasi	50	1996	A5. <i>Magibweli</i>	161
Pulia	Lukwasisiga	27	1997	A6. <i>Natala vonu</i> – A turtle	99
Kalavatu	Lukwasisiga	45	1997	A7. <i>Kavalokwa</i>	73
Moagawa	Lukwasisiga	29	1997	A8. <i>Morevaya</i> – <i>Bukuruvi</i>	77
Moagawa	Lukwasisiga	29	1997	A9. <i>Kuviviya</i> – <i>Takola</i>	124

3.2 The nine tales told by Mokeilobu, Gerubara, Pulia, Taidyeli, Kalavatu and Moagawa

This section presents the nine tales told by the six adult narrators. The tales are ordered chronologically. Again, every tale is first documented in a morpheme-interlinear transcription. This documentation is followed by an interpretative re-narration together with an analysis of the macro- and micro-structure of the story. The presentation of each story ends with a summary of the narrative verbal means

the adults use for structuring the story (in episodes and (sub)-events), with observations with respect to the narrative tense used and with some final comments especially on peculiarities and/or culture-specific features of the contents of the story.

3.2.1 *Mokeilobu tells the “Kwanebuyee Ilakavayega” – The “Tale of Ilakavayega”*

One evening in September 1992 Mokeilobu told me about a story which his mother used to tell him and his brothers and sisters when they were young children. He pointed out that it is a really funny story and offered to tell it to me and the other guests in my house – many of which were children. I prepared my tape-recorder and asked Mokeilobu whether I can record it now. He agreed and I admonished the children to be quiet and listen to the story. Mokeilobu teased me pointing out that it was me who asked him to tell the story (which starts with line 11 in the following transcript):

Gunter:

Mokeilobu e igau ku-livala ku-nukwali e

Mokeilobu eh before 2.-say 2.-know eh

Mokeilobu, eh, a few minutes ago you said, you know, eh,

kukwanebu yaga-la boi, e, ku-livala va tepi?

story name-its brown heron, yes, 2.-speak DIR tape

the story called “Brown Heron”, yes, do you speak on the tape (now)?

Mokeilobu:

E bogwa ku-seli ba-bigatona.

yes already 2.-put (it on) 1.FUT-talk

Yes, you put it on already and I will talk.

Gunter:

E

Yes

(5)

Mokeilobu:

Ba-kwanebu.

1.FUT-tell.story

I will tell the story

Gunter:

E. E gugwadi desi, ku-lagi-si e Mokeilobu

yes and children enough 2.-listen-PL and Mokeilobu

Yes. And children be quiet, you listen and Mokeilobu

e bi-kukwanebu.
 yes 3.FUT-tell.story
 yes, he will tell the story.

Mokeilobu:

Ku-wabwe-dasi Gunter ... ma-pa-na kukwanebu boi,
 2.-trick-us Gunter ... DEM-CP.part-DEM story brown heron
 You trick us, Gunter... this is the story of the "Brown Heron"

e sena magi-la Gunter ba-kwanebu.
 and very wish-his Gunter 1.FUT-tell.story
 and Gunter wants me so very much to tell this story.

(10)

Ba-bigatona, bi-la va tepi e bi-sau.
 1.FUT-talk 3.FUT-go DIR tape and 3.FUT-pick.up
 I will talk, it will go to the tape and it will pick it up.

Kwanebuyeee boi. A Ilakavayega ka
 story brown.heron ah Ilakavayega well
 Once upon a time there was a brown heron. Ah, Ilakavayega, well

boito'ule-la ma-pa-na kukwanebu Ilakavayega.
 spouse-her DEM-CP.part-DEM story Ilakavayega
 and her spouse, this part of the story is about Ilakavayega.

Minana boi mauna. Kwanebuyeee
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM brown heron animal story
 This brown heron is a bird. Once upon a time there was

Ilakavayega. Yuvegili me-siki.
 Ilakavayega Yuvegili 3.HABIT-live
 Ilakavayega. In Yuvegili she used to live.

(15)

Besatuta kwe-vau valu emesi Tauwema
 now CP.thing-new village 3.-come-PL Tauwema
 Now they have come to the new village Tauwema,

lag(el)a yakamesi Tauwema ka-sisu-si
 today we Tauwema 1.PL EXCL.-live-PL
 today we live in Tauwema,

taga kwe-bogwa valu Yuvegili.
 but CP.thing-old village Yuvegili.
 but our old village was Yuvegili.

E Yuvegili me-siki Ilakavayega deli deli
 and Yuvegili 3.HABIT-live Ilakavayega with with
 And in Yuvegili she used to live, Ilakavayega with with

Kaukwau bi-luki tabu-la bi-kebiga
 Morning 3.FUT-speak father's.sister's.daughter-her 3.FUT-say
 In the morning she will speak to her cousins, she will say:

"Buku-lo-si ku-tutu-si m kwe-tala agu pwa'unu
 2.FUT-go-PL 2.-crack-PL hm CP.thing-one my pwa'unu
 "You will go and you crack hm one of my pwa'unu-shells

kena ada-sisiye'i-si, bukwa(-tala) ada-sisiye'isi
 or our-sisiye'i-PL CP.bunch(-one) our-sisiye'i-PL
 or our sisiye'i-shells, one bunch of our sisiye'i shells

e ba-la-ga a-ka(u) gayasu, ada-gayasu-si
 and 1.FUT-go-EMPH 1.-pick gayasu our-gayasu-PL
 and I will go and pick gayasu-greens, our gayasu-greens

(35)

o laodila". E bi-kabi mi-na-na numwaya
 LOC bush and 3.FUT-leave DEM-CP.female-DEM old woman
 in the bush". And she will leave this old woman

bi-la o laodila i-ka(u) gayasu.
 3.FUT-go LOC bush 3.-pick gayasu
 she will go to the bush and pick gayasu-greens.

I-vabusi-si m-to-si-na tabu-la
 3.-go.down-PL DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM father's.sister's.daughter-her
 They go down to the beach these cousins

bi-lo-si o kuvalau Kadaka. Bi-vabusi-si
 3.FUT-go-PL LOC beach Kadaka 3.FUT-go.down-PL
 they will go to Kadaka beach. They will go down to the beach

bi-ve-si o dubwadebula bi-tutu-tu-si
 3.FUT-go.to-PL LOC cave 3.FUT-crack-REDUP-PL
 they will go to the cave they will crack

(40)

pwa'unu ... bi-sigi-sigi-si sisiye'i.
 pwa'unu ... 3.FUT-pull.off-REDUP-PL sisiye'i
 pwa'unu-shells... they will pull off sisiye'i shells (from coral stones).

Bi-yova-ga mi-na-na boi,
 3.-FUT-fly-EMPH DEM-CP.animal-DEM brown.heron
 It will fly this brown heron,

m-pa-na-ga ... Kumkwalala bi-ma.
 DEM-CP.part-DEM-EMPH Kumkwalala 3.FUT-come
 (from) this place ... Kumkwalala it will come.

Bi-yo-yova bi-ma bi-tola o dakuna
 3.FUT-REDUP-fly 3.FUT-come 3.FUT-stand LOC stone
 It will fly it will come it will stand on the stone

odukupwakupwa. Bi-meki m-to-si-na
 coming.up.at.low.tide 3.FUT-come.to DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM
 coming up at low tide. It will come to these

(45)

gugwadi, e-kapwa'unu-si so-la bwada-la. ...
 children 3-pick.pwa'unu-PL friend-her young.sister-her
 children, they pick pwa'unu-shells, she with her young sister.

"Gugwadi!" E bi-vavagi-si-ga m-to-si-na
 Children and 3.FUT-say-PL-EMPH DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM
 "Children!" And they will say these

gugwadi: "O". "Taga tabu-mi?"
 children: "Oh" but aunt-your
 children "Oh". "But where is your aunt?"

"Ah, e-sisu o valu". "O, ku-lo-si ku-lukwe-si
 ah 3.-be LOC village oh 2.-go-PL 2.-tell-PL
 "Ah, she is in the village". "Oh, go and tell

tabu-mi: A-koma vila, a-koma la kasesa,
 aunt-your 1.-eat cunt 1.-eat her clitoris
 your aunt: I eat her cunt, I eat her clitoris,

(50)

i-busi ma'utu-we-na a-kanumwasi".
 3.-drop DEM-bit-there-DEM 1.-lick
 it drops and I lick".

"A ina na-dubaka... na-dubakasala!
 Ah mother CP.animal-ru... CP.animal-rude
 "Ah mother, what a rude animal!

I-luki tabu-masi makauwala", m-to-si-na
 3.-speak aunt-our like DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM
 It speaks about our aunt like this", these

gugwadi e-kebiga-si. I-yo'u mi-na-na boi
 children 3.-say-PL 3.-fly DEM-CP.animal-DEM brown.heron
 children say. It flies away, this brown heron

bi-la bi-ke'ita-si-ga bi-loke-si-ga tabu-si.
 3.FUT-go 3.FUT-return-PL-EMPH 3.FUT-go-PL-EMPH aunt-their
 it will go and they will go back they will go to their aunt.

(55)

E-vilobusi o laodila. Bi-ma bi-sulusulu
 3.-come.out LOC bush 3.FUT-come 3.FUT-cook
 She will come out of the bush. She will come, she will cook

asi gayasu e-kamkwam-si bi-vokwa.
 their gayasu 3.-eat-PL 3.FUT-finish
 their gayasu-greens, they eat it will be finished.

“A *tabu-masi lakau-va so-gu vivila*
 ah aunt-our DUAL.EXCL.PAST-go.to friend-my girl
 “Ah aunt we two we went there – I and my friend this girl –

o kovalau-wa baka-bwa'unu. E-ma-ga
 LOC beach-only DUAL.EXCL.FUT-pick.bwa'unu 3.-come-EMPH
 on the beach we wanted to pick bwa'unu-shells. It came, indeed,

mi-na-we-na boi e-livala makawala:
 DEM-CP.animal-there-DEM brown heron 3.-say like
 that brown heron and it said the following:

(60)

I-takalau beya vovo-m, i-kamkwoma i-vokwa
 3.-mention here body-your 3.-eat 3.-finish
 It mentions your body here, it will eat it, that's all”.

I-ligalega tabu-si i-simwe-si i-sisu-si.
 3.-listen aunt-their 3.-stay-PL 3.-be-PL
 She listens their aunt, they stay they are there.

E-bogi e-masisi-si. I-masisi-si, e-yam
 3.-be.night 3.-sleep-PL 3.-sleep-PL 3.-be.day
 Night falls, they sleep. They sleep, day breaks,

Kaukwau i-luki tabu-la: “Ku-lo-si so-m
 morning 3.-say aunt-her 2.-go-PL friend-your
 in the morning she says her aunt: “You go with your friend

bwada-m (ku)-kwapwa'unu-si ba-la-ga
 younger.sister-your (2.-)pick-pwa'unu-PL 1.FUT-go-EMPH
 your sister you pick pwa'unu-shells, and I will go

(65)

a-ka(u) gayasu ada-gayasu-si”. I-kabi tabu-si
 1.-pick gayasu our-gayasu-PL 3.-leave aunt-their
 and pick gayasu-greens, our gayasu”. She leaves, their aunt

i-la o buyagu i-ka(u) gayasu i-kavai ka-si.
 3.-go LOC garden 3.-pick gayasu 3.-collect yams-their
 she goes to the garden she picks gayasu-greens she collects their yams.

E i-lo-si-ga m-to-si-na gugwadi o
 and 3.-go-PL-EMPH DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM children LOC
 And they go indeed these children to

kwadeva i-vabu-si Kadaka, i-sukwe-si i-lo-si
 beach 3.-go.down-PL Kadaka 3.-go.this.way-PL 3.-go-PL
 the beach they go down to the Kadaka-beach, they go this way they go to

ma-pa-na Kabunukwevala, e-kapwa'unu-si, bi-vokwa
 DEM-CP.part-DEM Kabunukwevala 3.-pick.pwa'unu-PL 3.FUT-finish
 this Kabunukwevala-point (close to Tauwema), they pick pwa'unu-shells, it's finished,

(70)

i-sigi-sigi-si sisiye'i, i-keigoda-si budubadu vigoda
 3.-pull.off-REDUP-PL sisiye'i 3.-collect.shells-PL many shells.
 they pick sisiye'i-shells they collect shells, many shells.

Bi-yova-ga mi-na-na boi,
 3.-FUT-fly-EMPH DEM-CP.animal-DEM brown.heron
 It will fly this brown heron,

i-yoyova-la bi-ma bi-toli-wa o dakuna.
 3.-fly-EMPH 3.FUT-come 3.FUT-stand-only LOC stone
 it will fly indeed it will come it will stand on a stone.

Bi-katupoi: "Gugwadi, taga tabu-mi?" "A, i-sisu".
 3.FUT-ask children but aunt-your Ah 3.-be
 It will ask them: "Children, but where is your aunt?" "Ah, she's there".

"O, ku-lo-si ku-lukwe-si tabu-mi: A-koma vi-la,
 oh 2.-go-PL 2.-tell-PL aunt-your 1.-eat cunt-her
 "Oh, go and tell your aunt: I eat her cunt,

(75)

a-kom ala kasesa, a-kom ala ponakakata,
 1.-eat her clitoris 1.-eat her perineum
 I eat her clitoris, I eat her perineum,

i-busi ma'utu-we-na a-kanumwasi".
 3.-drop DEM-bit-there-DEM 1.-lick
 it drops and I lick".

I-yova i-la. "A katudada e-luki tabu-masi
 3.-fly 3.-go ah bad.behavior 3.-speak aunt-our
 It flies it goes away. "Ah what a bad behavior, she speaks about our aunt

makala". I-valagwa-si m-to-si-na gugwadi,
 like 3.-walk.up-PL DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM children
 like this". They walk up from the beach to the village these children,

i-loke-si tabu-si o valu. I-vake-si,
 3.-go-PL aunt-their LOC village. 3.-come-PL
 they go to their aunt in the village. They come,

(80)

e-subusi e-ma i-sulu-sulu-si ka-si i-kam-kwam-si.
 3.-come.out 3.-come 3.-COOK-REDUP-PL food-their 3.-REDUP-eat-PL
 and she comes out she comes they cook their food they eat.

I-vokwa i-katupoi tabu-si: “Avaka sita o
 3.-finish 3.-ask aunt-their what part LOC

It is finished, she asks their aunt: “What else at

kwadeva?” “A gala tabu-ma. Ka-uva-wala
 beach Ah nothing aunt-our DUAL.EXCL-go.to-only
 the beach?” “Ah, nothing aunt. We just went there

ka-kaivigoda so-gu vivila. E-ma-ga
 DUAL.EXCL-collect.shell friend-my girl 3.-come-EMPH
 we picked shells I and my friend the girl. It came, indeed,

mi-na-na boi i-yoyo’u i-ma
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM brown.heron 3.-fly 3.come
 this brown heron it flew it came

(85)

i-toli. I-katupoi ka-livale-m e-livala makawala:
 3.-stand 3.-ask DUAL.EXCL-talk-you 3.-say like
 it stood there. It asked and we talked about you it said the following:

“O, *ku-lo-si ku-lukwe-si tabu-mi: A-koma vi-la,*
 oh 2.-go-PL 2.-tell-PL aunt-your 1.-eat cunt-her
 “Oh, go and tell your aunt: I eat her cunt,

a-koma ala kasesa, a-koma ala ponakakata,
 1.-eat her clitoris 1.-eat her perineum
 I eat her clitoris, I eat her perineum,

i-busi ma’utu-na a-kanumwasi”.
 3.-drop DEM-CP.bit-DEM 1.-lick
 it drops and I lick”.

“A *ina na-dubakasala, ki. Ka, nabyeya*
 Ah mother animal-rude golly well tomorrow
 “Oh, mother, golly, what a rude animal. Well tomorrow

(90)

bu-kulo-si so-m bwada-m. Bu-kulo-si,
 2.FUT-go-PL friend-your younger.sister-your 2.FUT-go
 you will go with your younger sister. You will go,

kai ke-puta-pwati-ga ma-ke-si-na, vididu,
 tree CP.wooden-sap-REDUP-EMPH DEM-CP.wooden-PL-DEM vivida
 the sap of these trees, the vividu-tree

gweda, gabwala, busa, kum –
gweda, gabwala, busa, kum
 the gweda-tree, the gabwala-tree, the busa-tree, and the kum-tree –

ma-ke-si-na kai simwa putagala kumwedona,
 DEM-CP.wooden-PL-DEM tree with sap all
 these trees with all their sap,

ku-tabu-si ku-takiki-si. Bi-vokwa ku-lau-si
 2.-cut-PL 2.-collect-PL 3.FUT-finish 2.-take.away-PL
 you cut the trees you collect the sap. It will be finished you take the sap away

(95)

ku-vake-si mi-ni-kwa dakuna la kabutota,
 2.-come.to-PL DEM-DEM-CP.thing stone its place
 you come to this stone, its place,

la kabutota e-ma i-ti-toli yumyum e-matua
 Its place 3.-come 3.-REDUP-stand every.day 3.-swear
 the place to where it comes, where it stands every day and swears

makawala. Moba ku-sa'u-si ku-lo-si ku-pakisi.
 like moba-glye 2.-pick-PL 2.-go-PL 2.-put.glye.on
 like this. The moba-tree-glye, pick it, go there and put it on (the stone).

Bi-vokwa e buku-sisu-si ku-kwaivigoda-si. Bi-ma
 3.FUT-finish and 2.FUT-be-PL 2.-collect.shell-PL 3.FUT-come
 It will be finished and you will be there you collect shells. It will come

bi-toli bi-paki". "O bwena". E-yam e-lo-si
 3.FUT-stand 3.FUT-stick.to oh good 3.-be.day 3.-go-PL
 it will stand it will get stuck". "Oh good". Day breaks and they go

(100)

so-la i-kau-si kai putagala i-vinaku-si.
 friend-her 3.-take-PL tree sap 3.-finish.PL
 she and her friend, they get the sap of the trees they finish that.

I-vabuye-si kadaka i-vake-si
 3.-walk.down-PL Kadaka-beach 3.-come.to-PL
 They walk down to the Kadaka-beach, they come to

mi-ni-kwa dukubwakupwa.
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing coming.up.at.low.tide
 this stone coming up at low tide.

I-pu-paki-si *daba-la* *mi-ni-kwa* *dakuna*.
 3.-REDUP-glue-PL top-its DEM-DEM-CP.thing stone
 They put glue on top of this stone.

I-vokwa, *i-sili-si* *i-tu-tutu-si* *pwa'unu*,
 3.-finish 3.-sit-PL 3.-REDUP-crack-PL pwa'unu-shells
 It is finished, they sit there, they crash pwa'unu-shells,

(105)

i-kaivigoda-si *i-kasisiye'i-si*. *E-yowa-ga* *e-ma*.
 3.-collect.shell-PL 3.-pick.sisiye'i-PL 3.-fly-EMPH 3.-come
 they collect shells, they pick sisiye'i-shells. It flies indeed it comes.

E-yo-yowa-la *e-ma* *e-toli* *o*
 3.-REDUP-fly-EMPH 3.-come 3.-stand LOC
 It flies and flies it comes it stands on

dakuna *mi-ni-kwena*. *I-mweki* *m-to-si-na*
 stone DEM-DEM-CP.thing 3.-meets DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM
 this stone. It meets these

vivila *e-kaivigoda-si* *soso-la*. *E-katupoi*: “*Vivila?*”
 girl 3.-collect.shell-PL friend-her 3.-ask girl
 girls who collect shells, she with her friend. It asks them: “Girls?”

E-kebiga-si: “*O!*” “*Taga tabu-mi?*” “*A, e-sisu o valu*”.
 3.-say-PL oh but aunt-your ah 3.-be LOC village
 They say: “Oh!” “But where is your aunt?” “Ah, she is in the village”.

(110)

“*O, ku-lo-si ku-lukwe-si tabu-mi: A-koma vi-la*,
 oh 2.-go-PL 2.-tell-PL aunt-your 1.-eat cunt-her
 “Oh, go and tell your aunt: I eat her cunt,

a-koma ala kasesa, a-koma ala ponakakata,
 1.-eat her clitoris 1.-eat her perineum
 I eat her clitoris, I eat her perineum,

i-busi ma'utu-na a-kalumwasi”.
 3.-drop DEM-bit-DEM 1.-lick
 it drops and I lick”.

I-luki vivila. I-vokwa i-doki bi-you – bogwa
 3.-speak girl 3.-finish 3.-think 3.FUT-fly already
 It speaks like this with the girls. It is finished it thinks it will fly away – already

e-paki o dakuna. “E bogwa o-ku-sopa
 3.-stick LOC stone Yes already binding.vowel-2.-trick
 it is glued to the stone. “Yes, already you are tricked!

(115)

Lagela baka-yose-m so-gu vivila

Today DUAL EXCL.FUT-hold-you friend-my girl

Today we will hold you I and my friend this girl.

Baka-lawe-m baka-kome-mi... ba-kakome-ma...
 DUAL.EXCL.-bring-you DUAL.EXCL.-eat-y... DUAL.EXCL.-eat-y...
 We will bring you (to the village) we will eat yo... we will eat yo...

baka-kome-m so-la tabu-ma." I-we-si
 DUAL.EXCL.-eat-you friend-our aunt-our 3.-go-PL
 we will eat you with our aunt." They go

i-yosi-si mi-na-na boi i-make-si
 3.-hold-PL DEM-CP.animal-DEM brown.heron 3.-come.to-PL
 they grab this brown heron they come to

bogwa si vataga, i-weye-si i-kedidagi-si,
 already their basket 3.-bring-PL 3.-put.in-PL
 where their basket is already, they bring it they put it in it,

(120)

i-la o vataga. I-gabi-si so-la bwada-la
 3.-go LOC basket 3.-carry-PL friend-her younger.sister-her
 it goes into the basket. They carry it she and her younger sister

i-la'u-si. E te-tala-ga Dokonikani – la valu
 3.-take-PL and CP.male-one-EMPH Dokonikani his place
 they take it. And indeed a Dokonikani – his place of living

otapwala keda. I-valaguwa-si i-vake-si
 at.the.side.of road 3.-walk.up-PL 3.-come.to-PL
 was at the side of the path. They walk up, they come to

m-to-na Dokonikani e-titakeva la baleku.
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-clear his garden
 this Dokonikani who is clearing his new garden.

"*Vivila, avaka beya vatagela?*" "*Gala, ta-okwa*":
 Girl what there basket Nothing CP.basket-empty
 "Girls, what is there in the basket?" "Nothing, it's empty".

(125)

"*A ga(la), kunu-na mi-ni-kwena la-gisi*
 ah, no head-its DEM-DEM-thing 1.PAST-see
 Ah, no I saw the head of something

na-ta(la) mauna. Ka, ku-lo-si ku-gabu-si
 CP.animal-one animal well 2.-go-PL 2.-cook-PL
 an animal. Well, you go you cook it,

bi-koma tabu-mi ma'une-la, kunu-na ga(la)!
 3.FUT-eat aunt-your animal.body-its head-its not
 your aunt may eat its body, but not its head!

Agu kunu-na ku-sewe-si ba-va ba-kam
 My head-its, 2.-put.aside-PL 1.FUT-go.to 1.FUT-eat
 It's my head, you put it aside, I will go to your place and eat it
i-kwaiyai". "O *bwena*". *I-kau-si so-la*
 3.-be afternoon oh good 3.-take-PL friend-her
 in the afternoon". "Oh good". They take it she and

(130)

bwada-la i-la'u-si. I-veye-si i-vake-si
 younger.sister-her 3.-take.away-PL 3.-bring-PL 3-come-PL
 her younger sister they take it away. They bring it they come to
tabu-si E-ma i-sulu-sulu-si asi gwaba
 aunt-their 3.-com 3.-cook-REDUP-PL their meat
 their aunt. She comes, they cook their meat,

i-vokwa i-sewe-si mi-na-na mauna
 3.-finish 3.-put.aside-PL DEM-CP.animal-DEM bird
 it is finished, and they put aside this bird,

i-gabu. I-gabu i-vokwa. "Ka bita-kam-si
 3.-cook 3.-cook 3.-finish Well 1.INCL.FUT-eat-PL
 it is cooked. It is cooked it is done. "Well we will eat

ma'une-la kunu-na ala kunu-na m-to-na
 animal.body-its head-its his head-its DEM-CP.human-DEM
 its body; its head, for him is its head – this

(135)

tau bi-ma bi-kam". "O *bwena*". *I-gi-gabu-si*
 man 3.FUT-come 3.FUT-eat oh good 3.-REDUP-cook-PL
 man he will come he will eat it". "Oh good". They cook it

i-vokwa i-ko... i-kam-si deli tabu-si.
 3.-finish 3.-ko... 3.-eat-PL with aunt-their
 it is finished and they... they eat with their aunt.

I-kam-kwam-si gala i-koma-si mi-ni-kwa kunu-na.
 3.-eat-REDUP-PL not 3.-eat-PL DEM-DEM-CP.thing head-its
 They eat and eat but they do not eat this head of the bird.

Tabu-si i-koma kunu-na mi-na...
 aunt-their 3.-eat head-its DEM-CP.animal
 Their aunt she eats its head of this...

mi-ni-kwa. I-kam-koma-si i-vinaku-si i-katupoi-si
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-finish-PL 3.-ask-PL
 this thing. They eat and eat, they finish eating they ask for

(140)

ala kunu-na m-to-na tau. "Bogwa
 his head-its DEM-CP.male-DEM man already
 its head for this man. "Already

lata-koma-si. Bogwa bi-ma bi-kome-dasi".
 1.INCL.PAST-eat-PL already 3.FUT-come 3.FUT-eat-us
 we ate it. Soon he will come and he will eat us".

E-kebiga tabu-si: "Ka, ku-sakaula-si
 3.-say aunt-their well 2.-run-PL

Their aunt says: "Well, you run

so-m bwada-m, ku-lo-si ku-sukupweni-si.
 friend-your younger.sister-your 2.-go-PL 2.-hide-PL
 you and your younger sister, go and hide yourselves.

Yegu-la-ga da-pweya-si, yegu-la-ga
 I-EMPH-EMPH our-big.basket-PL I-EMPH-EMPH
 As for me, there is our big basket, as for me

(145)

ta-veaka ma-ta-we-na, bu-kuli-si bi-vokwa
 CP.basket-big DEM-CP.basket-there-DEM 2.-drop-PL 3.FUT-finish
 this big big basket there, drop it down, it will be finished

ba-suvi ba-la ba-kanava. Butu-megu-si ba-kanamwa
 1.FUT-go.in 1.FUT-go 1.FUT-lie.down 2.FUT-cover-PL 1.FUT-lie.in
 I will go into it I will go I will lie down. You will cover me and I will lie in it

o da-bwala-si". "O bwena". I-tum-tuma-si
 LOC our-house-PL oh good 3.-cover.up-REDUP-PL
 in our house". "Oh good". They cover and cover up

tabu-si o vatage-la doba.
 aunt-their LOC basket-her grass-skirt
 their aunt in her basket for grass-skirts.

I-kanamwa i-kanukwenu. I-sakaula-si m-to-si-na
 3.-lie 3.-lie.down 3.-run-PL DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM
 She lies there she lies down. They run, these ones

(150)

so-la bwada-la i-lo-si i-sukupweni-si. Bwena-ga
 friend-her younger.sister-her 3.-go-PL 3.-hide-PL good-EMPH
 she and her younger sister they go and hide themselves. Good

i-kanukwenu i-vilobusi. I-vilobusi i-veki kova –
 3.-lie.down 3.-appear 3.-appear 3.-go.to fire
 she lies down and he appears. He appears he goes to the fire –

vokuva – gala kunu-na. I-ne'i i-mweki – gala kunu-na.
 finished no head-its 3.-search 3.-come.straight no head-its
 everything is finished – there is no head. He looks for it, he comes straight for
 it – no head.

“Ambeya me-sake-si?” I-tokovata i-lisi
 where 3.HABIT-put-PL 3.-stand.still 3.-take.down
 “Where did they put it?” He stands still he takes down

mi-ta-na ta-kekita i-mweki i-sunuvili –
 DEM-CP.basket-DEM CP.basket-small 3.-come.straight 3.search
 this small basket, he comes straight to it he searches through it –

(155)

ta-okwa. I-lisi ta-yu-vela, i-mwa
 CP.basket-empty. 3.-take.down CP.basket-two.again 3.-come
 the basket is empty. He takes down a second basket, he comes

i-sinuvili – ta-okwa. I-lisi ta-tolula –
 3.-search CP.basket-empty 3.-take.down CP.basket-three
 he searches through it – it is empty. He takes down a third basket –

mi-ta-na ta-tabwabogwa i'uli i-mweki:
 DEM-CP.basket-DEM CP.basket-very.big 3.-open 3.-come.straight
 this very big basket, he opens it he comes straight to it:

mi-na-we-na Ilakava'ega e-kanukwenu o
 DEM-CP.female-there-DEM Ilakava'ega 3.-lie.down LOC
 that Ilakava'ega she lies down there in

vataga o sibu-la. “Ku-la Dobu lagela ba-kome-m!”
 basket LOC bottom-its 2.-go Dobu today 1.FUT-eat-you
 the basket on the bottom. “You go to Dobu today, I will eat you!”

(160)

Bi-toli i-kam-koma-la mi-na-na numwaya
 3.FUT-stand 3.-eat-REDUP-EMPH DEM-CP.female-DEM old woman
 He will stand there he indeed eats this old woman

i-katamwesi. “E bogwa la-vinakwe-m, ba-ne'i-ga
 3.-finish Yes already 3.PAST-finish-you 1.FUT-search-EMPH
 he finishes it. “Yes, already I am finished with you, now I will search for

tabu-mwa ba-koma”. I-ne'i-la i-veki
 cousin-you 1.FUT-eat 3.-search-EMPH 3.-go.and.rush
 your cousins. I will eat them”. He searches for them he rushes

i-kibutu. I-mwena-si – so-la bwada-la – va nuya.
 3.-chase 3.-climb-PL friend-her younger.sister-her DIR coconut
 he chases them. They – she and her younger sister – climb up a coconut tree.

Ketala nuya i-mwe-mwena-si i-lo-si
 CP.wooden-one coconut 3.-REDUP-climb-PL 3.-go-PL
 A coconut tree – they climb it they go

(165)

i-sive-si o dogina. “Ku-lo-si Dobu!” I-teni-wa ...
 3-stay-PL LOC tip.of.leaf 2.-go-PL Dobu 3.-tie-only
 they stay on the tip of its leaves. “You go to Dobu!” He just ties

veta m-to-na Dokonikani, i-mwena
 climbing.string DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-climb
 a climbing string this Dokonikani, he climbs up

i-loki. I-mwe-mwena-la bogwa bi-yosi.
 3.-go.arrive 3.-REDUP.climb-EMPH already 3.FUT-seize
 he goes and arrives there. He climbs and climbs, already he will seize them.

I-lisile'i-si-ga bukwa-tala bukwa-matutula. I-sila-wa
 3.-throw-PL-EMPH CP.bunch-one CP.bunch-dry.up 3.-hit-only
 They throw a bunch of dried-up coconuts at him. It hits (him)

o kego'u-la i-sidediya i-meya o u'una i-siyema
 LOC shoulder-his 3.-slide.down 3.-come LOC trunk 3.-sit.
 on his shoulder he slides down he comes to the tree trunk he sits there.

(170)

“E kitova gola o ku-kapituni-si, igau a-katupe'ula
 yes luck only oh 2.-cut.off-PL then 1.-refresh
 “Yes, this is just luck, oh, you cut them off, soon I refresh myself,

bi-pe'ula vovo-gu ba-va a-kome-mi”. I-sili-wa
 3.FUT-strong body-my 1.FUT-go.to 1.-eat-you 3.-sit-only
 it will get strong my body, I will go to you I will eat you”. He just sits and

i-kam-koma-la beya numatutula bi-katamwesi
 3.-eat-REDUP-EMPH here dry coconuts he will finish it
 eats and eats these dry coconuts and he will eat them up

m-to-na Dokonikani. I-teni-wa veta
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani. 3.-tie-only climbing.string
 this Dokonikani. He just ties a climbing string

(175)

i-mwena-vau. I-mwem-wena-la bi-yosi.
 3.-climb-again 3.-REDUP-climb-EMPH 3.FUT-seize
 and climbs up again. He climbs and climbs indeed, he will seize them.

I-lisile'i-si-ga *m-bukwa-we-na* *bukwa-geguda*
 3.-throw-PL-EMPH DEM-CP.bunch-there-DEM CP.bunch-unripe
 They throw that bunch of unripe coconuts

i-... *i-sila* *o* *kunu-la*, *i-sedidiya-la* *i-ma*
 3.-it... 3.-hits LOC head-his 3.-slide.down-EMPH 3.-come
 It... it hits him on his head, he slides down he comes

o *u'una* *i-katumati*. *E-busi-si* *so-la*
 LOC trunk 3.-kill 3.-come.down-PL friend-her
 to the trunk it killed (him). They come down she and

bwada-la *e-me-si* *i-bia-si* *i-lo-si* *i-le'i-si*
 younger.sister-her 3.-come-PL 3.-pull-PL 3.-go-PL 3.-throw-PL
 her younger sister, they come they pull him they go they throw him away.

(180)

I-simwe-si-ga *i-meki-ga* *tabu-si* *bogwa* *e-koma*.
 3.-stay-PL-EMPH 3.-come.to aunt-their already 3.-eat
 They stay there they come to their aunt whom he already had eaten.

Me-sinau.

3.HABIT-finished

It is finished.

Gunter:

Bwena

Good

The tale starts with line 11 of the transcription with the ritualized introductory formula and the name of the story – which announces that we will hear the “tale of the white heron”. Then Mokeilobu introduces the protagonists, the woman Ilakavayega and the brown heron. However, after a brief hesitation (expressed with the interjection “a” he points out that the part of the story he intends to tell is actually more about Ilakavayega than about the bird. Therefore he restarts the tale again (in line 13) with the ritualized formula and renames the narrative as the “tale of Ilakavayega”.

We learn that this woman lives in Yuvegili, the former inland village of the people of Tauwema which they left three generations ago to found their new village Tauwema at the beach. After Mokeilobu has explained this, we hear that Ilakavayega lives in this village with two of her cousins – whose names Mokeilobu has forgotten. The brown heron lived on the coral ridge near the Kumkwalala coconut plantation of the people of Yuvegili.

Ilakavayega and the girls sleep a day and a night. The next morning the woman asks the girls to go to the beach and collect “*pwa'unu*” or “*sisiye'isi*” shells while she will go into the bush to collect “*gayasu*” greens (*gnetum gnemon* leaves?). The

girls go down to the Kadaka beach close to a cave and crack *pwa'unu*-shells with coral stones and pull off *sisiyē'isi*-shells from the corals. While they do this the brown heron flies to them and lands on a stone that got visible because of the low tide. The bird addresses the children, and after they react to this with surprise, it asks them about the whereabouts of their aunt. When it hears that she is in the village the bird asks them to tell her aunt how it plans to sexually assault her. The girls are shocked and express their disgust. The heron flies away and they go back to their aunt. Ilakavayega comes back from the bush, prepares their meal and they eat together. After the meal the children report what has happened and what the heron said to them. Then they go to sleep.

The next morning their aunt asks them again to go to the beach and collect shells while she will go into the bush to collect greens. She leaves them, goes into the bush collects greens and fetches some yams in her garden there. The children go to the beach, this time close to the Kabunukwevala point²⁷ and collect many shells there. After a while the brown heron flies to them, lands on the same stone again and asks them about the whereabouts of their aunt. The two girls give a very vague answer, and the heron asks them again to tell their aunt how it plans to sexually assault her aunt and flies away. The girls express their disgust about the bird's behavior and go back home to their village. Her aunt comes back from the bush, cooks their meal and they eat together. After the meal Ilakavayega asks the girls about their time at the beach and the older girl reports what has happened, repeating verbatim what the heron had said. Her aunt is shocked and tells them what to do tomorrow: She asks them to first go and cut a number of different trees in such a way that they can collect their sap. After that they should go to the stone on the top of which the heron usually stands while it swears like this and put the sap as a kind of glue on the stone. Then they should collect shells as usual. When the heron comes it will get stuck in the glue on the stone. The girls agree to do this.

The next day the girls first get the sap from the trees, walk to the beach, go to the stone that is visible at low tide and put the sap on top of it. Then they sit down and collect and crash shells. Again, the heron flies to them and lands on the big stone. The bird addresses the girls and asks them about the whereabouts of their aunt. They answer that she is in the village and the heron asks them for the third time to tell her aunt how it plans to sexually assault her. When the heron tries to fly away, it realizes that it got stuck in the sap on the stone. The older girl tells the bird that they have played a trick on it, that they will take it to their village, that they will kill it and that their aunt and they will cook and eat it. Then they go to the stone, grab the bird and put it into a basket which they had hidden nearby.

27. Another variant of the name of this northernmost point of Kaile'una Island is Kabukukwevala (see Senft 2008b: 351 & Figure 6).

On their way to their village they pass an area where a man-eating Dokonikani lives. He is clearing his garden, sees the girls and asks them what they have in their basket. The girls say “nothing”, but the ogre tells them that he has seen the head of something, probably of an animal. He tells them that they may go, cook and eat its body, but not its head which he claims for himself. They should put it aside for him. He will come to their home and eat it in the afternoon.

The girls agree to do this, take the basket with the bird and bring it to their aunt’s place. She comes back from the bush, they kill the bird, cook it and put its head aside. They explicitly agree to only eat its body and leave the head for “this man” who will later come to eat it. They eat for a long time, and the girls keep their promise to not eat the head. However, their aunt does not and eats it unnoticed by her cousins. After their meal the girls ask for the head they thought they had reserved for the ogre, but they realize that their aunt has eaten it, too. Now they know that the Dokonikani will come and eat them because they cannot give him the bird’s head.

Ilakavayega tells the girls to run away and seek a hiding place; she will hide in her big basket within the house where she stores her grass-skirts. After her cousins have covered her up with her skirts the two girls run away.

Soon after the ogre appears and goes to the fireplace – but there is no head. He searches for it – first in a small basket, than in a second basket and finally in the big basket in which he finds Ilakavayega. The Dokonikani tells her that she “will go to Dobu today” – Dobu is the island where cannibals live (see 2.2.2.8) – and after this innuendo he explicitly announces that he will eat her. And he does this on the spot.

Having finished his meal, he announces that he will now look for the woman’s cousins to eat them, too. He searches for the Ilakavayega’s cousins and chases them, but the girls manage to climb into the top of a coconut tree. The ogre sees them there and tells them too that they “will go to Dobu”, that he will eat them. He takes a climbing string and starts climbing up the coconut palm. When he has almost reached them, the girls take a bunch of tried coconuts and throw them at the Dokonikani. They hit him on his shoulder, he slides down the tree until he sits beside the trunk of it. He tells the girls that they were just lucky, eats the coconuts, relaxes and regains his power. Once more he takes a string and climbs up the palm tree. When he has almost reached the girls they take a bunch of green coconuts and throw them against his head. The ogre slides down to the trunk of the tree and this time he is dead. The girls climb down, pull the Dokonikani to the beach and throw him away (into the sea, as people use to throw away their rubbish). After a while they go back to their aunt’s place and realize that the Dokonikani has killed and eaten her.

The tale ends with the (shortened) ritualized closing formula “*mesinau*” (it is finished). Table 16 summarizes the structure of the “Tale of Ilakavayega”:

Table 16. The structure of the “Tale of Ilakavayega”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula and the name of the tale – a hesitation with a justification for repairing the name of the tale – and a restart of telling the tale with the ritualized introductory formula and the new name of the tale	11–13
Introduction of the protagonists and their places of living	13–28
<i>Episode 1 Ilakavayega and the girls sleep a day and a night</i>	29–30
<i>Episode 2 Ilakavayega, the two girls and their first meeting with the impudent brown heron</i>	29–89
Subevent 1 In the morning Ilakavayega asks the girls to go to the beach to crack and collect shells while she will go to the garden to pick greens – and they do this.	31–40
Subevent 2 While the girls are at the beach the brown heron flies to them, stands on a stone and asks them about the whereabouts of their aunt. When they tell the bird where she is, it tells them to inform their aunt about his plans of how it will sexually assault her.	41–50
Subevent 3 The girls are shocked by the bird's bad manners; the heron flies away and they go back to the village.	51–54
Subevent 4 Ilakavayega comes back from the bush, cooks and they eat together.	55–56
Subevent 5 After the meal the girls report what the bird had said; Ilakavayega listens to what they say and then they go to sleep.	57–62
<i>Episode 3 Ilakavayega, the two girls and their second meeting with the impudent brown heron</i>	62–89
Subevent 1 Day breaks and Ilakavayega asks the girls again to go to the beach to crack and collect shells while she will go to the bush to pick greens – and they do this.	62–70
Subevent 2 While the girls are at the beach the brown heron flies to them, stands on the stone, asks them about the whereabouts of their aunt, tells them to inform their aunt about its plans of how it will sexually assault her and flies away.	71–77
Subevent 3 The girls are shocked by the bird's bad manners and go back to the village.	77–79
Subevent 4 Ilakavayega comes back from the bush, cooks and they eat together.	80
Subevent 5 After the meal the girls report what the bird had said.	81–88
Subevent 6 Ilakavayega is also shocked by the bird's rude behavior and tells them how to catch it.	89–99
<i>Episode 4 The two girls catch the brown heron</i>	99–121
Subevent 1 The next day the girls collect the sap of trees and put it on top of the stone.	99–105

Table 16. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 2	After a while the brown heron flies to them, lands on the stone, asks them about the whereabouts of their aunt and tells them to inform their aunt about its plans of how it will sexually assault her. Then it tries to fly away, but it got stuck in the glue on the stone.	105–114
Subevent 3	The girls tell the bird that they played a trick on it, that they will take it to their village, kill it, cook it and eat it.	114–117
Subevent 4	The girls take the bird, put it into a basket and walk home.	117–121
<i>Episode 5 The girls meet the Dokonikani</i>		
	On their way to the village the girls pass a Dokonikani working in his garden. He asks them what they have in their basket. They try to lie, but he tells them that he has seen a head of an animal in the basket. They may cook the animal and eat it all except its head. He will visit them in the afternoon and eat it.	121–129
<i>Episode 6 Ilakavageya and her cousins eat the bird</i>		
		129–141
Subevent 1	The girls leave the Dokonikani and go home to their aunt.	139–131
Subevent 2	They cook the bird and put its head aside.	131–133
Subevent 3	They promise not to eat the bird's head which they will keep for the Dokonikani.	133–135
Subevent 4	They eat the bird, and unnoticed by her cousins Ilakavageya also eats its head. When the girls ask for the head, they realize that her aunt had eaten it, too, and announce that now the ogre will come and eat them all.	135–141
<i>Episode 7 Ilakavageya and the girls hide themselves from the Dokonikani</i>		
		142–151
Subevent 1	Ilakavageya tells their cousins to run away and hide themselves. She hides in her big basket where she keeps her grass skirts.	142–147
Subevent 2	The girls cover her aunt in the basket with her skirts and then run away.	147–150
Subevent 3	While Ilakavageya is lying in the basket the Dokonikani appears.	150–151
<i>Episode 8 The Dokonikani and Ilakavageya</i>		
		151–161
Subevent 1	The ogre does not find the bird's head at the fireplace and searches for it.	151–153
Subevent 2	He takes a small basket and searches for the bird's head – but in vain.	153–155
Subevent 3	He takes another basket and searches for the bird's head – but in vain again.	155–156
Subevent 4	He takes the big basket and searches for the bird's head – and finds Ilakavageya. He tells her that he will eat her and does this on the spot.	156–161
<i>Episode 9 The Dokonikani and the girls</i>		
		161–180
Subevent 1	After the Dokonikani has eaten Ilakavageya he announces that he will now search for her cousins and eat them, too.	161–162
Subevent 2	The ogre searches for the girls and chases them, but the girls climb into the top of a coconut tree.	162–165

Table 16. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 3	The Dokonikani tells them that he will kill them and climbs up the tree, too.	165–167
Subevent 4	When he tries to seize the girls, they throw a bunch of coconuts at him, hit his shoulder and he slides down to the tree trunk.	168–169
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani tells them that he will try again to seize them, eats the coconuts they had thrown at him, and regains his strength.	170–174
Subevent 6	The ogre climbs up the tree again and tries to seize the girls.	174–175
Subevent 7	The girls throw unripe coconuts at him, hit him on his head and he slides down the tree trunk and is dead.	176–178
Subevent 8	The girls climb down the palm tree, pull the corpse to the beach, throw it away, and go back to the place of her aunt who was eaten by the Dokonikani.	178–180
	Ritualized formula that announces the end of the tale	181

This complex tale consists of 9 episodes with up to 8 subevents. Mokeilobu's narration of this tale starts with the ritualized formula which introduces Trobriand tales and the name of it – this introduction is immediately repaired and the change of the title is explained by the prominence of another protagonist. Then Mokeilobu restarts his story once more with the introductory ritual formula and the correct name of the story. He introduces the protagonists – acknowledging that he forgot the names of Ilakavayega's cousins – and their places of living. This allows the listeners to locate the events that are reported in this tale quite accurately – even place names and landmarks are mentioned where the heron meets Ilakavayega's cousins. Moreover, the fact that the inland village Yuvegili was abandoned by its former inhabitants three generations ago for the seaside village Tauwema also allows a kind of timing – though a rather vague one – of when these things may have happened. However, this way of locating and timing the story seems to be a sophisticated means Mokeilobu uses to give this (fairy-)tale a kind of semi-documentary touch which should increase the impact of the story especially on younger listeners.

The majority of the verbs in this tale are produced without a TAM marker,²⁸ however, Mokeilobu also produces many verbs with the marker for future or irrealis and 5 verbs with the habitual marker “*m-*”.

The story proper starts with the simple information in the first episode that the human protagonists slept for a day and a night. Mokeilobu marks the structure of this tale with a variety of different narrative means – which he sometimes even produces in combination – like:

28. See footnote 17 in Chapter two.

- change of character (lines 41, 51, 55, 57, 71, 77, 80, 89, 105, 114, 121, 129, 131, 142, 147, 150, 163, 165, 168, 170, 176),
- explicit marking of the end of an episode (lines 81, 133, 135, 161),
- reference to time and to changes of time (lines 31, 62, 99)
- change of place (lines 55, 174, 178),
- tail-head linkage constructions (lines 62, 133, 151),
- repetition of subevents (lines 155, 156) and
- use of direct speech (line 153, 170).

Note also Mokeilobu's frequent use of serial verb constructions (e.g., in lines 43, 48, 54, 61, 68, 72, etc.) and the repetitive sequence of subevents in episodes 2–4 and 9. With the intensive use of direct speech in reporting the conversations between the heron and the girls, the girls and their aunt and the girls, their aunt and the Dokonikani the narrator creates a lively atmosphere throughout the story and reveals that he is a very good story teller, indeed.

The rather pornographic details in the brown heron's speech and in the older girls reports of what the bird told them illustrate once more that these tales constitute the "*biga sopa*" – the joking or lying speech, the speech which is not vouched for – which licenses the frequent use of curses, sexual allusions and innuendos and rather blunt bawdy and obscene language – a use of speech which in other contexts is frowned upon as constituting the "*biga gaga*" – the bad speech (see Senft 2010a). Baldwin (1971: 98) speaks of "the notoriety ... of the Boyowans [i.e. Trobrianders, G. S.] in the matter of sexual license and obscene speech" and he reports that "... a number of people have astutely warned [him] that Boyowan stories, the vehicle of tribal, liberal education are unprintable; they are too dirty".²⁹ He refers to this form of Trobriand fun-making as "sardonic", as "the prevailing form of humour where obscenities are heard" (Baldwin 1971: 99). Therefore Baldwin censored and expurgated the tales he presents in his collection, claiming that "a word or two here and there have been omitted ... from the English translation without ... altering the effect of the story" (Baldwin 1971: 98). I do not think that this is true. As mentioned above (see 2.2.2.13) the various *biga sopa* genres like tales (like this one), but also songs, jokes and ditties which include *biga gaga* characteristics serve the function of so-called "safety valve customs" (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1984: 492 ff). These genres of the *biga sopa* which use "bad speech" are first and foremost classified as *sopa* – as play, as something fictitious in Trobriand society. The *biga sopa* thus generates a forum where the breaking of taboos – and thus the

29. That erotic and sexually quite explicit fairy-tales and stories are not only told by the Trobrianders is very impressively documented in the anthology published by Henri Gougaud (1996). See also Wiessner (2014: 3) who reports among other things on "raucous sexual joking" among the Ju/'hoansi bushmen.

use of bad language – is allowed, if it is done verbally! As pointed out earlier, this forum permits a specially marked way of communicating about something “one does not talk about” otherwise (see also subsection 4.5.2 below). Thus, the use of explicit sexual speech is not shocking at all for the children in the audience. They learn comparably obscene songs and ditties that go with a number of games and hear even bawdy lullabies already at a very young age (see Senft 2010a: 237ff). For Trobriand children and adults this kind of language use within stories, songs, jokes, ditties and lullabies is just funny. This explains why the bird’s obscene speech is repeatedly presented in three of the nine episodes of this tale. However, one could argue that the moral of this part of the tale is just to not use obscene speech like the brown heron does – because in the end the bird gets punished for its verbal assaults: it is caught, killed, cooked and eaten.

Episode 5 introduces another main protagonist of this tale and marks a kind of turning point within this story. The focus of the tale shifts away from the brown heron to the man-eating Dokonikani. It is interesting to note that episode 9 of this tale shows many parallels with episode 3 of Towesei’s “Tale of Tokositagina” (presented in 2.2.2.8 above). Mokeilobu even uses exactly the same words in line 159 (see also the abbreviated version of this construction in line 165) as Towesei in line 31 of his telling the “Tale of Tokositagina” namely: *Kula Dobu, bakomem* – “You will go to Dobu, I will eat you”. I have already explained the meaning of this phrase in my discussion of Towesei’s tale. What I want to point out here is the fact that this is a nice example of how children remember parts of plots of different stories and even speech forms that are characteristic for certain protagonists like for example a Dokonikani when they listen to and learn to tell these tales. The moral of the last five episodes of the “Tale of Ilakavageya” is (at least) twofold: First: Keep your promises! And second: Even if a Dokonikani tries to kill you, fight back – or in a more abstract way: Try to overcome your fears.

With all the narrative means listed above Mokeilobu manages to first create a funny atmosphere for its Trobriand audience which suddenly changes into an atmosphere full of fear, excitement and suspense – an atmosphere which is finally resolved by a happy end (at least for Ilakavageya’s cousins).

3.2.2 *Mokeilobu tells the “Kukwanebu pakaya vivila” – The “Tale of the sticking girls”*

In September 1994 I took a walk with Mokeilobu and his young nephew Moyadoga from Tauwema to Giwa, a village in the south-west of Kaile’una. When we passed a local landmark, a reef formation between the villages Koma and Giwa. Mokeilobu pointed out that this reef formation depicts two petrified women who got stuck on the reef and he told Moyadoga and me the following “tale of the sticking girls”:

Mi-ni-kwa kukwanebu gala bi-toyema yaga-la, taga
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing tale not 3.FUT-exist name-its but
 This tale, there is no name for it, but

m-to-si-na vivila ilesi Keli so-la bwada-la.
 DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM girl women.from Keli friend-her younger.sister-her
 these girls, women from Keli, she and her younger sister existed.

E sita makala gaga si-bubunela. Makauwala: I-sile'i-si Keli
 And bit like bad their-manners like 3.-leave-PL Keli
 And they had some bad manners. Like this (it is): They leave Keli

i-me-si mwada bi-sili-si o Simsimla – gala. E
 3.-come-PL as.if 3.FUT-settle-PL LOC Simsim no and
 they come as if they would settle on Simsim island – but no. And

(5)

i-setaula-si-wala. I-me-si Bwemwaga, i-tapela-si Bulivada e
 3.go.straight.on-PL-only 3.-come-PL Bwemwaga 3.-paddle-PL Bulivada and
 they just go straight on. They come to Bwemwaga, they paddle to Bulivada and

i-talagua-si Kaduwaga. E i-tadede-si i-me-si so-la
 3.-arrive-PL Kaduwaga And 3.-paddle.along.reef-PL 3.-come-PL friend-her
 they arrive at Kaduwaga. And they paddle along the reef they come there, she and
bwada-la. I-me-si i-me-si Yulaka e-kuna
 younger.sister-her 3.-come-PL 3.-come-PL Yulaka 3.-rain
 her younger sister. They come there they come to Yulaka beach (near Koma) and
 it rains

sena kwe-veaka kuna. I-uwa'ila-si so-la bwada-la,
 very CP.thing-strong rain 3.-enter.reef.channel friend-her younger.sister-her
 a very heavy rain. They turn into the reef channel she and her younger sister,

bi-sili-si beya o Kotukwaka bi-vevasi-si. Igau i-tokeya kuna
 3.FUT-stay-PL there LOC Kotukwaka 3.-FUT-rest-PL then 3.-get.up rain
 they will stay there in the Kotukwaka cave (close to Giwa). Then the rain gets heavier

(10)

i-sisu-si I-vilobusi te-tala tomwaya tolela Koma.
 3.-stay-PL 3.-appear CP.male-one old.man man.from Koma
 and they stay there. He appears – an old man from Koma.

M-to-we-na bwabwau e-karewagi yaga-la Tobibida.
 DEM-CP.male-there-DEM black 3.-be.responsible name-his Tobibida
 That man was responsible for rain (as a weather magician) and his name was
 Tobibida.

I-bani i-luki bi-lau o valu. I-pake-si so-la
 3.-find 3.-tell 1.FUT-take LOC village 3.-refuse-PL friend-her
 He finds them and tells them that he will take them to the village. They refuse (to come with him) she and

bwada-la. E me-sinaku i-luki m-to-si-na vivila:
 younger.sister-her and 3.HABIT-be.all 3.-tell DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM girls
 her younger sister. And that's all what he tells these girls (then):

"Ba-la ku-sisu-si-ga ku-paki-si ku-sivagasi-si!" E
 1.-FUT-go 2.-be.-PL-EMPH 2.-stick-PL 2-stay.permanently-PL and
 "I will go and you will be here you will stick here you will stay forever!" And

(15)

i-paki-si m-to-si-na vivila i-simwe-si mtosina
 3.-stick-PL DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM girls 3.-stay-PL DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM
 they got stuck there these girls they stay there these girls,

lagela i-sisu-si. Bogwa me-sinau.....
 today 3.-be-PL already 3.HABIT-finish
 today they are here. Already it is finished.

E yaga-la beya bita-doki "pakaya vivila, pakaya,
 and name-its here 3.FUT.DUAL.INCL-think sticking girl sticking
 And the name (of this place) here is, one may think (of it as the) "sticking girls,
 sticking

vivila, pakaya vivila", e pela e-paki-si
 girl sticking girl yes because 3.-stick-PL
 girls, sticking girls", yes because they got stuck (here)

"pakaya vivila".

Sticking girl

(the) "sticking girls".

Mokeilobu starts this tale referring to "this story", but this start is more an explanation that the story he will tell now does not have a proper name that a ritualized formula to start the telling of a story with usually requires. Note that Mokeilobu neither produces the shortened variant of the noun "*kukwanebu*" nor suffixes the syllable "*yee*" to it. He just mentions in this introduction to the tale that it is a story about two girls from Keli, which is – according to Mokeilobu – the name of a village on a small island northwest of Kaile'una. Mokeilobu points out that the girls were sisters who really existed. After this introduction of the protagonists Mokeilobu starts the story proper with the remark "it goes like this" (in line 3). The girls leave their village Keli and direct their canoe towards Simsim Island as if they would like to settle there. However, they do not even stop there but paddle

on, passing the islands Bwemwaga and Bulivada and arrive at Kaduwaga village on Kaile'una island. From there they paddle along the reef until they arrive at the Yulaka beach near Koma. It is raining very hard and they decide to land there and to seek shelter in the Kotukwaka cave close to Giwa. The rain gets heavier. After a while an old man from Koma village – the weather magician Tobibida – appears, sees them and invites them to accompany him to his village. When the girls refuse to come with him, he puts a spell on them which makes them stick at this place forever. And this is indeed what happens. Before he finished the story with the ritualized coda, Mokeilobu pointed to a configuration in the raised reef formation and outlined the contours of two formations in the reef rock which could be interpreted as depicting two girls. After he had told the tale he remembered that this landmark is called “the sticking girls”. I use this place name as the title of this tale. Table 17 summarizes the structure of the “Tale of the sticking girls”:

Table 17. The structure of the “Tale of the sticking girls”

	lines
Announcement that this is a tale without a name and that the protagonists really existed	1–3
<i>Episode 1 Two sisters leave Keli, pass Simsim island, and arrive via Bwemwaga and Bulivada at Kaduwaga from where they paddle along the reef to the beach of Koma</i>	3–7
<i>Episode 2 Because of a heavy rain they land their canoe at Yulaka beach and seek shelter in the Kotukwaka cave near Giwa</i>	7–10
<i>Episode 3 The weather magician from Koma, his interaction with the girls and his spell</i>	10–14
<i>Episode 4 The spell was successfull and they still stay there today</i>	14–16
Ritualized formula that announces the end of the tale	16
Mokeilobu remembers the name of the landmark: “sticking girls”	17–19

This relative simple and short story consists of a unconventional introduction, four episodes and the ritualized formula that announces the end of a tale. The beginning of a new episode is marked by a reference to a sudden change of weather (line 7), the introduction of a new protagonist (line 10) and the end of a quote in direct speech which is followed by a comment on the result of the spell (line 14). Most of the verbs are produced without a TAM marker, a few verbs are produced with the marker for future or irrealis and only the coda verb is produced with the habitual marker. With the exception of a few serial verb constructions and one instance of direct speech the narrator does not use any other special stylistic devices like for example tail-head linkage.

This tale is one of many stories that go with place names on the Trobriand Islands (see Senft 2008b). It proves once more Malinowski's (1922: 298) claim that for the Trobriand Islanders “the landscape represent[s] a continuous story”. Mokeilobu points out that his story reports an event that really happened. This

claim is supported by the fact that the name of the former weather magician of Koma – Tobibida – is mentioned. Some people on Kaile'una island may know that Tobibida was the granduncle of Kasiosi, the man from Koma who was “responsible for rain” (see line 11 above) when Moikeilobu told this story (see Senft 1997:374 line 13). Tobibida was one of the former owners of the weather magical powers which Moikeilobu's contemporary Kasiosi inherited and practiced. The girls' refutation of Tobibida's invitation to come with him to the village is proof for Moikeilobu's comment at the beginning of the story that the sisters had bad manners. The girls' unfriendly behavior must have annoyed the powerful weather magician in such a way that he used black magic to metamorphose them into a part of a reef rock formation. This implies that Tobibida was not only a weather magician, but also a “*bwagau*”, a sorcerer with expertise in black magic. And the landmark at the place of the reef formation is proof of the power of Tobibida's magical words – at least for Trobriand Islanders.

The moral of this brief story may well be that children should behave friendly towards unknown adults, because one never knows whether they are sorcerers or not.

3.2.3 *Gerubara tells the “Kwanebuyee Dokonikani” – The “Tale of the Dokonikani”*

One evening during my 1994 field trip to the Trobriands my friends Gerubara and Moikeilobu and a number of adolescents and children of Tauwema were sitting in my house gossiping as usual, when Gerubara announced out of the blue that he wanted to tell a story about a Dokonikani, a man eating ogre, who – as we already know by now – plays a central role in many tales of the Trobriand Islanders. The atmosphere for such a creepy story was perfect – the inside of my house was lit by the not too bright light of a Coleman lamp, and a dark moonless night had fallen immediately after sunset. Within a few minutes Gerubara's announcement attracted even more children to my house. I told Gerubara that I would like to videotape him telling the story, and when I was ready with my camera, he started to tell the by now rather big audience the following “tale of the Dokonikani”:

Kukwanebuyee Dokonikani. Me-sik-i Meyadom.

tale-EMPH Dokonikani 3.HABIT-live Meyadom

Once upon a time there was a Dokonikani. He lived in Meyadom.

Kukwanebuyee Dokonikani. Me-siki Meyadom. E mi-na-na

tale-EMPH Dokonikani 3.HABIT-live Meyadom and DEM-CPfemale-DEM

The story of (Once upon a time there was) a Dokonikani. He lived in Meyadom.

And this

Karavata me-siki o Giliu, o Giliu e-sisu. Mi-na-na
 Karavata 3.HABIT-live LOC Giliu LOC Giliu 3.-be. DEM-CP.female-DEM
 Karavata she lived in Giliu, in Giliu she was. This

Karavata e-sisu o Giliu, m-to-na Dokonikani e-sisu Meyadom.
 Karavata 3.-be LOC Giliu DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-be Meyadom
 Karavata is in Giliu and this Dokonikani is in Meyadom.

(5)

E e-sisu e-sisu-uuu m-to-na Dokonikani tokwamla tommota.
 and 3-be 3.-be-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani cannibal people
 And he is there he is there for a long time this people eating cannibal Dokonikani.

I-kam-koma tommota. Meyadom i-vinaku i-luapela Duduva.
 3.-eat-REDUP people. Meyadom 3.-finish 3.-go.over Duduva.
 He devours the people of Meyadom, he finishes it he goes over to Duduva.

I-kam-koma i-vinaku i-luvapela Kulua. I-kam-koma i-vinaku i-luvapela
 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-finish 3.-go.over Kulua 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-finish 3.-go.over
 He devours them he finishes it he goes over to Kulua. He devours them he finishes
 it he goes over to

Rauvoya. I-kam-koma i-vinaku. E i-sisu-si-ga si valu o
 Rauvoya 3.-eat-REDUP 3.-finish And 3.-be-PL-EMPH their village LOC
 Rauvoya. He devours them he finishes it. And indeed they live in their village in

laodila so-la mna latu-la. E-sisu-si, bogwa, i-kopi
 bush friend-her hm child-her 3.-be-PL already 3.-carry
 the bush she with her child. They live there, well, she carries

(10)

latu-la, latu-la gudi-nununu gala gudi-lilola gudi-nununu. E
 child-her child-her child-suckle not child-walk child-suckle and
 her child on her hips, her child is a suckling, not a toddler, a suckling. And

i-lola-si so-la latu-la i-vabusi-si o kwadeva
 3.-walk-PL friend-her child-her 3.-come.down-PL LOC beach
 they walk she and her child they come down to the beach,

e-bwena i-kavigoda-si mamala galayomala. Mamala galayomala
 3.-be.good 3.-collect.shell-PL low.tide plenty low.tide plenty
 it is good, they collect shells and the tide is very very low. At a very very low tide

bwena i-kavigoda-si so-la latu-la. E m-to-na
 good 3.-collect.shell-PL friend-her child-her and DEM-CP.male-DEM
 they collect shells very well, she and her child. And this

Dokonikani beyo e-vayali mna Meyadom e-ma. I-vayali
 Dokonikani there 3.-walk hm Meyadom 3.-come 3.-walk
 Dokonikani walks there, (too), hm from Meyadom he came. He walks

(15)

i-vayali i-vayali i-vayali i-meki so-la latu-la
 3.-walk 3.-walk 3.-walk 3.-come.to friend-her child-her
 he walks he walks and walks he comes to her and her child

i-sisu-si e-kavigoda-si. E-kavigoda-si e-toli e-gisi:
 3.-be-PL 3.-collect.shell-PL 3.-collect.shell-PL 3.-stand.still 3.-look
 who are there collecting shells. They collect shells and he stands still and watches them:

"A *na-tarokwa vivila ina na-manabweta, so-la latu-la*
 ah CP.female-one girl mother CP.female-beautiful friend-her child-her
 "Ah a girl, mother what a beautiful one, she and her child

e-kavigoda-si". (Mokeilobu: lagela ba-poma).(laughs). I-vokwa i-lola
 3.-collect.shell-PL today 1.FUT-fuck 3.-finish 3.-walk
 they collect shells". [Mokeilobu: "Today I will fuck"]. It is finished he walks

i-lola: "A Karavata, ina- na-manabweta yokwa! Ku-meya
 3.-walk ah Karavata mother CP.female-beautiful you 2.-bring
 he walks (to them): "Ah Karavata, mother – how beautiful you are! Bring

(20)

ku-meya ku-meya latu-da kume-ya latu-da a-kopwi".
 2.-bring 2.-bring child-our 2.-bring child-our 1.carry.on.hip
 bring bring me our child bring me our child I carry it on my hip".

I-kau m-to-na Dok... mna. Mi-na-na Karavata
 3.-take DEM-CP.male-DEM Dol hm DEM-CP.female-DEM Karavata
 He takes this Dok.... eh, ... This Karavata

ma-gudi-na gwadi i-seki. I-seki i-vakalisi-go
 DEM-CP.child-DEM child 3.-give 3.-give 3.-put.down-EMPH
 she gives him this child. She gives it to him and he puts down

ma-ke-na mna ketukwa ke-tabwabogwa i-sasoya
 DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM hm walking.stick CP.wooden-very.big 3.-hang
 this hm very big walking stick on which he has hung

buna gine'uba – makala ali solava Gunter
 white.cowrie decorated.mother.of.pearl like his Kula-necklace Gunter
 a white cowrie shell with a decorated mother of pearl on it – like the one on Gunter's
 Kula-necklace

(25)

la-paisau makala – ala ala golegole. I-ketike'u mi-na-na
 1.PAST-work like its its clattering 3.-carry DEM-CP.female-DEM
 which I made like this – its its clattering. She carries it this

Karavata. “E *ta-valagwa-si*. *Ta-valagwa-si so-m tau*
Karavata. and 1.INCL-go.up-PL 1.INCL-go.up-PL friend-your man
Karavata. “Yes we go up from the beach to the village. We go up with your son
bita-lo-si ta-vakewa-si bita-li-si noni o
 1.INCL.FUT-go-PL 1.INCL-walk.path 1.INCL.FUT-go-PL quickly LOC
 we go we walk on the bush path we will quickly go to
da-valu-si”. *I-lola-si. I-lola-si i-lola-si i-lola-si otapwala*
 our-village-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL in.middle.of
 our village”. They walk. They walk they walk and walk in the middle of
keda, i-gisi ponina-tala molopu. I-gisi ponina-tala molopu i-vabilibili
 path 3.-see CP.hole-one hole 3.-see CP.hole-one hole 3.-fork.off.go.to
 the path and she sees a big hole (in the coral stone). She sees a hole, leaves the path
 and goes to it

(30)

mi-na-we-na Karavata. I-bisilei ma-ke-na
 DEM-CP.female-there-DEM *Karavata* 3.-throw DEM-CP.wooden-DEM
 this *Karavata* there. She throws this

ketukwa i-kisonu o molopu. I-kisoni o molopu e-kebiga
 walking.stick 3.-fall LOC hole 3.-fall LOC hole 3.-say
 walking stick and it falls into the hole. It falls into the hole and she says:

“*Ma-ke-na kaitukwa dududududuutu, a*
 DEM-CP.wooden-DEM walking.stick dududududuutu, ah
 “This walking stick dududududuutu, ah

poni-kekita molopu gala”. *I-toila i-luki Dokonikani*: “A *Kanikani*
 CP.hole-small hole not 3.-turn.round 3.-tell *Dokonikani* ah *Kanikani*
 this is not a small hole”. She turns round and says to the *Dokonikani*: “A *Kanikani*,

(i-)palipali debe-gu tukwa i-sou”. *E e-vavagiga Dokonikani*:
 3.-tighten head-my walking.stick 3.-fall.down and 3.-say *Dokonikani*
 I am sorry the walking stick fell down!” And he says, the *Dokonikani*:

(35)

“A *Karavata avana mata-m i-toleledi pela nima-m (ku-)kwam*
 ah *Karavata* what eye-your 3.-staring for hand-your 2.-take
 “Ah *Karavata*, where do you have your eyes, because with your hand you take it and

(ku-)kwaruvesusu nima-m kwama (ku-)kwabi tukwa
 2.-hold.tight hand-your child 2.-hold walking.stick
 hold it tight in your hands, hold your child, as to the walking stick

lawa kabi”. *I-vakalisi gwadi i-seki Karavata i-luva-ga* LOC
 1.go 1.take 3.-put.down child 3.-give *karavata* 3.-go.to in
 I go and take it”. He puts down the child, he gives it to *Karavata* he goes into

molopu. I-loluva i-la i-kau ma-ke-na ketukwa
 hole 3.-go.down 3.-go 3.-take DEM-CP.wooden-DEM walking.stick
 the hole. He goes down he goes he takes this walking-stick

i-ko'unupwali. I-ko'unupwali i-to'ila-si so-la latu-la
 3.-bring.back 3.-bring.back 3.-turn.round-PL friend-her child-her
 he brings it back. He brings it back and they turn around she and her child

(40)

i-sakaula-si. I-sakaula-si i-kounapula-ga o molopu i-mweki
 3.-run-PL 3.-run-PL 3.-come.out.of-EMPH LOC hole 3.-see
 and they run away. They run away and he comes out of the hole and sees

kwe-okwa i-sakaula-ga. I-sakaula i-sakaula i-sakaula i-sakaula i-vanapula
 CP.thing-empty 3.-run-EMPH 3.-run 3.run 3.-run 3.-come.in.sight
 nobody and he runs, indeed. He runs he runs he runs he comes in sight

i-mweki e-sakaula-si so-la latu-la i-dou-wala: "A
 3.-see 3.-run-PL friend-her child-her 3.-shout-only ah
 he sees that they are running she and her child and he just shouts: "Ah

Karavata Karavata Karavata Karavata a gigibwalela mata-m,
 Karavata Karavata Karavata Karavata ah speed eye-your
 Karavata, Karavata, Karavata, Karavata ah the speed of your eye,

ambeya buku-la? Ku-toyeli ku-toyeli gwadi ku-toli gwadi.
 where 2.FUT-go? 2.-stop 2.-stop child 2.-stop child
 where do you go? Stop, stop child, stop child.

(45)

A ku-meya ku-meya o latugwe latu-gu latu-gu
 ah 2.-bring 2.-bring oh children child-my child-my
 Ah, bring bring oh the children, my child, my child

latu-gu e ku-ma ku-ma ku-ma ku-meya ba-kopwi
 child-my yes 2.-come 2.-come 2.-come 2.-bring 1.FUT-cradle
 my child, yes, come, come, come and bring it I will cradle

latu-da". I-kau i-kopi m-to-na Dokonikani
 child-our 3.-take 3.-take.in.arms DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani
 our child". He takes it he takes it in his arms this Dokonikani and

i-valova-si. I-lola-si i-lola-si i-lola-si i-lola-si-iiie
 3.-start.walk-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL-EMPH
 they start walking. They walk they walk they walk and walk for a long time

otapwala keda, i-gisi ma-ponina-na molopu. I-gisi
 in.middle.of path 3.-see DEM-CP.hole-DEM hole 3.-see
 in the middle of the path and she sees this hole. She sees

(50)

ma-ponina-na molopu mi-na-na Karavata i-vabilibili.
 DEM-CP.hole-DEM hole DEM-CP.female-DEM Karavata 3.-fork.off.go.to
 this hole this Karavata and she leaves the path and goes there.

I-vabilibili i-kisonu ma-ke-na kaitukwa dududududuutu
 3.-fork.off.go.to 3.-fall DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM walking.stick dududududuutu
 She leaves the path and goes there it falls (into it) this walking stick
 dududududuutu.

“A *gala poni-kekita molopu*”. *I-toila i-luki Dokonikani*: “A
 a not CP.hole-small hole 3.-turn.round 3.-tell Dokonikani ah
 “Ah, this is not a small hole”. She turns around and says to the Dokonikani: “Ah

Kanikani (i-)palipali debe-gu tukwa i-sou we”. *E-vavagiga*
 Kanikani 3.-tighten head-my walking.stick 3.-fall oh 3.-say
 Kanikani I am sorry the walking stick fell down, oh!” He says

Dokonikani: “A *Karavata avana mata-m i-toletoledi pela nima-m*
 Dokonikani ah Karavata what eye-your 3.-staring for hand-your
 the Dokonikani: “Ah Karavata, where do you have your eyes, because with your
 hand

(55)

(ku-)kwam (ku-)kwaruvesusu nima-m kwama (ku-)kwabi tukwa
 2.-take 2.-hold.tight hand-your child 2.-hold walking.stick
 you take it and hold it tight in your hands, hold your child, the walking stick

lawa kabi”. *I-tokeya i-luva*. “E *ku-yosi gwadi*”.

1.go 1.take 3.-start 3.-go.to and 2.-hold child.

I go and get it”. He starts to go there. “And you hold the child”.

I-luva-ga o molopu, i-loluva-ga i-la i-kau
 3.-go.to-EMPH LOC hole 3.-go.to-EMPH 3.-go 3.-take
 He goes there to the hole, he really goes there he goes and takes

ma-ke-na ketukwa i-toila i-mweki Karavata
 DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM walking.stick 3.-turn.round 3.-see Karavata
 this walking stick, he turns around to see Karavata –

kwe-okwa. Bogwa e-sakaula-si so-la latu-la. I-sakaula
 CP.thing-empty already 3.-run-PL friend-her child.her 3.-run
 nothing. Already they run away she and her child. He runs

(60)

m-to-na Dokonikani i-sakaula i-vanapula i-mweki
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-run 3.-come.in.sight 3.-see
 this Dokonikani, he runs he comes in sight he sees that

e-sakaula-si so-la latu-la mi-na-na Karavata. "A Karavata
3.-run-PL friend-her child-her DEM-CP.female-DEM Karavata ah Karavata
they are running she and her child, this Karavata. "Ah Karavata,

ambeya? Gigibwalela mata-m buku-mwa, ku-toyeli gwadi ku-toyeli
where speed eye-your 2.FUT-come 2.-stop child 2.-stop
where do you go? The speed of your eye, come, stop child, stop

gwadi, ku-toyeli gwadi, ku-meya ku-meya ku-meya
child 2.-stop child 2.-bring 2.-bring 2.-bring
child, stop child, bring bring bring

ku-meya ku-meya latu-da o latugwe ku-ma ku-ma
2.-bring 2.-bring child-our o children 2.-come 2.-come
bring bring our child, oh children, come come come

(65)

ku-ma ku-ma ba-kopwe-m". E i-lupi m-to-na
2.-come 2.-come 1.FUT-carry-you and 3.-lift.up DEM-CP.male-DEM
come come I will carry you on my hip". And he lifts him up this

Dokonikani i-valova-si. I-lola-si-wa-aaa otapwala keda,
Dokonikani 3.-start.wakl-PL 3.-walk-PL-only-EMPH in.middle.of path
Dokonikani and they start walking. They just walk for some time in the middle
of the path

i-wake-si pwanine-tolu-la molopu ma-ponina-na e-kanukwenu.
3.-go.to CP.hole-3-EMPH hole DEM-CP.hole-DEM 3.-lie
they go to this third hole there.

E-kanukwenu e-vabilibili mi-na-na Karavata, i-bisile'i
3.-lie 3.-fork.off.go.to DEM-CP.female-DEM Karavata 3.-throw
It is there and she leaves the path and goes there this Karavata, she throws

ma-ke-na kaitukwa – dududududuutu. "A *poni-kekita*
DEM-CP.wooden-DEM walking.stick dududududuutu ah CP.hole-small
this walking stick – dududududuutu. "Ah small

(70)

molopu, a pa-nikukupi". I-toila i-luki Dokonikani: "A *Kanikani*
hole ah CP.hole-low 3.-turn 3.-tell Dokonikani ah Kanikani
hole ah low hole". She turns around and says to the Dokonikani: "Ah Kanikani

(i-)palipali debe-gu tukwa i-sou-wa". "A *Karavata avana*
3.-tighten head-my walking.stick 3.-fall.down ah Karavata what
I am sorry the walking stick just fell down!" "Ah Karavata, where do you have

mata-m i-toletoledi pela nima-m (ku-)kwau (ku-)kwaruvesusu
eye-your 3.-staring for hand-your 2.-take 2.-hold.tight
your eyes, because with your hand you take it and hold it tight

nima-m, kwama (ku-)kwabi tukwa lawa kabi”, *i-luva*
 hand-your child 2.-hold walking.stick 1.go 1.hold 3.-go
 in your hand, hold your child, as to the walking stick I go and get it”, and he goes
o molopu. I-luva o molopu i-loluva i-la i-kau
 LOC hole 3.-go LOC hole 3.-go.down 3.-go 3.-take
 to this hole. He goes to this hole he goes down he goes and takes it.

(75)

I-toila-si so-la latu-la: “ku-sakaula-si!” I-sakaula-si.
 3.-turn.round friend-her child-her 2-run-PL 3.-run-PL
 They turn around, she and her child: “Run away” [narrator!]. They run away.

I-kau-go i-ko’unapula i-mweki e-sakaula – avaka – kwe-okwa!
 3.-take-EMPH 3.-come.out 3.-see 3.-run what CP.thing-empty
 He really takes it (out) he comes out (of the hole) he looks around he runs – what –
 nothing!

I-toila e-sakaula. E-sakaula i-vanapula i-mweki e-sakaula-si
 3.-turn.round 3.-run 3.-run 3.-come.in.sight 3.-see 3.-run-PL
 He turns around he runs. He runs he comes in sight he sees that they are running

so-la latu-la e-dou vivila: “A Karavata ambeya
 friend-her child-her 3.-shout girl ah Karavata where
 she and her child and he shouts to the girl: “Ah Karavata, where
gigibwalela mata-m buku-sakaula buku-mwa? Ku-toyeli gwadi, ku-toyeli
 speed eye-your 2.FUT-run 2.FUT-come 2.-stop child 2.-stop
 with the speed of your eye will you run and come to? Stop child, stop

(80)

ku-toyeli!” I-toli-wa mi-na-na Karavata, e-va m-to-na
 2.-stop 3.-stand-only DEM-CP.female-DEM Karavata 3.-go DEM-CP.male-DEM
 stop!” She stands still this Karavata he goes to her this

Dokonikani. “Ei ku-meya ku-meya ku-meya latu-da, ku-meya
 Dokonikani ei 2.-bring 2.-bring 2.-bring child-our 2.-bring
 Dokonikani. “Ei bring bring bring our child, bring

latu-da ba-kopwi bata-ve-si”. E i-lola-si. I-lola-si i-lola-si
 child-our 1.FUT-cradle 1.FUT-go-PL and 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL
 our child I will cradle it and we will go there”. And they walk. They walk they walk

i-lola-si otapwala keda. E-gisi ma-ponina-na molopu
 3.-walk in.middle.of path 3.-see DEM-CP.hole-DEM hole
 and walk in the middle of the path. She sees this hole

ponina-tabwabogwa, i-vabilibili i-kile’i ma-ke-na
 CP.hole-very deep 3.-fork.off.go.to 3.-throw DEM-CP.wooden-DEM
 a very deep one, she leaves the path and goes to it and throws down this

(85)

ketukwa. I-nakegali-wa-aae e-komgora e-va e-va e-kisupani,
 walking.stick 3.-hear.just-EMPH 3.-clatter 3.-go 3.-go 3.-be.lost
 walking stick. She just hears it for a long time it clatters it goes it goes down it is lost,

kega-la i-valutu-wa-aa, i-supani-wa ma-ke-na
 noise-its 3.-continue-only-EMPH 3.-be.lost-only DEM-CP.wooden-DEM
 its noise just continues for a long time, it is just lost this

kaitukwa o o pwepwaya, o molopu m-ponina-na.
 walking.stick LOC LOC ground LOC hole DEM-CP.hole-DEM
 walking stick on on the bottom of this hole.

E-toila e-luki Dokonikani: “A *Kanikani (i-)palipali debe-gu*
 3.-turn.round 3.-tell Dokonikani ah Kanikani 3.-tighten head.my
 She turns round and says to the Dokonikani: “Ah Kanikani I am sorry

tukwa i-sou we”. “A *Karavata, avana mata-m i-toletoledi,*
 walking.stick 3.-fall.down oh ah Karavata what eye-your 3.-staring
 the walking stick fell down, oh!” “A *Karavata, where do you have your eyes,*

(90)

pela nima-m (ku-)kwam (ku)kwaruvesusu nima-m (ku-)kwama
 for hand-your 2.-take 2.-hold.tight hand-your 2.-take
 because with your hand you take it and hold it tight in your hands, take

(ku-)kwabi tukwa lawa kabi”. *E i-le'i ma-gudi-na gwadi*
 2.-hold stick 1.go 1.take and 3.-throw DEM-CP.child-DEM child
 and hold (the child), the walking stick I go and get it”. And he throws this child
 (to her) and

i-mweki Karavata i-kopoi. I-luva i-loluva
 3.-move.up.and.down Karavata 3.-cradle 3.-go.to 3.-go.down
 she moves it up and down, Karavata she cradles it. He goes there he goes down
i-loluva i-loluva i-loluva i-vatu i-vati i-vatu-uu
 3.-go.down 3.-go.down 3.-go.down 3.-look.for 3.-look.for 3.-look.for-EMPH
 he goes down he goes down he goes down he looks for it he looks for it he looks
 for it for some time

i-sewa bi-bani ma-ke-na kaitukwa gala.
 3.-put.aside 3.FUT-find DEM-CP.wooden-DEM walking.stick not
 he put things aside but he will not find this walking stick.

(95)

Bogwa e-la sena o tinava i-va i-be'ula i-la.
 Already 3.-go very LOC bottom 3.-go.to 3.-go.deep.down 3.-go
 Already he goes to the very bottom he goes to this place he goes deep down he
 goes there.

I-sakaula-si so-la latu-la, i-tulatula-si bi-sunapula Dokonikani –gala!
 3.-run-PL friend-her child-her 3.-wait-PL 3.FUT-appear Dokonikani no
 They run she and her child, they wait whether he will appear the Dokonikani –
 but no!

Bogwa e-va e-supani o tapwala molopu.
 Already 3.-go.to 3.-be.lost LOC botttom hole
 Already he goes there he is lost at the bottom of the hole.

I-sakaula-si-gooo i-vilobusi-si Meyadom. I-vake-si Dokonikani la
 3.-run-PL-EMPH 3.-arrive Meyadom 3.-come.to-PL Dokonikani his
 They really run for a while they arrive in Meyadom. They come to Dokonikani's
bagula, e-sisu la bwala. I-tapeli-si beya m kunune-si
 garden 3.be his house 3.-collect-PL there hm skull-their
 garden, his house is there. They collect there hm the skulls

(100)

tommata e-kam-koma m-to-na Dokonikani. I-vinaku, i-kau-si
 corpse 3.-eat-REDUP DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-finish 3.-take-PL
 of the corpses he had eaten this Dokonikani. It is finished they take them

i-lo-si i-le'i-si. I-sive-si-ga so-la latu-la Meyadom,
 3.-go-PL 3.-throw-PL 3.-stay-PL-EMPH friend-her child-her Meyadom
 they go and throw them away. They really stay there she and her child in Meyadom,

i-sivagasi-si. Bogwa me-sinau.
 3.-stay.permanently-PL already 3.HABIT-finished
 they stay there forever. Already it is finished.

Gerubara starts the tale (twice) with the ritualized introductory formula and the name of the story. Then he introduces the protagonists – a Dokonikani and Karavata and her baby – and their places of living, Meyadom and Mesiki – two vil-lages on Goodenough Island. Together with Dobu, Normanby, Ferguson, Sanaroa and the Amphletts Goodenough is one of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands about a 100 km or so south of the Trobriands. After this general introduction we learn that the Dokonikani is a notorious and dreadful old cannibal who has been living on Goodenough Island for a long time. He has not only killed and eaten all the in-habitants of his own village Meyadom, but also the people of the villages Duduva, Kulua, and Rauvoya. This description of the dangerous ogre sharply contrasts with the other two protagonists of the story, the young mother Karavata and her little baby who live in their village in the bush. To emphasize this contrast Gerubara points out that Karavata's child is still a suckling baby and not a toddler.

One day Karavata takes her baby and goes from the inland bush down to the beach to collect shells during a very low tide. At the same time the Dokonikani

takes a walk on the reef, coming from his village Meyadom, and he finally reaches the place where Karavata collects shells. He watches the mother and her baby for a while and then comments on the beauty of Karavata who – like every well brought up Trobriand girl – dilligently collects shells on the reef at low tide as a welcome addition to the meal.

Here Mokeilobu interrupts Gerubara's story with a bawdy comment, but Gerubara does not care and continues his story. The Dokonikani approaches Karavata, addresses her, makes her a compliment because of her beauty and asks her to give him her baby so that he can carry it for her on his hip. Karavata gives him her baby and takes Dokonikani's big walking stick which is nicely decorated with a white cowrie shell and a mother of pearl shell which clatter when the stick is used. In a kind of aside Gerubara compares this decoration with the decoration of a Kula-necklace which he had made for me a few days before. The Dokonikani now addresses Karavata and tells her to come with him and her little son from the beach to the bush and take the path to their village.

Having walked for a while Karavata spots a big hole in the coral stone, leaves the path and throws the Dokonikani's walking stick into it, pointing out that it is not a small hole. Then she turns round and tells the Dokonikani that she let his stick fall into this hole. The Dokonikani admonishes her to better take care of his stick, gives her her baby, goes down into the hole and fetches his stick out of it. While he is doing this, Karavata takes her child and runs away. When the Dokonikani comes out of the hole he notices that Karavata and her baby have run away. He runs after them, spots them, calls Karavata's name, asks her where she wants to go, makes her stop and give him her baby. Then they continue their walk to the village.

After a while Karavata spots another hole, leaves the path and throws the stick into it, again pointing out that this is not a small hole. Then she turns around and tells the Dokonikani what has happened. Like the first attempt to outwit the ogre this try fails, and after the Dokonikani has caught up with the mother and her baby son again, he takes the child and they continue their walk to the village.

After a while Karavata spots a third hole, leaves the path and throws the stick into it. Like the other two attempts to outwit the Dokonikani this third try fails as well. When Gerubara comes to the part of the story where the young mother and her baby run away, he acts for a moment as if he was also a protagonist of the story, shouts to them "Run away!" and then continues his narrative.

After they have walked together for a while Karavata spots a deep hole close to the path, goes there and throws the walking stick into it – the noise it makes falling down the hole lasts for a long time and one can assume that it must be lost now at the bottom of this hole. Then she turns round and tells the Dokonikani what has happened again. The Dokonikani admonishes her for the fourth time to

better take care of his walking stick, gives her her son and goes down into the hole to look for his precious stick. As soon as Karavata has her son in her hands she happily cradles him – being confident that this time she managed to outwit the ogre. The Dokonikani goes down the hole – deeper and deeper until he reaches its bottom. Karavata runs away with her child, stops for a moment to see whether the ogre turns up again, but the Dokonikani is lost at the bottom of the deep hole. When he does not appear again Karavata runs to his village Meyadom. She and her son pass the ogre’s garden and come to his house. Karavata finds the skulls of the people that were eaten by the Dokonikani, takes them and throws them away. And from then on she and her son lived in Meyadom.

Gerubara ends the tale with the ritualized coda “*Bogwa mesinaku*” – “already it is finished”. Table 18 summarizes the structure of the “Tale of the Dokonikani”:

Table 18. The structure of the “Tale of the Dokonikani”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula and the name of the tale (repeated)	1–2
Introduction of the protagonists	2–10
<i>Episode 1 Karavata meets the Dokonikani</i>	10–28
Subevent 1 Karavata and her baby go to the beach to collect shells and the Dokonikani sees them there.	10–18
Subevent 2 The Dokonikani approaches them, makes Karavata a compliment and then asks her to give him her baby, to carry his precious walking stick and to come with him to his village.	19–28
<i>Episode 2 Karavata’s first attempt to escape from the Dokonikani</i>	28–48
Subevent 1 On their way Karavata sees a hole in the coral, throws the walking stick into it and tells the ogre that the stick fell into the hole.	28–34
Subevent 2 The Dokonikani admonishes her to better take care of his stick, gives her her baby, climbs into the hole and searches for his stick.	34–39
Subevent 3 Karavata runs away.	39–40
Subevent 4 The Dokonikani comes out of the hole, realizes that Karavata has run away, runs after them, thwarts her escape, takes her baby and they continue to walk to his village.	40–48
<i>Episode 3 Karavata’s second attempt to escape from the Dokonikani</i>	48–66
Subevent 1 On their way Karavata sees a hole in the coral, throws the walking stick into it and tells the ogre that the stick fell into the hole.	48–53
Subevent 2 The Dokonikani admonishes her to better take care of his stick, gives her her baby, climbs into the hole and searches for his stick. When he has found it and comes out of the hole he sees Karavata is no longer there.	53–59
Subevent 3 Karavata runs away.	59

Table 18. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 4	The Dokonikani runs after her, thwarts her escape, takes her baby and they continue to walk to his village.	60–66
<i>Episode 4 Karavata's third attempt to escape from the Dokonikani</i>		66–82
Subevent 1	On their way Karavata sees a hole in the coral, throws the walking stick into it and tells the ogre that his stick fell into the hole.	66–71
Subevent 2	The Dokonikani admonishes her to better take care of his stick, gives her her baby, climbs into the hole and searches for his stick. When he has found it and comes out of the hole he sees Karavata is no longer there.	71–74
Subevent 3	Karavata runs away.	75
Subevent 4	The Dokonikani runs after her, thwarts her escape, takes her baby and they continue to walk to his village.	76–82
<i>Episode 5 Karavata's escape from the Dokonikani</i>		82–97
Subevent 1	On their way Karavata sees a deep hole in the coral, throws the walking stick into it and tells the ogre that his stick fell into the hole.	82–89
Subevent 2	The Dokonikani admonishes her to better take care of his stick, gives her her baby, goes into the hole and searches for his stick. He climbs deep down into the hole but he does not find his stick.	89–95
Subevent 3	Karavata runs away and this time the ogre does not come out of the hole again – he is lost there.	96–97
<i>Episode 6 Karavata comes with her baby to Meyadom and they stay there</i>		98–102
Subevent 1	Karavata runs with her baby to Meyadom, they pass the ogre's garden and come to his house, she collects the skulls of the ogre's victims and throws them away.	98–101
Subevent 2	Karavata and her baby son stay in Meyadom.	101–102
Ritualized formula that announces the end of the tale		102

This story consists of 6 episodes with up to 4 subevents. Gerubara starts this tale with the ritualized formula and the name of the story. He repeats this introduction – probably to get some additional time for the planning of how he will narrate the story – and provides information on the two protagonists of the story, the man-eating Dokonikani and the young mother Karavata and their places of living. The story is located on Goodenough Island – an island close to Dobu which is notorious for its cannibals. With his detailed information about the old Dokonikani and his cannibalistic crimes Gerubara highlights the difference between this dangerous ogre on the one hand and the beautiful and diligent young mother Karavata and her little baby on the other.

Gerubara's "Tale of the Dokonikani" is comparable with the first part of the "*Kukwanebu Tukwa-Lolewa*" the "Tale of the Going-Away Stick" presented in Bernard Baldwin's collection of Trobriand tales (Baldwin 1971: 19–25). Note also that Baldwin (1971: 59–74; also 133f.) speaks of a "Kalawata class of story ... made up of various types". Kalawata is just a dialectal variant of Karavata. However, the Kalawata-stories Baldwin presents are different from Gerubara's tale presented here. The name Karavata is also used in Taidyeli's "Tale of Magibweli" (see Subsection 3.2.5 below) to refer to the name the protagonist's mother. But back to Gerubara's story.

After the ritualized introductory formula and the rather long introduction of the protagonists the story proper starts with line 10. Gerubara marks the structure of this tale with a variety of narrative means, like:

- change of place (lines 10, 28, 48, 66, 82, 98, 101),
- the explicit marking of the end of a subevent (line 189),
- change of character (lines 34, 39, 40, 53, 59, 71, 75, 76, 89, 96, 101),
- tail-head linkage (line 82) and
- the repetition of episodes and subevents with tiny changes only (lines 48, 66, 82).

Most verbs are realized without TAM markers. Gerubara produces quite a number of tail-head linkage constructions which give the story much coherence. He skillfully uses prosodic means like volume, speech tempo, pauses, repetition of words, phrases and episodes, onomatopoeic forms (see lines 32, 51, 69) and direct speech to make the story lively and exciting and to secure his audience's attention. The frequent use of serial verb constructions adds to the specific momentum of Gerubara's dynamic way of telling the story. Note however, that even this skillful narrator produces a false start (in line 21).

The four episodes that follow the report of Karavata meeting the Dokonikani are quite repetitive – with just a few tiny changes, nevertheless, they are full of suspense for Gerubara's audience. We have observed this repetition of subevents and even of episodes in tales told by the young boys and in Mokeilobu's "Tale of Ilakavayega" – and I have already pointed out above that this phenomenon is highly characteristic for fairy tales in general (see Bürger 1971: 42).

The story presents the ogre Dokonikani once more as a brutal but foolish simpleton who does not discover Karavata's true intentions behind her repeated actions. The fact that Karavata addresses the ogre with a pet name – despite the fact that she is fully aware of her and her baby's fatal fate if she cannot escape the cannibal is another proof of how smart she plays her role in her interaction with the cannibal. Thus, this story again takes up the theme (and the moral of other Dokonikani tales) that clever persons can escape the ogre if they use their wits.

Another interesting observation that can be made in this story is the fact that there is no mentioning whatsoever of the father of Karavata's baby son. This supports the special relationship between mother and child in the Trobriand Islanders' matrilineal society in which a father is not related whatsoever with his children.

3.2.4 Pulia tells the tale "Gugwadi asi guguya" – The "Advice for children"

In June 1996 my longtime friend and consultant Pulia came to my house and after I had finished some transcription work he announced that he wanted to tell me a story which he himself made up for his young daughter Bansa. He pointed out that it was a kind of a "kwanebu", but a special subcategory which is called "advice for children". These stories are mainly educational, but also quite entertaining. They highlight proper behavior in the Trobriand society. Pulia's "gugwadi asi guguya" runs like this:

Makala sita(na) kwanebu, taga ma-na-kwa pela

Like bit tale but DEM-DEM-CP.thing for

This is a kind of tale, but this is for

gugwadi, gugwadi asi gugya kena e-livala-si dimdim:

children; children their advice or 3.-say-PL white.people

children, it's advice for the children, or, as the white people say:

"advice". E te-tala tau sena to-esaesa kena sena la

advice yes CP.male-one man very CP.male-rich or very his

"advice". Yes, there was a very rich man, that is he had very many

gugua, bunukwa, soulava, mwali, lekolekwa, buva lalava –

goods pig necklace armring cock red.betelnuts

goods, pigs, "Kula" necklaces, "Kula"-armrings, cocks, red betelnuts –

(5)

avaka tuvela – waga budubadu. E latu-la i-sisu. I-nanamsa

what else canoe many And child-his 3.-be 3.-think

what else – (and) many canoes. And his child is there. He thinks

e-levila e-kebiga: "A-doki tama-gu sena to-esaesa", kena:

3.-say 3.-speak 1.-think father-my very CP.male-rich or

he says he speaks: "I think my father is very rich", or:

"Tama-gu sena budubadu migamaga avaka o la kaukweda.

Father-my very many plenty what LOC his veranda

"My father has so very many plenty belongings whatsoever on his veranda.

Bi-boda yegu, ba-la ba-ta'ina kwe-tala kwe-tala
 3.FUT-be.good I 1.FUT-go 1.FUT-roam CP.thing-one CP.thing-one
 It will be good for me, I will go I will roam around a bit,
valu ba-gisi. Ba-gisi valu". E m-to-na
 country 1.FUT-see 1.FUT-see country and DEM-CP.male-DEM
 the country I will see. I will see the country". And this

(10)

tau kena m-to-na gwadi i-kau ala kauya i-lola.
 man or DEM-CP.male-DEM child 3.-take his bag 3.-walk
 man, or rather this boy he takes his bag he walks away.

I-lola-aa i-la ke-tala kai o u'una, bogwa
 3.-walk-EMPH 3.-go CP.wooden-one tree LOC root already
 He walks and walks he goes to the roots of a tree, already

e-somata, bogwa bi-bogi, e-masisi. E-kanuvateta va
 3.-tired already 3.FUT-be.night 3.-sleep 3.-lean DIR
 he is tired, already it is night and he sleeps. He leans against

kai e-masisi. E e-masisi-ii bogwa ma-kasa-na
 tree 3.-sleep and 3.-sleep-EMPH already DEM-CP.FOW-DEM
 the tree and sleeps. And he sleeps and sleeps, already it dawns

bi-yam e kwe-tala biga kwe-tala biga -
 3.FUT-be.day and CP.thing-one language CP.thing-one language
 day breaks and there is one voice, one voice

(15)

i-masisi biga ma-na-kweni o tega-la i-sunapula
 3.-sleep language DEM-DEM-CP.thing ear-his 3.-appear
 he sleeps and this voice appears in his ears.

E-livala ma-na-kwa biga makala: "Boma-m taga
 3.-say DEM-DEM-CP.thing language like taboo-your but
 It says this voice the following: "But it is a taboo for you

ku-lola va keda kena o laodila amwaleta". E
 2.-walk DIR path or LOC bush yourself and
 that you walk on the path or in the bush all alone". And

kwe-yu-vela: "Boma-m taga buku-masisi te-tala tommota
 CP.thing-two-again taboo-your but 2.fut-sleep CP.male-one person
 a second time: "But it is taboo for you that you sleep in a person's house

to-mitavasi kidamwa gala ku-nukwali o la bwala
 CP.male-strange if not 2.-know LOC his house
 a man who is strange and whom you do not know,

(20)

buku-masisi boma-m". *E kwe-tolu-la:* "Boma-m buku-kwam
2.fut-sleep taboo-your and CP.thing-three-EMPH taboo-your 2.FUT-eat
if you will sleep there this is taboo for you". And a third time: "It is taboo for you to eat

te-tala to-mitavasi o la bwala kidamwa gala
CP.male-one CP.male-strange LOC his house if not
with a strange man in his house if you do not

ku-nukwali m-to-na, boma-m". *E m-to-na tau*
2.-know DEM-CP.male-DEM taboo-your and DEM-CP.male-DEM man
know this man, it's taboo for you". And this boy

i-yowa lopo-la, i-yowa lopo-la i-mmamata e-mweki
3.-jump belly-his 3.-jump belly-his 3.-wake.up 3.-look around
his heart sinks into his boots, his heart sinks into his boots he wakes up he looks
around

e-masisi. E bogwa e-yam kaukwau i-kau ala kauya
3.-sleep and already 3.-be.day morning 3.-take his bag
(where) he has slept. And day breaks already in the morning he takes his bag

(25)

i-ketake'u i-lola. I-lola o laodila, kai
3.-carry.on.shoulder 3.-walk 3.-walk LOC bush tree
he carries it on his shoulder and he walks away. He walks into the bush, trees are
there

ke-tabwabogwa, e i-lola i-gisi na-tala kwarota,
CP.-very big and 3.-walk 3.-see CP.animal-one bush-fowl
very big ones, and he walks and sees a bush-fowl,

na-tala kwarota na-kekita. E i-luvai
CP.animal-one bush-fowl CP.animal-small and 3.-remember
a bush-fowl, a little one. And he remembers

ma-na-kwa guguya kena ma-na-kwa "advice".
DEM-DEM-CP.thing advice or DEM-DEM-CP.thing advice
this advice, or this "advice".

I-luvai bi-boda te-yu-ve-gu – amateyu
3.-remember 3.FUT-be.good CP.human-two-with-me two.of.us
He remembers it will be good if there is another one with me – if there are two of us

(30)

te-yu-ve-gu amateyu pela baka-lilola o laodila.
CP.human-two-with-me two.of.us for DUAL.EXCL-walk LOC bush
if there is another one with me – if there are two of us when we want to walk into
the bush.

E i-tapopula i-yosi ma-na-na kwarota i-kepapi.
 and 3.-bend.down 3.-take DEM-CP.animal-DEM bush-fowl 3.-hold
 And he bends down, takes this bush-fowl and holds it against his breast.

I-boda te-yu, i-lola-si i-lola-si-ii – bogwa
 3.-be.group CP.human-two 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL-EMPH already
 They are a group of two, they walk, they walk and walk – already

e-lubulatola va keda e olumolela laodila, i-sipopula-si
 3.-be.midnight DIR path and inside bush 3.-sit.down-PL
 it is midnight – they walk on the path and within the bush, they sit down

i-masisi-si asiteyu. I-masisi-si, bogwa bi-yam – makala
 3.-sleep-PL two.of.them 3.-sleep-PL already 3.FUT-be.day like
 they sleep the two of them. They sleep, already day breaks and – like this

(35)

i-vavagiga – ma-na-na mwata na-tabwabogwa
 3.-say DEM-CP.animal-DEM snake CP.animal-very.big
 the story goes – this very big snake

i-ma. I-ma bi-gadi m-to-na tau bogwa
 3.-come 3.-come 3.FUT-bite DEM-CP.male-DEM man already
 comes. It comes it wants to bite this boy who is still

to-masisi makala. I-ma mwada bi-gadi,
 CP.male-sleeping like 3.-come snake 3.FUT-bite
 sleeping like this. It comes this snake it wants to bite,

i-vavagiga ma-na-na kwarota i-katubububu makala
 3.-do DEM-CP.animal-DEM bush-fowl 3.-flap.wings like
 it does (this) this bush-fowl it flaps its wings

bi-yova, ka, i-katubububu i-vavagiga. M-to-na tau
 3.FUT-fly well 3.-flap.wings 3.-do DEM-CP.male-DEM man
 as if it will fly, it flaps its wings it does it. This boy

(40)

i-mamata i-mweki ma-na-na mauna bogwa
 3.-wake.up 3.-see DEM-CP.animal-DEM animal already
 he wakes up he sees that this animal already

bi-gadi. I-tokeya ma-na-na kwarota isimwa
 3.-FUT-bite 3.-stand.up DEM-CP.animal-DEM bush.fowl 3.-stay
 wants to bite him. It stands up this bush-fowl it stays

i-yovai ma-na-na mwata na-tabwabogwa. I-yovai-si-wa
 3.-fight DEM-CP.animal-DEM snake CP.animal-very.big 3.-fight-PL-only
 it fights with this very big snake. They fight

i-kimati, i-tokeva kwarota i-kimati ma-na-na
 3.-kill 3.-stand.up bush.fowl 3.-kill DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 it kills it, it stands up this bush-fowl and it kills this

mwata na-tabwabogwa. E i-tokeya bogwa
 snake CP.animal-very.big yes 3.-stand already
 very big snake. Yes, it stands there, already

(45)

e-yam i-tokeya m-to-na tau i-yosi ma-na-na
 3.-be.day 3.-stand.up DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-hold DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 it is day and he stands up this boy he holds this

kwarota e-livala: "O bwada-gu!" E i-lola-si,
 bush-fowl 3.-say oh younger.brother-my and 3.-walk-PL
 bush-fowl against his breast and says: "Oh my younger brother!" And they walk

i-lola-si-ii i-lola-si-ii lalai makala i-masisi-si
 3.-walk-PL-EMPH 3.-walk-PL-EMPH noon like 3.-sleep-PL
 they walk and walk they walk and walk, it's about noon and they sleep

otapwala keda i-masisi-si. E avetuta e-masisi-si
 at.side.of path 3.-sleep-PL and when 3.-sleep-PL
 at the side of the path. And while they sleep

m-to-na Dokonikani deli bwada-la, m-to-na
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani with younger.brother-his DEM-CP.male-DEM
 this Dokonikani with his younger brothers, this

(50)

Dokonikani bogwa e-sukwani maina uva-si tommota.
 Dokonikani already 3.-smell smell body-their people
 Dokonikani already smells the smell of human bodies.

E e-luki bwada-la: "Ku-lo-si o laodila ku-vake-si
 and 3.-say younger.brother-his 2.-go-PL LOC bush 2.-go.to-PL
 And he says to his younger brothers: "You go into the bush you go to

te-tala tommwota e-masisi, manum manum buku-lu...
 CP.male-one person 3.-sleep carefully carefully 2.-FUT-...
 one person who sleeps there, carefully carefully you will...

kumwedona buku-lupi-si gala bi-lumkwale-mi buku-lupi-si
 all 2.FUT-take.up-PL not 3.FUT-feel-you 2.FUT-take.up-PL
 everything you will take up, he will not feel you, you take him up

manum, manum, ku-meye-si, bita-katumati-si bita-koma-si".
 carefully carefully 2.-bring-PL 1.INCL.FUT-kill-PL 1.INCL.FUT-eat-PL
 carefully carefully, you bring him here, we will kill him and we will eat him".

(55)

E m-to-na Dokonikani bogwa e-boyeli kwela-veaka –
 and DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani already 3.-boil CP.pot-big
 And this Dokonikani already he boils water in this big –

amyaga – kwena, bogwa e-boili sopi
 what's.the.name pot already 3.-boil water
 what's the name – pot, already he boils water

kwela-tabwabogwa. E avetuta e-ve-si bwada-la
 CP.pot-very.big and when 3.-go.to-PL younger.brother-his
 in a very big pot. And while they go his younger brothers

e-lupi-si m-to-na tau e-masisi gala i-kamwata-si.
 3.-take.up-PL DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-sleep not 3.-make.noise-PL
 to take this sleeping boy they make no noise.

Manum manum e-lupi-si bi-lilo'i-si. E-vavagiga
 carefully carefully 3.-take.up-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-do
 Carefully carefully they take him up and they want to walk away. He does this

(60)

ma-na-na kwarota e-katubububu tuvela. E-katubububu
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM bush-fowl 3.-flap.wings again 3.-flap.wings
 this bush-fowl it flaps it wings again. It flaps its wings

makala i-yova, lopo-la – m-to-na tau – i-mweki
 like 3.-jump belly-his DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-see
 like this, his heart sinks into his boots – this boy – he sees

bogwa olakeva e-yosi-si, e i-vavagi-si-ga
 already in.the.sky 3.-hold-PL yes 3.-do-PL-EMPH
 already they are holding him up in the sky, yes they really do this

m-to-si-na Dokonikani bwada-la. Manum
 DEM-CP.male-PL-DEM Dokonikani younger.brother-his carefully
 these younger brothers of the Dokonikani. Carefully

manum i-ke'imali-si i-lau-si o pwepwaya –
 carefully 3.-take-PL 3.-take.away-PL LOC ground
 carefully they take him they take him away from the ground

(65)

i-kanava. I-tokeva-si m-to-si-na tauwau i-kugwa-si
 3.-lie 3.-stand-up-PL DEM-CP.male-DEM men 3.-go.first-PL
 where he lies. They stand up these men, they go first

e-lilola-si oluvi m-to-na tau sola ma-na-na
 3.-walk-PL then DEM-CP.male-DEM man with DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 they walk and then this boy with this

bwada-la. I-lola-si i-lola-si i-ve-si i-sunapula-si
 younger-brother-his 3.-walk-PL 3.-walk-PL 3.-go.to-PL 3.-appear-PL
 younger brother of his. They walk they walk they go there they appear

o valu o la valu Dokonikani. E e-livala
 LOC village LOC his village Dokonikani and 3.-say
 in the village, in Dokonikani's village. And he says

Dokonikani: "Ku-me-si ku-vevasi-si, ku-me-si so-m
 Dokonikani 2.-come-PL 2.-rest-PL 2.-come-PL friend-your
 the Dokonikani: "Come and rest, come with your

(70)

bwada-m ku-vevasi-si". E-vavagi m-kwe-na
 younger.brother-your 2.-rest-PL 3.-say DEM-CP.thing-DEM
 younger brother, take a rest." He says (this) this

Do(konikani). E m-to-na tau: "O bogwa bwena".
 Do(konikani) and DEM-CP.male-DEM man oh already good
 Dokonikani. And this boy: "Oh, that's fine".

E-ve-si i-vevasi-si. E-luki bwada-la (ku-)kwatubiyasi-si
 3.-go.to.PL 3.-rest-PL 3.-say younger.brother 2.-prepare-PL
 They go there and rest. He says to his younger brothers: "Prepare

kaula!" Bi-kam-si usola bwada-la. I-katubiyasi-si kaula
 food 3.-FUT-eat-PL friend younger-brother-his 3.-prepare-PL food
 the food!" They want to eat our friend and his younger brother. They prepare the
 food

sena migile'u e i-sipopula-si i-sili-si bi-kam-si.
 very clean and 3.-bend.down-PL 3.-sit-PL 3.FUT-eat-PL
 it's very clean and they bend down, sit down and they will eat.

(75)

I-tokeya m-to-na tau i-kau i-kau-wa kaula o paledi
 3.-stand.up DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-take 3.-take-only food LOC plate
 He stands up this boy he takes he just takes food on the plate

i-doki bi-kam. I-doki bi-kam, e-vavagiga ma-na-na
 3.-thin 3.FUT-eat 3.-think 3.FUT-eat 3.-do DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 he thinks he will eat it. He thinks he will eat it and it does the following this

kwarota: i-tota i-gela. I-gela i-vavagiga i-yosi
 bush.fowl 3.-stand 3.-crow 3.-crow 3.-do 3.-take
 bush-fowl: it stands and crows. It crows it does it and he takes

ma-'utu-na kaula i-gigisi. I-gigisi i-vokwa i-vavagiga:
 DEM-CP.bit-DEM food 3.-look.at 3.-look.at 3.-finish 3.-do
 this bit of food and inspects it. He inspects it, it is finished and he does the following:

M-to-na *Dokonikani i-mitapoi* *makala i-kululu*
 DEM-CP.male-DEM *Dokonikani* 3.-look.away like 3.-look.down
 This *Dokonikani* looks away, like he looks down.

(80)

I-kululu *i-vavagiga* *m-to-na* *tau* *i-le'i*
 3.-look.down 3.-do DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-throw.away
 He looks down and he does this this boy he throws

ma-'utu-na *kaula. I-le'i* *ma-'utu-na* *kaula i-la.*
 DEM-CP.bit-DEM food 3.-throw DEM-CP.bit-DEM food 3.-go
 this bit of food away. He throws away this bit of food it goes there.

I-kanobusi la pusa *m-to-na* *Dokonikani i-koma*
 3.-appear his cat DEM-CP.male-DEM *Dokonikani* 3.-eat
 It appears this *Dokonikani's* cat it eats

ma-'utu-na *kaula. Avetuta* *e-koma, i-dumwani* *i-tatua*
 DEM-CP.bit-DEM food when 3.-eat 3.-swallow 3.-shiver
 this bit of food. Having eaten and swallowed it, it shivers

i-va *i-kanava.* *Bogwa* *m-to-na* *Dokonikani*
 3.-go.to 3.-lie.down (and dies) already DEM-CP.male-DEM *Dokonikani*
 it goes there it lies down and dies. Already this *Dokonikani*

(85)

e-katude'u *beya* *kaula* *kena* *i-poseni. E* *bogwa* *sita*
 3.-put.inside here food perhaps 3.-poison and already bit
 he put something inside of the food there perhaps he poisoned it. And already

bi-bogi *makala* *e-katubiyasi-si* *room* *pela* *bi-masisi-si*
 3.-be night like 3.-prepare room for 3.FUT-sleep-PL
 night falls like this and they prepare some room where they will sleep

so-la *bwada-la.* *I-katubiyasi-si* *i-vokwa* *i-lo-si*
 friend-his younger.brother-his 3.-prepare-PL 3.-finish 3.-go-PL
 he with his friend his younger brother. They prepare everything it is finished and they go

bi-kenu-si. Bi-kenu-si *ponina-tala-ga* *pwanana* *bogwa*
 3.FUT-lie-PL 3.FUT-lie-PL CP.hole-one-EMPH hole already
 they want to lie down. They want to lie down in a hole, already

makala. "Ka m *bwala". E* *e-ve-si* *so-la*
 like this well your house and 3.-go-to.PL friend-his
 like this. "Well, your house". And they go there and he and his friend

(90)

bwada-la bi-masisi-si. E m-to-si-na Dokonikani
 younger.brother-his 3.FUT-sleep-PL and DEM-CP.male-PL-DEM Dokonikani
 his younger brother they will sleep. And these men, Dokonikani

bwada-la e-lo-si i-tasi-si milikutu e
 younger.brother-his 3.-go-PL 3.-sharpen-PL bamboo-sticks and
 and his younger brothers, they go they sharpen bamboo sticks and

ave kai-go ma-ke-si-ta ke-pape'ula, e-lau-si
 what stick-EMPH DEM-CP.WOODEN-PL-DEM CP.tree-strong 3.-take-PL
 any other of these strong sticks, they take them

i-va'i-si va kebila i-ya'i-si moi odabala.

3.-stick-PL DIR veranda 3.-put-PL mat on.top

they stick them into the ground at the veranda and they put the sleeping mat on top of them.

E e-ve-si so-la bwada-la bi-masisi-si. I-doki-wa
 And 3.-go.to-PL friend-his younger.brother-his 3.FUT-sleep-PL 3.-think-just
 And they go, he and his friend his younger brother they will sleep. He just thinks

(95)

m-to-na tau bi-pela bi-kenu. I-vavagi
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.FUT-jump 3.FUT-lie 3.-do
 this boy he will jump up and lie down there. He does the following

ma-na-na kwarota i-katubububu tuvela. I-tota
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM bush.fowl 3.-flap.wings again 3.-stand
 this bush-fowl, it flaps its wings again. He stands

i-ni-nanamsa: "Avaka pela beya?" E i-tokeva
 3.-REDUP-think what for this and 3.-stand.up
 he thinks: "Why (does it do) this?". And he stands up

m-to-na tau i-katutati ma-na-kwa moi. Avetuta
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-lift DEM-DEM-CP.thing when
 this boy, and he lifts the sleeping mat. When

e-katutati i-mweki ke-kikakata kai osukwawala
 3.-lift 3.-see CP.wooden-sharpened stick underneath
 he lifts it he sees the sharpened sticks underneath

(100)

ma-na-kwa moi. E gala-wa, i-seva ma-na-kwa
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing mat and nothing-only 3.-leave DEM-DEM-CP.thing
 this sleeping mat. And no, he leaves this

moi i-kenu-ga otinawa gala moi, i-kenu-si-wa
 mat 3.-lie.down-EMPH below no mat 3-lie.down-PL-only
 mat, he just lies down below without a mat, they just lie down

i-masisi-si. I-masisi-si e-okwa e-yam kaukwau gala
 3.-sleep-PL 3.-sleep-PL 3.-finish 3.-be.day morning not
 and sleep. They sleep it is finished in the early morning they do not

i-kam-si e-setaula-si-wala i-lola-si so-la bwada-la.
 3.-eat-PL 3.-start-PL-just 3.-walk-PL friend-his younger.brother-his
 eat they just start walking he and his friend his younger brother.

I-lola-si-wa-aa i-lo-si ke-tala kai o u'una
 3.-walk-PL-only-EMPH 3.-go-PL CP.wooden-one tree LOC trunk
 they just walk and walk they go to a tree and at its trunk

(105)

i-sili-si. I-sili-si so-la bwada-la. E-vavagiga
 3.-sit-PL 3.-sit-PL friend-his younger.brother-his 3.-say
 they sit down. They sit there he and his friend, his younger brother. And he says

m-to-na Dokonikani: "Ku-lo-si"... a i-luki latu-la
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 2.-go-PL eh 3.-say child-his
 this Dokonikani: "Go"... eh, he says to his child

ma-na-na kuluta: "Ku-la ku-gisi - amyaga -
 DEM-CP.female-DEM first.born 2.-go 2.-see what's.the.name
 to this first born daughter: "Go and look for - what's the name -

m-to-na tau, (ku-)kwapituni keyo-la! (Ku-)kwapituni
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man 2.-cut throat-his 2.-cut
 this boy and cut his throat! Cut

keyo-la baka-ve-si bita-lupi-si bata-meye-si
 throat-his 1.EXCL.FUT-go.to-PL 1.INCL.FUT-lift-PL 1.INCL.FUT-bring-PL
 his throat and we will go there we will lift him up we will bring him

(110)

bata-koma-si". E-livala latu-la: "O bogwa bwena".
 1.INCL.FUT-eat-PL 3.-say child-his oh already good
 we will eat him". She says his child: "Oh, that's fine".

I-kau ma-ke-na nepa kai-tabwabogwa. i-kau, i-lau.
 3.-take DEM-CP.long-DEM bush.knife CP.long-very.big 3.-take 3.-take.away
 She takes this bush-knife, a very big one, she takes it she takes it away.

I-li-lola-wala i-veki m-to-na tau. E-sisu i-kovana
 3.-REDUP-walk-only 3.-go.to DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-be 3.-look.up
 She just walks she goes to this boy. He is there he looks up

i-gisi ma-na-na vivila i-kululu, e ma-na-na vivila
 3.-see DEM-CP.female-DEM girl 3.-look.down and DEM-CP.female-DEM girl
 and he sees this girl; he looks down again and this girl

gala e-gisi m-to-na tau i-kululu i-sisu. E-va-ga,
 not 3.-see DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-look.down 3.-be 3.-go.to-EMPH
 does not see this boy who looks down but is there. She goes there

(115)

e-lola-wa e-toli-wa e-gisi. E-gi-gisi tau e-okwa.
 3.-walk-just 3.-stand.up-only 3.-see 3.-REDUP-see man 3.-finish
 she just walks there, he just stands up and she sees him. She sees the boy, it is finished.

E-kebiga: "A sena to-manabweta yokwa, sena
 3.-say ah very CP.male-beautiful you very
 She says: "Ah, you are so beautiful,

a-yobweli-m, magi-gu bata-kalubela!" E m-to-na
 1.-love-you wish-my DUAL.INCL.FUT-be.friend and DEM-CP.male-DEM
 I love you very much, I want to be your friend!" And this

tau e-kululu e-livala: "E bogwa bwena
 man 3.-look.down 3.-say yes already good
 boy he looks down he says: "Yes, that's fine,

bata-kalubela". E-sipopula e-sili ma-na-na vivila,
 DUAL.INCL.FUT-be.friend 3.-bend.down 3.-sit DEM-CP.female-DEM girl
 we will be friends". She bends down she sits there this girl,

(120)

i-vavai o kepapa-la m-to-na tau i-vokwa.
 3.-tap LOC side-her DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-finish
 he taps at her side, this boy, it is finished.

E-luki, e-kebiga: "Ka, la-ma ba-kapituni kayo-m.
 3.-speak 3.-say well 1.PAST-come 1.FUT-cut throat-your
 She speaks she says: "Well, I came because I wanted to cut your throat.

E-lukwe-gu tama-gu la-ma ba-kapituni kayo-m. Taga
 3.-tell-me father-my 1.PAST-come 1.FUT-cut throat-your but
 He told me my father to do this and I came I wanted to cut your throat. But

la-gisi am gigisa, sena a-yobweli-m, a-yobweli-m mokita
 1.PAST-see your looks very 1.-love-you 1.-love-you true
 I saw your looks, I love you very much, I love you truly,

magi-gu bita-kalubeda!" E gala-wa(la) e-kapituni
 wish-my DUAL.INCL.FUT-be.friend and not-only 3.-cut
 I want to be your friend!" And she did not cut

(125)

kayo-la. E-ke'ita i-la i-luki tama-la. I-lola-wa
neck-his 3.-return 3.-go 3.-go.to father-her 3.-walk-only
his throat at all. She goes back she goes she goes to her father. She just walks

i-veki tama-la e-sisu. E-livala tama-la: "O ku-ma!"
3.-go.to father-her 3.-be 3.-say father-her oh 2.-come
she goes to her father he is there. He says her father: "Oh come here."

E-vavagiga: "A tama, m-to-na tau – sena la vavagi
3.-say ah father DEM-CP.male-DEM man very his thing
She says: "Ah, father, this man – so much magic of his,

sena pe'ula. Kwe-ta(la) vavagi i-sisiya pe'ula.
very strong CP.thing-one magic 3.-have strong
and so strong. He has one strong magic.

La-va-wala e-tokeva e-sakaula e-va gala bata-yosi
1.PAST-go.to-only 3.-stand.up 3.-run 3.-go not DUAL.INCL.FUT-catch
I just went to him he stands up he runs he goes there one could not catch him

(130)

bogwa e-la". "O bogwa bwena". E e-tokeya
already 3.-go oh already good and 3.-stand.up
already he goes away". "Oh that's fine". And he stands up

Dokonikani e-dou latu-la na-kekita. Ma-na-na
Dokonikani 3.-call child-his CP.female-small DEM-CP.female-DEM
the Dokonikani and calls his little daughter. This

latu-la na-kekita sena na-manabweta. E-livala:
child-his CP.female-small very CP.female-beautiful 3.-say
little daughter is very beautiful. He says:

"Yokwa na-kekita yokwa ku-tokeva (ku-)kwau
you female-small you 2.-stand.up 2.-take

"You small one, stand up take

ma-kai-na nepa buku-tokeva buku-loki
DEM-CP.long-DEM bush.knife 2.FUT-stand.up 2.FUT-go.to
this bush-knife you will stand up you will go to

(135)

m-to-na tau buku-kwapitui keyo-la!" "O bogwa
DEM-CP.male-DEM man 2.FUT-cut throat-his oh already
this boy and you will cut his throat!" "Oh, that's

bwena". I-seki ma-kai-na nepa kai-tabwabogwa
good 3.-give DEM-CP.long-DEM bush.knife CL.long-very.big
fine". He gives her this very big bush-knife

i-lola. I-lola-wa i-toli-wa i-kovana i-mweki e-gigisi
 3.-walk 3.-walk-only 3.-stand-only 3.-look.up 3.-look 3.-see
 and she walks away. She just walks he stands there she looks up she looks she sees

m-to-na tau. Pela m-to-na tau e-sisu
 dem-CP.male-DEM man for DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-be
 this man. Because this man is there

bogwa e-bwadi nano-la ma-na-na vivila sena
 already 3.-open.up mind-her DEM-CP.female-DEM girl very
 already she feels fine this girl who is so

(140)

na-manabweta. E i-lola i-lola i-va e-kebiga:
 CP.female-beautiful and 3.-walk 3.-walk 3.-go.to e.-say
 beautiful. And she walks she walks she goes to him and says

“A *sena to-manabweta yokwa, sena a-yobweli-m. Am*
 ah very CP.male-beautiful you very 1.-love-you your
 “Ah you are so beautiful, I love you very much. Your

kwetubwatubwa bwena migi-m sena bwena i-boda
 figure good face-your very good 3.-be.good
 figure is good, your face is very good, it is good

bata-kalubeda”. E e-vavagiga m-to-na tau: “O
 DUAL.INCL.FUT-be.friend and 3.-say DEM-CP.male-DEM man oh
 I want to be your friend”. And he says this boy: “Oh

bogwa bwena bogwa bata-kalubeda”. I-sipopula
 already good already DUAL.INCL.FUT-be.friend 3.-bend.down
 that’s fine, already we are friends”. She bends down

(145)

i-sili i-vavai o tapwa-la i-vokwa. I-seli
 3.-sit.down 3.-tap LOC side-her 3.-finish 3.-put.down
 she sits down he pats at her side it is finished. She puts down

ma-kai-na nepa kai-tabwabogwa e-tokeva e-luki
 DEM-CP.long-DEM bush.knife CP.long-very.big 3.-stand.up 3.-tell
 this very long bush-knife, she stands up and tells

tau: “Ku-la tama-gu o lasusuna ku-gisi
 man 2.-go father-my LOC behind.house 2.-see
 the boy: “Go behind my father’s house, you see there

ma-na-na horsa, ku-yosi ku-meya”. E e-kebiga
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM horse 2.-take 2.-bring and 3.-say
 this horse, take it and bring it”. And he says

m-to-na *tau*: “O *bogwa bwena*”. *I-lola*
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man oh already good 3.-walk
 this boy: “Oh, that’s fine”. He walks

(150)

m-to-na *tau* *i-li-lola-wala* *i-va* *ma-na-na*
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-REDUP-walk-only 3.-go.to DEM-CP.female-DEM
 this boy he just walks and walks and goes to this

vivila tama-la *o* *lasusuna* *i-veki* *horsa* *e-tota*
 girl father-her LOC behind.house 3.-meet horse 3.-stand
 girl’s father to the area behind his house and he meets a horse that is standing there

na-tala *i-yosi*. *I-sila* *i-sakauvali* *i-meya*.
 CP.female-one 3.-take 3.-sit.on 3.-ride 3.-bring
 one horse and he takes it. He mounts it he rides away and he brings it (to her).

I-meya-wa *i-vanapula-si* *e-vavagiga* *ma-na-na* *vivila*
 3.-bring-only 3.-appear-PL 3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM girl
 He just brings it they appear and she says this girl

e-sisu: “A *sena sula* *kwe-veaka*. *Ma-na-na* *horsa*
 3.-be ah very mistake CP.thing-big DEM-CP.female-DEM horse
 who is there: “Ah what a big mistake. This horse

(155)

sena na-bwayata *na-pubwayata-wa* *ma-na-na*.
 very CP.animal-lame CP.animal-very.lame-only DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 is very lame, so very very lame this one.

E taga bogwa *o-ku-meya* *bogwa bwena*,
 yes but already binding.vowel-2.-bring already good
 Yes, but just bring it, it’s fine,

bogwa bata-lau”. *E* *i-sipela* *m-to-na* *tau*
 already DUAL.INCL-FUT-take and 3.-jump DEM-CP.male-DEM man
 already we will take it away”. And she jumps (on its back), this boy

i-sila *ma-na-na* *mauna* *i-topela* *i-tola*
 3.-sit DEM-CP.animal-DEM animal 3.-jump 3.-stand
 he sits there, and this animal (the bush-fowl) it jumps and it stands there

i-sakaula-si. *I-sakaula-si-wa* *e-luki-ga* *tau* *e-kebiga*: “*Ka*
 3.-run-PL 3.-run-only 3.-tell-EMPH man 3.-say well
 and they run away. They just run away and she tells the boy she says: “Well

(160)

bita-si-sakaula *e* *ba-lumkwali-ga* *tama-gu* *avetuta*
 DUAL.INCL.FUT-REDUP-run and 1.FUT-feel-EMPH father-my when
 one will run and I will really feel it when my father

bi-ma. Ma-ke-na kai bata-veki wala
 3.FUT-come DEM-CP.wooden-DEM tree DUAL.INCL.FUT-go.to just
 will come. To this tree we will go,

ke-kukupi e ponina-tala pwanana o bwadaga e-sisu.
 CP.wooden-short yes CP.hole-one hole LOC branch 3.-be
 to this small one, yes, there is a hole in a branch.

E buku-you bu-kula ku-siva olumolela". E-livala
 and 2.FUT-fly 2.-go 2.-be inside 3.-say
 And you jump as if you fly you go you stay inside". He says

m-to-na tau: "O bogwa bwena". E i-sakaula-si
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man oh already good and 3.-run-PL
 this boy: "Oh, that's fine". And they run

(165)

i-sakaula-si-wa i-sivila-wa latu-la i-sivila-wa
 3.-run-PL-only 3.-turn.round-only child-his 3.-turn.round-only
 they just run and she turns around his daughter, she just turns around

mi-na-na vivila, e e-sukwani tama-la vovo-la e-luki:
 DEM-CP.female-DEM girl and 3.-smell father-her body-his 3.-tell
 this girl and she smell's her father's body, she tells him:

"O so, *tama-gu bogwa e-ma bi-kapituni kayo-da*".
 oh friend father-my already 3.-come 3.FUT-cut throat-our
 "Oh my friend, my father is already coming he will cut our throats".

E e-sakaula-si e-vake-si ma-ke-na kai
 And 3.-run-PL 3.-go.to-PL DEM-CP.wooden-DEM tree
 And they run they go to this tree

Ke-kukupi. I... i-toli-si-wa i-pela m-to-na tau
 CP.wooden-short 3.- 3.-halt-PL-just 3.-jump DEM-CP.male-DEM man
 the short one. They...they just halt there he jumps this boy

(170)

i-la o pwanana ma-ponina-na i-suvi i-la i-kanava.
 3.-go LOC hole DEM-CP.hole-DEM 3.-enter 3.-go 3.-lie.down
 he goes to this hole he goes inside he goes and lies down there.

Ma-na-na mauna i-you-wa i-va i-tova o
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM animal 3.-fly-only 3.-go.to 3.stand LOC
 This animal (the bush-fowl) just flies it goes there it sits on

bwadaga e-ma-ga. E-ma-ga m-to-na tau,
 branch 3.-come-EMPH 3.-come-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM man
 a branch and he comes indeed. He comes indeed this man,

e, m-to-na Dokonikani i-sakaula i-toli-wa e-kebiga:
 yes DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani 3.-run 3.-stand-only 3.-say
 yes this Dokonikani he runs he stops and says:

“Avaka beya o-ku-vagi?” “Hm”, e-vavagiga “a tama-gu,
 What here binding.vowel-2.-do hm 3.-say ah father-my
 What do you do here?” “Hm”, she says, “ah my father

(175)

m-to-na tau sena to-tiriki, e-sakaula e-va
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man very CP.maly-tricky 3.-run 3.-go.to
 this boy is so tricky, he runs he goes here

e-va e-lau-wa. La-sisakaula la-somata la-kota-kota.
 3.-go.to 3.run.off-only 1.PAST-run 1.PAST-tired 1.PAST-arrived-REDUP
 he goes there he runs away. I ran I was tired I arrived here.

La-kota iga a-vevasi”. E m-to-na Dokonikani
 1.PAST arrive then 1.rest and DEM-CP.male-DEM Dokonikani
 I arrived and now I take a rest”. And this Dokonikani

e-tobu-si i-mwa, i-vavagiga ma-na-na vivila
 3.-jump.down-PL 3.-come 3.-do DEM-CP.female-DEM girls
 they jump down (from their horses) he comes and she does (the same) this girl

i-tobusi i-mwa i-kanu... i-bigatona-si so-la
 3.-jump.down-PL 3.-come 3.-lie... 3.-talk-PL friend.his
 she jumps down she comes she lie... they talk he and

(180)

latu-la. I-kanukwenu-go olumolela pwanana ma-ponina-na
 child-his 3.-lie-EMPH inside hole DEM-CP.hole-DEM
 his daughter. He (who) lies inside this hole

bogwa e-okwa i-yuvetaula. I-yuvetaula-wa i-ma
 already 3.finish 3.-jump 3.-jump-only 3.-come
 already this is finished he jumps (out onto the horse) He just jumps on it he comes

i-meki ma-na-na ma-na-na vivila.
 3.-come.to DEM-CP.female-DEM DEM-CP.female-DEM girl
 he comes to this this girl.

Tama-la e-sikela ma-na-na horsa, e-meya
 Father-her 3.-sit.on DEM-CP.animal-DEM horse 3.-bring
 Her father rode this horse, he brought

na-sisakaula. I-yuvataula i-ma i-sila. I-vavagiga
 CP.animal-fast.running 3.-jump 3.-come 3.-sit 3.-do
 the fast running horse. He jumps on it he comes he rides it. She does the following

(185)

vivila, e-kanta'ila i-ma i-sila-wa i-sakavali-si ma-na-na
 girl 3.-turn.round 3.-come 3.-ride-only 3.-run.with DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 the girl, she turns around she comes she mounts the horse and they run away with

vivila tama-la la horsa i-sakavali-si i-la'u-si I-sila-ga
 girl father-her his horse 3.-run-with 3.-take.away 3.-ride-EMPH
 the girl's father's horse, they run away they take it away. He rides indeed

na-pubwayata ma-na-na horsa. I-si-sakaula
 CP.animal-very.lame DEM-CP.animal-DEM horse 3.-REDUP-run
 this very lame horse. It runs

i-va i-bubetutu-wa galawa(la) i-ke'ita. I-ke'ita
 3.-go.to 3.-fall.behind-only nothing 3.-return 3.-return
 it goes there it just falls behind – no way – he goes back. He goes back

i-ma i-la o la bwala. Bogwa e-kipatu-si
 3.-come 3.-go LOC his house already 3.-escape-PL
 he comes he goes into his house. Already they have escaped (him)

(190)

so-la vivila. I-lo-si i-loke-si m-to-na tau
 friend-his girl 3.-go-PL 3.-go.arrive DEM-CP.male-DEM man
 he with the girl. They go they go and come to the boy's

tama-la. E i-lo-si i-sive-si I-simwe-si
 father-his Yes 3.-go-PL 3.-stay-PL 3.-stay-PL
 father. Yes they go and stay there. They stay there

i-sigaga-si.

3.-stay.permanently-PL
 they stay there permanently.

E ma-pa-na stori kena ma-na-kwa "advice"
 Yes DEM-CP.part-DEM story or DEM-DEM-CP.thing advice
 Yes, this is the story or this is the advice

pela gugwadi, gugwadi. Tuta tokunabogwa m-to-si-na
 for children children time very.old DEM-CP.human-PL-DEM
 for the children the children. In times of old these

(195)

tommwaya si megwa sena kakata, sena pe'ula.
 ancestors their magic very powerful very strong.
 ancestors' magic was very powerful, very strong.

Avetuta bi-migai-si yama-si bi-vake-si te-tala
 When 3.FUT-whisper-PL hand-their 3.FUT-go.to-PL CP.human-one
 When they whispered magic their hands go to a

gwadi to-kekita kena na-tala vivila bi-lola
 child CP.human-small or CP.female-one girl 3.FUT-walk
 little child or a girl who may walk

alumwaleta o kwadeva. bi-kivisi-si mata-la. Bi-ma
 herself LOC beach 3. rub-PL eye-he 3.FUT-come
 just by herself on the beach they may rub her eye. She will come

i-bogi bi-masisi bi-kariga. E lagela, besatuta
 3.-be.night 3.FUT-sleep 3.FUT-die and today now
 night falls she will sleep and she will die. And today, now

(200)

dimdim vavagi makala acid bi-kau-si bi-vagi-si
 white.people thing like acid 3.FUT-take-PL 3.FUT-make-PL.
 things of the white people like acid, they take them and make black magic.

Kena usi kena penapel i-vagi-si, pikekita
 or banana or pineapple 3.-make-PL bit
 Or bananas or pineapples they make it (with them)

bi-kogiyaki ma-na-kwa usi bi-vake-si gugwadi
 3.FUT-contaminate DEM-DEM-CP.thing banana 3.FUT-go.to-PL children
 they will contaminate this banana they will go to children

e-lilola-si o kwadeva bi-kau-si-wa bi-sake-si: "Am
 3.-walk-PL LOC beach 3.FUT-take-PL-only 3.FUT-give-PL your
 who walk on the beach, they will just take them they will give it to them: "Your

usi". I-koma i-ma e-bogi bi-kariga E
 banana 3.-eat 3.-come 3.-be.night 3.FUT-die and
 banana". He will eat it he will come night falls and he will die. And

(205)

ma-na-kweni, ma-pa-na stori pela gugwadi asi
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing DEM-CP.part-DEM story for children their
 this, this story is for the children (its) their

guguya. E yegu latu-gu a-ivigaki ma-pa-na
 advice and I child-my 1.-make DEM-CP.part-DEM
 advice. And I for my daughter I made up this

stori ala guguya. Bogwa me-sinau.
 story her advice already 3.HABIT-finish
 story it's her advice. Already it is finished.

Pulia starts the tale by pointing out that the story he will tell is comparable to a *kukwanebu*, but that it actually represents another text-category which the Trobrianders call "advice for children". After this announcement of the genre he

introduces a rich man who owns all the things that characterize a Trobriander as being not only a wealthy but also an influential man of high status and esteem. Then he introduces this rich man's son, the actual protagonist of the story. The boy ponders about his father's wealth and makes up his mind to leave his father and roam the country. No sooner said than done he takes his bag and walks away.

After a while he comes to a tree, night has fallen and he lies down and sleeps at the roots of this tree. In the morning just before he wakes up he hears a voice which reminds him that it is taboo for him to walk alone in the bush, to sleep in a stranger's house and to share a meal with a stranger. The boy's heart sinks into his boots – and then he wakes up and walks on.

After a while he sees a fowl in the bush, he remembers the admonitions of the voice he heard in his sleep, takes the bush-fowl and holds it in his arms. Now he is no longer alone. He walks with the fowl until midnight and then they lie down and sleep. At dawn a big snake comes to their place and sees the sleeping boy. It wants to bite him and rushes towards the place where he is sleeping. The boy wakes up and realizes the danger. But the bush-fowl comes to his help, fights with the snake and kills it. The little boy thanks his companion for having saved his life and they continue their wanderings until noon. Then they decide to have a nap at the side of the path.

While they are sleeping there, a man-eating Dokonikani and his little brothers smell the odor of the little boy. The ogre tells his brothers to go to the boy, to carefully take him up and bring him to their place where they will kill and eat him. The Dokonikani starts to boil water in a big pot while his brothers carefully go into the bush to kidnap the little boy. When they take him up, the bush-fowl flaps its wings, the boy wakes up and realizes the danger in which he finds himself. The ogre's brothers bring him and the bush-fowl to their village.

In the village the Dokonikani greets the boy, invites him to take a rest at his place, asks his little brothers to prepare some food and invites the boy and the bush-fowl to share the meal with him and his brothers. The boy takes some food and wants to eat it, but the fowl starts to crow, warning the boy not to eat anything. The boy inspects the food and when the ogre does not pay attention to what he is doing, he throws it away. The ogre's cat has noticed that, it eats the food and dies on the spot. The Dokonikani had poisoned the food. In the evening the Dokonikani and his brothers prepare a place for the boy and the fowl where they can sleep. The place the Dokonikani offers the boy and his companion is a veranda of a house which has a big hole. They had sharpened bamboo sticks, put them under the hole of the veranda and covered the hole with a sleeping mat. When the boy prepares himself to lie down on the mat, the bush-fowl flaps its wings again. The boy gets alarmed, lifts the sleeping mat and sees the sticks. They forget about this place and the sleeping mat and lie down somewhere else to sleep.

The next morning the boy and the fowl wake up and walk away without having breakfast. After a while they come to a tree, sit down and rest there. In the meantime the Dokonikani asks his elder daughter to follow the boy and kill him by cutting his throat. He and his brothers will then come, take him to their village and eat him. The ogre's daughter agrees to do this, takes a big bush-knife, goes into the bush and looks for the boy. The boy notices her and stands up so that the girl can see him. She comes to him and immediately falls in love with him because he is so beautiful. They make friends with each other, sit down together and the boy gently pats the girl's side. The ogre's elder daughter tells her new friend what her father had asked her to do with him and that she could not kill him because she loves him and wants to be his friend. Then she goes back to her father and tells him that she could not catch the boy because of his strong magical powers.

The Dokonikani does not blame her and now asks his younger daughter to kill the boy. She agrees to look for the boy and to kill him, takes the big bush-knife and walks away into the bush. After a while she sees him and falls in love with him, too. The girl – who herself is very beautiful – goes to the boy and declares him her love. They make friends with each other, sit down together and the boy gently pats the girl's side.

She puts down her bush-knife and tells the boy to go behind her father's house, steal his horse and come back to her.³⁰ The boy does this, but when he comes back to the girl with the horse she realizes that he took the wrong horse – the lame one. Nevertheless, she jumps on the horse's back behind the boy and so does the bush-fowl and the three of them ride away. The girl tells the boy that she will feel when her father will chase them and that he should ride to a specific small tree with a hole in a branch. When they will have arrived there he should jump into this hole and hide there. The boy agrees and they ride towards this tree. Suddenly the girl smells her father's bodily odor and tells the boy to ride faster because the Dokonikani will kill them both if he finds them together. They just made it to reach the tree. The boy jumps into the hole in the branch and the bush-fowl flies into the tree and hides on a branch. Then the Dokonikani arrives and asks his daughter what she is doing here. She tells him that the boy is so tricky that he escaped her and that she needs a rest now after chasing him for such a long time. The ogre jumps down from his horse and so does his daughter and they talk with each other. At this moment the boy jumps out of the tree onto the back of the ogre's fast horse, rides towards the girl who quickly mounts the horse, too and they ride away. The Dokonikani mounts the lame horse, but he soon realizes that this horse is not fast enough to catch the boy and his daughter and rides back home.

30. Note that there are no horses in Milne Bay Province.

Having escaped the ogre, the boy and the girl ride on, come to the house of the boy's father and stay there.

Pulia ends this story with one of the two ritualized formulae that mark the end of a tale:

“they stay there, they stay there forever”.

Then he comments again on the genre “advice for children” and points out that in former times people were afraid that black magicians would kill their children and that he made up this story for his daughter to remind her not to break the taboos the protagonist of the story broke. After this comment he produces the other ritualized formula that marks the end of a tale “already it is finished”. Table 19 summarizes the structure of Pulia's “Advice for children”.

Table 19. The structure of Pulia's “Advice for children”

	lines
Announcement of the genre	1–3
Introduction of the protagonist's father and of the protagonist himself, the rich father's little son	3–5
<i>Episode 1 The little boy ponders about his wealthy father, decides to leave him and to roam the country</i>	5–10
<i>Episode 2 The boy's first day and night in the bush</i>	11–24
Subevent 1 The boy walks away, comes to a tree where he lies down to sleep	11–13
Subevent 2 At dawn while he is still sleeping he hears a voice that reminds him of the three taboos:	14–24
– Don't walk alone in the bush!	
– Don't sleep in a stranger's house!	
– Don't share a meal with a stranger!	
<i>Episode 3 The boy meets a bush-fowl which saves him from an attacking snake</i>	24–48
Subevent 1 The boy gets up, walks away, meets a bush-fowl, and takes it in his arms. He now has a companion with which he walks on until midnight. Then they lie down and sleep.	22–34
Subevent 2 At dawn a big snake sees the boy and wants to bite him, but the bush-fowl wakes him up, fights with the snake and kills it.	34–44
Subevent 3 The boy thanks his life-saver, they walk on until noon, lie down and sleep at the side of the path.	45–48
<i>Episode 4 The boy is kidnapped by the Dokonikani and his brothers</i>	48–68
Subevent 1 A Dokonikani smells the odor of the sleeping boy and instructs his little brothers to carefully take him up and bring him to their place to kill and eat him. In the meantime he will boil water in a big pot (to cook him).	48–57
Subevent 2 The ogre's younger brothers take up the sleeping boy, the bush-fowl wakes him up, but the ogres bring him to their village.	57–68

Table 19. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 5</i>	<i>The boy and the bush-fowl in the Dokonikani's village</i>	68–102
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani greets the boy, invites him to take a rest, asks his brothers to prepare food and invites his guests to share the meal with him and his brothers.	68–76
Subevent 2	The boy wants to eat something, but the bush-fowl warns him not to do this. When the Dokonikani does not pay attention, he throws it into the bush, where the Dokonikani's cat finds it, eats it and dies because it was poisoned.	76–85
Subevent 3	Night falls and the Dokonikani offer the boy and the fowl a place to sleep. Below a sleeping mat on the veranda of a house the Dokonikani put sharpened bamboo sticks. When the boy prepares to lie down the bush-fowl warns him again; he lifts the mat, sees the sticks and they lie down on the ground and sleep there.	85–102
<i>Episode 6</i>	<i>The Dokonikani asks his firstborn daughter to kill the boy</i>	102–130
Subevent 1	The boy and his companion wake up, walk away and sit down at the trunk of a tree.	102–105
Subevent 2	The Dokonikani asks his elder daughter to go and kill the boy so that he can eat him.	105–110
Subevent 3	His daughter agrees, takes a bush-knife, looks for the boy and finds him.	110–115
Subevent 4	She falls in love with him, they make friends with each other and sit down. The boy caresses her and she tells him what her father had asked her to do but that she cannot kill him because she has fallen in love with him.	115–125
Subevent 5	The girl leaves the boy, goes home and tells her father that the boy has such a strong magic that she could not catch him.	125–130
<i>Episode 7</i>	<i>The Dokonikani asks his younger daughter to kill the boy</i>	130–145
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani asks his younger daughter to go and cut the boy's throat with his bush-knife, his daughter agrees, takes the knife and looks for the boy.	130–137
Subevent 2	She finds the boy, falls in love with him, they make friends with each other, sit down and the boy caresses her.	137–145
<i>Episode 8</i>	<i>The boy flees with the Dokonikani's younger daughter</i>	145–189
Subevent 1	The girl tells the boy to get one of her father's horses.	145–148
Subevent 2	The boy gets the horse, but the girl realizes that he brought the lame one.	148–157
Subevent 3	The girl mounts the horse and they ride to a tree with a hole; the girl tells the boy that she will smell her father if he is following them and tells him to jump into the hole of the tree and stay there.	157–164
Subevent 4	The girl smells her father, they reach the tree and the boy jumps into it while the bush-fowl flies to a branch to sit on it.	164–172

Table 19. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani comes to his daughter and asks her what she is doing there. She tells him that the tricky boy has run away and that she needs a rest now.	172–177
Subevent 6	The Dokonikani and his daughter dismount their horses and talk together. The boy jumps out of the tree onto the fast horse's back, rides towards the girl, she mounts the horse and they ride away.	177–186
Subevent 7	The Dokonikani mounts the lame horse and tries to follow them, realizes that the horse is not fast enough and rides back home.	186–189
<i>Episode 9</i>	<i>The boy and the girl have escaped the ogre and he takes her to his father's place where they stay</i>	189–191
	Ritualized formula to mark the end of a tale	191–192
	Pulia's comment on the genre, his reference to the fact that that people were afraid that black magicians would kill their children, and his explanation that he made up this story for his daughter to remind her not to break the taboos which the boy broke.	193–207
	Ritualized formula that marks the end of a speech	207

This story consists of 9 episodes, one of which reports 7 subevents. Episode 7 repeats the contents of the subevents of the preceding episode in a somewhat condensed form. The story is not specifically located; however, the description of the protagonist's wealthy father and his possessions sketches the image of the ideal Trobriand man of high status with prestige and political influence documented by his tangible assets. Note that this tale – which Pulia made up for his daughter – topicalizes the bond between a father and his son! This seems to reflect indications that the Trobriand society is slowly but gradually changing from a matrilineal to a patrilineal society (see Senft 2010c: 124f.).

After the narrator's announcement of the genre and the introduction of the protagonist and his father, the story proper starts with line 5. Pulia uses the following narrative means (sometimes in combination) to structure his tale:

- serial verb constructions (lines 5, 125, 137),
- direct speech (lines 6, 110, 164),
- tail-head linkage (lines 10/11, 34, 76, 102, 115, 137, 172),
- change of time (lines 14, 24, 34, 85, 102),
- change of character (lines 45, 48, 105, 110, 125, 130, 148, 157, 177, 186),
- change of place (57, 68, 125, 164, 189) and
- the explicit marking of the end of a subevent (line 145).

Pulia produces some verbs with the marker for future and/or irrealis, however, most verbs in this story do not have any TAM markers.

The use of many serial verb constructions and the use of direct speech by different speakers give the story its specific dynamics. It elaborates on the three taboos the boy hears in his sleep and illustrates with awesome examples why these taboos should not be ignored. The attack of the snake, the kidnapping by the ogres, the poisoned food, the trap with the hole and the spears below the sleeping mat, the attempts by the ogre's daughters to cut the protagonist's throat and the general unscrupulousness of the Dokonikani, his little brothers and his daughters who are all ready to kill stoke fundamental fears in the targetted audience – in this case the narrator's little daughter (and her friends). However, these feelings of fear are always elegantly relieved by the happy endings of these dangerous and threatening situations in which the protagonist of this story finds himself. Pulia proves to be an excellent narrator and his self-made story reveals that he is very familiar with all the ingredients a tale needs to be a good one (but note that he, too, makes a mistake in line 179 and that he produces the hesitation phenomenon “*amyaga*” in lines 56 and 107).

Pulia's tale and his comments after he had told it illustrate once more how deeply rooted the Trobrianders' fears of black magic are. Pulia first refers to times of old in which the power of the black magicians was very strong – but his reference to “things of the white people” and his unclear use of the loan word “acid (LSD?)” reveal that even in the second part of the 1990s the Trobrianders are still afraid of black magicians (*bwagau*) and “flying witches” (*mulukwausi*) who have the evil reputation to especially kill unguarded children (see Malinowski 1922: 73ff; 237ff).

3.2.5 *Taidyeli tells the “Kwanebuyee Magibweli” – The “Tale of Magibweli”*

On the 12th of June 1996, just a week after Pulia had told me his “advice for children”, my neighbour and old friend Taidyeli came to my house and indicated that he wanted to tell me a tale, too. While I prepared my video- and tape-recorder, a relatively big crowd of children had gathered in my house and on my veranda. When I was ready, he told this audience the “Tale of Magibweli”:

Kwanebuyee Magibweli. E i-sisu i-valulu latu-la
 tale-EMPH Magibweli yes 3.-be 3.-give.birth child-her

The story of (Once upon a time there was) Magibweli. Yes, she lives she gives birth to her child

elitomwaya amyaga Tobumyou. Omyuva e-siva.

first.born whats.the.name Tobumyou Omyuva 3.-stay

the first born child, what's her name, Tobumyou. In Omyuva she stays.

E-sisu omdulavalu, e i-vai-ga i-ma Kaduwaga,
 3.-be at.village.center and 3.-marry-EMPH 3.-come Kaduwaga

She lives at the village center and she marries indeed she comes to Kaduwaga,

e i-vai latu-la guyau. E Kaduwaga e-sisu i-valulu.
 yes 3-marry child-his chief and Kaduwaga 3.-be 3.-give.birth
 yes she marries the chief's son. And in Kaduwaga she is and she gives birth (to a child).

(5)

I-valulu tuvela, amyaga, Karavata, e. Magibweli, e,
 3.-give.birth again what's.the.name, Karavata yes. Magibweli yes
 She gives birth again to, what's her name, Karavata, yes. Magibweli, yes,

e-vilulu Karavata numba tu. E e-sisu i-vai,
 3.-give.birth Karavata number two yes 3.-be 3.marry
 she gives birth to Karavata, her second child. Yes, she is there she marries

Karavata, latu-la Magibweli. E i-vai Kaduwaga e
 Karavata child-her Magibweli yes 3.-marry Kaduwaga and
 Karavata, Magibweli's daughter. Yes she marries (someone) in Kaduwaga and

i-susu-uu. Bogwa e Karavata i-valulu latu-la
 3.-be-EMPH already yes Karavata 3.-give.birth child-her
 she lives there for a long time. Already, yes, Karavata gives birth to her son

yaga-la Kwapa. Yaga-la Kwapa – e e-sisu-si
 name-his Kwapa name-his Kwapa. yes 3.-be-PL
 his name is Kwapa. His name is Kwapa – yes they live there

(10)

bogwa e-lukwe-si la vewai e-kebiga-si:
 already 3.-tell-PL his brothers.in.law 3.-say-PL
 already they tell him his brothers-in-law they say:

“Bata-lo-si mna va koya. Ta-kayabiya-si e
 1.INCL.FUT-go-PL hm DIR mountains 1.INCL-get.sago-PL and
 “We will go, hm, to the mountains. We get sago and

ta-kabuva-si e bata-ke'ita-si”. E e-yam
 1.INCL-get.betelnuts-PL and 1.INCL.FUT-return-PL and 3.-be.day
 we get betelnuts and then we will come back”. And day breaks

bi-katubayasa-si e-yam kwe-yu-vela yam, e i-keva-si
 3.FUT-prepare-PL 3.-be.day CP.thing-two-again day and 3.-sail-PL
 they prepare (for the trip), day breaks, another day again, and they sail

i-lo-si va koya. I-lo-si va koya i-kabuva-si
 3.-go-PL DIR mountain 3.-go-PL DIR mountain 3.-get.betel-PL
 they go to the mountains. They go to the mountains they get betelnuts

(15)

i-kayabia-si i-vokwa. E e-yam i-tola-si i-me-si o
 3.-get.sago-PL 3.-finish and 3.-be.day 3.get.up-PL 3.-come-PL LOC
 they get sago, it is finished. And day breaks, they get up they come to

kwadeva i-lukwe-si yavasi: "Ku-la (ku)-kwa(u) sopi".
 beach 3.-tell-PL brother.in.law 2.-go 2.-get water
 the beach and they tell him his brothers-in-law: "Go and fetch fresh water".

E i-komwenagua yavasi i-luki: "M-to-na Kwapa
 And 3.-walk.up brother.in.law 3.-say DEM-CP.male-DEM Kwapa
 And he walks up, and his brother-in-law says: "This Kwapa

i-la e-ka(u) sopi e deli ala kauya i-lau olopola
 3.-go 3.-get water and with his basket 3.-take.away inside
 he goes he fetches water and with his basket he takes it away, it is inside of it
sopi". E i-ka(u) sopi, i-ginola-si-ga la vewai waga
 water and 3.-get water 3.-set.sail-PL-EMPH his brothers.in.law canoe
 the water". And he fetches water, they set sail, his brothers-in-law, the canoe

(20)

i-keva-si i-me-si Kaduwaga. I-ka(u) sopi-ga, i-vokwa,
 3.-sail-PL 3.-come-PL Kaduwaga 3.-get water-EMPH 3.-finish
 they sail it they come to Kaduwaga. He fetches water, indeed, it is finished,

i-vabusi i-mweki – yavala – bogwa e-kava-si
 3.-go.down 3.-come.to brother.in.law already 3.-sail-PL
 he goes down he comes to this place – the brothers-in-law – they already sailed
 away

e-tamwau-si. E i-sisu i-valam. I-valam i-vokwa e
 3.-disappear-PL and 3.-be 3.-cry 3.-cry 3.-finish and
 they disappeared. And he is there and cries. He cries it is over and

bogwa i-luki ina-la makala e-kebiga: "Avetuta
 already 3.-say mother-his like 3.-speak when
 already she said his mother, like this she spoke: "When

buku-lo-si deli yavamwa va koya e buku-me-si
 2.FUT-go-PL with your.brother.in.law DIR mountain and 2.FUT-com-PL
 you will go with your brothers-in-law to the mountains and you will come there

(25)

e bi-... bu-kula ku-kwa(u) sopi e bi-me-si-ga. E
 and 3.FUT- 2.FUT-go 2.-get water yes 3.FUT-come-PL-EMPH and
 and he will... you will go and get water, yes, then they will come (back). And

am kauya ma-ta-na gala buku-lumle'i o pusiga-m
 your basket DEM-CP.basket-DEM not 2.FUT-forget LOC armpit-yours
 this basket of yours, do not forget it, in your armpit

bi-kanukwenu". E-ma olopo... o o binabina
 3.FUT-lie 3.-come insi... LOC LOC small.stones
 it will lie there". He comes insi... to to where the small stones (on the beach) are

e-sisu i-valam. Bogwa, e i-luvai ina-la e-luki.
 3.-be 3.-cry well and 3.-remember mother-his 3.-say
 he is there and cries. Well, and he remembers what his mother said.

E i-ma i-kau olumolela ala kauya la waga,
 and 3.-come 3.-take inside his basket his canoe
 And he comes and takes out of the inside of his basket his canoe,

(30)

la waga Kwetaola E i-siva i-sai
 his canoe Kwetaola-tree and 3.-be 3.-put.together
 his canoe named “Kwetaola-tree”. And he is there he puts it together

ma-ke-na waga. E e-kebiga e-kebiga: “Sasai
 DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM canoe and 3.-say 3.-say join
 this canoe. And he says, he says: “Join

guna-waga sasai guna-waga sasai guna-lamina sasai guna-waga –
 my.canoe join my-canoe join my-outrigger join my-canoe
 my canoe, join my canoe. join my outrigger, join my canoe –

ke-tarokwa wagela Kwapa olopola Kaduwaga”.
 CP.WOODEN-ONE canoe Kwapa inside Kaduwaga
 the one (and only) canoe (with) Kwapa inside (to) Kaduwaga”.

I-sipela i-sila i-you keva. I-you keva-waaa
 e.-jump.in 3.-sit.down 3.-fly above 3.-fly above-EMPH
 He jumps in he sits down he flies over the sea. He flies over the sea

(35)

i-va Kaduwaga i-kota. I-veki ina-la. “Bogwa
 3.-go.to Kaduwaga 3.-arrive 3.-go.to mother-his already
 he goes to Kaduwaga he arrives there. He goes to his mother. “You already

o-ku-me-si deli yavamwa?” “A gala,
 binding.vowel-2.-come-PL with your.brothers.in.law ah no
 came with your brothers-in-law?” “Ah no,

i-ligeve-gu-si”. “E avaka beya o-ku-lukwe-gu?”
 3.-leave.behind-me-PL and what this binding.vowel-2.-tell-me
 they left me behind”. “And what is this what you tell me?”

“E la-ma la-ligeva-ga o bwalita i-sakaula-si”.
 Yes 1.past-come 1.PAST-leave.behind-EMPH LOC sea 3.-run-PL
 “Yes, I came I left them behind, they are still sailing on the sea”.

“O ku-la va bwala”. E e-kota-si-ga yavala
 oh 2.-go DIR house and 3.-arrive-PL-EMPH his.brothers.in.law
 “Oh, go to the house”. And they arrive indeed, his brothers-in-law

(40)

o gigiveta Kaduwaga. E-kebiga-si: "Kwapa – eseki-wa –
 LOC mud Kaduwaga 3.-say-PL Kwapa who.knows-only
 in the mud of Kaduwaga. They say: "As to Kwapa – who knows (what happened) –
ka-weye-si-wa e-me-si koyakoya bogwa
 1.PL.EXCL-hit-PL-only 3.-come-PL people.from.mountains already
 they attacked (us) they came the people from the mountains and already
e-katamati-si". E-vavagi-ga Karavata: "Kwapa va bwala e-sisu".
 3.-kill-PL 3.-say-EMPH Karavata Kwapa DIR house 3.-be
 they killed him". And Karavata says, indeed: "Kwapa is in the house".

E e-simwe-si I-kana-tala-si i-kana-yu-si i-kana-tolu-si
 And 3.-stay-PL 3.-sleep-one-PL 3.-sleep-two-PL 3.-sleep-three-PL
 And they stay. They sleep one night, they sleep two nights, they sleep three nights,
e-yam i-lukwe-si yauvasi e-ke'ita-vau-si va
 3.-be.day 3.-tell-PL brothers.in.law 3.-return-again-PL DIR
 day breaks and they tell him the brothers-in-law that they will return to

(45)

koya, i-lo-si va koya e i-kabuva-si
 mountain 3.-go-PL DIR mountain and 3.-get.betelnut-PL
 the mountains again, that they will go to the mountains and get betelnuts
i-kayabiya-si. I-vokwa i-ke'ita-vau-si i-tola-si. I-to-to-la-si
 3.-get.sago-PL 3.finish 3.-return-again-PL 3.-stake-PL 3.-REDUP-stake-PL
 and sago. It is finished, they return again (to the mountains) they stake (the canoe
 out into the sea). They stake (the canoe out into the sea)

i-me-si. I-lumlei ala kauya i-katupwani-si yauvala.
 3.-come-PL 3.-forget his basket 3.-hide-PL his.brothers.in.law
 they come (to the mountains). He forgot his basket, they hid it his brothers-in-
 law.

I-katupwani-si yauvala i-la o gebobwa
 3.-hide-PL his.brothers.in.law 3.-go LOC cargo.container.on.canoe
 They hid it his brothers-in-law it goes into the cargo-container on the canoe

i-s... e-kanava ma-ta-na kauya. E i-komwenagua-ga
 3.- 3.-lie DEM-CP.basket-DEM basket and 3.-walk.up-EMPH
 it... it lies there this basket. And he walks up again

(50)

i-la i-ka(u) sopi deli tuyabu ma-ya-we-na. E
 3.-go 3.-get water with nut-container DEM-CP.thin-there-DEM yes
 he goes he fetches water with that nut container there. Yes

i-la ika(u) sopi i-vokwa i-vabusi i-mweki, bogwa
 3.-go 3.-take water 3.finish 3.-go.down 3.-come.to already
 he goes he fetches water it is finished, he goes down he comes to that place, already
e-keva-si e-me-si I-siva i-valam. I-valam i-vokwa taga
 3.-sail-PL 3.-come-PL 3.stay 3.cry 3.-cry 3.-finish but
 they sailed away they come (to Kaduwaga). He stays there he cries. He cries it is
 finished, but of course

e-luki ina-la e-kebiga: "Avetuta bu-lulumlei am kauya
 3.say mother-his 3.-speak when 2.FUT-forget your basket
 she said his mother she spoke (like this): "When you will forget your basket,

bi-me-si e buku-mweki kwe-okwa, e,
 3.FUT-come-PL and 2.FUT-come.straight.to CP.thing-empty yes
 (and) they will come (to Kaduwaga), and you come straight back to the place and
 it is empty, yes,

(55)

ku-luluvai ina-m. Omdulavalu e-sisu yaga-la Tobumyou.
 2.-remember aunt-your in.village.center 3.-be name-her Tobumyou
 remember your aunt. In the center of the village she lives and her name is Tobumyou.

E buku-vayali buku-loki". I-siyeva ke-tala
 and 2.FUT-walk.on.beach 2.FUT-go.to 3.-stay.with CP.wooden-one
 And you will walk on the beach you will go to her". He has a

keyala e ya-tala sopi". E i-valam e-vokwa i-vabusi
 spear and CP.thin water and 3.-cry 3.-finish 3.-go.down
 spear and a thin water-container. And he cries it is finished he goes down

i-vayali. I-vabusi i-vayali, i-vayali
 3.walk.on beach 3.-go.down 3. walk.on beach 3.-walk.on beach
 he walks on the beach. He goes down he walks on the beach, he walks on the beach,

i-vayali i-vayali-ii i-bwadi na-tala
 he walks on the beach he walks on the beach-EMPH 3.-meet CP.animal-one
 he walks on the beach, he walks on the beach for some time and he meets a

(60)

yena I-veya e bi-veya i-suvi i-vayali e
 fish 3.-spear yes 3.FUT-spear 3.-enter 3-wade yes
 fish. He spears it yes, he will spear it – he goes in – he wades yes

i-sila-sila-aa. I-bwadi na-tala yena
 3.-REDUP-walk.on.reef-EMPH 3.-meet CP.animal-one fish
 he walks on the reef for some time. He meets a fish

i-ma i-veya. I-lola o kabulula valu.
 3.-come 3.-spear 3.-walk LOC point village
 he comes he spears it. He walks to the point (where) a village (is).

I-le'i mata-la i-mweki Tobumyou. E-sisu taga
 3.-throw eye-his 3.-meet Tobumyou 3.-be-PL but
 He looks out and he spots Tobumyou. She is there, but

i-doki kova-ta(la) kova e-kakata, e-bulumse'u mse'ula.
 3.-think CP.fire-one fire 3.-burn 3.-smokes smoke
 he thinks a fire is burning, it smokes its smoke.

(65)

E e-kebiga: "O kova ma-kova-we-na ba-la
 And 3.-say oh fire DEM-CP.fire-there-DEM 1.FUT-go
 And he says: "Oh, this fire over there I will go

ba-kabwasi agu yena". E i-la i-lola i-va i-kau
 1.FUT-roast my fish and 3.-go 3.-walk 3.-go-to 3.-take
 I will roast my fish". And he goes – he walks – he goes there – he takes

la ketobudi e-katububeli ma-kova-na kova, i-le'i
 his spear.shaft 3.-destroy DEM-CP.fire-DEM fire 3.-throw
 his spear shaft and destroys this fire, he throws it

o tapwala Tobumyou i-vai. E-kebiga: "E avela yokwa
 LOC side.of Tobumyou 3.-hit 3.-say Eh who you
 at the side of Tobumyou he hits her. She says: "Eh, who are you

(70)

o-ku-ve-gu!" E-vavagi: "O ina, yegu". "Avaka
 binding.vowel-2.-hit-me 3.-say oh aunt I what
 you hit me!" He says: "Oh aunt it's me". "What is

am popuya o-ku-ma?" "Gala ina, mna
 your reason binding.vowel-2-come not aunt hm
 the reason for you to come?" "Nothing, aunt, hm

amyaga deli ulu vewai laka-me-si
 what's.the.name with my brothers.in.law 1.EXCL.PAST-come-PL
 what's the name, with my brothers-in-law we came

ka-kabuva-si ka-kayabiya-si, taga e-keva-si e-lo-si.
 1.EXCL-get.betelnut-PL 1.-EXCL.get.sago-PL but 3.-sail-PL 3.-go-PL
 we got betelnuts we got sago, but they sailed away they are gone.

Agu kauya e-lau-si-wala, la-mweki gala, la-valam-wa
 my basket 3.-take-PL-only 1.PAST-search nothing 1.PAST-cry-only
 My basket they just took it away, I searched for it, nothing, I just cried

(75)

gala, la-vayali la-ma la-veya na-yu
 nothing 1.PAST-walk.on.beach 1.PAST-come 1.PAST-spear CP.animal-two
 nothing, I walked along the beach I came I speared two

agu yena la-ma ba-kabwasi. *E-kebiga*: “O *ku-nanakwa*
 my fish 1.PAST-come 1.FUT-roast 3.-say oh 2.-be.quick
 fish of mine I came and I want to roast them”. She says: “Oh be quick

(ku-)kwabwasi. E bi-ma-ga tua-m tau gaga,
 2.-roast eh 3.FUT-come-EMPH cousin-your man bad
 and roast them. Eh, he will come indeed your cousin, a bad man,

tau gaga. Kidamwa bi-mikeya-m o-ku-sisu bogwa
 man bad If 3.FUT-come.to-you binding.vowel-2.-be already
 a bad man. If he will come to you and you are there already

bi-kome-m-wa”. *I-kabwasi ala yena i-kam i-vokwa, i-la*
 3.FUT-eat-you-only 3.-roast his fish 3.-eat 3.finish 3.-go
 he will just eat you”. He roasts his fish he eats it it finished, he goes

(80)

va bwala. E mapu-la-ga: Bogwa lilu bogwa
 DIR house and reward-his-EMPH already sun already
 to the house. And his reward indeed: Already the sun already

bi-salili o supi-sopi. E avetuta e-salili odabala
 3.FUT-set LOC REDUP-water and when 3.-sets on.top.of
 it will set over the waters. And when he has set on top of

bwalita e-kebiga: “Bita-lo-sisi bita-lo-sisi” – mna
 sea 3.-say DUAL.INCL.FUT-go-hiss DUAL.INCL.FUT-go-hiss hm
 the sea he says: “One will go and hiss, one will go and hiss” – hm

ma-na-na lilu 3-kebiga: “Yakai mata-gu, yakai
 DEM-CP.SUN-DEM sun 3.-say Ouch eye-my ouch
 this one the sun he says: “Ouch my eye, ouch

mata-gu. Ba-kam bunukwa ba-kam mona ba-kuli
 eye-my 1.FUT-eat pork 1.FUT-eat mona 1.FUT-suck
 my eye. I will eat pork, I will eat mona-pudding, I will suck

(85)

tou!“ *E-evavagi-ga ina-la: “Avaka ta-kam-kwam?*
 sugarcane 3.-say-EMPH mother-his what DUAL.INCL-REDUP-eat
 sugarcane!” She says, indeed, his mother: “What do we two eat?

Tau i-lileki mona”. *E bogeokwa e-va i-veki*
 man 3.-favor mona and already.finished 3.-go.to 3.-go
 The man favors mona”. And its already finished, he goes he goes there.

Kaula bunukwa mona tou i-kam-kwam i-vokwa
 yams pork mona sugarcane 3.REDUP-eat 3.-finish
 Yams, pork, mona-pudding, sugarcane he eats it – it is finished

i-masisi. I-masisi-eee i-vaguli Tobumyou lilu.
 3.-sleep 3.-sleep-EMPH 3.-wake.up Tobumyou sun
 he sleeps. He sleeps for a long time and Tobumyou wakes up the sun. –

“Ku-mamata buku-lau kweguya asi lilu”. E i-ma
 2.-wake-up 2.FUT-bring chiefs their sun and 3.-come
 “Wake up and bring the chiefs their sun”. And she comes

(90)

i-luki-ga latu-la “Kwapa, ku-mamata, ku-mamata,
 3.-say-EMPH child-her Kwapa 2.-wake-up 2.-wake.up
 she says to her nephew: “Kwapa, wake up, wake up,

buku-yosi tua-m ala bunukwa, bi-kigabu e bi-la
 2.FUT-hold cousin-your his pig 3.FUT-burn and 3.FUT-go
 You will hold your cousin’s pig, it will be singed it will go

o kumkumla. E bi-la-ga kweguya asi lilu,
 LOC earth.oven and 3.FUT-go-EMPH chiefs their sun
 into the earth-oven. And he will go, the chiefs’ sun

bi-ligeyeva bi-ke’ita bi-ma bi-kam”. E makala
 3.FUT-leave 3.FUT-return 3.FUT-come 3.FUT-eat yes like
 he will leave he will come back he will come he will eat”. Yes like this

tutatuta Bogwa makawala bogwa e-mema lilu
 always already like already 3.-come sun
 was it all the time. Already like this already he comes the sun

(95)

e-gi-gisi i-valutu e-katupoi lilu ina-la Tobumyou
 3.REDUP-see 3.-continue 3.-ask sun mother-his Tobumyou
 he sees it he keeps on asking the sun his mother Tobumyou

e-kebiga e-kebiga: “Ina, avaka beya? Avaka beya? Bunukwa
 3.-say 3.-say mother what this what this pig
 he says he says: “Mother, what is this? What is this? A pig

e-yali-si – avaka? Avela e-’ilayala tommota?” “Gala yegu-lala,
 3.-cut.up-PL what? Who 3.-cut.up person No I-EMPH
 they cut up – what’s this? Who is the person who cuts it up?” “No, it is just me,

gala te-ta(la) tommota e-’ilayala”. E makala, bogwa
 not CP.human-one person 3.-cut.up yes like already
 it’s not a human person who cuts it up.” Yes. like this it is for already

kwe-yu yam kwe-tolu yam – bogwa e-nukwali.
 CP.thing-two day CP.thing-three day already 3.-know
 two days, for three days – finally she knows (what to do).

(100)

E-kebiga: “Ka, bogwa e-la ba-kamitule-m e-ke’ita,
 3.-says well already 3.-go 1.FUT-report-you 3.-return
 She says: “Well already he goes, I will tell him about you when he returns,

e-ma ba-kamitule-m. Ba-kamitule-m gala bu-kokola. E
 3.-come 1.FUT-report-you 1.FUT-report-you not 2.-be.afraid yes
 he comes and I will tell him about you. I will tell him about you, do not be afraid.
 Yes

bogwa ba-tamyabi bogwa bi... bi-bwena
 already 1.FUT-calm.down already 3.FUT-... 3.FUT-be.good
 already I will calm him down, already it will... it will be good

nano-la”. E bogeokwa. E-yam i-la i-tova
 mind-his yes already.finished 3.-be.day 3.-go 3.-stand
 his mind”. Yes it’s already finished. Day breaks he goes he stands

i-ke’ita le-ma i-meki bogwa bunukwa makawala.
 3.-return 3.PAST-come 3.-come.to already pig like
 he returns, he came he comes already to this pig (cut up) like this.

(105)

E-katupoi: “Avela beya e-’ilayala bunukwa?” E e-vavagiga
 3.-ask who here 3.-cut.up pig and 3.-say
 He asks.”Who cut up the pig here?” And she says

ina-la Tobumyou, Tobumyou e-kebiga: “Gala, ka,
 mother-his Tobumyou Tobumyou 3.-say no well
 his mother Tobumyou, Tobumyou says: “No, well

ina-m yegu Tobumyou, ilitomwaya yegu la-sisu beya,
 mother-your I Tobumyou, first.born I 1.PAST-be here
 your mother am I, Tobumyou, (I am the) firstborn child, I lived here,

e ina-m ilagwadi Kaduwaga. Kaduwaga e-sisu e-’uni
 yes aunt.your second.born Kaduwaga Kaduwaga 3.-be 3.-give.birth
 yes and your aunt the second born (lives in) Kaduwaga. In Kaduwaga she lives
 she gave birth to

latu-la yaga-la Kwapa va bwala e-sisu. E-me-si deli
 child-her name-his Kwapa DIR house 3.-be 3.-come-PL with
 her child called Kwapa, he is in the house. They came (he) with

(110)

la vevai, e-yogagi-si i-ligemwe-si i-valam.
 his brothers.in.law 3.-do.sth.bad-PL 3.-forget-PL 3.-cry
 his brothers-in-law, they did something nasty to him, they forgot him he cried.

E-keva-si-ga e-lo-si Kaduwaga. E-vayali e-ma
 3.-sail-PL-EMPH 3.-go-PL Kaduwaga 3.walk.on.beach 3.-come
 They sailed away they went to Kaduwaga. He walked on the beach he came

e-meya na... na-yu ala yena, e-gabu e-kam.
 3.-bring t... CP.animal-two his fish 3.-roast 3.-eat
 he brought his two fish, he roasted and ate them.

E-okwa e-ma. La-katule'i la-katupwane-wala. Sena-ga
 3.-finish 3.-come 1.PAST-give.clothes 1.PAST-hide-only very-EMPH
 He finished it and came. I gave him clothes and just hid him. So very often

ku-kwatukwayaya e la-kamituli". E-kebiga: "O ku-luki
 2.-keep.on.asking and 1.PAST-reveal 3.-say oh 2.-tell
 you always keep on asking and I revealed it to you". He says: "Oh tell

(115)

bwada-gu bi-ma". I-luki-wa(la) e-kanobusi e-ma
 mother's.sister's.son-my 3.FUT-come 3.-tell-only 3.-come.out 3.-come
 my cousin he should come". She just told it to him, he comes out he comes

i-kam-kwam-si. I-kam-kwam-si e bogwa i-kabavila
 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-eat-REDUP-PL and already 3.-snap.at
 and they eat. They eat and already he snaps at him

bi-koma bwada-la. "A gala tua-gu,
 3.FUT-eat mother's.sister's.son-his ah no mother's.sister's.son-my
 he wants to eat his (yunger) cousin. "Ah no, my (older) cousin,

ina-m ilitomwaya Tobumyou, ilagwadi ina-gu Karavata,
 mother-your first.born Tobumyou second.born mother-my Karavata
 your mother is the first born child Tobumyou, the second born child is my mother
 Karavata

Kaduwaga e-sisu. O ku-kwam ku-kwam". Hm, bogwa,
 Kaduwaga 3.-be oh 2.-eat 2.-eat. hm, well
 she lives in Kaduwaga. Oh, eat, eat (the food)". Hm, well,

(120)

i-va tu(ta) i-va tu(ta) i-va tu(ta) bogwa sena emamwai
 3.-go time 3.-go time 3.-go time already very long.time
 time passes, time passes, time passes, (it was) a very long time

e-kebiga: “*Ka, nubyeya, nubyeya ba-luki bi-lave-m*
3-say well tomorrow tomorrow 1.FUT-tell 3.FUT-bring.home-you
(until) she says: “Well, tomorrow, tomorrow I will tell him to bring you home.

Bi-lave-m bi-ligeve-m e bi-... bi-ma”. *E*
3.FUT-bring.home-you 3.FUT-leave-you and 3.FUT 3.FUT-come and
He will bring you home he will leave you there and he will he will come (back)”.
And

e-yam na-tala bunukwa i-yosa, na-yu
3.-be.day CP.animal-one pig 3.-hold CP.animal-two
day breaks and one pig he holds, two,

na-tolu, amyaga, Kwapa. E e-yam i-ma
three, what's.his.name Kwapa. yes 3.-be.day 3.-come
three pigs, what's his name, this Kwapa. Yes, day breaks and he comes
(125)

kweguya asi lilu i-siwa-ga. I-siwa-ga na-tolu
chiefs their sun 3.-stay-only 3.-stay-only CP.animal-three
the chief's sun and stays there. He stays there and three

bunukwa i-yosa i-gigabu, i-vokwa i-la o kumkumla -
pig 3.-hold 3.-burn 3.-finish 3.-go LOC earth.oven
pigs he is holding, he singses them, it is finished he goes to an earth-oven -

bogeokwa. E ima-ga i-tomwa, e-ke'ita le-va
already.finish and 3.-come-EMPH 3.-stand 3.-return 3.PAST-go.to
it is already finished. And he comes indeed he stands there, he comes back (after)
he went away,

e-talo-sisi o supi-sopi. “Yakai mata-gu, yakai mata-gu,
3.-go-hiss LOC REDUP-water ouch eye-my ouch eye-my
he goes and hisses at the water. “Ouch my eye, ouch my eye,

ba-kam bunukwa ba-kam tau ba-kam”. *E-vavgiga*
1.FUT-eat pig 1.FUT-eat man 1.FUT-eat 3.-say
I will eat pork, I will eat a man, I will eat”. She says

(130)

ina-la: “Avaka ta-kam-kwam? Tau e-lileki mona”,
mother-his what DUAL.INCL-eat-REDUP man 3.-favor mona
his mother: “What do we two eat? The man favors mona-pudding”,

e bogeokwa. I-vokwa iya'i bwada-la.
yes already:finished 3.-finish 3.-serve mother's.sister's.son-his
yes, it is already finished. It is finished and she serves (food) to his cousin.

I-yeya'i bunukwa kaula-go kwe-vakaveaka-go. E
 3.-serve pig yams-EMPH CP.thing-very.many and
 She serves him pork and very many yams. And

bogeokwa i-sili-si e-kam-si so-la
 already.finished 3.-sit-PL 3.-eat-PL friend-his
 it is already finished, they sit there and eat he with

bwada-la I-kam-kwam-si e-kebiga: "Buku-kwam-si
 mother's.sister's.son-his 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-say 2.FUT-eat-PL
 his cousin. They eat and he says: "You eat,

(135)

bi-vokwa buku-masisi-si, nubyeya buku-lau
 3.FUT-finish 2.FUT-sleep-PL tomorrow 2.FUT-take
 it will be finished and you will sleep, tomorrow you will take

bwada-m. Buku-lau Kaduwaga, bi-siva e
 mother's.sister's.son-your 2.FUT-take Kaduwaga 3.FUT-stay and
 your cousin. You will take him to Kaduwaga, he will stay there and

buku-ma-ga". "O bwena", e i-masisi-si.
 2.FUT-come-EMPH oh good and 3.-sleep-PL.
 you will come (back) of course". "Oh good", and they sleep.

Olubulatola olubulatolala e-vaguliga
 in.the.middle.of.the.night in.the.middle.of.the.night 3.-wake.up-EMPH
 In the middle of the night, in the middle of the night she wakes them up

i... ina-si: "Ta(uwau) ku-mamata-si buku-la'u-si, kweguya
 mo... mother-their men 2.-wake.up-PL 2.FUT-go-PL chiefs
 mo... their mother: "Men, wake up you should go, the chiefs'

(140)

asi lilu ku-la'ugwa bwada-m i-siva bu-kuma-ga".
 their sun 2.-bring mother's.sister's.son-your 3.-stay 2.FUT-come-EMPH
 sun, bring your cousin (to Kaduwaga) he will stay and you will come back, of course".

E i-luki latu-la e-kebiga: "Ka, buku-lo-si usom
 And 3.-say child-her 3.speak well 2.FUT-go-PL with
 And he says, her child he speaks: "Well, you will go (you) with
tua-m", e-luki Kwapa. "Buku-lo-si usom
 mother's.sister's.son-your 3.-say Kwapa 2.FUT-go-PL with
 your cousin" and she says to Kwapa. "You go with

tua-m ku-lola-si va keda i-doki bi-kome-m
 mother's.sister's.son-your 2.-walk-PL DIR pathe 3.-think 3.FUT-eat-you
 your cousin, you will walk on the road and (when) he thinks he will eat you

buku-luki makavala: Ga(la), ina-m ilitomwaya Tobumyou
 2.FUT-tell like No mother-your first.born Tobumyou
 then you tell him the following: No, your mother is the first born child, Tobumyou,
 (145)

ilagwadi ina-gu Karavata. Beya buku-seli-si buku-la'u-si."
 second.born mother-my Karavata here 2.FUT-set-PL 2.FUT-go-PL
 the second born child is my mother Karavata. There you will set for you will go
 there (now)."

I-yayosa-si i-sakauvali-sa-aa otapwala keda e-luki: "Ambeya
 3.-go.on-PL 3.-run.with-PL-EMPH in.middle.of path 3.-say where
 They go on they really run together in the middle of the path and he says: "Where
mi valu so-m ina-m ina-da?" E-vavagiga:
 your village frined-your mother.your mother-our 3.-say
 is your village with your mother, with our mother?" He says:

"Ka, bita-lilola-aa olopola Kaduwaga buku-kululu.
 well DUAL.INCL.FUT-walk-EMPH inside Kaduwaga 2.FUT-bow.down
 "Well, we two will walk and walk and go into Kaduwaga and you will bow down.

Buku-gisi ma-ke-na nukupayaka nuya, e
 2.FUT-see DEM-CP.WOODEN-DEM yellow palmtree and
 You will see this yellow palmtree, and

(150)

ma-kaukweda so-gu ina-da beya" E-kebiga: "O bwena".
 our-veranda friend-my mother-our here 3.-say oh good
 our veranda, my friend, our mother is there". He says: "Oh good".

I-lola-si olopola Kaduwaga i-kululu. I-gisi: "Ke mi
 3.-walk-PL inside Kaduwaga 3.-bow.down 3.-see well your
 They walk into Kaduwaga and he bows down. He sees (it and says): "Well, is your
valu beya?" "E". E bogeokwa, i-vakabu.
 village there yes and already.finished 3.-put.down
 village there?" "Yes". And it is already finished, he puts him down.

I-vakabu-wa i-kisilili bwada-la esalili
 3.-put.down-only 3.-goes.down mother's.sister's.son-his 3.-go.right.down
 He just puts him down and he goes down, his cousin, he goes right down

e-meki ina-la e-sisu. E-mwake-si Kwapa. "Ta(uwau)
 3.-come-to mother-his 3.-be 3.-meet-PL Kwapa men
 he comes to his mother he is there. They meet Kwapa. "Men

(155)

Kwapa gala bi-kariga m-to-na! *I-sive-si i-valam-si.*

Kwapa not 3.FUT-die DEM-CP.male-DEM 3.-stay-PL 3.-cry-PL

Kwapa he has not died this man!" They stay together and cry.

I-valam-si taga i-doke-si bogwa e-kariga. I-valam-si-laaa

3.-cry-PL but 3.-think-PL already 3.-die 3.-cry-PL-EMPH

They cry but they think he will soon die. They cry and cry for a while,

i-vokwa. E i-la-ga tua-la. I-va-la

3.-finish and 3.-go-EMPH mother's.sister's.son-his 3.-go.to

it is over. And he really goes away his cousin. He goes there

i-salili-la-eee i-sakaula i-veki ina-la. "Kwalai

3.-go.down-EMPH-EMPH 3.-run 3.-go.to mother-his how.is

he goes down and down and down he runs and goes to his mother. "How is

bwada-m?" "A bogwa, la-lau e-siva

mother's.sister's.son-your ah already 1.PAST-take 3.-stay

your cousin?" "Ah, good, I took him home he stays there

(160)

la-ma-ga? Me-sinaku.

1.PAST-come-EMPH 3.HABIT-finish

and I came back". It's finished.

Am kweta'ela Gunter.

Your goal Gunter.

Taidyeli starts the tale with the ritualized formula and the name of the story, "Magibweli". Magibweli is the name of a woman who lived in the village Omyuva on Woodlark, a big island south-east of the Trobriands. There she gave birth to her first daughter Tobumyou. She married the son of the chief of Kaduwaga and lived with him on Kaile'una island. In Kaduwaga she gave birth to her second daughter Karavata. Karavata married a man from Kaduwaga and gave birth to her son Kwapa. And Kwapa is the main protagonist of this story.

After this relatively complex introduction of the protagonist which clarifies his matrilinear kinship relations for two generations, the story proper starts with Kwapa's brothers-in-law inviting him to a trip "to the mountains", that is to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands where they will barter for betelnuts and sago. Betelnuts or areca-nuts (*areca catechu*) are chewed together with lime and aromatic herbs and leaves. These nuts are the only relatively mild drug to which almost all Trobriand Islanders are absolutely addicted (see Beran 1988; Rooney 1993). The Macquarie Dictionary (1988:1497) defines sago as "a starchy foodstuff from the soft interior of various palms and and cycads, used in making puddings and other dishes". It is

a staple food for many people in Papua New Guinea, where it is usually made from the interior of sago palms (*metroxylon sagu*). Kwapa and his brothers-in-law prepare two days for this trip and then they sail to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and get their nuts and their sago there. The next day they prepare for their journey back home and his brothers-in-law ask Kwapa to fetch water. While he goes away to do this, his brothers-in-law sail away back home to Kaduwaga. When Kwapa comes back to the beach with the water he realizes that his brothers-in-law have abandoned him and he starts to cry. Having stopped crying he remembers that his mother had predicted what would happen before he sailed away and that she reminded him to always take his basket with him. Remembering this, he takes his canoe which is called "Kwetaola-tree" out of his basket and puts its parts together. Then he utters a magical formula over his canoe, jumps into it, and his canoe flies over the sea and quickly arrives in Kaduwaga. He goes to his mother, tells her what has happened and she sends him to their house. When Kwapa's brothers-in-law arrive, they tell Karavata that the D'Entrecasteaux people attacked them and killed Kwapa. Karavata's reaction to this blunt lie is a short remark that Kwapa is already in their house.

After three days his brothers-in-law invite him again to sail with them to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands to get nuts and sago there. During this sailing trip Kwapa's brothers-in-law hide his basket with his flying canoe within the cargo-container of their canoe. Before they sail back home, his brothers-in-law ask him to fetch fresh water and abandon him again on the beach. When he realizes that he starts to cry again, but having stopped crying he remembers that his mother had predicted what would happen before he sailed away and that she advised him to go to the village and look for his aunt Tobumyou. The only things he has with him are a spear and a water-container. He feels sad and cries again, but then he walks along the beach to the village where Tobumyou lives. On his way he spears two fish. He spots his aunt Tobumyou and realizes that there is much smoke close to her. There must be a fire and he decides to smoke his fish there. Trying to destroy the fire with his spear he hits his aunt and she asks him who he is and what he wants from her. When he had told her what had happened she asked him to quickly smoke his fish and hide in the house, because his cousin will soon come, and if this bad man finds him he will eat him. Kwapa smokes his fish, eats them and hides in the house. The sun – Kwapa's cousin – is setting and when he is just over the water he is swearing because he soon will hiss. He then comes to his mother, laments about his hurting eyes – because of his dive into the sea at sunset – and asks for his dinner. His mother responds with the rhetorical question what she and her son want to eat and refers with a cryptic remark to the fact that men prefer to eat mona-pudding.³¹

31. Mona pudding consists of smashed pieces of taro and yams that are rolled into little balls and cooked in a sauce of coconut milk and coconut flakes which is heavily sugared. Fijian Lutheran

Then she brings him yams, pork, mona-pudding and sugarcane, he eats everything and goes to sleep. After a while Tobumyou wakes up her son and sends him away to “bring the chiefs their sun”. When the sun has left she wakes up her nephew and asks him to singe his cousin’s pig so that she can cook it in an earth-oven for him to eat when he comes back home after sunset. When Tobumyou’s son comes back he asks his mother about the person who cut up his pig and she claims that she did it herself without the help of another human being. After three days Tobumyou knows how to handle the situation. She tells her nephew that she will inform her son when he comes home that his cousin is here. Kwapa needs not to be afraid of his cousin because she knows how to calm him down. When her son comes home after sunset and asks his mother about the person who has cut the pig up for him, she reacts as follows: She tells him that he is her child and that Kwapa is the child of her sister who lives in Kaduwaga. She tells him about Kwapa’s fate on the island, that he came to her and that she hid Kwapa away from him. The sun asks his mother to tell his cousin to join them and they eat their dinner together. After a while the sun tries to snap at Kwapa and eat him, but Kwapa guards himself by pointing out that they are relatives and that the sun should eat only his pork, but not him. After some time has passed, Tobumyou tells Kwapa that she will ask her son to bring him back to Kaduwaga. One morning Tobumyou’s son stays with them at their house. Kwapa has killed three pigs and singes them so that his aunt can cook them in an earth-oven. His cousin finally leaves and when he comes back after his dive into the sea he is swearing again because his eyes hurt. Then he asks his mother to serve him dinner. Tobumyou responds again with the rhetorical question what she and her son want to eat and refers with a cryptic remark to the fact that men prefer to eat mona-pudding. Then she serves him many cooked yam-tubers and pork. It seems that pork is a part of the daily diet of Tobumyou and her son; this is quite extraordinary, given the fact that the Trobrianders only kill pigs and eat their meat at special occasions, like for example during the *milamala* harvest festival or in the course of big mourning rituals. All three of them eat dinner together and when they have finished their meal Tobumyou tells her son that tomorrow he should bring Kwapa back to Kaduwaga. The sun agrees to do this and they all go to sleep.

In the middle of the night Tobumyou wakes up the two men and tells her son once more to bring Kwapa back home to Kaduwaga before he comes home to their place again. And she tells Kwapa that he can guard himself against his

missionaries introduced this recipe to the Trobriand Islands. It is one of the few meals that is cooked by men in their wives’ big Amphlett pots, using a specific cooking paddle to steer the mona pieces in the sauce until the sauce crystalizes. As mentioned above, Tobumyou’s remark that men prefer to eat mona remains cryptic: Every Trobriander loves to eat this pudding.

cousin's appetite to eat him by uttering the formula which points out that they are related. The two men leave Tobumyou and on their way the sun asks Kwapa about the whereabouts of his village and his mother. Kwapa tells him that they have to walk on for a while and that his cousin has to bow down when he can see a yellow palmtree and the veranda of their house with Kwapa's mother sitting on it. The sun agrees to do this, and when he sees the palmtree he bends down and both men walk into Kaduwaga. The sun asks Kwapa whether this is really his village, and when he confirms this the sun goes down and puts Kwapa back onto the soil of his village. Kwapa goes to his mother who is overwhelmed by the fact that her son has not died. They cry together, but they also fear that he will soon die because of his cousin's heat.

When Kwapa and his mother stop crying, the sun leaves them and goes back to his mother Tobumyou. Her son tells her that he did what she asked him to do and that his cousin is back home in Kaduwaga with his mother.

The story ends with a shortened variant of the ritualized formula (*mesinaku* – it is finished) and Taidyeli challenging me to come up with one of my stories. Table 20 summarizes the structure of Taidyeli's story.

Table 20. The structure of the “Tale of Magibweli”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula and (part of) the name of the tale	1
Introduction of Magibweli and her daughters Tobumyou and Karavata, Karavata's son Kwapa and their places of living	1–9
<i>Episode 1 Kwapa's first trip to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands with his brothers-in-law</i>	9–43
Subevent 1 Kwapa's brothers-in-law invite him to sail with them to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands to barter for betelnuts and sago.	9–12
Subevent 2 They sail to the Islands and get betelnuts and sago	12–15
Subevent 3 Kwapa's brothers-in-law send him away to fetch water and abandon him on the shore.	15–20
Subevent 4 Kwapa realizes what his brothers-in-law did, he cries but then remembers his mother's predictions and her advice to always have his basket with him, takes out his canoe, performs magic and flies home in his canoe.	20–35
Subevent 5 Kwapa goes to his mother, tells her what has happened and she sends him to her house.	35–39
Subevent 6 His brothers-in-law arrive and tell Karavatu that Kwapa was killed during an attack by the D'Entrecasteaux people – but Karavatu tells them that Kwapa has already arrived sound and safe.	39–43
<i>Episode 2 Kwapa's second trip to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands with his brothers-in-law</i>	43–63
Subevent 1 After 3 days Kwapa and his brothers-in-law sail again to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands; his brothers-in-law hide his basket in the canoe, and when he goes away to fetch water for their return trip they abandon him once more.	43–52

Table 20. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 2	Kwapa remembers his mother's predictions and her advice to look for his aunt.	52–56
Subevent 3	Kwapa spears two fish on his way to his aunt and finally spots her and a lot of smoke nearby.	56–63
<i>Episode 3 Kwapa's stay with Tobumyou and her son</i>		63–137
Subevent 1	Kwapa wants to smoke his fish, stirs the fire and hits his aunt.	63–69
Subevent 2	She asks who he is and he tells her what has happened. Tobumyou asks him to quickly smoke his fish, warns him of his cousin, a bad man who may eat him and tells him to hide in the house.	69–80
Subevent 3	Kwapa's cousin – the sun – returns home to his mother after his day's work, asks for his meal, eats and goes to sleep	80–88
Subevent 4	Tobumyou wakes up her son so that he can do his work, then she wakes up Kwapa and asks him to singe a pig which she will cook in an earth-oven for her son. When the sun comes home he asks his mother about the person who helped her cooking the pig. Tobumyou tells him a lie, but after 3 days she knows how to handle the situation.	88–99
Subevent 5	Tobumyou tells Kwapa the she will tell her son about him and what happened to him and that he need not to be afraid of his cousin.	100–103
Subevent 6	When the sun comes back to his mother and asks her about who helped her with cooking the pig, Tobumyou tells her son about her sister and her son and the truth about Kwapa.	103–114
Subevent 7	The sun invites Kwapa to have their meal there. When he tries to snap at him to eat him, Kwapa tells him to respect him as a relative and that he should eat his food but not him.	114–119
Subevent 8	After a long time Tobumyou tells Kwapa that she will ask her son to bring him home.	119–122
Subevent 9	The next day Kwapa and his aunt cook three pigs in the earth-oven for the sun, and when he and his mother finished their dinner Tobumyou asks her son to bring Kwapa back to Kaduwaga; he agrees to do this and they go to sleep	122–137
<i>Episode 4 Kwapa's return to Kaduwaga</i>		138–156
Subevent 1	Tobumyou wakes up her son and Kwapa; she tells her son to bring Kwapa home and she tells Kwapa what to say when her son wants to eat him.	138–145
Subevent 2	The sun asks Kwapa where his home is, Kwapa answers the question and his cousin brings him down to his mother who is overwhelmed with joy to see her son, but also afraid that he may die because of the sun's heat.	146–156
Subevent 3	The sun leaves them, returns home and tells his mother that Kwapa is with his mother back home in Kaduwaga	157–160
The ritualized formula which announces the end of the tale		160
Challenge to me to tell a story now		161

This quite complex and quite bizarre story consists of 4 episodes with up to 9 sub-events. The story is located on Woodlark Island, in Kaduwaga village on Kaile'una, one of the Trobriand Islands, and on one of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.

Note that Baldwin (1971: 132 & 295–312) also refers to Tobumyo and the sun; he mentions one story and presents two tales which have common features with, and are comparable to, Taidyeli's tale presented here. Baldwin (1971: 132) first refers to a story

of ten brothers who were jealous of the handsome good looks of their little brother, and afraid to do him violence directly, managed to escort him away from home to some sail making on the beach, where he was wrapped up in a sail and disposed of in the sea. He was pitied by the Sun and recovered in her morning home in O-Myuwa, safeguarded from her ruffian offspring Tobumyou or Dust, and finally restored to his home in Kwaibwaga ... [on Kiriwina Island, G. S.]

Note that in this tale Tobumyo is introduced as the Sun's child. In the last part of "Kiu, the Myth" Baldwin (1971, 295ff) reports that the protagonist – after his great success during a Kula-expedition – is abandoned by his less successful and extremely envious uncle on an island somewhere between the D'Entrecasteaux and the Trobriand Islands. However, when the canoes left, one of Kiu's friends threw overboard a shield on which he "went drifting on to the world's end where the sun goes down at night" (Baldwin 1971:303). There he met the sun's mother who protected him from her son's cannibal appetites. The Sun finally brings Kiu home to his mother in Sinaketa, the famous Kula-village on Kiriwina Island. It is funny to realize that in Baldwin's tale the sun – when he comes out of the sea – complains about his burning eyes in the same way as in Taidyeli's narrative. Finally, the tale "Kalasia, the Sun" (Baldwin 1971:309ff) takes up the same motifs: this time the protagonist Moleilawa is abandoned by his brother Sopi, drifts to the beach of Mtawa, the home of the Sun, is found by the Sun's mother who protects him from her son's appetites for human flesh and makes her son bring Moleilawa back sound and safe to his home, the village Teyava on Kiriwina Island. But back to Taidyeli's story.

After the narrator's announcement of the genre Taidyeli first provides a detailed introduction of the main *dramatis personae* and their kinship relations, the importance of which, especially the importance of the relation between Kwapa with his aunt and her son, becomes only evident in the third episode. Only the fact that he is Tobumyou's son's cousin protects him of the sun's appetite to eat him as an ordinary human being. This emphasis on kinship at the very beginning of this tale highlights the important role kinship relations and clan-membership have for the Trobriand Islanders' (and other Massim peoples') society. One of the first questions Trobrianders ask a foreigner is the question about his or her name. With the Massim people, names are clan-property and therefore indicate matrilineal clan-membership. If the foreigner's name is not a Massim one, this first question

is followed by a question about his or her clan-membership. If foreigners do not belong to Massim clans, the Trobrianders have a look at the lines of the foreigners' right palm and according to their analytic reading of these lines they assign them to one of their four clans. Once this clan-membership is clear and clarified, the Trobrianders position a foreigner within his or her network of kinship relationships. I will come back to this point below again.

The tale proper starts with episode one in line 9. Taidyeli uses the following narrative means (sometimes in combination) to structure his tale:

- serial verb constructions (lines 43, 52, 146),
- direct speech (lines 56, 69, 100, 114, 119, 145),
- tail-head linkage (lines 9, 88),
- change of time (lines 12, 15, 43, 103, 119, 122, 138),
- change of character (lines 20, 39, 52, 56, 63, 80, 114, 146),
- change of place (line 35) and
- the explicit marking of the end of a subevent (lines 15, 103, 157).

Taidyeli produces many verbs with the marker for future and/or irrealis, some verbs with the marker for past or completed action, and one verb with the habitual marker. However, the vast majority of the verbs in this story do not have any TAM marker. The use of direct and reported speech gives the tale its specific flair and the complaints of Tobumyou's son about his hurting eyes bring a touch of humor into this tale which is full of suspense because of the dangers which Kwapa has to face, especially at his aunt's place. Taidyeli produces two speech errors (lines 25 & 27) and he uses the hesitation utterance "*amyaga*" (what's the name) which we relatively often noticed in the stories told by the boys four times (see lines 2, 5, 72 & 124). This indicates that the boys picked up this hesitation phenomenon while listening to adults telling their stories.

As already indicated above, this tale can be understood as a chorus of praise for kinship ties in the Trobriand Islanders' matrilinear society. Even a power like the sun will not do someone any harm if he or she is his kinperson – the Trobrianders personify the sun as a man. That Kwapa knew from his mother about his aunt and her son living on the island of the D'Entrecasteaux Group where his brothers-in-law had abandoned him during their first joint trip "to the mountains" may explain why – despite the repeated warnings of his mother – he accepted their second invitation to sail to this island to barter for sago and betelnuts – a decision which is otherwise difficult to understand (at least for a non-Trobriander). One of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands is Dobu, which was notorious for its cannibalistic people. Thus, abandoning Kwapa on one of these islands, his brothers-in-law recklessly disregard the consequences of their behavior, consequences which could have been fatal for Kwapa.

This tale also emphasizes the importance of magic for the Trobrianders. The story reports that Kwapa's mother has visionary powers – she foresees that Kwapa's relatives-in-law will abandon him on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and gives her son advice what to do. Kwapa himself also has magical powers on which he can rely for his safety and protection. He is the owner of a magical flying canoe and of the powerful magic that goes with these canoes – Taidyeli even recites this (fictive) magical formula (in lines 31–33) in his telling of this story. Besides the famous *Kudayuri* myth which tells the story of the origin of the “flying canoe” and the “flying witches” documented by Malinowski (1922: 311–316; see also Tambiah: 1983), this tale is the only other instance I know of which mentions such a canoe.³²

There are some unclear issues in this tale which remain obscure. First of all we get the information that Magibweli gave birth to her elder daughter in Omyuva, a village on Woodlark Island (which is also mentioned in the “Tale of Pepekwa” in Subsection 2.2.2.9 and in the “Tale of the Children” in Subsection 2.2.2.11 in Chapter two). However, there is no mention when and why Tobumyou left Woodlark to live on one of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands. Moreover, the first episode of the tale only mentions Kwapa's brothers-in-law, but there is no reference to the protagonist's wife. It also remains unclear why his brother's in law abandon him twice on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.

When I discussed the contents of this story with Taidyeli, he told me that he learned it as a young boy from his father. However, he could not explain why this story is named “Magibweli”, although the central protagonist of this tale is Kwapa.

3.2.6 Pulia tells the “*Kwanebuyee natala vonu*” – The “*Tale of a turtle*”

During my 1997 field trip to the Trobriands my friend Pulia, a long term consultant and together with his father Nusai one of my main teachers of Kilivila, asked me on the 9th of June whether I was still interested in documenting fairy tales. He told

32. The *Kudayuri* myth tells that when the people from Kitava Island wanted to go on a Kula-expedition, they all prepared their canoes on the beach. However Mokatuboda of the village of *Kudayuri* built his canoe in the middle of his village, far away from the sea, using a special creeper for the lashings. When the villagers were ready for the Kula expedition, all other canoes were launched from the beach, but Mokatuboda instead magically flew his canoe out, hitting it with a magical adze. Mokatuboda had a younger brother named Toweyre'i as well as three sisters; when Mokatuboda used his magic *bulubwalala* weather magic to bring rain to only his own garden they became jealous and killed him once they thought that they had acquired all of his magic. When the following year Toweyre'i tried to duplicate Mokatuboda's magic he found that he had learned only a part of the necessary magic, that the adze magic was missing and that his canoe would not fly. His three sisters, however, had learned the magic well; they flew away and became “flying witches”.

me that he had read an English version of a tale from Basilaki village on Dobu Island, which was printed in the “Eastern Star”, the Massim provincial newspaper. The first issue of this first full-sized provincial newspaper of Papua New Guinea was published in September 1991 on Alotau. I was curious to hear and eager to document Pulia’s Kilivila version of this story, and while I prepared for recording Pulia’s tale a number of children and adults had congregated at my house. When I was ready with my recording preparations, Pulia told me and the other audience the following story:

Kwanebuye-ee na-tala vonu, vivila, e-valulu
 tale-EMPH CP.animal/female-one turtle girl 3.-give.birth
 Once upon a time there was a turtle, a woman, she gave birth to

latu-la na-tala vivila taga sena na-manabweta.
 child-her CP.animal/female-one girl but very CP.animal-beautiful
 her child, a girl, but such a very beautiful one.

E vonu ma-na-na la paisewa o bwalita wala
 and turtle DEM-CP.animal-DEM her work LOC sea only
 And the work of this turtle was (to be) just in the sea

tuta kumwedona. E avetuta e-vilulu latu-la vivila
 time all and when 3.-give.birth child-her girl
 all the time. And when she gave birth to her daughter

(5)

e i-loluva-wala bi-vokwa sena sena bi-kwadudu
 yes 3.-dive-only 3.FUT-finish very very 3.FUT- feel.cold
 yes she just dived down it will be finished (and) she will feel very very cold.

Bi-kanobusi bi-la o dakuna bi-kekwa.
 3.FUT-come.out 3.FUT-go LOC stone 3.FUT-warm.up
 She will come out (of the sea) she will go to a stone she will warm herself up (there).

Bi-kekwa bi-vokwa bi-kapwi-vau bi-la i-luva.
 3.FUT-warm.up 3.FUT-finish 3.-FUT-dive-again 3.FUT-go 3.-dive
 She will warm up it will be finished she will dive again she will go and dive.

E m-to-na-ga tau i-lagi bulagala
 and DEM-CP.male-DEM-EMPH man 3.-hear news
 And this man indeed he hears the news about

ma-na-na vivila taga vonu latu-la, latu-sia.
 Derm-CP.animal-DEM girl of.course turtle child-her children-her
 this girl, of course of the turtle’s child, of her children.

(10)

E avetuta e-lagi bulagala makala i-la i-loluva
 and when 3.-hear news like 3.-go 3.-dive
 And when he had heard the news like this he goes and dives

ke-tala lai. I-la i-loluva ke-tala lai. Avetuta
 CP.rigid-one coral 3.-go 3.-dive CP.rigid-one coral when
 at a coral reef. He goes he dives at a coral reef. When

e-loluva gala kaduanaku, ma-na-na vonu latu-la
 3.-dive not far DEM-CP.animal-DEM turtle child-her
 he had dived not very deep down, this child of the turtle

i-kekuala kwe-tala dakuna kwe-kekita. I-kekuala
 3.-warm.up CP.thing-one stone CP.thing-small 3.-warm.up
 she warms herself up on a small stone. She warms herself up

avetuta m-to-na tau e-loluva va lai.
 when DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-dive DIR coral
 while this man dives at the coral reef,

(15)

Avetuta e-loluva m-to-na tau e-valuku
 when 3.-dive DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-take.time
 When this man dives time passes

e-kovana e-gisi ma-na-na ma-na-na vonu
 3.-look.up 3.-see DEM-CP.animal-DEM DEM-CP.animal-DEM turtle
 he looks up and sees this this turtle

e-kekuala o dakuna. E i-tobudaki kekuala
 3.-warm.up LOC stone and 3.-be.busy.with warming.up
 who warms herself up on a stone. And she is busy with warming herself up

ma-na-na vonu. I-loluva-go avetuta e-ko'unapula
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM turtle 3.-dive-EMPH when 3.-emerge
 this turtle. She dives down indeed when he emerges

bogeokwa E-sakaula e-va bi-yosi. E
 already.finished 3.-run 3.-go.to 3.FUT-catch And
 it is already finished. He runs he goes there he will catch (her). And

(20)

ma-na-na vonu i-doki bi-kapusi bi-luva bi-loki
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM turtle 3.-think 3.FUT-fall 3.FUT-dive 3.FUT-go.to
 this turtle she thinks she will fall down (from the stone) she will dive she will go to

ina-la sena mwe'uni. E-va-la m-to-na tau
 mother-her very slow 3.-go.to-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM man
 her mother very slowly. He goes there this man:

"Ku-yosi-wala". E avetuta e-yosi e-katupoi e-tokeva
 2.-catch-only and when 3.-catch 3.-ask 3.-get.up
 "Just catch me". And when he caught her he asks her he gets up

m-to-na tau e-luki ma-na-na vivila vonu latu-la
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-say DEM-CP.animal-DEM girl turtle child-her
 this man (and) he says to this girl, the daughter of the turtle,

e-luki e-kebiga: "Magi-gu bata-vai." E e-vavagiga
 3.-say 3-speak wish-my DUAL.INCL-FUT-marry And 3.-say
 he says he speaks: "I want that we two will marry". And she says

(25)

ma-na-na vivila: "Aa yumyam vonu latu-sia -
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM girl ah every.day turtle children-their
 this girl: "Ah every day (it's like this with) the children of turtles -

ta-vaveya. Vonu si paisewa bi-lolo-si o bwalita
 DUAL.INCL-marry turtle their work 3.FUT-walk-PL LOC sea
 one will marry them. The work of turtles is to roam around in the sea

bi-kekaya-si kena bi-loluva-si". E-vavagi-ga m-to-na
 3.FUT-swim-PL or 3.FUT-dive-PL 3.-say-EMPH DEM-CP.male-DEM
 they will swim or they will dive". He says, indeed, this

tau: "Aa gala sena na-manabweta yokwa, am gigisa bwena
 man ah no very CP.animal-beautiful you your sight good
 man: "Ah, no, you are so beautiful, you look good,

magi-gu yokwa bita-vai aditeyu". E
 wish-my you DUAL.INCL.FUT-marry the.two.of.us and
 I want you, we will marry the two of us". And

(30)

e-kominimani-si galawala i-seva, vivila i-somata,
 3.-argue-PL nothing-only 3.-try.one's.best girl 3.-tired
 they argue, nothing comes out of it, he tries his very best, the girl gets tired,

bogwa-la e-komnigaga tau "Ku-yosi-wala ku-lau o
 already-EMPH 3.-convince man 2.-hold-just 2.-bring LOC
 already he convinces her the man. "Just hold (me) and bring (me) to

valu". I-lau i-veya ma-na-na vivila i-sisu-si
 village 3.-hold 3.-marry DEM-CP.animal-DEM girl 3.-be-PL
 the village". He holds (her) he marries this girl they are there.

I-sisu-si kwe-ta(la) tuta m-to-na tau ina-la
 3.-be-PL CP.thing-one time DEM-CP.male-DEM man mother-his
 They live there and one time this man's mother

e-kariga. Avetuta m-to-na tau ina-la e-kariga
 3.-die when DEM-CP.male-DEM man mother-his 3.-die
 dies. When this man's mother had died

(35)

tommota kumwedona e-valam-si. Ma-na-na-ga vonu
 people all 3.-cry-PL DEM-CP.animal-DEM-EMPH turtle
 all people cry. But this turtle's

latu-la gala i-valam, pela bogwa e-luki ina-la.
 child-her not 3.-cry for already 3.-tell mother-her
 child does not cry, because her mother had already told her (that this will happen).

E-luki ina-la: "Avetuta buku-loluva buku-sugegedu
 3.-tell mother-her when 2.FUT-dive 2.FUT-be.on.wrong.way
 Her mother told her: "When you will dive you will be on the wrong way,

bi-vem-si bi-lavem-si. Avetuta kena kariga
 3.FUT-marry-PL 3.-take.away when perhaps death
 they will marry you they will take you away. When there is perhaps a case of death

gala buku-valam, pela kidamwa buku-valam mitilagi-m bi-kapu-si
 not 2.FUT-cry for if 2.FUT-cry tear-your 3.FUT-fall-PL
 you will not cry, because when you will cry your tears will fall

(40)

e vegua makala soulava, beku,
 and valuables like necklace stone axe blade
 and (become) valuables like necklaces, stone axe blades,

amyaga mwali, paya, kaloma e avaka
 what's.the.name armshell ear-rings spondylus-shells and what
 what's the name, armshells, earrings, spondylus shell discs and what

tuvela ma-na-kwe-si amyaga tommwaya tokunibogwa
 again DEM-DEM-CP.thing-PL what's.the.name people ancestor
 else, these, what's the name,

si vavagi". E u'ula beya avetuta ina-la
 their thing and reason here when mother-his
 the things of the ancestors". And this is why here when the mother

m-to-na tau e-kariga gala i-valam. E-luluvai
 DEM-CP.male-DEM man 3.-die not 3.-cry 3.-remember
 of this man dies she did not cry. She remembers

(45)

pela ina-la e-luki gala bi-valam. Taga avetuta
 for mother-her 3.-told not 3.FUT-cry but when
 because her mother told her she will not cry. But when

bi-valam mitilagi-la bi-kapu-si ma-na-kwe-si vavagi
 3.FUT-cry tear-her 3.FUT-fall-PL DEM-DEM-CP.thing-PL things
 she will cry her tears will fall, these things

bi-kapu-si bi-lo-si o tinava. E gala i-valam,
 3.FUT-fall-PL 3.FUT-go-PL LOC ground and not 3.-cry
 will fall down they will go to the ground. And she does not cry

i-sisu-wala. Tau-ga veva-la i-valam-si. I-valam-si i-valam-si
 3.-be-only man-EMPH relatives-his 3.-cry-PL 3.-cry-PL 3.-cry-PL
 she is just there. But the man and his relatives they cry. They cry and cry

e tau lule-ta tabu-la e-kasilam-si: "Ma-na-na
 and man sister-his aunt-his 3.-whisper-PL DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 and the man's sisters and aunts whisper: "This

(50)

vivila pela gala i-valam?" E-livala-si: "A, daveva'isi
 girl for not 3.-cry 3.-say-PL ah our.daughter.in.law
 girl, why does she not cry?" They say: "Ah, our daughter in law

ke, gala ala kakapisi pela bi-valam yava-la". E
 well not her pity for 3.FUT-cry mother.in.law-her and
 well, she does not feel any pity to cry for her mother in law". And

ma-na-na-ga e-sisu gala magi-la bi-valam. E-sisu
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM-EMPH 3.-be not wish-her 3.FUT-cry 3.-be
 this girl is there and she does not want to cry. She is there

galawala. Sena i-kasilam-si, i-luki na-ta(la) bwada-la
 nothing very 3.-whisper-PL 3.-tell CP.female-one younger.sister-her
 doing nothing. They whisper and whisper, she tells her – a younger sister,

hmna, tau lu-le-ta, e-luki e-suvi-si e-lo-si
 hm man sister-his-sister 3.-tell 3.-enter-PL 3.-go-PL
 hm, the man's sister, she tells her (about these whispers) and they enter and go

(55)

otatom E-luki: "(Ku-)kwau amyaga ta-tala
 in.the.middle.of.the.house. 3.-tell 2.-take what's.the.name CP.basket-one
 into the middle of the house. And she tells her: "Take, what's the name, a

peta ku-meya". E e-kau ma-na-na gwadi
 basket 2.-bring and 3.-take DEM-CP.female-DEM child
 basket and bring it". And this child takes

peta ta-tala, e-lau-si otatom.
 basket CP.basket-one 3.-bring-PL in.the.middle.of.the.house
 a basket and they bring it into the middle of the house.

I-simwa i-valam ma-na-na vivila, i-valam-wa i-vokwa.
 3.-be 3.-cry DEM-CP.animal-DEM girl 3.-cry-only 3.-finish
 She is there and cries this girl, she just cries it is finished.

Avetuta e-valam e-kapu-si vegua, beku,
 when 3.-cry 3.-fall-PL valuables stone axe balde
 When she cries they fall down the valuables, stone axe blades

(60)

soulava, kaloma, mwali, e-kapusi-si i-lo-si
 necklace spondylus-shells armshells 3.-fall-PL 3.-go-PL
 necklaces, spondylus shell discs, armshells they fall down they go
va peta. E avetuta i-vanoku valam i-kanobu-si,
 DIR basket and when 3.-finish crying 3.-come.out-PL
 into the basket. And when the crying is over and they have (all) come out,

i-kau ma-ta-na peta, a, i-katusau beya
 3.-take DEM-CP.basket-DEM basket ah 3.-pour.out there
 she takes this basket, ah she pours out there

vegua avaka avaka i-kanamwa va bwala
 valuables what what 3.-stay DIR house
 the valuables whatever whatever, they stay at the house

otatom. E-kau-gwa ma-ta-na peta
 in.the.middle.of.the.house 3.-take-EMPH DEM-CP.basket-DEM basket
 in the middle of the house. She takes this empty basket

(65)

ta-okwa ina-la i-lola i-la o kwadeva. E-la
 CP.basket-empty mother-her 3.-walk 3.-go LOC beach 3.-go
 of her mother she walks and goes to the beach. She goes

mwada bi-katusau wava, e-va-va i-setaula
 as.if 3.FUT-throw.away dirt 3.-go.to-RED 3.-go.straight
 as if she wants to throw away dirt, she goes there she goes straight

o kwadeva i-toli e-livala: "O sina-gu voni,
 LOC beach 3.-stand 3.-say oh mother-my turtle
 to the beach, she stands there and says: [in Dobu] "Oh mother turtle,

mata selu selugu". E e-livala
 eye falling falling.down and 3.-say
 my eye falling falling down". And she says,

ma-na-na vonu: “O *latu-gu kega-la e-dodou*,
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM turtle oh child-my voice-her 3.-call
 this turtle: “Oh my child’s voice is calling,

(70)

bogwa e-yogagi-si”. *E avetuta vonu e-lagi ma...*
 already 3.-spoil-PL and when turtle 3.-hear DEM-...
 already they have spoilt it”. And when the turtle hears this

ma-na-kwa kegi-la e-nukwali bogwa latu-la, e
 DEM-DEM-CP.thing voice-her 3.-know already child-her and
 this voice she knows already it’s her child, and

e-komwenagua e-ma ma-na-na vonu e-va
 3.-come.up 3.-come DEM-CP.animal-DEM turtle 3.-go.to
 she comes up she comes this turtle she goes to

latu-la. E-kebiga: “O ina-gu, o-ku-lukwe-gu
 child-her 3.-say oh mother-my binding.vowel-2.-tell-me
 her child. She says: “Oh mother, you told me

makala taga la-va yava-gu e-kariga e
 like but 1.PAST-go.to mother.in.law-my 3.-die and
 so, but I went and my mother-in-law died and

(75)

galawala a-valam. A-valam ma-na-kwe-si gugua
 not 1.-cry 1.-cry DEM-DEM-CP.thing-PL goods
 I did not cry. (Then) I cried and these goods

bogwa e-kapusi-si, la-seva la-ma”. *E ma-na-kwa*
 already 3.-fall-PL 1.PAST-leave 1.PAST-come and DEM-DEM-CP.thing
 already they fell out, I left them and came (here). And at this

*tuta la mwala e-sakaula e-nene’i la *mwala (kwava!)*.
 time her husband 3.-run 3.-look.for his husband (wife)
 time her husband runs looking for his wife.

E-nene’i e-ma e-kanobusi o kwadeva, e-sakaula
 3.-look.for 3.-come 3.-arrive LOC beach 3.-run
 He looks for (her) he comes he arrives at the beach, he runs

kabula-tala kwadeva e-mwa – gala, eseki e-la
 CP.half-one beach 3.-come nothing ok 3.-go
 to one part of the beach, he comes there – nothing, ok, he goes

(80)

kabulu-yuvela gala. E-toli oluvala, e-kovana e-mweki
 CP.half-two no 3.-stand in.the.middle 3.-look.up 3.-see
 to the other half – nothing. He stands in the middle, he looks up and sees

la kwava. Bogwa amyaga bi-loki ina-la
 his wife already what's.the.name 3.FUT-tell mother-her
 his wife. Already, what's the name, she tells her mother that

bi-lo-si. E-sakaula e-va i-toli okepapala la kwava.
 3.FUT-go-PL 3.-run 3.-go.to 3.-stand at.the.side.of his wife
 they will go. He runs he goes there he stands at the side of his wife.

E-livala, e, e-tokeva ma-na-na vivila e-luki:
 3.-say yes 3.-stand DEM-CP.animal-DEM girl 3.-tell
 And she says, yes he stands there with his wife and she tells him:

“Bwena ku-kwe’ita, ku-kwe’ita ku-la, bogwa e-ma
 good 2.-go.back 2.-go.back 2.-go already 3.-come
 “Good, go back, go back, go away – already she came

(85)

ina-gu baka-la”. E-vavagiga m-to-na tau:
 mother-my DUAL.INCL.FUT-go 3.-say DEM-CP.male-DEM man
 my mother we two will go away”. He says this man:

“A gala bata-ke’ita bata-la”. E-vavagiga:
 ah not DUAL.INCL.FUT-go.back DUAL.INCL.FUT-go 3.-say
 “Ah no, we two will go back we will go”. She says:

“Gala bwena, ba-loki ina-gu bogwa e-ma e
 not good 1.FUT-go.to mother-my already 3.-come and
 “No way, I will go to my mother, already she came and

ku-kwe’ita-ga buku-la. Avetuta buku-la buku-suvi
 2.-return-EMPH 2.FUT-go when 2.FUT-go 2.FUT-enter
 you will go back you will go. When you will go you will enter

va bwala. Buku-la otatom buku-veki soulava
 DIR house 2.FUT-go in.the.middle.of.the.house 2.FUT-go.to necklace
 the house. You will go into the middle of the house you will go to necklaces

(90)

beku, avaka avaka. E (ku-)kwau bu(ku-)kwanubwiya
 stone.axe.blade what what and 2.-take 2.FUT-bring.out
 stone axe blades whatever whatever. And you take them and bring them out

buku-meyaki veyamwa buku-pati-wala te-tala
 2.FUT-bring.to your.relative 2.FUT-share-only CP.male-one
 you will bring them to your relatives, you will just share them with this one,

te-tala te-tala te-tala te-tala te-tala, te-tala.
 CP.male-one CP.male-one CP.male-one CP.male-one CP.male-one CP.male-one
 this one, this one, this one, this one, this one and this one.

E ku-gisa avetuta ma-na-kwa valu
 and 2.-look when DEM-DEM-CP.thing village
 And look out when this village

bi-sagali-si bi-sagali-si kena bi-kariga
 3.FUT-mourning.exchange-PL 3.FUT-mourning.exchange-PL or 3.-FUT-die
 will do a mourning exchange, when they will do a mourning exchange or when
 (95)

te-ta(la) tomwota bi-sagali-si, bi-sagali-si.
 CP.male-one person 3.FUT-mourning.exchange-PL 3.FUT-mourning.exchange-PL
 a person will die and they will do a mourning exchange, they will do a mourning
 exchange.

Bogwa tommwaya si vegua makala, si gugua,
 already ancestors their valuables like their goods
 Already our ancestors had their valuables like this, their goods

makala beku, paya, kaloma kena-go.
 like stone axe blade ear-rings spondylus.shell or-EMPH
 like stone axe blades, ear-rings, spondylus shell discs or whatever.

Bunukwa bi-yosi-si bi-sagali-si. Gala vavagi dimdim”.
 Pig 3.FUT-kill-PL 3.FUT-mourning.exchange-PL not thing white.people
 They will kill pigs they will do a mourning exchange. This is not what white people
 do”.

Bogwa me-sinau.
 already 3.HABIT-finish
 It's already finished.

Pulia starts the tale with the ritualized introductory formula and its name. There is a turtle which gives birth to a very beautiful daughter. They live together in the sea. Ever since her birth the young turtle has been diving down into the sea until she feels cold. Then she comes up again, goes out of the sea to a stone where she warms herself up. That's what she does day after day. Having heard rumors about the young turtle's beauty, a man decides to look for her. While he is diving at a nearby coral reef, the beautiful turtle – following her usual routines – comes up from the deep sea and goes to the stone to warm herself up. After a while the man spots the turtle and runs to the stone. The turtle tries to get back into the sea to her mother, but quickly realizes that she is too slow to escape him. She accepts her fate and even asks the man to catch her. Holding her in his arms he asks the turtle to marry him. The turtle first denies his request, wondering why everybody wants to marry children of turtles who are supposed to roam around in the sea, swimming and diving. However, the man continues to court her, praising her beauty and

expressing his desire for her. He tries his best to change her mind – and after a while he finally convinces her to marry him. She tells him to hold her and bring her to his village where they marry each other and live together. After a while the man's mother dies and all people in the village bewail her. However, the turtle does not cry for her mother-in-law, because her mother once made the following prophecy: She told her daughter that she once will be at a place from which she cannot escape, that she will be taken away from the sea, marry someone and live together with him in his village. Then somebody in the village will die. The turtle asked her daughter not to bewail this person, because as soon as her tears will fall down on the ground they will turn into valuables like *Kula*-necklaces, stone axe blades, *Kula*-armshells, earrings, and other things that have been highly valued ever since the days of the ancestors.³³ The turtle's behavior is shocking for the Massim society in which she lives, and her husband and his relatives who all properly bewail the deceased woman ask themselves why the turtle behaves like this and especially the women infer from her behavior that she does not feel any pity neither with her mother-in-law nor with her relatives-in-law. When the mourners' whispering discussion of why the turtle does not cry for her mother-in-law reaches a point where it gets threatening, a younger sister of the turtle's husband comes to the turtle and warns her that her relatives-in-law get suspicious of her behavior. Somebody who is not bewailing a deceased person in the Massim area may easily be suspected as being responsible for his or her death. The turtle takes her caring sister-in-law into her house and asks her to bring a basket and put it into the middle of the house. When the basket is there, the beautiful turtle starts to cry until she has no tears any more. She cries over the basket and her tears fall into it and change into valuables – as the turtle's mother had foretold her. When the turtle finished crying, she pours all the valuables out of the basket onto the floor in the middle of the house. Then she takes the empty basket, sneaks out of her house and goes to the beach – as if she wants to throw away some rubbish. At the beach she calls her mother and tells her in a metaphoric way that she has cried. The mother hears the voice of her daughter, fears the worst and comes up from the deep sea to her daughter. When she reaches her, the beautiful turtle tells her mother that her prophecies have come true. While the daughter talks with her mother, the turtle's husband misses his wife. He runs to the beach and looks for her. He runs down one side of the beach but cannot find her and he runs down the other side of the beach, however, also in vain. But when he looks straight down from the village to the beach he sees his wife and hears that she tells her mother that she will go away with her. He runs down to

33. Note that Rölleke (1999: 34ff) presents a German fairy tale collected by the Grimm brothers, "The Golden Duck" ("Die goldene Gans") in which an old woman turns into a beautiful fairy which cries pearls and spits out silver".

them. The turtle tells her husband that he should go back to the village and that she will leave him, going away back into the sea together with her mother. Her husband tries to make her come with him to his village, but she tells him that she has made up her mind to leave him. She asks him to go back to their house where he will find many valuables. He should take them and distribute them amongst his relatives. When they have to bewail another deceased person, they can exchange these valuables during their mourning rituals, they can exchange these goods, the stone axes, the ear-rings, the spondylus shells and all the other valuables he will find in his house. Already the ancestors exchanged these valuables, and when they exchanged these goods during their mourning festivals, they also killed a pig and ate pork in a communal meal. This is something that white people do not do. And here the story ends – with the ritualized closing formula *bogwa mesinau*. Table 21 summarizes the structure of the story of a turtle:

Table 21. The structure of the “Tale of a turtle”

		lines
	The ritualized introductory formula and the name of the story	1
<i>Episode 1</i>	<i>The turtle, her beautiful daughter and their daily routines</i>	1–7
<i>Episode 2</i>	<i>A man hears about the beautiful turtle, goes to the beach and catches her</i>	8–22
Subevent 1	A man hears about the beautiful turtle and looks for her diving at a coral reef.	8–11
Subevent 2	The turtle comes to the stone to warm herself up and tries to go back into the sea when the man emerges.	11–19
Subevent 3	The turtle is too slow, she realizes that there is no escape and asks the man to catch her.	19–22
<i>Episode 3</i>	<i>The man asks the turtle to marry him and after a while she agrees to do so</i>	22–32
Subevent 1	The man asks the turtle to marry him.	22–24
Subevent 2	The turtle responds that this is not what turtles are supposed to do – they rather roam the sea.	24–27
Subevent 3	The man courts her and makes her marry him.	27–31
Subevent 4	The turtle asks the man to bring her to his village, where they marry and live together.	31–32
<i>Episode 4</i>	<i>The man’s mother dies, why the turtle does not cry for her mother-in-law and how her relatives-in-law react to this behavior</i>	33–53
Subevent 1	The man’s mother dies and all people cry for the deceased woman.	33–35
Subevent 2	The beautiful turtle does not cry because of her mother’s prophecies.	35–36
Subevent 3	The turtle’s mother’s prophecies.	37–43
Subevent 4	Explanation why the turtle does not cry.	43–48
Subevent 5	The reaction of the turtle’s relatives-in-law towards her behavior.	48–53

Table 21. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 5</i>	<i>The turtle and her husband's younger sister</i>	53–64
Subevent 1	The younger sister of the turtle's husband warns her that her relatives-in-law get suspicious and they go into the turtle's house.	53–55
Subevent 2	The turtle asks the girl to go and fetch a basket and they put it in the middle of the house.	55–57
Subevent 3	The turtle starts to cry, collects her tears that change into valuables in the basket and then pours them out on the floor.	58–64
<i>Episode 6</i>	<i>The turtle goes to the beach and calls her mother</i>	64–76
Subevent 1	The turtle goes to the beach and calls her mother.	64–68
Subevent 2	The mother hears her daughter and comes to her.	68–73
Subevent 3	The turtle tells her mother what has happened.	73–76
<i>Episode 7</i>	<i>The turtle's husband misses his wife and looks for her</i>	76–82
Subevent 1	The turtle's husband misses his wife and spots her at the beach talking to her mother.	76–81
Subevent 2	The turtle tells her mother that she will leave together with her.	81–82
Subevent 3	The man runs to his wife.	82
<i>Episode 8</i>	<i>The parting of husband and wife</i>	83–98
Subevent 1	The turtle tells her husband that she will leave him	83–85
Subevent 2	Her husband wants the turtle to stay with him.	85–86
Subevent 3	The turtle tells her husband that she will go, what he will find in their house and what he should do with the valuables	86–98
	The ritualized formula which announces the end of the tale	99

This fairy tale which is textually not geographically located consists of 8 episodes with up to five subevents. Pulia uses the following narrative means (sometimes in combination) to structure his tale:

- change of character (lines 8, 22, 24, 27, 31, 35, 37, 43, 48, 53, 55, 68, 73, 76, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86),
- direct speech (lines 24, 31, 37, 55, 68, 73, 83, 85, 86),
- tail-head linkage (lines 11, 33),
- the explicit marking of the end of a subevent (line 19),
- serial verb construction (line 58),
- change of place (line 64) and
- change of time (line 76).

The vivid change of acting characters combined with their utterances presented in direct speech gives this story its specific dynamics. Despite these dynamics it is worthy to note that Pulia produces four times the (rhetorical) question word

“*amyaga*” – “what’s the name” (see lines 41, 42, 55 & 81); this indicates that the boys who (sometimes quite frequently) used this hesitation phenomenon in their narrations (see Chapter two) picked it up while listening to stories told by adults. One can also note a slip of the tongue: in line 77 Pulia produces the noun *mwala* (husband) instead of the noun *kwava* (wife).

The vast majority of the verbs in this story are produced without a TAM marker; there are also many verbs produced with the marker for irrealis and/or future, but only 3 verbs with the marker for past or completed action, and just one verb – in the ritualized closing formula – with the habitual marker.

The tale of the turtle can be understood as a kind of an origin myth for the ritual exchange of valuables – subsumed under the Kilivila concept of “*vegua*” – during mourning rituals. However, it is surprising that the *soulava*-necklaces and the *mwali*-shells are mentioned in this context, too. In the Massim area these valuables are only exchanged within the *Kula* context. The mythical character of this story is also expressed by the fact that a human man marries a female turtle. But Pulia does not make any such claims in his telling of this story, on the contrary, with the ritualized introductory formula he clearly marks the text as a tale. Myths on the Trobriands do not start with this formula, but with the mentioning of the name(s) of the protagonist(s) (see Senft 2010a: 82, 262f.). The fact that the turtle’s tears metamorphosize into valuables can only be explained by strong magical powers which are responsible for this. The turtle ends her instructions to her husband of what to do with the valuables in his house with a reference to the ancestors who exchanged these valuables in *sagali* mourning rituals. This may allow for the inferences that it was the ancestors’ will to (re-)install this custom again. Thus, there may have been also magical powers that made it inevitable for the turtle to break the promise she made to her mother. In this connection it is also interesting to note that Pulia quotes the spell-like formula the turtle recites to call her mother in the Dobu language (see lines 67–68); this gives this utterance also a very special magic quality.

The story ends with the proud statement that the exchange of goods during mourning (and other) rituals are a specific feature of Massim culture – and therefore alien for the *dimdim* – the white people.

Finally I want to point out here again that somebody who is not bewailing a deceased person in the Massim area is observed with suspicion by his or her fellow-villagers. If a younger member of the turtle’s husband’s family would have died instead of the turtle’s old mother-in-law, the relatives and the other villagers would have interpreted the turtle’s behavior as indicative for the fact that she was responsible for his or her death. And this suspicion could have severe consequences – the family would have asked a black magician, a *bwagau*, to kill the turtle. But even with an old person who “has died because it was his or her time” (*ekariga u’ula*

mtona/minana la tuta – as the Trobrianders say), not to cry for him or her is highly stigmatized and almost unthinkable for a Massim person (see Senft 1985c, 2011: Chapter 1). Therefore, the turtle was also under extreme social pressure to finally break the promise she made to her mother.

3.2.7 *Kalavatu tells the “Kwanebuyee Kavalokwa” – The “Tale of Kavalokwa”*

During my 1997 field trip, Kalavatu, a then 45 year old man and one of my excellent consultants in Tauwema, also approached me and asked me whether I would like to hear and document a story which his grandfather had told his father who in turn told it to his children. While I prepared the recording of Kalavatu's story, word spread quickly that Kalavatu was going to tell me a story and we soon had a relatively big audience of both children and adults. When Kalavatu saw that I was ready to record his story, he told the following “Tale of Kavalokwa”:

Kwanebuyee Kavalokwa. Kumgwalala mi-siseki ke
 tale-EMPH Kavalokwa Kumgwalala 3.HABIT-live well
 Once upon a time there was Kavalokwa. In Kumgwalala he used to live, well
Kumgwalala, bogwa o-ku-nukwali, Kaduwaga e-ma
 Kumgwalala already binding.vowel-2.-know Kaduwaga 3.-come
 in Kumgwalala, already you know, if one comes from Kaduwaga (to Tauwema)
o ta'isini luya budubadu, e Kumgwalala beya, e
 LOC plantation coconut-tree many yes Kumgwalala there and
 at the plantation with these many cococonut trees, yes there is Kumgwalala, and
m-to-na Kavalokwa mi-siseki. Bi-sisu ke-tala
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Kavalokwa 3.HABIT.-live 3.FUT-be CP.wooden-one
 this Kavalokwa he used to live there. He will be there and one

(5)

waga bi-kota Kinala va koya beya. Bi-meye-si
 canoe 3.FUT-arrive Kinala-people DIR mountains there 3.FUT-bring-PL
 canoe arrives with Kinala people from the mountains there. They will bring
yabia buva. Bi-la beya bi-kota-si o kavalava
 sago betelnuts 3.FUT-go there 3.FUT-arrive-PL LOC canoe-landing
 sago and betelnuts. He will go there where they will arrive at the canoe-landing
 place,
bi-kanobusi bi-la o kwadeva bi-veki. E-sisu-si i-veya
 3.FUT-arrive 3.FUT-go LOC beach 3.FUT-meet. 3.-be-PL 3.-hit
 he will arrive there he will go to the beach he will meet them. They are there and
 he hits (them)

i-vokwa i-katumati. E i-kau-gwa i-vati gugua
 3.-finish 3.-kill and 3.-take-EMPH 3.-unload goods
 it is finished he killed (them). And he takes he unloads the goods

e i-meya; i-kauvi buva i-kam yabia. I-va.tu(ta),
 and 3.-brings 3.-chew betelnuts 3.-eat sago 3.-go.time
 and he brings them (to his house); he chews betelnuts and eats sago. Time passes
 (10)

kwe-ta(la) tuta e m-to-na Kavalokwa la kukwava
 CP.thing-one time and DEM-CP.male-DEM Kavalokwa his wives
 one time, and this Kavalokwa had

na-yu. Ma-na-na vilabogwa bi-sisu bi-luki:
 CP.female-two DEM-CP.female-DEM first.wife 3.FUT-be 3.FUT-tell
 two wives. This first wife will be there she will tell (the younger wife):

“Ku-la ku-ne’i buva o valu, ku-meya
 2.-go 2.-look.for betelnut LOC village 2.-bring
 “Go and look for betelnuts in the village, bring them

a-kau, ku-nigada”. E bi-la bi-nigada bi-meya
 1.-chew 2.-ask.for and 3.FUT-go 3.FUT-ask.for 3.FUT-bring
 I will chew (them), you ask for (them)”. And she will go she will ask for (them) she
 will bring (them)

i-kauvi. E ivatu kwe-tala tuta i-lo o buyagu
 3.-chew and time.passes CP.thing-one time 3.-go LOC garden
 and she chews (them). And time passes, one time she goes to the garden

(15)

ma-na-na vivila, i-sisu-ga gala bi-kau. I-la
 DEM-CP.female-DEM girl 3.-be-EMPH not 3.FUT-chew 3.-go
 this girl, and he is there (at home) and he does not chew (betelnuts). He goes

o la pweya, i-ne’i i-sisali beya doba
 LOC her big.basket 3.-look.for 3.-mix.up this grass.skirt
 to her big basket (for grass-skirts), he looks for (betelnuts) he messes these grass-
 skirts up,

i-kinigunigu – gala-wala. I-ke’ita i-ma, e oluvi
 3.-go.through nothing-only 3.-return 3.-come yes then
 he goes through them – nothing at all. She comes back she comes, yes then

la kwava, o buyagu e-ma i-meki gugua,
 his wife LOC garden 3.-come 3.-come.to goods
 his wife from the garden she comes she comes to her goods,

gala bwena. E i-luki e-kebiga: “*Avaka mbweli-m*
not good and 3.-tell 3.-say what love-you
they are not in good order. And she tells him she says: “What about your love
(20)

buva kakau? Ku-loki lu-m-ta va koya
betelnut chewing 2.-go.to sister-your-sister DIR mountains
of betelnut chewing? Go to your sister in the mountains

e-vai e-la. E bu-kula bu-kwau kaba-la buva,
3.-marry 3.-go yes 2.FUT-go.to 2.FUT-chew place-its betelnuts
she is married there she went there. Yes, you will go there you will chew, its the
place for betelnuts,

e beya-ga gala buva e-sisu”. E m-to-na
and here-EMPH no betelnut 3.-be and DEM-CP.male-DEM
and here are no betelnuts.” And this

Kavalokwa e-sisu i-nanamsa i-teya waga. I-teya waga i-meya
Kavalokwa 3.-be 3.-think 3.-cut canoe 3.-cut canoe 3.-bring
Kavalokwa he is there he thinks he cuts a (tree for a) canoe. He cuts a canoe he
brings it

i-paisa i-vinaku. I-katubiyasi la gugua, kau-la moi
3.-work 3.-finish 3.-prepare his goods food-his mat
he works on it and finishes it. He prepares his goods, his food and a sleeping mat
(25)

e i-la va waga. E-yam i-tolova. I-keva
and 3.-go DIR canoe 3.-be.day 3.-start.to.sail.away 3.-sail
and he goes to the canoe. Day breaks and he starts to sail away. He sails

e-sisakaula-wala e-la va koya i-kota E-katupoi
3.-run-just 3.-go DIR mountain 3.-arrive 3.-ask
he just sails very fast he goes to the mountains and arrives (there). She asks

lu-le-ta: “*Moa, amakavam?*” “*O gala sita ba-kauivi,*
sister-his-sister chap how.are.you oh no bit 1.FUT-chew
his sister: “Chap, what’s on?” “Oh, nothing, I will chew a bit,

e la-ma sita kaba-la buva ba-kauvi”. E Kinana
and 1.PAST-come bit place-its betelnuts 1.FUT-chew and Kinana
and I came for a while to the place of betelnuts and I will chew them”. And the
Kinana-people

bogwa e-gise-si e-va e-kebiga-si: “*E e-va-veya*
already 3.-see-PL 3.-go.to 3.-say-PL yes 3.-REDUP-hit
already they see him going there they say: “Yes he hit

(30)

veidayasi m-to-na e lagela bata-katumati-si.
 our.relatives DEM-CP.male-DEM and today 1.INCL.FUT-kill-PL and
 our relatives this man and today we will kill (him)". And

i-lukwe-si lubo-la. Kavalogwa lubo-la titolela
 3.-tell-PL brother.in.law-his Kavalogwa brother.in.law-his himself
 they tell his brother-in-law. To Kavalogwa's brother-in-law himself

e-kebiga-si: "Ka buku-yusi bi-masisi ku-veya bata-gabu-si
 3.-say-PL well 2.FUT-let.stay 3.FUT-sleep 2.-hit 1.INCL.FUT-burn-PL
 they say: "Well, you let him stay, he will sleep, you will hit him and we will cook

bata-koma-si". E i-simwe-si. I-sisu, bi-sulu lu-le-ta,
 1.INCL.FUT-eat-PL and 3.-stay-PL 3.-be 3.FUT-cook sister-his-sister
 and eat (him)". And they stay (there). He is there she will cook his sister,

i-kauui. Bi-bogi bi-sulu lu-le-ta kaula pila-tala,
 3.-chew 3.FUT-be.night 3.FUT-cook sister-his-sister yams CP.part-one
 he chews (betelnuts). In the evening his sister will cook some yams,

(35)

bi-kam-wa bi-vanoku e bi-kauui. Bi-kauui-wa bi-kaligugwali
 3.FUT-eat-just 3.FUT-finish and 3.FUT-chew 3.FUT-chew-just 3.FUT-get.tired
 He will just eat he will finish it and he will chew (betelnuts). He will just chew and
 they get tired

mata-la e-masisi. E-masisi-ii bi-bulibwali-ga lu-le-ta
 eye-his 3.-sleep 3.-sleep-Dur 3.FUT-keep.guard-EMPH sister-his-sister
 his eyes and he sleeps. He sleeps a deep sleep and she will just keep guard his
 sister,

gala. E-seki: <singing> "Mamata bero mata bero bero
 not 3.-start wake.up my.friend eye my.friend my friend
 nothing happens. She starts (to sing): "Wake up my friend an eye my friend, my
 friend

i-ne'i ine'i ine'i deli ka-m Kavalokwa.
 3.-look.for 3.-look.for 3.-look.for with food-your Kavalokwa
 it looks for it looks for it looks for you and your food, Kavalokwa.

Ku-mamata (ku-)kwaui buva ka-m kauva-m-gwa
 2.-wake.up 2.-chew betelnuts food-your speech-your-EMPH
 Wake up and chew betelnuts, your food, you said indeed

(40)

ba-loki lu-gu ta va koya kaba-la buva
 1.FUT-go.to sister-my-sister DIR mountains place-its betelnuts
 I will go to my sister in the mountains, the place of betelnuts,

a-kau”. *E-mamata Kavalokwa i-siva i-kau. I-kau*
 1.-chew 3.-wake.up Kavalokwa 3.-stay 3.-chew 3.-chew
 I chew (them)”. He wakes up Kavalokwa he stays and chews (betelnuts). He chews

i-kau-ii. Bogwa bi-kwaiai, bi-sulu
 3.-chew-EMPH already 3.FUT-be.afternoon 3.FUT-cook
 he chews and chews. Already it is afternoon and she cooks

lu-le-ta bi-ai kwela-tala ala lubau
 sister-his-sister 3.FUT-serve CP.pot.like-one his soup
 his sister, she serves one pot of his soup

pila-tala ka-la. Bi-kam bi-vokwa bi-kau bi-vokwa
 CP.part-one yams-his 3.-FUT-eat 3.FUT-finish 3.FUT-chew 3.FUT-finish
 and a serve of yams. He will eat he will finish it he will chew he will finish it and

(45)

bogwa bi-masisi. Bi-masisi e lubo-la-ga
 already 3.FUT-sleep 3.FUT-sleep and bother.in.law-his-EMPH
 already he will sleep. He will sleep and his brother-in-law, indeed,

keyala ma-ke-na e-kau e-nanamsi bi-basi.
 spear DEM-CP.rigid-DEM 3.-take 3.-think 3.FUT-stab
 he takes this spear he thinks he will stab (him).

Ivatu ivatu ivatu lu-le-ta bogwa
 time.passes time.passes time.passes sister-his-sister already
 Time passes time passes time passes, his sister already

e-somata bwali, i-kenu, asiteyu-wa i-masisi-si.
 3.-tired all.night 3.-lie.down the.two.of.them-just 3.-sleep-PL
 she is tired all night she lies down, the two of them are just sleeping.

I-masisi-si e-tokeva lubo-la e-mweki bogwa
 3.-sleep-PL 3.-stand.up brother.in.law-his 3.-see already
 They sleep and he stands up his brother-in-law he sees already

(50)

e-masisi la kwava. E-kau keyala i-koi va
 3.-sleep his wife 3.-take spear 3.-spear DIR
 she sleeps his wife. He takes the spear and he spears him into

kuku-la e-kariga. I-kariga i-masisi lu-le-ta
 heart-his 3.-die 3.-die 3.-sleep sister-his-sister
 his heart and he dies. He dies and she sleeps his sister

i-luvai e-kebiga: “O lu-gu-ta bogwa e-kariga!”
 3.-remember 3.-say oh brother-my-brother already 3.-die
 she realizes what happened she says “Oh my brother, already he is dead!”

I-le'i yama-la i-mweki bogwa e-katumati
 3.-throw hand-her 3.-see already 3.-kill

She throws up her hands she sees he is already killed

lu-le-ta. E-yam i-luki latu-la tauwau te-yu
 brother-her-brother 3.-be.day 3.-tell child-her man CP.male-two
 her brother. Day breaks and she tells her children, her two sons,

(55)

ma-na-na vivila, e-kebiga: "Ka, ku-lo-si ku-ginoli-si
 DEM-CP.female-DEM girl 3.-say Well 2.-go-PL 2.-set.sail-PL
 this woman she says: "Well you go you set the sail

waga ta-lau-si kada-mi o davalusi". Bogeokwa,
 canoe 1.INCL-take-PL uncle-your LOC our.village already.finished
 of this canoe we take your uncle to our village. It is already finished and

m-to-na to-kekita i-lau i-ginoli waga
 DEM-CP.male-DEM CP.male-little 3.-take 3-set.sail canoe
 this younger one he takes (him) and sets the sail of the canoe,

m-to-na to-veaka e-luki e-kebiga: "Ka, buku-lo-si,
 DEM-CP.male-DEM CP.male-tall 3.-speak 3.-say well 2.FUT-go-PL
 this older one he speaks he says: "Well, you will go

yegu ba-kakomwenagua so-gu tomwaya". E-luki
 I 1.FUT-go.up.to village friend-my old.man 3.-tell
 but I will go up to the village to my friend the old man". He tells

(60)

tama-la: "Ta-suva ta-va-aa ka, ta-taloisi
 father-his DUAL.INCL-go.up DUAL.INCL-go.to-EMPH well DUAL.INCL-say.farewell
 his father: "We two go up we will go there indeed, well, we say good bye

kwe'ita e baka-lo-si-ga baka-lau-si-ga
 return and 1.EXCL.FUT-go-PL-EMPH 1.EXCL.FUT-bring-PL-EMPH
 return and we will go indeed we will bring (him there)

i-si(va) ka-baku-si baka-ke'ita-si". Bogeokwa
 3.-stay 1.EXCL-bury-PL 1.EXCL-return-PL already.finished
 he will stay we will bury him and we will return". It is already finished

i-lola-si va keda, Gibwalei i-basi kaike-la
 3.-walk-PL DIR path Gibwalei-grass 3.-sting leg-his
 they walk to the path, and the sharp Gibwalei grass stings the leg of

m-to-na gwadi i-luki tama-la: "Tama ku-me ku-teya
 DEM-CP.male-DEM child 3.-tell father-his father 2.-come 2.-cut
 this child and he tells his father: "Father come and cut

(65)

keike-gu e-basi Gibwalei". *Avetuta i-sili-si i-kululu*
 leg-my 3.-sting gibwalei when 3.-sit-PL 3.-bend
 my leg it got stung by the Gibwalei-grass". When they sit he bends down
tama-la i-kau kema i-kapituni keyo-la tama-la, mapu-la
 father-his 3.-take axe 3.-cut.off neck-his father-his prize-its
 his father and he takes an axe he cuts off the neck of his father as the compensation
kada-la e-veya. Bogeokwa i-lega-si biga tommota
 uncle-his 3.-kill already.finished 3.-hear-PL words people
 for the fact that he killed his uncle. It is already finished and they hear words of
 people

e-me-si bi-veya-si. Bogwa e-kalibusi-si so-la
 3.-come-PL 3.FUT-hit-PL already 3.-punt-PL friend-his
 they come they will kill them. Already they punt (the canoe out into the sea) he and
bwada-la, i-yobwanini-si-wala i-keva-si. I-sakaula-si-waaa
 younger.brother-his 3.-set.sail-PL-only 3.-sail-PL 3.-run-PL-just
 his younger brother, they just set sail and sail away. They just sail very fast

(70)

i-salili lilu i-silalagua-si Kumgwalala. I-me-si i-baku-si kada-si
 3.-set sun 3.-land-PL Kumgwalala 3.-come-PL 3.-bury-PL uncle-their
 the sun sets and they land at Kumgwalala. They come they bury their uncle.

I-simwe-si i-sigaga-si.
 3.-stay-PL 3.-stay,permanently-PL
 They stay they stay forever.

Am kweta'elaeae
 Your turn to tell a story (in a competition).

Bogwa me-sinau.
 already 3.HABIT-finish
 Already it is finished.

Kalavatu starts the telling of this tale with the ritualized introductory formula and the name of the story. Then he introduces the protagonist of the story, whose name is Kavalokwa. He lived in the area called *Kumgwalala*, which is somewhere between the villages Tauwema and Kaduwaga on Kaile'una Island – close to Kaduwaga. Kalavatu identifies this area referring to a present-day coconut tree plantation which is a well known landmark for his audience. Thus, Kavalokwa does not live in a village but in a place of his own – reasons for this are not mentioned.

The story proper starts after these few introductory remarks with a take up of the fact that Kavalokwa lived there, when a canoe with Kinala people "from the

mountains”, i.e. from the D’Entrecasteaux Islands arrived. The people of Kaduwaga had a special relationship with these islanders, because they were *Kula*-partners of the people of Dobu Island and of the Amphletts. And up till these days people from the D’Entrecasteaux Islands sail to the Trobriands to sell betelnuts and sometimes also sago. The seasons for betelnuts are slightly different on the Trobriands and on the D’Entrecasteaux Islands – there is a time of about 6 weeks when there are hardly any betelnuts available on the Trobriands – and this is the time when the people “from the mountains” come to sell (or in former times barter) their betelnuts to the Trobrianders who are really addicted to this relatively mild drug. The crew of the canoe that landed near Kavalokwa’s place of living came to Kaile’una island for exactly this reason. Kavalokwa sees the landing of the canoe, goes to the beach, kills the crew of the canoe, takes their goods, brings them to his house and eats the sago and chews the betelnuts.

Some time has passed after Kavalokwa’s holdup murder. Kalavatu now introduces Kavalokwa’s two wives. The older wife asks the younger woman to go to Kaduwaga and ask for betelnuts. The younger wife goes and gets some nuts, brings them to Kavalokwa’s first wife who then chews them. This may indicate that Kavalokwa did not share the stolen betelnuts with his wives – which is a rather scandalous form of behavior on the Trobriands. This inference seems plausible when we hear that some time later – while his young wife is working in the garden – Kavalokwa, who stays at home, has run out of betelnuts. He searches for nuts in the big baskets in which his young wife stores her grass-skirts and makes a mess with these carefully stored skirts. When his wife comes home she sees what he has done; she is very upset and tells her husband that if he wants to chew betelnuts he should sail to his sister who married a man from the D’Entrecasteaux Islands and lives there with him. Kavalokwa takes this advice seriously, he makes a canoe, supplies himself with provisions and stores his sleeping mat into the canoe. He is ready for sailing to his sister’s place. At daybreak Kavalokwa sails away, leaving his wives behind, and arrives on the D’Entrecasteaux Islands after a quick journey. He meets his sister who greets him and asks him why he has come. He tells her that he will stay for a while to just chew betelnuts. Kavalokwa’s sister is married to a Kinala man (Kinana is just a dialect variant of Kinala). The Kinala people have not forgotten that Kavalokwa killed their relatives and stole their goods and when they see this wicked man from Kaile’una Island, they decide to take revenge and kill him. They approach Kavalokwa’s brother-in-law and tell him what to do. He should host Kavalokwa, and at night when Kavalokwa is sleeping he should help the other men to kill him; then they will cook and eat him. They all stay close to where Kavalokwa’s brother-in-law lives. Kavalokwa’s sister cooks for her brother, provides him with betelnuts and when he gets tired and falls asleep she keeps guard for him – and indeed, nothing happens during the first night of his stay. At the end

of her night watch the woman sings a song and wakes up her brother. Kavalokwa gets up and eats betelnuts all day long. In the evening his sister cooks soup and yams for him. He eats his meal and then falls asleep again. His brother-in-law takes his spear and prepares for killing him. After a long time Kavalokwa's sister gets so tired that she also falls asleep. Her husband takes his spear and stabs Kavalokwa's heart with his spear. The wound is fatal and Kavalokwa dies. When his sister wakes up she realizes what has happened and she cries out "Oh my brother is dead". In the morning Kavalokwa's sister tells her two sons to prepare a canoe for bringing their uncle home to his place before the Kinala people will eat him. When the canoe is ready to sail away, the older boy goes from the beach up to the village to inform his father about their plans. His father accompanies his son to the beach to say goodbye to his family, but on their way to the canoe the boy hurts himself. He asks his father to treat the wound and when he tries to do this the boy takes an axe and decapitates him – as a revenge for the fact that his father – with whom he is not related in the Trobrianders' matrilinear society – killed his mother's brother, the closest male relative of a Trobriand child. Back at the beach the two sons and her mother hear the voices of the Kinala people rushing from the village to the beach to kill them. They board their canoe, punt it out into the open sea and sail away – escaping the Kinala cannibals. They sail very fast, arrive at the Kumgwala area near Kaduwaga village, land there and bury their uncle close to where he lived with his two wives.

The tale ends with the ritual formula that announces the end of a story, a challenge of Kalavatu to his audience to come up with a better story and then a final ritualized marking of the end of a story. The structure of the plot of this story is summarized in Table 22:

Table 22. The structure of the "Tale of Kavalokwa"

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula and the name of the story	1
<i>Episode 1 Kavalokwa and his place of living</i>	1–4
<i>Episode 2 Kinala people who want to barter sago and betelnuts arrive with their canoe and get killed by Kavalokwa</i>	4–9
<i>Episode 3 Kavalokwa's wives, his love for betelnuts and his preparations to sail to his sister in the mountains</i>	9–25
Subevent 1 Kavalokwa's two wives.	9–11
Subevent 2 The older wife tells the younger one to get betelnuts for her and she does so.	11–14
Subevent 3 While his young wife works in the garden Kavalokwa looks for betelnuts and messes up his wife's grass-skirts.	14–17
Subevent 4 Returning home his wife is upset and tells Kavalokwa to sail to his sister in the mountains and get betelnuts there.	17–22

Table 22. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 5	Kavalokwa builds a canoe and prepares to sail to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.	22–25
<i>Episode 4 Kavalokwa on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands</i>		25–51
Subevent 1	Kavalokwa sails to his sister's place.	25–26
Subevent 2	His sister greets him.	26–27
Subevent 3	Kavalokwa tells her that he has come for betelnuts	27–28
Subevent 4	The Kinala people decide to kill Kavalokwa with the help of his brother-in-law and eat him.	28–33
Subevent 5	Kavalokwa's sister feeds him, provides him with betelnuts and guards him at night.	33–37
Subevent 6	Kavalokwa's sister wakes her brother up with a song, cooks for him and gives him betelnuts until her brother falls asleep.	37–45
Subevent 7	This time Kavalokwa's sister also falls asleep and her husband kills her brother.	45–51
<i>Episode 5 The revenge of Kavalokwa's sister and her sons</i>		51–67
Subevent 1	Kavalokwa's sister realizes that her brother is dead.	51–54
Subevent 2	In the morning she tells her sons to prepare their canoe to bring their dead uncle back to his place.	54–56
Subevent 3	When the canoe is ready to leave, her older son goes up to the village to see his father.	56–59
Subevent 4	The son informs his father about their plans and tells him that they want to say good-bye.	59–62
Subevent 5	On their way to the canoe the boy hurts himself and when his father tries to treat the wound on his leg the boy kills him.	62–67
<i>Episode 6 Kavalokwa's sister and her children escape the Kinala people, sail to Kaile'una and bury Kavalokwa's corpse</i>		67–70
	One of the ritualized formulae which announce the end of a story	71
	A challenge to the audience to tell another story	72
	Another one of the ritualized formulae which announce the end of a story	73

This kind of crime story consists of 6 episodes one of which has 7 subevents. It gets its specific dynamics with the narrator's frequent use of direct speech uttered by different protagonists. Kavalokwa's place of living is concisely located on Kaile'una Island, but the place of the village where the Kinala people live remains unspecified. In the "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" Malinowski (1922:290ff) refers to the "Kinana" as the Basima natives or the natives of Gabu who live in the Gabu district in a bay under the north-west flank of the Koyatabu mountain on Fergusson Island. The famous story of Gumagabu and the Gumagabu song (see Malinowski 1922:292ff) report a visit of the Gabu natives by the crews of two canoes from Bulakwa village on Kaile'una Island. Chief Toraya and his men were

killed by the Kinala people, but Tomakam, Toraya's younger brother, "went to the Koya of Gabu, and killed the head man of one of the villages, avenging thus his brother's death" (Malinowski 1922: 291). In his retelling the story of Gumagabu Malinowski (1922: 292) provides the gloss "the Southern foreigner" for Kinana (see also Baldwin 1971: 285). But back to Kalavatu's story. Kalavatu uses the following narrative means to structure this tale:

- change of TAM marker used in the sentence final verb in the new sentence initial verb (line 4 (...mi-siseki. Bi-sisu...)),
- change of time (lines 9, 25, 54),
- change of character (lines 11, 17, 22, 26, 27, 28, 33, 37, 59 (addressee)),
- tail-head linkage (lines 45, 51) and
- the explicit marking of the end of a subevent (lines 56, 62, 67).

Kalavatu produces the vast majority of verbs without any TAM markers, there are many verbs with the marker for future/irrealis, three verbs with the habitual marker and one verb with the marker for past or completed action.

The *kukwanebu Kavalokwa* quite drastically illustrates the importance of the matrilinear organization of Trobriand society: Everybody in Kalavatu's audience will have no problems at all to understand that the eldest son of Kavalokwa's sister just kills his father in a blood revenge, because he had killed his uncle, his mother's brother and thus his closest male relative. The fact that Kavalokwa travelled to his sister who lived with the Kinala people also shows that he completely trusted in her powers to protect him as her closest male relative from the people of her village and her husband. The song which Kavalokwa's sister sang to wake up her brother also shows the close relationship between brother and sister on the Trobriands.

There is an obvious loose thread in this story. Kalavatu introduces Kavalokwa's wives, but he does not mention these women any more at the end of the story, although Kavalokwa's sister and her sons bring him back to his place of living on Kaile'una Island and bury him there. With respect to this Trobriand story Kavalokwa's two wives seem to only have the function to shed some light on the main protagonist's character and to give him the idea to visit his sister "in the mountains". For the end of the story these women obviously have become irrelevant for both the narrator and his audience. As mentioned before, Kalavatu told me that already his father's father told this story to his children. Thus, this story goes back to times of old when some people living on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands were indeed still cannibals. However, with the information I got from Kalavatu and given the content of the story I cannot decide whether this *kukwanebu* reports fact or fiction. This remains an open issue (see Senft 2010a: Section 10.1).

3.2.8 *Moagawa tells the “Kwanebuyee Morevaya Bukuruvi” – The “Tale of Morevaya and Bukuruvi”*

One afternoon in 1997, after I had finished transcribing Kalavatu’s tale of Kavalokwa together with my consultants Moagava and Gerubara, Moagava, a then 29 year old man, told me that he also knows two nice stories and asked me whether I would be interested in documenting them. Before I could say anything the children who were sitting in my house and on my veranda while we did the transcription work reacted enthusiastically to this offer and begged Moagava to please tell his tales. When I was ready to record them, Moagava told us first the tale of Morevaya and Bukuruvi:

Kwanebuyee-ee, kwanebuyee-ee pila-tala kukwanebu.

tale-EMPH tale-EMPH CP.part-one tale

Once upon a time... once upon a time... a tale!

Tau yaga-la Morevaya, vivila yaga-la Bukuruvi.

man name-his Morevaya girl name-her Bukuruvi

A man called Morevaya and a girl called Bukuruvi.

Ma-na-na Bukuruvi, ma-na-na Bukuruvi me-sisiki

DEM-CP.female-DEM Bukuruvi DEM-CP.female-DEM Bukuruvi 3.HABIT-live

This Bukuruvi, this Bukuruvi she lived

Goodenough, m-to-na Morevaya me-sisiki Omyuva.

Goodenough DEM-CP.male-DEM Morevaya 3.HABIT-live Omyuva

on Goodenough Island and this Morevaya he lived in Omyuva. [mistake- vice versa, see line 16]

(5)

E-sisu e-sisu ma-na-na Bukuruvi sena na-manabweta.

3.-be 3.-be DEM-CP.female-DEM Bukuruvi very CP.female-beautiful

She is (there) she is (there) this Bukuruvi (she) is very beautiful.

E m-to-na Morevaya sena to-manabweta,

and DEM-CP.male-DEM Morevaya very CP.male-beautiful.

And this Morevaya is very beautiful,

m-to-na Morevaya sena to.manabweta – e-sisu. Tommota

DEM-CP.male-DEM Morevaya very CP.male-beautiful 3.-be people

this Morevaya is very beautiful – he lives there. The people

kumwedona i-lo-si, i-lo-si i-gise-si Bukuruvi bi-veya-si.

all 3.-go-PL 3.-go-PL 3.-see-PL Bukuruvi 3.FUT-marry-PL

all of them they go they go to see Bukuruvi they want to marry (her).

E i-ve-si i-gise-si. Gala gala i-bwadi nano-la
 yes 3.-go.to-PL 3.-see-PL. No no 3.-fit mind-her
 Yes they go there to see her. No no one fits the mind of

(10)

ma-na-na, sena to-mi... to-mi-migaga. M-to-na
 DEM-CP.female-DEM very CP.male-ug... CP.male-REDUP-ugly DEM-CP.male-DEM
 this girl, (they are) so very ugly so very very ugly. This

Morevaya e-sisu e-nanamsa. I-gesi nuya, e'ita
 Morevaya 3.-be 3.-think 3.-husk coconut eight
 Morevaya he is there he is thinking. He husks coconuts – eight

alabava, avaka yule-tala ya-tolu,
 many what CP.bundle.of.four-one CP.flexible-three
 as many as this, one bundle of four and three

yule-tala ya-tolu i-lau. Yam bogi
 CP.bundle.of.four-one CP.flexible-three 3.-take day night
 one bundle of four and three he takes them. Day and night

yam bogi i-ulaola o bwalita. I-ulaola ala yam
 day night 3.-paddle LOC sea 3.-paddle his day
 day and night he paddles at sea. He paddles his day

(15)

ala bogi ala yam ala boge-ee e i-la i-talagua
 his night his day his-night-EMPH and 3.-go 3.-arrive
 his night his day his night indeed and he goes he arrives

Omyuva. I-talagua Omyuva e-masi-si o kwadeva.
 Omyuva 3.-arrive Omyuva 3.-sleep LOC beach
 at Omyuva. He arrives at Omyuva and he sleeps on the beach.

E-masisi e-masise-ee. E ma-na-na-ga Bokuruvi
 3.-sleep 3.-sleep-EMPH and DEM-CP.female-DEM-EMPH Bokuruvi
 He sleeps and sleeps a long time. And indeed this Bokuruvi

e-sisu o la valu i-mimi. I-kenua va bwal
 3.-be LOC her village 3.-dream 3.-lie DIR house
 she is in her village and she dreams. She lies down in her house

i-mimi e-vabusi o kwadeva. E-vabusi e-meki
 3.-dream 3.-walk.down LOC beach 3.-walk.down 3.-come.to
 she dreams she would walk down to the beach. She walks down she comes

(20)

tau o kwadeva e-sisu, o kwadeva e-sisu. E-sisu
 man LOC beach 3.-be LOC beach 3.-be 3.-be
 to the man who is at the beach, who is at the beach. He is there

i-vokwa e-livala Bokuruvi: "Ta-mwa o valu".
 3.-finish 3.-say Bokuruvi DUAL.INCL-go.to LOC village
 it is finished and she says Bokuruvi: "We two go to the village".

E-kebiga: "O gala, ku-la o valu ba-sisu-ga o
 3.-say oh no 2.-go LOC village 1.FUT-be-EMPH LOC
 He says: "Oh no, go to the village but I will stay at

kwadeva". E-livala tuvela Bukuruvi e-kebiga: "Ta-mwa
 beach 3.-speak again Bukuruvi 3.-say DUAL.INCL-go.go
 the beach". She speaks again Bukuruvi she says: "We two go to

o valu". E-kebiga: "Gala, ku-la, ba-sisu-ga". "Gala",
 LOC village 3.-say no 2.-go 1.FUT-be-EMPH no
 the village". He says "No, you go but I will stay". "No",

(25)

i-gisemwa-wa Bokuruvi i-vakoli tau, i-lo-si o valu
 3.-look.around-only Bokuruvi 3.-take.to man 3.-go-PL LOC village
 Bokuruvi just looks around and takes the man and they go to the village.

I-lo-si o valu i-lo-si kwe-tala bwala e-sisusi,
 3.-go-PL LOC village 3.-go-PL CP.thing-one house 3.-be-PL
 They go to the village they go to a house, they are (there)

ma-na-na Bokuruvi la bwala. E-sisu-si va bwala,
 DEM-CP.female-DEM Bokuruvi her house 3.-be-PL DIR house
 (it is) this Bokuruvi's house. They are in the house

e ina-la tama-la gala e-nukwali-si. E ma-na-na
 and mother-her father-her not 3.-know-PL and DEM-CP.female-DEM
 and her mother and her father do not know (this). And this

vivila, e m-to... ma-na-na Bokuruvi lube-la
 girl eh DEM-CP.male... DEM-CP.female-DEM Bokuruvi friend-her
 girl's, this... this Bokuruvi's boy-friend

(30)

lube-la e-sisu i-lagi biga. A Bokuruvi bogwa e-vai,
 friend-her 3.-be 3.-hear word ah Bokuruvi already 3.-marry
 her friend is there he hears words. Ah, Bokuruvi already marries,

e-veya Morevaya. E e-bogi i-luvavala tama-la, e
 3.-marry Morevaya and 3.-be.night 3.-announce father-her and
 she marries Morevaya. And when night falls he announces it, her father, and

i-la kabula-tala valu i-la kabulu-yuvela "Nubyeya
 3.-go CP.sector-one village 3.-go CP.sector-other tomorrow
 he goes to one sector of the village and he goes to the other one. "Tomorrow

buku-vati-si latu-gu la kubudoga, latu-gwa si
 2.FUT-set.up-PL child-my her big.veranda children-my their
 you will set up my child's big veranda, my children's
kubudoga". *Bi-va bi-kanobusi bi-ve-si i-yau*
 big.veranda 3.FUT-go.to 3.FUT-come.out 3.FUT-go.to-PL 3.-open
 big veranda". He will go there he will come out, they will go (there), he opens
 (35)

mata-si olopolo valu. E-yam i-tokeva-si
 eye-their in.the.middle.of village 3.-be.day 3.-stand.up-PL
 their eyes in the middle of the village. Day breaks and they stand up
ilungwa kumwedona tommota, i-vati-si kebila.
 chief's.supporters all people 3.-set.up-PL veranda
 the chief's supporters and all the people, they set up the veranda.

I-vokwa, e-sisu-si so-la vivila va bwala e
 3.-finish 3.-be-PL friend-her girl DIR house and
 It is finished, and they are there he and the girl at the house and

e-putu-putuma-si. Nuya i-kwali-si i-putuma-si. I-vokwa
 3.-REDUP-anoint-PL coconut 3.-scratch-PL 3.-anoint-PL 3.-finish
 they anoint themselves. They scratch coconuts and anoint themselves. It is finished
 and

i-kalai-si ketakera, bweta i-sikam-si, tau
 3.-wear.in.hair cockatoo wreath.of.flower 3.-wear-PL man
 they put cockatoo feathers in their hair, they wear wreaths of flowers, the man
 (40)

mwebua e-sikam, vivila doba i-sikam. E-livala:
 loin.cloth 3.-wear girl grass-skirt 3.-wear 3.-say:
 wears a loin cloth, the girl wears a grass-skirt. She says:

"(Ku-)kwanobwibogwa pela yokwa tolivalu". E-vavagi-ga
 2.-go.first for you member.of.village 3.-say-EMPH
 "You go first because you are a member of the village". He says

m-to-na Morevaya: "Gala". E e-livala Bokuruvi:
 DEM-CP.male.DEM Morevaya no and 3.-say Bokuruvi
 this Morevaya: "No". And Bokuruvi says:

"(Ku-)kwanobwibogwa yokwa". E-kebiga: "Gala". E-livala
 2.-go.first you 3.-say no 3.-say
 "You go first". He says: "No". He says

m-to-na Morevaya: "(Ku-)kwanobwibogwa pela yokwa
 DEM-CP.male.DEM Morevaya 2.-go.first for you
 this Morevaya: "You go first because you

(45)

tolivalu yokwa, yegu-la-ga makala tole-gu
 member.of.village you I-EMPH-EMPH like from-I
 you are a member of the village, but I am indeed from

pila-tala la-ma". E-kominimani-si-wa gala e-kukwem-wala
 CP.part-one 1.PAST-come 3.-argue-PL-just not 3.-be.first-just
 another place I came from (there)". They just do not argue anymore and she is
 just the first

Bokuruvi. E-sake-si tua tommota e-katugogova-si
 Bokuruvi 3.-give-PL shouting.praise people 3.-shout.with.joy-PL
 Bokuruvi. They give her a shouting praise the people, they shout with joy

galayomala i-li-lola i-la i-siva. E oluvi-ga Morevaya
 much 3.-REDUP-walk 3.-go 3.-stay and then-EMPH Morevaya
 with a lot of joy, she walks she goes she stays (there). And then indeed Morevaya

e-kanobusi. Morevaya, e-kanobusi i-li-lola e-sake-si vivila
 3.-appear Morevaya 3.-appear 3.-REDUP-walk 3.-give-PL girl
 appears. Morevaya appears he walks and they give the girl

(50)

tua galayomala pela Morevaya sena to-manabweta.
 shouting.praise much for Morevaya very CP.male-beautiful
 a lot of shouting praise because Morevaya is such very beautiful man.

Sena to-manabweta ma-na-na Bokuruvi sena
 very CP.male-beautiful DEM-CP.female-DEM Bokuruvi very
 He is a very beautiful man and this Bokuruvi is a very

na-manbweta. E-lo-si e-sive-si. E-vagi tama-la
 CP.female-beautiful 3.-go-PL 3.-sit.down-PL 3.-prepare father-her
 beautiful girl. They go and sit down. Her father prepares

bunukwa buva tou avaka avaka. I-vokwa; i-simwe-si
 pig betelnut sugarcane what what 3.-finish 3.-stay-PL
 pork, betelnuts, sugarcane whatever whatever. It is finished, they stay

i-kam-si tommota. E-kam-kwam-si i-vokwa e-simwe-si.
 3.-eat-PL people 3.-eat-REDUP-PL 3.-finish 3.-stay-PL
 they eat the people. They eat and eat, it is finished and they stay (together).

(55)

E-sisu-si e-sisu-si e-sisu-si-ii makala tetu kwe-vasi
 3.-be-PL 3.-be-PL 3.-be-PL-Dur like year CP.thing-four
 They are there they are there they are really there for a long time, actually for years,
 for four

tetu. E e-suma ma-na-na vivila. I-suma
 year and 3.-become.pregnant DEM-CP.female-DEM girl 3.-become.pregnant
 years. And she becomes pregnant this girl. She becomes pregnant

ma-na-na vivila i-uni latu-si – tau. I-uni
 DEM-CP.female-DEM girl 3.-give.birth child-their man 3.-give.birth
 this girl she gives birth to their child – a boy. She gives birth to

latu-si – tau, e-sisu-si bogwa e-toveaka tau.
 child-their man 3.-be-PL already 3.-grow.up man
 their child – a boy, they are there and already he grows up this boy.

M-to-na. e-toveaka e-livala: “A-doki bata-lo-si
 DEM-CP.male-DEM 3.-grow.up 3.-say 1.-think 1.INCL.FUT-go-PL
 He(the son) grows up and he (Morevaya) says: “I think we will go

(60)

o mi valu. Bata-lo-si o gu valu,
 LOC your village 1.INCL.FUT-go-PL LOC my village
 to your village. We will go to my village

ta-gise-si veyagwa”. E e-kebiga ma-na-na Bokuruvi:
 1.INCL-see-PL relatives and 3.-say DEM-CP.female-DEM Bokuruvi
 we see the relatives”. And she says this Bokuruvi:

“O bogwa bwena”. I-kabi-si i-lo-si yam bogi
 oh already good 3.-start-PL 3.-go-PL day night
 “Oh, that’s fine”. They start they go day and night

yam bogi yam boge-ee i-talagwa-si Goodenough i-loke-si
 day night day night-Dur 3.-arrive-PL Goodenough 3.-go.to-PL
 day and night day and night a long time and they arrive in Goodenough where they
 wanted to go to

veya-la. I-ligemwa vivila e-sisu o kwadeva
 relative-his 3.-leave girl 3.-be LOC beach
 his relatives. He leaves the girl, she is at the beach

(65)

so-la latu-la. I-komwenagua i-loki veyala
 friend-her child-her 3.-go.up.to.village 3.-go.to relative-his
 she and her child. He goes up to the village he goes to his relatives

o valu. I-veki lube-la na-bogwa,
 LOC village 3.-meet friend-hie CP.female-old
 in the village. He meets his old girl-friend

m-to-na Morevaya. Lube-la na-bogwa, bogwa
 DEM-CP.male-DEM Morevaya friend-his CP.female-old already
 this Morevaya. His old girl friend is already

e-sisu. I-la i-veya e-ligemwaga ma-na-na. I-sisu-si
 3.-be 3.-go 3.-marry 3.-forget DEM-CP.female-DEM 3.-be-PL
 there. He goes and marries her (and) he forgets this woman. They are there
so-la latu-la o kwadeva. Gala kaula, gala sopi,
 friend-his child-his LOC Beach no food no water
 she and her child at the beach. No food and no water

(70)

bi-bani-si ambeya galawala. E-sisu-si-wa. Te-tala tomwota,
 3.FUT-find-PL where nothing 3.-be-PL-just CP.male-one person
 they will find there, nothing. They just are there. One man,

te-tala tomwota, m-to-na tomwota – yaga-la gala
 CP.male-one person DEM-CP.male-DEM person name-his not
 one man, this person – his name I do not

a-nukwali – i-bani. I-bani ma-na-na vivila i-veya.
 1.-know 3.-find 3.-find DEM-CP.female-DEM girl 3.-marry
 know – he finds them. He finds this girl and marries her.

I-veya i-yosi gwadi i-veya ma-na-na vivila
 3.-marry 3.-hold child 3.-marry DEM-CP.female-DEM- girl
 He marries her he holds the child, he marries this girl

i-mweya m-to-na-ga tomwaya. E-va bogwa
 3.-take.away DEM-CP.male-DEM-EMPH old.man 3.-go.to already
 he takes her away this old man. He (Morevaya) already goes to

(75)

e-loki lube-la na-bogwa i-vai i-siva-wala
 3.-go.to friend-his CP.female-ole 3.-marry 3.-stay-just
 he goes to his old girl-friend, he marries her and he just stays

o la valu. E mi-na-na vivila i-vakoli
 LOC his village and DEM-CP.female-DEM girl 3.-bring
 in his village. And this girl he (the man from Morevaya's village) brings her (Bokuruvi)

i-veya i-lau pila-tala valu i-sive-si,
 3.-marry 3.-bring CP-part-one village 3.-stay-PL
 he marries her he takes her to the other side of the village and they stay there

e i-simwa-ga so-la.
 and 3.-stay-EMPH friend-her
 and she indeed stays there with her friend.

Bogwa me-sinau.
 already 3.HABIT-finish
 Already it is finished.

Moagava starts this tale with the ritualized introductory formula the Trobriand Islanders use to introduce stories: He repeats the formula “*kwanebuyeee*” twice, then he explicitly emphasizes once more that he will tell a tale and mentions the name of the story.

Now he introduces the protagonists. Bukuruvi is a beautiful woman who lives in Omyuva, a village on Woodlark Island, and Morevaya is a beautiful man who lives on Goodenough Island, one of the D’Entrecasteaux Islands (Note that Moagava corrects in line 16 the mistake of the geographical references he made in line 4).

Because of her beauty all men go to Omyuva to see her and to marry her, but nobody finds favor in her eyes because they are all too ugly for Bukuruvi.

Morevaya has also heard about Bukuruvi and her beauty. And he makes a plan of how to win Bukuruvi’s love. He husks eight coconuts, bundles them, puts them into his canoe and paddles the long way to Omyuva. To win the love of a girl throughout the Milne Bay Province of PNG is always associated with love magic. The explicit reference to coconuts here must carry additional meaning, because every child knows that people take coconuts with them when they prepare for longer journeys with their canoes. And the strange reference to one bundle of four coconuts and mysterious three additional bundles for the other four coconuts support this inference. Obviously Morevaya has put a strong spell of love magic on these nuts. When he arrives in Omyuva, he lies down on the beach and sleeps.

While he sleeps at the beach, Bokuruvi sleeps in her house in the village and dreams that she would walk down to the beach – this dream is most probably caused by Morevaya’s powerful love magic. She wakes up, goes to the beach and comes to the place where Morevaya is sleeping.

Morevaya wakes up and the choosy Bokuruvi – who so far did not like any other man who came to her village to see her – invites him to come with her to the village. However, Morevaya declines this invitation twice. But Bukuruvi, after having looked around to be sure that nobody is watching them, drags this uncooperative man up to the village and into her house. Morevaya’s love magic must be strong, indeed, to make proud Bokuruvi act like this.

Bukuruvi’s parents are sleeping and do not notice anything of what is going on. But one of the beautiful girl’s former boy-friends hears the voices of Morevaya and Bokuruvi in the house and infers that the two will marry each other.

The story does not tell us what is happening next day – but everybody in the audience can imagine that it was a day full of gossip which finally came to the ears of Bokuruvi’s parents, too. And in the evening Bokuruvi’s father announces the marriage of his daughter in all village sectors of Omyuva and asks the villagers to set up a big veranda on which they should put their presents for his daughter and her husband-to-be.

Next morning the village people fulfill the wish of Bukuruvi's father and set up this veranda for newly-weds. In the meantime the bride and her bridegroom carefully anoint their bodies with coconut oil and decorate themselves with flowers and cockatoo feathers, Morevaya wears the traditional loin cloth and Bukuruvi a grass-skirt. When they are ready, Bukuruvi asks Morevaya to go out first as a (new) member of the village, but Morevaya refuses her offer twice, emphasizing that he is the one who comes from another place. On the Trobriand Islands and in many other areas in Milne Bay Province the residence of a married couple is virilocal (see Malinowski 1929); thus, for the Trobriand audience it must be weird to hear that the two protagonists marry in Bukuruvi's village Omyuva and not in Morevaya's village on Goodenough Island. And indeed this social fact will have severe consequences for the relationship between the two protagonists.

Finally Bokuruvi is the first to come out of the house and she presents herself to the villagers, who welcome her with shouts of joy. Then Morevaya appears and walks to his bride. He also receives a joyous welcome by the village people who praise the couple for their beauty. They sit down in the village and Bokuruvi's father provides pork, betelnuts and sugarcane for everybody, indicating that he is very happy with his daughter's choice of husband. They have a big communal meal in the village, and when the marriage party is over, Bokuruvi and Morevaya stay in Bokuruvi's village.

About four years later Bokuruvi becomes pregnant and gives birth to a boy. When the boy has grown up his father tells them that they all should go to his village to see his relatives, his wife's and son's relatives-in-law. He first refers to his village on Goodenough as their village, that is his wife's and his son's village – this is a subtle hint that the proper place of residence of his family should be Morevaya's village.

Having agreed to do this, Morevaya, Bokuruvi and their son start their journey to Goodenough. They paddle three days and three nights and arrive at the beach of Morevaya's home.

After their arrival Morevaya leaves his wife and his son at the beach and goes to his relatives where he meets his old girl-friend. He marries her and completely forgets about his family on the beach. Having left his former wife and his son on their own, there are no cultural obstacles whatsoever for him now to marry another woman.

Bukuruvi and her child have no food and no water at the beach, however, a man from Morevaya's village finds them there and marries Bukuruvi. Her child lives with his mother and her new husband in another part of the village, far away from where Morevaya and his new wife live.

Moagava finishes this love story and its miserable end with the ritualized explicit announcement that the story has come to its end now. Table 23 summarizes the structure of this story.

Table 23. The structure of the “Tale of Morevaya and Bukuruvi”

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula and the name of the story	1–2
<i>Episode 1 Introduction to the protagonists</i>	3–7
<i>Episode 2 Everybody wants to marry Bukuruvi, but no man finds favor in her eyes</i>	7–10
<i>Episode 3 Morevaya plans his journey and paddles to Omyuva and arrives there</i>	10–16
Subevent 1 Morevaya husks coconuts and paddles to Omyuva.	10–16
Subevent 2 At Omyuva he lies down at the beach and sleeps.	16–17
<i>Episode 4 Bukuruvi meets Morevaya and decides to marry him</i>	17–31
Subevent 1 Bukuruvi dreams of Morevaya's arrival	17–19
Subevent 2 Bukuruvi asks Morevaya to come with her, he refutes her invitation twice and she finally drags him up to the village.	19–25
Subevent 3 They go into her house without anybody noticing it.	26–28
Subevent 4 While they are in the house, Bukuruvi's former boy-friend hears their voices and realizes that Bukuruvi will marry Morevaya.	28–31
<i>Episode 5 The announcement of the marriage, the couple's preparations and the celebration of the marriage</i>	31–54
Subevent 1 In the evening of the next day the girl's father announces his daughter's marriage and asks the villagers to construct a veranda to put their gifts on.	31–35
Subevent 2 In the morning the villagers do what they were told.	35–36
Subevent 3 Bukuruvi and Morevaya anoint and decorate their bodies and dress up for their wedding.	37–40
Subevent 4 The couple's argument about who should be the first to go out and present him- or herself to the villagers.	40–47
Subevent 5 The villagers first praise the beautiful bride and then the beautiful husband and then all sit down in the village yard	47–52
Subevent 6 The bride's father provides food for the whole village	52–53
Subevent 7 The all eat until they are finished and they all stay together in Omyuva	53–54
<i>Episode 6 Bokuruvi and Morevaya start a family</i>	55–61
Subevent 1 After 4 years Bokuruvi gets pregnant and gives birth to a son.	55–57
Subevent 2 The son grows up and his father wants to go to his village to see his relatives and to show them his family.	57–61
<i>Episode 7 Morevaya and his family go to Morevaya's place</i>	61–78
Subevent 1 Bokuruvi agrees to go with Morevaya to his village.	61–62
Subevent 2 They paddle to Goodenough and arrive there.	62–64
Subevent 3 Morevaya abandons his wife and their son at the beach, goes up to the village, meets his relatives and his former girl-friend, marries her and forgets about Bokuruvi and her son.	64–68
Subevent 4 Bokuruvi and her son stay at the beach without food and water, but a man finds them there; he marries Bokuruvi and the woman and her child live with him.	68–74

Table 23. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 5	Morevaya marries his old girl friend and lives with her in the village.	74–76
Subevent 6	Bokuruvi and her son live with her new husband in another part of the village.	76–78
The ritualized formula which announces the end of a story		78

This tale consists of 7 episodes one of which reports 7 subevents. Moagava uses the following narrative means (sometimes in combination) to indicate and to linguistically encode the different episodes and subevents of the *kukwanebu*:

- change of character (lines 7, 10, 17, 28, 31, 40, 47, 52, 61, 64, 68, 74, 76),
- tail-head linkage (lines 16, 26, 57),
- change of place (lines 16, 19, 26, 62),
- change of time (lines 31, 35, 55),
- direct speech (lines 40, 61) and
- the explicit marking of the end of a subevent (lines 37, 53).

Again, the narrator produces the vast majority of verbs without any TAM marker; there are a few verbs produced with the marker for future/irrealis, three verbs are produced with the habitual marker and one verb with the marker for past or completed action.

As mentioned above, Moagava mixes up the geographic locations at the beginning of the story (line 4), but he clarifies who of the protagonists lives where a few lines later (in line 16). I want to point out here that Moagava refers in a very elegant way to the *têtê-à-têtê* Bukuruvi has with Morevaya in her house. In a kind of *teichoscopy* he has a former boy-friend of Bukuruvi announce (in subevent 4 of episode 4) that she “marries” Morevaya. And in a by the way like manner, this part of the story mildly criticizes and derides voyeurism and Peeping Toms who are up to mischief at night in villages in the Milne Bay Province of PNG. Moagava’s use of direct speech and the acting out of the conversations of the two protagonists give the story an additional momentum. It should also be noted here that in line 59 and in lines 74–76 Moagava uses the third person prefix just with verbs without explicitly marking (with a fully realized subject) to whom of the protagonists the respective verb-prefix refers (see also Senft 2010a: 147) – I have clarified this in my transcription.

It is quite striking that the story does not provide much information of why its protagonists behave the way they do. As mentioned above, it is taken for granted that the audience infers that Morevaya used the coconuts he husked and put into bundles in connection with a specific form of love magic and that this magic was

so strong that it made proud Bukuruvi beg him twice and then literally drag him to her house to have a *têtê-à-têtê* with her.

Moreover, no explanation is given why Morevaya behaved so unconcernedly and callously with respect to his wife and her son after their arrival at the beach of his village on Goodenough Island. The only plausible interpretation I can offer here is that this story justifies the virilocal rule and custom of family residence valid for many Massim societies. This is supported by Baldwin (1971: 270 ff). Before he presents the tale “Kaitaki the Faithless Husband” he points out that the central motif of this story is that “husbands should not settle in the village of their wife” (Baldwin 1971: 271) being “apart from his own kinsmen” (Baldwin 1971: 246). This is also true for Mogava’s story: Morevaya could not stand to live for years in his wife’s village Omyuva; he felt homesick and when he came home he preferred to stay with his kinspeople and with a former girl-friend who reminded him of his former life and experiences in his home village. Bukuruvi on the other hand has obviously no relatives in Morevaya’s village who would be obliged to take care of her and her child. She is actually lucky that one of the men who lives in her former husband’s village takes care of her and her child and marries her. This is the only way for Bukuruvi and her son (who is not related whatsoever with his father in the Trobriand Islanders’ matrilineal society) to survive in a place where they have no relatives and no land rights, the precondition for being able to make gardens in the bush and thus for securing their subsistence. It seems that listeners to this sadly ending love story should draw the moral from it that a man’s kinship-relations and his society’s residence rules override even unheard-of beauty in the relationship between husband and wife. And this conflict is topicalized explicitly in the tale (in subevent 4 of episode 5) when we learn about the first real argument the portagonists had with each other about who should present him- or herself first to the villagers on the day of their marriage.

3.2.9 *Moagava tells the “Kwanebuyee Kuviviya Takola” – The “Tale of Kuviviya and Takola”*

The second story that Moagava told us was the following tale of Kuviviya and Takola:

Kwanebuyee-ee na-yu mauna, na-tala-wa
 tale-EMPH CP.animal-two animal CP.animal-one-just

The tale of (Once upon a time there were) two birds, just one

Kuviviya Takola. Takola me-sisiki Lukwaisanu Vakuta
 Kuviviya.bird seagull seagull 3.HABIT-stay Lukwaisanu.reef Vakuta

Kuviviya and Takola. Takola used to stay at the Lukwaisanu reef of Vakuta island

a Kuviviya me-sisiku Gilibwa, sena bwena si-keyaku
 and Kuviviya 3.HABIT-stay Gilibwa very good their-being.together
 and the Kuviviya bird used to stay in Gilibwa, it was very good their being together
so-la lube-la lubela I-sisu-si i-sisu-si-ii e
 friend-its friend-its friend-its 3.-be-PL 3.-be-PL-Dur and
 as friend and friend. They are there they are really there for a long time and
 (5)

ma-na-na Takola gala i-gigisi so-la la... va
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM seagull not 3.-see friend-its its DIR
 this Takola did not see its friend its... at

la bwala. La bwala gala e-gigisi. Ma-na-na Kuviviya
 its house its house not 3.-see DEM-CP.animal-DEM Kuviviya
 its house. Its house it did not see it. And this Kuviviya

gala i-gigisi so-la la bwala. Bigatona i-bigatona-si
 not 3.-see friend-its its house talk 3.-talk-PL
 did not see its friend's house. They had a talk

pela-ga bi-gise-si si bwala gala i-nukwali-si.
 For-EMPH 3.FUT-see-PL their house not 3.-know
 because they want to see their houses, they did not know (them).

Gala i-nukwali-si so-la gala i-nukwali-si so-la. I-sisu-wa,
 not 3.-know-PL friend-its not 3.-know-PL friend-its 3.-be-just
 They did not know each others houses. It just was there,

(10)

bi-you ma-na-na Takola bi-ma va nua
 3.FUT-fly DEM-CP.animal-DEM seagull 3.FUT-come DIR sand
 it will fly this Takola, it will come to the sands of

Gilibwa, bi-vavagi-ga ma-na-na-wa Ki... mna
 Gilibwa 3.FUT-speak-EMPH DEM.CP.animal-DEM-just Ki... hm
 Gilibwa, it will speak with this Ki... hm

Kuviviya. Bi-vanapula: "A, lube, ambe buku-sisiki? A ku-sisiki
 Kuviviya 3.FUT-appear ah friend where 2.FUT-stay ah 2.-stay
 Kuviviya. It appears: "Ah, friend, where do you live? Ah you live

Gilibwa, a-sisu-ga Lukweisanu. A, ba-la a-pola",
 Gilibwa 1.-be-EMPH Lukweisanu ah 1.FUT-go 1.-fish
 in Gilibwa, and I am at the Lukweisanu-reef. Ah, I will go and fish",

e i-kabi so-la. So-la i-yoyou bi-pwapola,
 and 3.-leave friend-its friend-its 3.-fly 3.FUT-net.fishing
 and it leaves its friend. Its friend flies and does net fishing,

(15)

ma-na-na-ga *Kuviviya bi-lilola-wa i-tabunubonu*
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM-EMPH Kuviviya 3.FUT-walk-just 3.-eat.white.crabs
 and this Kuviviya it just will walk and eat small white crabs

o kwadeva. Bi-kam-kwam bunubonu, yena na-kikekita,
 LOC beach 3.FUT-eat-REDUP white.crab fish CP.animal-small
 at the beach. It will eat small white crabs and little fish,

e la paisewa makala. E ivalutu beya sena bwena
 yes its work like and time.passes there very good
 yes, its work was like this. And time passes, there it was very good

si-keyaku. Ivalu ivatu ke-tala-ga kai
 their-being.together time.passes time.passes CP.wooden-one-EMPH tree
 their being together. Time passes time passes and one tree

yaga-la Moba, kevo'uva bi-'uva bi-kapusi
 name-its Moba Kevo'uva-fruit 3.FUT-bear 3.FUT-fall
 called Moba, it will bear Kevo'uva fruits, a fruit will fall down

(20)

bi-veki yagavana kai. Bi-veki yagavana kai, bi-pikipiki
 3.-go.to leaf tree 3.-go.to leaf tree 3.FUT-stick
 it will go to the leaves of the tree. It will go to the leaves of the tree, it will stick
 there

bi-ve-ve-si mauna kapali ave mauna na-kekita.
 3.FUT-go.to-REDUP-PL animal spieder what animal CP.animal-small
 and they will go to it the animals, spiders whichever of the small animals,

bi-paki makala maginiti. E ma-ke-na kai
 3.FUT-stick like magnet Yes DEM-CP.wooden-DEM tree
 it will stick there like being on a magnet. Yes this tree's

la paisewa makala. I-nanamsa m-to-na Takola
 its work like 3.-think DEM-CP.male-DEM seagull
 work was like this. He thinks this Takola

makala: "Ba-vigaki e-vakulati valu e-pupoli yegu-la-ga
 like 1.FUT-do 3.-get.under.control place 3.-fish I-EMPH-EMPH
 like this: "I will do (something which) will get this place under control and where
 it is only me who fishes here,

(25)

amakala". E i-nanamsa: "A-doki ma-na-kwa paisewa
 like yes 3.-think 1.think DEM-DEM-CP.thing work
 that's how it will be". Yes, he thinks: "I think this work

ba-vagi". *E bogeokwa e-livala*: "Lube, sita
1.FUT-make and already.finished 3.-say friend bit
I will do (it)". And it is already finished and he says: "Friend, is it maybe

i-bwadi ba-gisi m bwala?" *E-livala*
3.-be.possible 1.FUT-see your house 3.-say
possible that I will see your house?" And he says

m-to-na Kuviviya: "E *gala avaka, ta-la ku-gisi*
DEM-CP.male-DEM Kuviviya yes not what DUAL.INCL-go 2.-see
this Kuviviya: "Yes, why not, we two go and you see

ula bwala". *E i-vakoli-wa so-la i-ve-si*:
my house and 3.-bring-just friend-his 3.-go.to-PL
my house". And he brings him there his friend and they go there:

(30)

"*Ambeya m bwala? Ambeya m bwala*?" "A
where your house where your house ah
"Where is your house? Where is your house?" "Ah

ka ula bwala beya ka". *E e-gigisi-wa dakuna e-vagi*,
well my house here see and 3.-see-only stone 3.-make
well my house is here, see". And he sees just stones which he set up,

e-ma e la bwala m-to-na. "Ke *m bwala beya*?"
3.-come yes his house DEM-CP.male-DEM Well your house here
he comes yes to his house. "Is it your house here?"

"*La-masisi beya*". "O *bogwa bwena*". "E *yegu-la-ga*,
1.PAST-sleep here oh already good and I-EMPH-EMPH
"I slept here". "Oh, that's fine". "And as to me,

sita bi-bwadi ba-gisi m bwala?" "A *buku-gisi*
bit 3.FUT-be.possible 1.FUT-see your house ah 2.FUT-see
is it maybe possible that I will see your house?" "Ah, you will see

(35)

ula bwala". *E-kau-wa e-veya i-sisu la bwala bi-gisi*,
my house 3.-take-just 3.-bring 3.-be his house 3.FUT-see
my house". He just takes him and brings him to where his house is and he will
see it,

i-uva'iliga, i-mweya kwe-ta dakuna i-gisi:
3.-bring.to.different.place 3.-come.to CP.thing-one stone 3.-see
he brings him to a different place, he comes to a stone he sees (it):

"*Ka ula bwala beya*". *E-yam i-va i-nene'i*,
look my house here 3.-be.day 3.-go.to 3.-look.for
"Look, my house is here". Day breaks and he goes there he looks for him,

i-kabi-ga i-la o la bwala, o la bwala mokwita.
 3.-go.straight 3.-go LOC his house LOC his house true
 he goes straight to he goes to his house, to his real house.

E beya i-keyaku-si-wa. "Lata-me-si" ekebiga.
 And there 3.-be.together-PL-just 1.INCL.PAST-COME-PL
 And there they are just together. "We came here", he says.

(40)

Kwe-tala tuta e-va i-vakavali ma-ke-na Moba,
 CP.thing-one time 3.-go.to 3.-look.after DEM-CP.wooden-DEM Moba
 After one hour he goes there he looks after this Moba tree;

bogwa e-'uva. Bogwa e-'uva ma-ke-na
 already 3.-bear.fruit already 3.-bear.fruit DEM-CP.wooden-DEM
 already it bears fruit. Already it bears fruit this

Moba, e-ma e-luki: "Ke, buku-pola sita kaduanaku?"
 Moba 3.-come 3.-say well 2.FUT-fish bit far.away
 Moba-tree, he comes he says: "Well, will you fish a bit further away,

a sena kaduanaku?" "Ka ba-pola ba-la ma-pa-na
 ah very far.away well 1.FUT-fish 1.FUT-go DEM-CP.part-DEM
 ah, very far away?" "Well I will fish I will go to this part

Kaibola ambeya, ba-la Kaile'ula beya ba-poli-wa".
 Kaibola where 1.FUT-go Kaile'una there 1.FUT-fish-just
 where Kaibola is, I will go to Kaile'una and there I will just fish."

(45)

E-luki ma-na-na Kuviviya: "O bogwa bwena.
 3.-say DEM-CP.animal-DEM Kuviviya oh already good
 He says this Kuviviya: "Oh that's fine.

Nubweya ba-sumwa buku-suma va numa,
 tomorrow 1.FUT-go.this.way 2.FUT-go.that.way DIR reef
 Tomorrow I will go this way and you will go that way on the reef side of the island,

ba-suma va dom, bata-la-ga
 1.FUT-go.that.way DIR lagoon DUAL.INCL.FUT-go-EMPH
 I will go that way on the lagoon side of the island, we two will really go

ta-boda Kaibola. "O bogwa bwena". E-yam
 DUAL.INCL-meet Kaibola oh already good 3.-be.day
 and meet in Kaibola". "Oh, that's fine". Day breaks,

e-suva Kuviviya ma-na-na esumwa
 3.-go.this.way Kuviviya DEM-CP.animal-DEM 3.-go.that.way
 he goes this way Kuviviya and this one goes that way

(50)

Takola. E-va-ga Vakuta o valu beya, i-sisau
 seagull 3.-go.to-EMPH Vakuta LOC place there 3.-collect
 this Takola. He really goes to Vakuta to that place there, he collects

Moba beya. I-vinaku, i-you i-veki, bogwa e-la.
 Moba there 3.-finish 3.-fly 3.-go.to already 3.-go
 Moba fruits there. It is finished and he flies he goes there, already he goes.

Bogwa e-la m-to-na so-la i-pwapola, i-suvi-yaga
 Already 3.-go DEM-CP.male-DEM friend-his 3.-fish 3.-enter-EMPH
 Already he goes this one, his friend he fishes, and he indeed enters (the house)

beya Moba. I-la o la bwala m-to-na Kuviviya
 there Moba 3.-go LOC his house DEM-CP.male-DEM Kuviviya
 there with Moba fruits. He goes into the house of this Kuviviya

bi-kau i-pupaki kaba-la i-vinaku i-mweki doa,
 3.FUT-take 3.-stick bed-his 3.-finish 3.-go.to door
 he will take (a fruit) he sticks it on his bed it is finished, he goes to the door

(55)

i-pupaki i-vinaku, i-mweki ambeya la kabosisu
 3.-stick 3.-finish 3.go.to where his sitting.place
 he sticks (a fruit on it) it is finished, he goes to where his sitting place is

beya i-paki-wa. I-la-go i-paki i-vinaku i-you.
 there 3.-stick-just 3.-go-EMPH 3.-stick 3.-finish 3.-fly
 there he sticks (a fruit on it). He really goes he sticks (fruits) he finishes it he flies
 away.

Pakekeke-ee i-vanapula Kaibola i-vavagi-ga, ma-na-na
 Pakekeke-EMPH 3.-appear Kaibola 3.-make-EMPH DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 Pakekekeeee – he flies very fast and appears at Kaibola he really makes it; this

Kuviviya i-vanapula. “A lube, bogwa o-ku-ma”.
 Kuviviya 3.-appear ah friend already binding.vowel-2.-come
 Kuviviya he appears there. “Ah friend, already you have come”.

“Bogwa la-ma, bogwa la-ma lata-boda”.
 already 1.PAST-come already 1.PAST-come DUAL.INCL.PAST-meet
 “Already I came, already I came and we two have met (each other)”.

(60)

“O ku-pwapola?” “Ku-kwe’ita ba-pwapola ba-ke’ita.” I-pola
 oh 2.-net.fishing 2.-go.back 1.FUT-net.fishing 1.FUT-go.back 3.-fish
 “Oh, you are net fishing?” “Go back, I will do the net fishing I will go back (home)”.
 He fishes

m-to-na Takola i-sumwa va dom
 DEM-CP.male-DEM seagull 3.-go.that.way DIR lagoon.
 this Takola he goes that way on the lagoon side of the island.

I-ke'ita-vau-ga va numa, budutinigesi-la-wa
 3.-come.back-again-EMPH DIR reef a.single.group.of.men-EMPH-just
 And he really comes back again on the reef side of the island, just in a single flock
 of birds indeed,

o la valu. O la valu Gilibwa e-va-wa
 LOC his village LOC his village Gilibwa 3.-go.to-just
 to his village. In his village Gilibwa he just goes there

i-doki bi-suvi o la bwala i-paki kaike-la.
 3.-think 3.FUT-enter LOC his house 3.-stick foot-his
 he thinks he will go into his house and his foot sticks (to something).

(65)

E-le'i kwe-yu-vela i-paki. I-doki e-ke'ita,
 3.-throw CP.thing-two-again 3.-stick 3.-think 3.-comes.back
 He throws it off and a second time again something sticks (at his foot). He thinks
 he will go back,

e-ma i-paki, i-doki e-va beya i-paki,
 3.-come 3.-stick 3.think 3.-got.to there 3.-stick
 he comes and something sticks (at his foot) he thinks he goes there and something
 sticks

yama-la pili-yu-vela i-paki, i-doki e-tokeva
 hand-his CP.part-two-again 3.-stick 3.-think 3.-stand.up
 at his wing a second piece again sticks there, he thinks he stands up

kunu-la i-paki, kabulu-la, mata-la beya, i-paki-wa
 hair-his 3.-stick nose-his eye-his there 3.-stick-just
 his hair sticks (to something) his nose, his eyes there, everything sticks

kumwedona. I-vokwa, i-le'i i-la i-kanava. I-le'i
 everything 3.-finish 3.-throw.off 3.-go 3.-lie.down 3.-throw.off
 (to something). It is finished, he throws it off he goes he lies down. He throws it off

(70)

i-la i-kanava, i-tapipina-la e-va. E-va e-va
 3.-go lie.down 3.-roll.to.clean.o.s 3.-go.to 3.-go.to 3.-go.to
 he goes he lies down he rolls on the sand (to clean himself and) he goes away. He
 goes he goes

e-veki tubeba bogwa e-yeni. E-veki tubeba
 3.-go.to hole already 3.-dig 3.-go.to hole
 he goes to a hole and starts to dig it (bigger). He goes to a hole

bogwa e-yeni, i-sili i-sipopula i-simwa i-kiyuvisi
 already 3.-dig 3.-sit 3.-sit.down 3.-stay 3.-clean.o.s.
 and starts to dig it (bigger), he sits there he sits down he stays there he cleans himself.

I-kau kaike-la i-kiyuvisi-ii, i-mwa i-mwa.
 3.-take leg-his 3.-clean-EMPH 3.-come 3.-come
 He takes his leg he cleans it carefully, it comes off it comes off.

I-kiyuvisi-ii i-vokwa, i-le'i i-mwa. I-mwa-ga
 3.-clean-EMPH 3.-finish 3.-throw 3.-come 3.-come-EMPH
 He cleans himself carefully it is finished, he throws it off, it comes off. It really comes off,

(75)

I-simwa e i-nanamsa: "A-doki ma-na-kwa vavagi
 3.stay and 3.think 1.-think DEM-DEM-CP.thing thing
 he stays there and he thinks: "I think this thing

e-vagi m-to-na Takola e-paisewa." E i-ligemwa
 3.-do DEM-CP.male-DEM seagull 3.-work and 3.-leave
 he did it this was Takola's work." And he leaves

e-kanukwenu i-you-ga i-sakaula-ga Lukwaisanu. "Lube, kwe-ta
 3.-lie.down 3.-fly-EMPH 3.-run-EMPH Lukwaisanu friend CP.thing-one
 he lies down he really flies he flies very fast to the Lukwaisanu reef. "Friend. one

vavagi a-lukwe-m gala-wala i-pupaki-ii vovo-gu beya pikipaki
 thing 1.-tell-you whatever 3.-stick-EMPH body-my here sticking
 thing, I tell you, whatever it was it really stuck on my body here – I cleaned myself
vokuva. Ku-gisi ave tau e-va mna e-pikipaki?"
 finished 2.-see who man 3.-go.to hm 3.-stick
 carefully. Did you see which man went there hm and put the things that stuck on me in my house?"

(80)

"Iseki-la? Ka ku-pwapola ku-lola, a-lola a-pwapola,
 who.knows-EMPH well 2.-net.fishing 2.-walk 1.walk 1.-net.fishing,
 "Who knows? Well, you did net fishing you walked there, I walked there I did net fishing,

e-ma-ga te-ta(la) tomwota e-katudeyu beya". "Nubyeya
 3.-come-EMPH CP.male-one person 3.-play.a.trick there tomorrow
 he must have come – one person played a trick on you there". "Tomorrow

buku-va", e-livala ma-na-na Kuviviya. E-yam
 2.FUT-go.to 3.-say DEM-CP.animal-DEM Kuviviya 3.-be.day
 you will go there", said this Kuviviya. Day breaks

i-kabi i-va i-pwapola e-va-ga. I-va-go
 3.-leave 3.-go.to 3.-net.fishing 3.-go.to-EMPH 3.-go.to-EMPH
 he leaves he goes there he does net fishing he really goes there. He really goes there

Silaketa i-bwadi. Silaketa-wa i-bwadi i-ligeva so-la
 Sinaketa 3.-meet Sinaketa-just 3.-meet 3.-leave friend-his
 and at Sinaketa he meets (him). Just at Sinaketa he meets (him) he leaves his friend
 (85)

i-katukwevivila mi-na-na Kuviviya, e-ma-wa ambeya
 3.-go around DEM-CP.animal-DEM Kuviviya 3.-come-just where
 he goes around this Kuviviya, he just comes to where

e-tota va nua. Ambeya e-tota va nua i-yeni
 3.-stand DIR beach where 3.-stand DIR beach 3.-dig
 he stands at the beach. Where he stands at the beach he digs (a hole into)

kenakenua i-suvi i-dubwani tomwedona, e-la i-siva.
 sand 3.-enter 3.-cover all.himself 3.-go 3.-stay
 the sand, he goes into it he covers all of himself, he goes he stays (there).

Mata-la kwetarokwa e-lalala, i-sisu-wa i-gisi-ga e-ma.
 Eye-his one.only 3.-peep.out 3.-be-just 3.-see-EMPH 3.-come
 Only one of his eyes peeps out, he is just there he carefully looks who comes.

I-gisi-ga e-ma i-you-youva beya-la, yam yam bi-sisu-si.
 3.-see-EMPH 3.-come 3.-fly.REDUP there-EMPH day day 3.FUT-be-PL
 He carefully looks who comes and who flies around there, day after day they will be there.

(90)

E i-tapopulala i-la i-toli-wa i-tabuveva i-tabutetala Kuviviya
 and 3.-bend.down 3.-go 3.-stand-just 3.-catch 3.-rush Kuviviya
 And he(T) bends down he goes he just stands there and he(K) catches (him) he rushes (out this) Kuviviya

i-yosi. I-yosi i-seva bi-you, gala, i-yosi.
 3.-hold 3.-hold 3.-leave 3.FUT-fly no 3.-hold
 he holds (him). He holds (him) he(T) tries to leave he will fly, (but) no, he(K) holds (him).

I-yosi i-yovai. I-yovai gala bogwa e-komnigaga
 3.-hold 3.-fight 3.-fight not already 3.-win
 He holds (him) he fights. He(T) fights, no – already he wins

ma-na-na Takola, e-veya e-veya i-kile'i
 DEM-CP.animal-DEM seagull 3.-hit 3.hit 3.-let.off
 this Takola, he hits (him) he hits (him) he(K) lets (him) off

i-la i-ke'ita-ga i-ma o la valu.
 3.-go 3.-return-EMPH 3.-come LOC his place.
 He(T) goes he returns he comes to his place.

(95)

E-la i-siva so-la e-mwa i-simwa so-la,
 3.-go 3.-stay friend-his 3.-come 3.-stay friend-his
 He goes he stays his friend, and he comes he stays his friend.

I-nanamsa i-nanamsa gala, i-la i-kau ke-tala kai
 3.-think 3.-think no 3.-go 3.-take CP.wooden-one wood
 He thinks and thinks, nothing, he goes he takes a piece of wood

ke-pikipaki yaga-la Gweda, Pwagweda yaga-la, i-la
 CP.wooden name-its Gweda Pwagweda name-its 3.-go
 sticky wood, it's called Gweda, Pwagweda it is called, he goes

i-tanini. I-la i-tanini i-vokwa, e-meya e-meki
 3.-bark 3.-go 3.-bark 3.finish 3.-bring 3.-come.to
 he barks it. He goes he barks it it is finished, he bring it he comes to

va mna Kuviviya la bwala. I-simwa i-paki. I-paki-wa
 DIR hm Kuviviya his house 3.-stay 3.-stick 3.-stick-just
 to hm Kuviviya's house. He stays there he makes it sticky. He just makes it sticky

(100)

i-vokwa, e-nanamsa magi-la bi-kariga ma-na-na
 3.-finish 3.-think wish-his 3.FUT-die DEM-CP.animal-DEM
 it is finished, he thinks he would like that he will die this

Kuviviya e bi-yosi-ga valu. I-paki, i-vokwa.
 Kuviviya. and 3.FUT-control-EMPH place 3.-stick 3.-finish
 Kuviviya and he will really control the place. He makes the house sticky, it is finished.

Avetuta e-va e-bwadi so-la: "Ta-va
 when 3.-go.to 3.-meet friend-his DUAL.INCL-go.to
 When he goes to meet his friend (he says): "We two go there

ta-pola". I-kabi-si Nano'ila. Nano'ila i-poli-si, i-vokwa
 DUAL.INCL-fish 3.-leave-PL Nano'ila Nano'ila 3.-fish-PL 3.-finish
 we two fish". They leave (and go to) Nano'ila. At Nano'ila they fish, it is finished

amyaga Muwa i-poli-si i-vokwa, i-va-si,
 what's.the.name Muwa 3.-fish-PL 3.-finish 3.-go.to-PL
 what's the name, at Muwa island they fish it is finished, they go there

(105)

i-you-si i-lo-si beya i-poli-si Yaga. Yaga i-poli-si
 3.-fly-PL 3.-go-PL there 3.-fish-PL Yaga Yaga 3.-fish-PL
 they fly they go there they fish at Yaga island. At Yaga island they fish

i-vokwa, Nubiyam i-poli-si i-vokwa, Munuwata
 3.-finish Nubiyam 3.-fish-PL 3.-finish Munuwata
 it is finished, at Nuybiyam they fish it is finished, at Munuwata

i-poli-si i-vinaku-si, Kuyava i-poli-si, Labi, Labi
 3.-fish-PL 3.-finish-PL Kuyava 3.-fish-PL Labi Labi
 they fish it is finished, at Kuyava they fish, at Labi, at Labi

i-poli-si e-katukwevili-si Bulivada i-poli-si. I-tova
 3.-fish-PL 3.-turn.around-PL Bulivada 3.-fish-PL 3.-stay
 they fish, they turn around and at Bulivada they fish. He stays there

so-la va Nelia, i-sakaula-ga ma-na-na Takola
 friend-his DIR Nelia 3.-run-EMPH DEM-CPanimal-DEM seagull
 his friend near Nelia point, he flies very fast this Takola

(110)

i-mwa m Kaulometu. I-mwa-la Kaulometu.
 3.-come hm Kaulometu 3.-come-EMPH Kaulometu
 he comes to hm Kaulometu point. He really comes to Kaulometu point.

Ponamatala Kuviviya i-kau i-kipusau i-tota-la a
 being.busy Kuviviya 3.-take 3.-let.drop 3.-stand-EMPH ah
 While Kuviviya is busy he takes (the wood) he drops it it stands ah

Vakuta. E-la Vakuta i-veki la bwala so-la,
 Vakuta 3.-go Vakuta 3.-go.to his house friend-his
 at Vakuta. He goes to Vakuta he goes to the house of his friend

i-simwa i-paki beya Pwagweda. I-paki-wa i-vinaku,
 3.-stay 3.-stick there Pwagweda 3.-stick-just 3.-finish
 he stays there, he makes it sticky there with the Pwagweda wood. He just makes
 it sticky it is finished,

i-ligeva i-kanukwenu i-kabiga i-ma. I-vadiudiu-ga
 3.-stop 3.-lie.down 3.-leave-PL 3.-come 3.-go.down-EMPH
 he stops he lies down he leaves he comes (home). It really goes down

(115)

ala lilu i-sila o supisopi. E-va-ga Kuviviya,
 his sun 3.-sets LOC sea 3.-go.to-EMPH Kuviviya
 his sun it sets on the sea. He really goes there Kuviviya,

i-yoyou-wala e-va i-doki bi-toli I-paki kaike-la
 3.-fly-just 3.-go.to 3.-think 3.FUT-stand 3.-stick foot-his
 he just flies he goes there, he thinks he will stand (there). It sticks his foot

i-paki yama-la dagule-la i-paki, i-le'i i-la
 3.-stick hand-his feather-his 3.-stick 3.-throw.off 3.-go
 it sticks his wing, his feathers stick (to something) he throws it off he goes

i-kanava i-kanukwenu-wa e-kariga. E-sisu-ga so-la
 3.-lie down 3.-lie.down-just 3.-die 3.-be-EMPH friend-his
 he lies down he just lies down and he dies. He really is there his friend:

“*Iga a-la a-gisi tau*”. *I-sakaula i-meki, bogwa e-kariga*
 later 1.go 1.-see man 3.-run 3.-come.to already 3.-die
 “Later I go and see this man”. He flies very fast he comes to him, already he is dead

(120)

e-kanukwenu. I-ke'ula-la dakuna, la bwala i-vigaki,
 3.-lie.down 3.-carry-EMPH stone his house 3.-make
 he lies down there. He really carries stones and he makes his house,

ala laka i-baku. I-yosi-ga Takola valu Vakuta
 his grave 3.-bury 3.-hold-EMPH seagull village Vakuta
 in his grave he buries him. Takola really controls the places Vakuta island,

Gilibwa, Lokwesanu i-ma Yaga. Bi-simwe-si i-simwa
 Gilibwa, Lokwesanu 3.-come Yaga 3.FUT-stay-PL 3.-stay
 Gilibwa village, and the area from the Lokwesanu reef to Yaga island. They stay,
 he stays,

i-sigaga. Takola la valu Yaga me-ke'ita
 3.-stay permanently seagull his place Yaga 3.-HABIT-return
 he stays forever. Tokala's place reaches from Yaga island

i-ke'ita Gilibwa Vakuta. Me-sinaku.
 3.-return Gilibwa Vakuta 3.HABIT-finish
 to Gilibwa village and Vakuta island. It is finished.

Moagava starts this story again with the ritualized introductory formula and the name of the tale. Then he introduces the two protagonists of this story, Takola – a small seagull – and Kuviviya – a small brown bird which produces warning cries to alert other animals when people are around. Takola lives on the Lukwaisanu reef of Vakuta, the southernmost island of the Trobriands, and Kuviviya lives in Gilibwa, the southernmost village of Kiriwina island, just opposite of Vakuta Island. They are friends.

Despite the fact that they have been living there for a long time they have not seen each other's houses. One day Takola flies to the beautiful sandy beach of Gilibwa, meets Kuviviya, asks him about his place of living and tells him about his place of living. Then he flies away to do his fishing, while Kuviviya walks along the beach catching and eating white crabs and small fish.

The two birds are good and friendly neighbours. There is a special tree, a so-called *Moba*-tree which bears sticky fruits which are called *kevo'uva*. When they are ripe, they fall down onto the leaves of the tree and little animals like spiders get stuck on them.

Takola thinks that it is time for him to control the area where he lives so that he is the only one to fish there. The seagull flies to Kuviviya and asks him to have a look at his house, they go to a pile of stones on the reef where the bird sleeps. Now Kuviviya wants to see Takola's house. The seagull, however, plays a trick on his friend and shows Kuviviya a stone, but not the real place where he lives. The next day Takola looks for Kuviviya and finds him at the house he had shown him. After being together for an hour, Takola flies to the Moba tree and checks whether it bears fruits. When he realizes that this is the case, he goes back to Kuviviya and organises a fishing expedition at Kaibola, the northernmost village on Kiriwina Island, far away from their places of living. Kuviviya agrees and tells Takola that tomorrow he will go up to Kaibola on the lagoon side of the island while Takola will go up on the reef side of the island so that they will finally meet in Kaibola.

The next day they start their fishing expedition. But Takola does not immediately go up to Kaibola. He returns to Vakuta, collects the fruits of the Moba tree, and while Kuviviya is already fishing, Takola goes to his house and sticks the *kevo'uva*-fruits on Kuviviya's bed, on the door of his house and on his sitting place. Then he flies up to Kaibola. There he meets Kuviviya, tells him to fly back because now he will do some fishing before he will fly back home, too, this time on the lagoon side of the island.

Kuviviya arrives with a flock of birds in Gilibwa and goes to his house. When he tries to go inside, his foot gets stuck on the fruits, then his wing, his hair, his nose, his eyes and finally his whole body gets stuck on the fruits. He manages to throw them off and cleans himself rolling in the sand. Then he goes to a hole in the vicinity and digs there to get rid of the sticky mass on his body. He sits down and continues cleaning himself until finally he manages to get rid of the sticky parts of the *kevo'uva*-fruits. Having finished this he suspects that Takola was the one who played this trick on him. He flies as fast as possible to the Lukwaisanu reef, finds Takola, tells him what has happened and asks him whether he has seen the person who put the fruits into his house. Takola points out that while they both were out on their fishing expedition to Kaibola someone must have come to Kuviviya's house and played this mischievous trick on him. Kuviviya then asks Takola to come to his place the following day.

The next morning Takola goes fishing again and meets Kuviviya at Sinaketa, a village on the south-western coast of Kiriwina Island. Kuviviya then leaves Takola and goes to his place at the beach. He digs a big hole into the sand and covers himself with it so that only one of his eyes peeps out of the sand. There he waits for Takola. Finally he comes and bends down to Kuviviya's hiding place; Kuviviya rushes out of the hole, gets hold of Takola who tries in vain to escape, fights with him and gives him a good beating. But Kuviviya does not recognize Takola who finally manages to escape and to fly back home.

Takola seeks revenge and decides to kill Kuviviya. After brooding about the problem of how to do this for a while he takes a piece of the sticky *pwagweda*-wood, barks it, flies to Kuviviya's house and makes it sticky again, hoping that this time Kuviviya will not survive his assault so that he will finally control the place.

Then he looks for Kuviviya, meets him and invites him to fish with him. They both go to the Nano'ila sandbank, to Muwa and Yaga island, to the Nubiyam reef, to the villages Munuwata and Kuyava, and to the islands Labi and Bulivada.

When they have reached Nelia point there, Takola leaves Kuviviya and flies as fast as possible to Kaulometu point. There he takes the *pwagweda*-wood, drops it onto Vakuta Island close to Kuviviya's house and makes it sticky again. Then he flies home.

At sunset Kuviyava comes home, gets stuck on the glue of the *pwagweda*-wood and this time he dies. After a while his "friend" Tagola flies to Kuviviya's place, realizes that he has died and burries him under a pile of stones.

Takola now controls Vakuta island, Gilibwa village and the area between the Lokwesanu reef and Yaga Island.

Moagava uses the variant "*bisimwesi isimwa isigaga*" – "they stay, he stays he stays forever" – to announce the end of his story, repeats once more that Takola now controls the area between Yaga Island and Gilibwa village and then finishes the tale with another variant of the ritualized formula "*mesinaku*". Table 25 summarizes the structure of this story.

Table 24. The structure of the "Tale of Kuviviya and Takola"

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula and the name of the story	1–2
<i>Episode 1 Introduction of the protagonists, their places of living and their relationship</i>	2–17
Subevent 1 Takola (T) lives at a reef on Vakuta and Kuviviya (K) lives in Gilibwa; they want to see each other's houses.	2–9
Subevent 2 T flies to Gilibwa, meets K there, tells him where he lives and then goes fishing, while his friend K walks the beach eating white crabs and small fish	9–18
<i>Episode 2 The Moba tree and its sticky fruits</i>	18–23
<i>Episode 3 T's plans to control the area</i>	23–26
<i>Episode 4 T's first assault on K</i>	26–74
Subevent 1 K visits T and they show each other their houses, but T does not show K the real place where he lives.	26–37
Subevent 2 The next day T first visits K.	37–39
Subevent 3 T then checks the fruits of the Moba tree.	40–41
Subevent 4 T comes back to K and they plan a fishing expedition for the next day.	41–48
Subevent 5 The next day K goes up to Kaibola, but T first collects the sticky fruits and puts them in K's house. Then he flies to Kaibola, too.	48–56

Table 24. (continued)

		lines
Subevent 6	In Kaibola he meets T and they decide to fly back home, again following different routes.	57–61
Subevent 7	K arrives at home, goes into his house and the Moba fruits stick to his body.	62–69
Subevent 8	K manages to throw off the sticky fruits and goes to a sandy place to carefully clean himself.	69–74
<i>Episode 5 K's revenge</i>		74–94
Subevent 1	K's suspects T of having done this to him. He flies to him, tells him what has happened and asks him whether he had seen somebody, but T pretends to not knowing anything. K asks T to come to him the next day.	74–82
Subevent 2	The next day T goes to the Gilibwa area and meets K at Sinaketa. T leaves and K goes to his place, hides himself in a hole in the sand and watches his house for days.	82–89
Subevent 3	K finally catches T, fights with him, but does not recognize T – who manages to escape.	90–95
<i>Episode 6 T's second assault on K</i>		96–122
Subevent 1	T makes another plan to kill K – he takes <i>pwagweda</i> -wood which is sticky when barked, barks it, goes to K's house and makes it sticky.	95–101
Subevent 2	Then T meets K and they go fishing at various places.	101–108
Subevent 3	From Nelia point T flies very fast to Kaulometu point and while K is busily fishing T takes the wood, goes to Vakuta and makes the K's house sticky again. Then T flies home.	108–114
Subevent 4	The sun sets, K flies home, gets stuck there and dies.	114–118
Subevent 5	T visits K's place, finds the corpse and burries him. He has reached his aim.	118–122
First ritualized formula announcing the end of the tale		122–123
Narrator's comment that T now controls the area		123–124
Second ritualized formula which marks the end of the tale		124

Moagava uses the following narrative means (sometimes in combination) to structure this story:

- change of place (lines 9, 57, 62),
- change of time (lines 18, 37, 40, 48, 82, 114),
- change of character (23, 62, 90, 96, 108, 114, 118),
- the explicit marking of the end of a subevent (lines 26, 69, 101) and
- tail-head linkage (lines 41, 74).

Again, most verbs are realized without any TAM-marker, some verbs are realized with the marker for irrealis / future, 5 verbs are produced with the marker for past or completed action and 4 verbs are produced with the habitual marker.

Moagava just makes one speech error (line 11), however, he first classifies the two birds with the classifier for animals (-*na*-) before he reclassifies the anthropomorphized protagonists with the classifier for males (-*to*-); but he is not consistent with this reclassification throughout his narration; here and there the animal-classifier appears again (see e.g., lines 1, 5, 6; lines 23, 28, lines 57, 82). In the glosses and my re-narration I have decided to use the male forms.

The experienced story-teller uses a number of interesting stylistic devices to make this story funny and thrilling. He compares the fruits of the *Moba*-tree with a magnet (*magniti*, line 22), he imitates the cry of the seagull Takola (line 57) and he repeats similarly constructed utterances to give the actions reported some special emphasis (see e.g., lines 64–67 and 103–107). His abundant usage of verbs, serial- and multi-verb constructions (Senft 2008a) and utterances that (almost exclusively) consist of verbs following each other (lines 51, 56, 59, 60, 65–66, 69, 70–74, 76–77, 80, 88, 90–94, 98, 113–114, 116–118) give the story its specific pace. And the parts where the protagonists have their conversations – which are reported in direct speech – make this tale lively and vivacious.

The rather abrupt transition from the description of how Kuviviya hides himself to come upon the person who played this mischievous trick on him and the sudden fight takes the listeners to this story by surprise (see lines 89 & 90–94) – especially because the third person marker of the verbs in lines 90–94 are difficult to assign with the respective protagonist (I have marked the intended reference in the transcription). Why Moagava does not report after the fight that Kuviviya did not recognize with whom he had this fight and how listeners make this inference remains completely unclear to me (Moagava made this clarification only when I transcribed the story with him a few days later).

As in Towesei's tale of Pepekwa (see 2.2.2.9) the environment, landscape features and place names play an important role in this story. With its clear geographical references the tale of Takola and Kuviviya combines the educational aim to familiarize young listeners with Vakuta and Kiriwina Island, especially with the the southern parts of the Trobriand chain. The moral of this story, I assume, is twofold: Get familiar with your geographic environment. And: Do not trust other people without reservation, they may even kill you to gain more power and control.

The tale of Takola and Kuviviya is the last tale that is presented in this volume. The following chapter compares the tales told by the children with the tales told by the adults and summarizes the findings presented in Chapter two and in Chapter three.

The tales from the Trobriand Islands

A summarizing comparative analysis
from a psycholinguistic and anthropological
linguistic point of view

This chapter first takes up the question of linearization strategies that are acquired by children and pursued in the tales by both children and adults. Then the tales are compared and finally analyzed with respect to their underlying schemata or components, the verbal means their narrators use to structure them, their complexity and their cultural specificity. After a description of situative contexts of story-telling on the Trobriands, the chapter then discusses the role of the “*biga sopa*” language variety of Kilivila which is co-constituted by the genre “*kukwanebu*” (story, tale), summarises the topics of the tales, presents some hypotheses about their cultural functions and looks at the tales from a deliberately taken Eurocentric point of view to find out probably culture-specific features of the Trobrianders’ *kukwanebu*. In the final subsection of this chapter the issue of culture-specificity is discussed from a general comparative philological point of view.

I am fully aware of the fact that this study only documents the narrative skills of five boys between the age of 5 and 9 years that are documented in 13 stories and of six men between the age of 26 to 53 years that are documented in 9 tales. Nevertheless I think that these combined case studies, so to speak, allow to come up with the generalizations like those presented in this final chapter of the book.

4.1 Linearization strategies pursued in the tales from the Trobriand Islands

The episodes and subevents reported in the tales are presented in chronological order by both the children and by the adults. That is to say the narrators linearization of the narratives follows Levelt’s (1989: 138) “principle of natural order” which constitutes the unmarked form of linearization (as discussed in Subsection 1.2

of the Introduction).³⁴ One could argue that this is a trivial insight for the short tales that consist of just a few lines; however, in his relatively complex “Tale of Tokositagina” (see 2.2.2.8) Towesei impressively demonstrates that a child of six years of age has acquired this linearization principle.³⁵ This is confirmed by the performance of the other older boys, especially in the complex tales that are told by Dudaavelu (7 years of age) and Tosulebu (9 years of age). Moreover, Dudaavelu is the only narrator who “violates” the principle of natural order in his “Tale of these children and the Dokonikani” when he rather skillfully produces a kind of “flashback” (see Table 11, episode 11, subevent 6) in which he informs the Dokonikani about how he and his brother managed to hide in the breadfruit which the ogre herself threw to the other side of the dangerous river because she could not cook it – and why this was the case. After this flashback Dudaavelu continues to report the episodes and subevents of the tale in strict chronological order again. To master such a sophisticated narrative strategy like a flashback implies that the unmarked form of linearization is fully acquired and internalized. That the linearization principle of natural order plays an important role for event conceptualization and event report for the Trobriand Islanders is strongly supported by the omnipresent serial- and multi-verb constructions in Kilivila (see Senft 2008a) – a phenomenon that is also demonstrated in the tales presented here. That the children are aware of the fact that they have to solve the linearization problem is also illustrated by the frequent production of the rhetorical question “*amyaga?*” (what’s the name), a hesitation phenomenon that provides them (especially six-year old Towesei) with some additional time for conceptualizing, planning and producing their tales. This strategy is also used by adults, by the way (see Pulia’s use of *amyaga* in his “Tale of the Turtle” in Subsection 3.2.6). What should be noted here, too, is that both the children and the adults produce very few speech errors. This observation also indicates that all the narrators conceptualize, plan and monitor their speech production very carefully during the telling of their tales – realizing as cooperative speakers that the listeners have to reconstruct the at times complex structures of the stories from their lineary ordered narration (see Subsection 1.2).

34. This principle of natural order agrees with “Aristotle’s view of plot as a linear... yet complicated ... progression of events” (Georgakopoulou 2011: 193; see Aristotle 1995).

35. Note that at the end of Subsection 2.2.2.8 I discussed a possible problem in Towesei’s chronological linearization of two episodes of this tale; however, this was explained by a possible mixing up of verbs “to kill” and “to wound”; I would like to note here, that in Oceania and Australia the difference between these two verbs is often semantically blurred.

4.2 Components of the tales

In Subsection 1.2 I also referred to the six components Labov and Waletzky (1967, 2003) propose to differentiate in complex narratives and to Holmes (2003: 117) questions in which she summarizes these components. Table 25a shows which of these components are realized and which questions are answered in the 13 tales told by the 5 boys.

Table 25a. Components of the 13 tales told by the 5 boys (B)

Tales	B 1	B 2	B 3	B 4	B 5	B 6	B 7	B 8	B 9	B 10	B 11	B 12	B 13
Components and Questions													
1. ABSTRACT													
What's the story about?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. ORIENTATION													
Who?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Where? (general)		X					X						
Where? (place names/ landscape terms)									X				X
When?													
Why?									X		X		X
3. COMPLICATION													
What happened?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. EVALUATION													
Why is this story worth telling?													
5. RESOLUTION													
How did it all end?	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
6. CODA													
That's it.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

This table reveals that all the tales of the children consist of an abstract and an orientation – which either provides the name(s) of the protagonist(s) or refers to them. This part of the orientation – which also constitutes the name of the tale – is produced immediately after the ritualized formula which introduces these stories. None of the tales provide any orientation for the listener with respect to time. Nine tales (B1, B3, B4, B5, B6, B8, B10, B11, B12) do not provide any information with respect to the place of the reported events. In the other stories this information is given either rather generally (behind the house, in the coral garden, at the water well, the roof of the house) and in an *en passant* like manner or can be inferred from place and village names or landscape terms mentioned in the tale (Omyuva, Kavataria, Loseda, Oyabia and Losuia in tale B9 and Mwatawa, Dayagila area and

Bukwaiga beach in tale B13). Only 3 tales (B9, B11, B13) provide some information about the protagonists' behavioral situation and their motifs for (at least some of) their reported actions.

All tales also consist of a complication and ritualized formulae that function as the coda, marking the end of the tale. In 9 tales the children produce the coda "*bogwa mesinau*" (already it is finished), three tales end with the coda ("*isimwa isigaga*") ((it stays) it stays forever), one tale ends with actually two codas "*isimwesi isigagasi bogeokwa*" (they stay they stay forever it is already finished) and one tale ends with the coda "*bogeokwa*" (already it is finished). The two tales told by five year old Yabilosi show that the ritualized introductory formula and the coda variants are acquired very early. As Christa Büger (1971: 41) points out, such "fixed" beginnings and endings ("[d]ie festgeprägten Anfänge und Schlüsse") are also characteristic for fairy-tales in Indo-European languages (see also Lüthi: 1968a, 1968b: 28ff.).

An evaluation component which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative in Labov's definition after the complication component is completely missing. But note that the definition of this component is rather vague and unclear, as Klapproth (2004: 97) points out:

Modifying the original scheme, Labov (1972: 369) suggests that the position between complicating action and resolution constitutes *the focus of waves of evaluation* that penetrate the *whole* narrative that marks a skillfully told story. Indeed, as Labov suggests, it is the evaluative penetration of the narrative that marks a skillfully told story. As Labov argues, the evaluation component thus forms a secondary structure in the narrative, and although evaluative elements are concentrated in the evaluation section situated between complicating action and resolution, they are not restricted to this position but are found distributed throughout the whole narrative... As Linde (1993: 72) points out, narrative evaluation can also be achieved through such paralinguistic features as pitch or tone of voice, or through nonlinguistic features such as gesture or facial expression... it is not a sequential category. [(italics in the original) G.S.]

Given the fuzziness of the this concept, this component in Labov's model of narrative will be of minor importance in my analyses of the Trobriand tales. We can record that there is no evaluation component between the complication and the resolution components in the stories presented here. However, if we take into account the modifications of the evaluation component quoted above, then we certainly find evaluative elements in Labov's and Linde's sense in the tales.

11 tales have a resolution component, but two tales (B4 & B9) are completely open-ended. It is only the ritual formulae that function as the coda that tell the listener explicitly that the (narration of the) tale has come to its end.

Before I end the discussion of this table I want to note here that in his “Tale of the children and the Dokonikani” (see Subsection 2.2.2.10) Dudaavelu continues his story after the coda with an episode in which the older boy summarizes what has happened to him and his brother and that they will now live on the mountain and eat better food than their mother and their aunt back home. Then he ends the tale with a second coda. This kind of evaluating summary is very atypical for Trobriand tales and I do not want to classify this final part of this tale as a proper story component.

Table 25b shows which of these components are realized and which questions are answered in the 9 tales told by the 6 men.

Table 25b. Components of the 9 tales told by the six adult men (A)

Tales	A 1	A 2	A 3	A 4	A 5	A 6	A 7	A 8	A 9
Components and Questions									
1. ABSTRACT									
What’s the story about?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. ORIENTATION									
Who?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Where? (general)								X	
Where? (place names/landscape terms)	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
When?									
Why?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. COMPLICATION									
What happened?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. EVALUATION									
Why is the story worth telling?									
5. RESOLUTION									
How did it all end?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. CODA									
That’s it.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

This table shows that all the tales of the adults consist of an abstract, an orientation, a complication, a resolution and a coda.

In general abstracts are very simple; most of them just consist of the name of the tale which in 9 of the 10 tales is identical with the name of the stories’ protagonist(s). Only tale 4 – Pulia’s “advice for children” – does not start with the ritualized introductory formula for tales and the name of the story, but with the metalinguistic explanation that this story is a subtype of the genre “*kukwanebu*” which is classified with the label “*gugwadi asi guguya*” and that this “advice for children” is a story intentionally made up by the narrator for educational purposes.

In the orientation component all narrators introduce the protagonists – in tale A5 we are even provided with a detailed genealogy which finally introduces the actual protagonist Kwapa. Note that this “Tale of Magibweli” is the only story the name of which does not refer to its main protagonist, but to his grandmother. With the exception of tale A6 – Pulia’s “Tale of a Turtle” – all the other tales provide place names and/or landscape terms that allow to locate the stories. In tale A6 Pulia’s quote of a magical formula in the Dobu language may allow to infer that the story is located on Dobu Island. None of the tales provide any explicit orientation for the listener with respect to time; however, references to abandoned villages (see tale A1) or to famous magicians (see tale A2) in some of the tales allow (especially the informed listener) to infer that these stories play in times of old. We also get some information about the protagonists’ behavioral situation and their motifs for (some of) their actions.

There is no explicit evaluation component after the complication component within the actual tales (see above for a discussion of this finding). Why some of the stories were worth telling and actually were told by my consultants had

- either situational reasons – this holds for example for story A2 which Mokeilobu told me and his nephew in connection with a local landmark which we passed on our way from Tauwema to Giwa,
- or metalinguistic reasons – this holds for example for story A4 which Pulia classifies before and after telling the story as a special subtype of a “*kukwanebu*”.

After the complex complication and resolution components the storytellers end their tales either with the coda “*bogwa mesinai*” (“it is already finished”, tales A2, A6, A8, A9) and its variants “*mesinai*” (tale A1) and “*mesinaku*” (tales A5, A9) or with the complex coda “*isimwesi isigagasi*” (they stay they stay forever) in combination with “*bogwa mesinai*” (tales A3, A4, A7).

If we compare the orientation component of tales told by the children with the orientation component of the tales told by the adults we observe that the children provide information which allows to locate the events in four tales only – the adults do it explicitly in 8 of the 9 stories; and the children provide some information about the protagonists’ behavioral situation and their motifs for (at least some of) their reported actions in 3 tales (B9, B11, B13) only, whereas the adults do this in all 9 stories.

11 of the 13 stories told by the boys have a resolution component; this component is realized in all the tales told by the adults.

Thus we can summarize that with respect to their components the tales told by the children only differ marginally from the tales told by the adults. All the tales documented here do not have an evaluation component “that reveals the attitude of

the narrator towards the narrative” (Labov, Waletzky 2003:97)³⁶ between the complication and resolution components; in addition, the narrators do not provide any explicit temporal information for the listener in their orientation component. Thus, the Kilivila tales slightly differ from tales told in Indo-European languages with respect to their components. But note that all these tales consist of an exposition (realized in Labov’s and Waletzky’s categories ABSTRACT and ORIENTATION), as well as a complication; and only two tales told by six year old Towesei do not have a resolution. Thus with the exception of these relative simple tales for children we can note that the other Trobriand stories comply with Kintsch’s and Greene’s (1978: 1) definition of story schemata presented in Subsection 1.3 (see also Mandler 1978: 16, 1984). This means that we do not observe culture-specific story schemata in the tales of the Trobriand Islanders.

4.3 Narrative means used to structure the tales

The presentation and the analyses of the 13 tales told by Yabilosi, Towesei, Dudaavelu, Dauya and Tosulebu reveals that these children verify Ruth Berman’s results on language development in narrative contexts quoted in Section 2.1 above. The more complex narratives clearly show that the boys master complex syntax. Moreover, 7-year old Dudaavelu’s “Tale of these children and the Dokonikani” reveals that – contrary to Berman’s (2009: 374) findings – Trobriand children “are able to recruit these forms flexibly and skilfully in extended discourse” before “the age of 9 to 10 years”.

Moreover, the analyses of the stories and the structural analyses of the tales presented in the Tables 2–14 clearly show that the boys are aware of the plot-organization of narratives with an adequate temporal sequencing of episodes. In the analysis of the 13 tales in Subsection 2.2.2 I already mentioned the narrative means or “juncture indicators” (Colby 2011: 194) these boys used to structure their tales and to mark this structure in the sense of Kintsch and Greene (1978) and Bamberg and Marchmann (1990: 59 (see Subsection 1.3)). Table 26a summarizes these findings.

36. For a critical assessment of the evaluation component in this model see Georgakopoulou (2011:196ff). And for a critical assessment of Labov’s and Labov’s and Waletzky’s model see Ochs & Capps (2001).

Table 26a. Narrative means the boys (B) use to structure their tales

Tale & age of narrator	B 1 5y	B 2 6y	B 3 6y	B 4 6y	B 5 6y	B 6 6y	B 7 6y	B 8 6y	B 9 6y	B 10 7y	B 11 7y	B 12 9y	B 13 9y
Narrative means													
Repetition			X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X
Change of character			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Change of place				X	X	X	X			X			X
Direct speech			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Song									X	X	X		
Change of/reference to time			X			X	X	X		X	X		X
Tail-head linkage			X					X	X	X	X	X	X
Explicit marking of end of an episode/subevent						X	X		X	X	X	X	X

The repetition of subevents and episodes in the Kilivila tales are used as a means to indicate both the macro- and the micro-structure of these narratives. This structuring device is used in four tales told by Towesei (B3, B4, B8, B9) and in the more complex tales told by the older boys Dudaavelu, Dauya and Tosulebu (B10–B13). Repetition as well as contrast are stylistic devices which are also highly characteristic for fairy tales in many other languages (see Bürger 1971:42).

Another important means which marks the structure of these stories are changes in the focus of the tale's attention from one protagonist to another character as well as changes of place.

Direct speech (in 10 tales) and songs (in 3 tales) – which are usually introduced with appropriate *verba dicendi* – not only enliven the tales, but also indicate the beginning of new subevents within the micro-structure of the Trobriand fairy-tales. These devices are already used by 6 year old Towesei.

Reference to changes of time (like, e.g., “*eyam*” – day breaks – in 7 tales) or the indication that an action has come to the end (like, e.g., “*bogeokwa*” – it's already finished – in 7 tales) are also structural devices that indicate the beginning or the end of a subevent or an episode.

The rhetorical tail-head linkage structure is used in 7 stories to clearly mark the end of one subevent and the beginning of another one. It is remarkable to see that six year old Towesei already produces this relative complex rhetorical device.

As I have pointed out in my analysis of the 13 fairy tales in Subsection 2.2.2 above, my reconstruction of the macro- and micro-structures of these stories presented in the Tables 2–14 can all be justified on formal grounds on the basis of the narrative means the children use in telling the tales. These narrative means not only indicate the structure of the tale to the listener, but they also seem to help the narrator to properly linearize the episodes and (sub-) events of their tales.

In the analyses of the 9 tales that were told by the adult speakers in Subsection 3.2 I also discussed and listed the narrative means the adult speakers used to structure their tales. Table 26b summarizes these observations.

Table 26b. Narrative means the adults (A) use to structure their tales

Tale	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9
Narrative means									
Repetition	X		X						
Change of character	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Change of place	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Direct speech	X			X	X	X		X	
Change of/reference to time	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Tail-head linkage	X		X	X	X	X	X		X
Explicit marking of end of episode/subevent	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Serial verb constructions				X	X	X			
Change of TAM-marker (S-final/S-initial verb)								X	

The repetition of episodes with minor changes as a structuring device is only used in two stories told by the adults – but this narrative means creates special effects, mainly humor in the case of Mokeilobu’s “Tale of Ilakavayega” and suspense in Gerubara’s “Tale of the Dokonikani”.

All adults use the change of the acting protagonist – the change of focus of the tale’s attention from one protagonist to another – as a means to indicate and mark the macro- and micro-structure of the tales.

In eight of the 9 stories the narrators also explicitly mark the end of an episode or a subevent; this is a simple but quite effective structuring device.

Changes of time and place as well as the tail-head linking construction are used by seven narrators as means to structure their stories.

In the two tales told by Pulia (A4 & A6) and in Taidyeli’s story (A5) serial verb constructions are employed for structuring purposes.

In his “Tale of Kavalokwa” (A7) Kalavatu uses the change of the TAM-marker in the sentence-initial verb of a new episode after having produced a sentence-final verb with a different TAM-marker at the end of a preceding episode as a means to mark the macro-structure of this tale. But he is the only narrator who uses this grammatical means just once as a structuring device. Thus this obviously rather rare narrative means for structuring a tale can be neglected here.

Nevertheless, in connection with this observation I want to note here again that all the adults – as well as all children – produce the vast majority of the verbs in these tales without any TAM-marker. These verbs without TAM-markers come

close to what Indo-European scholars call “aorist” when they refer to unmarked verb forms. Erwin Koschmieder (1945: 26) describes the aorist as the ‘category for out of time actions and events’ (“Kategorie für die Außerzeitlichkeit”); he emphasizes that the aorist is the narrative tense (“Erzähltempus”) in fairy tales in many languages (Koschmieder 1945: 44, 57). This is definitely true for Kilivila, too.

The adults and seven year old Dudaavelu (B10, B11) also produce many verbs with the TAM-marker “*b-*” for irrealis and/or future. All the children as well as all adults produce only a few verbs with the TAM-marker “*l-*” which indicates that an action is completed. The habitual marker “*m-*” is almost only produced by consultants in the ritualized coda “*bogwa mesinau*” (already it is finished).

If we compare the narrative means used by the boys to structure their stories with those produced by the adults we observe the following: Serial-verb constructions do not have any structuring functions for the children – despite the fact that they relative frequently use these constructions in their stories. For adults the repetition of episodes or subevents within episodes does not play the important role this means has for the children’s ways of structuring their tales.³⁷ Moreover, the adults do not use songs to indicate the end of an episode or a subevent and the beginning of another one.

If we neglect the first two stories that consist of just three lines and if we look at all the tales that were told by Towesei we observe that – with the exception of serial-verb constructions – all the other narrative means used by the adults for structuring their tales are also used by this 6 year old boy, though less frequently. Thus we can note that at the age of six years motivated and extrovert children like Towesei have learned (or at least have started to learn) to adequately use the most important narrative means adult story-tellers use to structure their tales.

To summarize, children at the age of six years start to mark the macro-structure – the episodes – and the micro-structure – the subevents of episodes – in the same way as adults do it: The following linguistic markers or juncture indicators fulfill this structuring function: change of character (= introduction of a new referent or participant), change of place, direct speech, change of or reference to time, tail-head linkage constructions and the explicit marking of the end of an episode or a subevent. Serial-verb constructions are only used by adults in this function, and the repetition of episodes or subevents seems to play a much more important role for children in structuring their tales than for adults.³⁸

37. For repetition in Grimm’s Fairy Tales see Rölleke and Schindelhütte (2011: 112–114, 121–126, 160–169 and 225–227).

38. It is interesting to note that onomatopoeic forms are rather rarely produced in these tales. Gerubara produces two such forms (A3, lines 25 and 32) and Moagawa one (A10, line 57). In

The hierarchical construction of these tales confirm Berman's and Slobin's (1994: 13) findings on event packaging in narratives (mentioned in Subsection 1.3). The clearly structured plots – with their macro- and microstructure – also seem to help the narrators to properly linearize the episodes and (sub-) events of their narratives when they tell their stories. And in addition, these structured plots also allow the listeners to reconstruct these sometimes complex structures from the lineary ordered narratives without too many problems.

Speaking about problems: In connection with the reference to protagonists we observed in two stories that were told by the adults (see 3.2.8, lines 59 & 74–76 and 3.2.9, lines 90–94) that the use of the third person subject-prefix in verbal expressions without the explicit realization of a subject noun phrase which refers to the acting protagonist(s) creates reference tracking problems – at least for the non-native speaker of Kilivila (see also 2.2.2.11). When I transcribed the tales together with native-speakers who always checked my transcriptions in the field, I had no idea on the basis of what kind of evidence they recognized (with the stories mentioned above and other ones) to whom of the protagonists the subject prefixes referred. I noticed this phenomenon before (see e.g., Senft 2010a: 147) and tried to explain it with the audience's familiarity with what was narrated. But this is just a hypothesis, of course.³⁹ Such reference tracking problems are documented for other Oceanic languages, too. In Teop, for example, a language of the Nehan-North Bougainville network, we observe the phenomenon of “zero anaphora”. Ulrike Mosel (2013: 1f.) illustrates this problem as follows⁴⁰:

In Teop ZERO anaphor is not determined by any grammatical rules of the kind that a nominal or pronominal antecedent must occur in the immediately preceding clause or that ZERO anaphor is restricted to subjects or certain clause types. The following example comes from a legend about two brothers and an evil spirit. While the brothers were fishing, the spirit appears from the water and demands fish, and when the fish is finished the older brother cuts up the body of the younger one, until only the head is left over. When he buries the head, a coconut palm grows from it.

tales of other cultures ideophones and other onomatopoeic devices play a much more important role (see e.g., Jacobs 1959: 7).

39. In connection with this problem I also want to mention that in Dudaavelu's tale of the children and the Dokonikani (see 2.2.2.10) it only becomes clear in line 41 that the Dokonikani's child was a girl – the classificatory particle (= numeral classifier) in the demonstrative indicates the child's sex.

40. Note that the plot of the story which illustrates zero anaphora in Teop is similar to the plot of the tale documented in Senft (2010a: 245ff).

The elder brother and the spirit are mentioned by NPs in (1a), but later on both are represented by ZERO. In (1d) the ZERO is to be interpreted as the brother, in the subsequent clause (1e), however, as the spirit. The right interpretation is solely facilitated by the context, as we know that the brother is cutting, while the spirit is eating. There are not any other indications of a change of the topical subject, but the position of the canonical anaphoric ZERO is grammatically determined.

(1a) ...
 ‘And his brother cut his leg and threw (it) to the spirit, whose name was Suvin’

(1b) ...
 Me= ZERO paa an va- kavara maa bona
 And4 (the spirit) TAM eat ADVR- be.finished hither it
 ‘And (the spirit) had finished eating it,’

me= ZERO paa tavus habana,
 and= (spirit) TAM come.out again
 ‘and (the spirit) came out again,’

(1c) ...
 ”Uuu, dee maa ta iana!”
 Uuu give hither NSPEC.ART. fish
 “‘Uuu! Give me some fish!’”

(1d) ...
 ME= ZERO paa pee vahabana bona meja
 and4 (brother) TAM cut again OBJ.ART other
 ‘And (the brother) cut again another’

moo--na =e me= ZERO paa busu ZERO me
 leg- 3SG.POSS= 3SG and= (brother) TAM throw (leg) too
 ‘leg and (the brother) threw (the leg), too.’

(1e) ...
 Me= ZERO taa an habana bona
 And= (spirit) TAM eat again it
 ‘And (the spirit) ate it again.’

After this brief excursus on reference tracking problems, the following subsection deals with the structural complexity of the tales told by the boys and the men from Tauwema.

4.4 Structural complexity of the tales

Table 27a summarizes the findings of the structural analyses of the 13 tales told by the boys with respect to their macro- and micro-structure presented in the Tables 2–14 in Subsection 2.2.2.

Table 27a. The structural complexity of the tales told by the boys (B)

Tale	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Narrator's age (years)	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	9	9
No. of lines transcribed	3	3	12	30	12	11	14	49	37	193	96	10	70
No. of episodes	2	2	4	4	2	5	2	9	2	14	7	4	5
No of subevents (in episodes)				4	3		3	6	2	5	3		5
				(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)
				2	2		2	5	8	3	3		2
Note:				(2)	(2)		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)		(2)
If an episode reports just one event this is counted as one subevent				2			2		4	4			5
				(3)			(3)		(3)	(3)			(3)
				3			2		5	6			4
				(4)			(4)		(4)	(4)			(4)
							2		8	2			2
							(5)		(5)	(5)			(5)
							2		2	2			
							(6)		(6)	(6)			
							2		2	3			
							(7)		(7)	(7)			
							2		2				
							(8)		(8)				
							1		2				
							(9)		(9)				
									2				
									(10)				
									6				
									(11)				
									4				
									(12)				
									8				
									(13)				
									1				
									(14)				

The Tables 25a and 27a show that in Tauwema children at the age of 5 years have learned to narrate simple tales which consist of the ritualized introductory formula and coda formulae and which have a simple two or five episodes structure, where

each episode just reports one event. These relatively simple tales are told by Yabilosi (5 years old; tale B1), by Towesei (6 years old, tales B2, B3, B6) and also by Dauya (9 years old, tale B12).

However, children at the age of 6 years are also able to narrate tales which report more than five simple episodes (reporting just one event each) and tales with a more complex episode structure, in which all episodes report two or more subevents (in the “Tale of Pepekwa” – tale B9 (see 2.2.2.9) – the second episode – the duetting between son and mother – consists of 8 such reported subevents and in the “Tale of Tokositagina” – tale B8 (see 2.2.2.8) – the first episode consists of 6 reported subevents). Thus, with children at the age of 6 years – here represented by Towesei – we observe a rather impressive progress with respect to how they manage to narrate longer and structurally rather complex tales.

At the age of 7 and 9 years children like Dudaavelu and Tosulebu can tell rather long tales with a relatively complex macro-structure and a quite complex micro-structure.

Seven year old Dudaavelu tells the most complex tale of all the stories told by my young consultants, the “Tale of the Children and the Dokonikani” (tale B10, see 2.2.2.10). He clearly structures this tale verbally into 14 episodes that consist of up to 8 subevents. This is amazing and remarkable, because it seems to contradict George Miller’s findings on the information processing capacity of the human memory which he published 1956 in his by now classic paper “The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information”.⁴¹ However, if we assume that Dudaavelu memorized the tale as consisting of two parts, we can resolve this apparent contradiction. In this re-analysis, part 1 of the story reports on how the children came to the Dokonikani and what they did there. This part consists of the first 5 episodes. The second part describes the Dokonikani’s chasing the boys and how the boys finally killed the ogre. This part consists of the episodes 6 to 14 listed in Table 28a above. In our reanalysis of the structure of this tale these episodes now constitute episode 1 to 9 of the second part of the story. Structuring this tale (which is the second longest in the sample) in this way is supported by my analysis of the structure of the version of the Tudava myth documented in Senft (2010a: 81–148). The transcription of this myth encompasses 439 lines. In addition, the alternative analysis of Dudaavelu’s tale can be justified not only on formal grounds on the basis of the narrative means the seven year old boy uses to structure the tale, but also with regard to the contents of the

41. In this famous paper Miller shows that the number of objects or items a person can hold and recall in short term (or working) memory is “seven plus minus two”. He found that this memory span is limited in terms of units or chunks that allow the recall of the items that constitute these chunks.

story. The reanalysis of the structure of this story is presented in Appendix I. On the basis of Miller's (1956) insights it explains why a complex story like tale B10 can be memorized by a boy of the age of seven years. I will come back to this issue below.

Finally I would like to point out here that Dudauevu's as well as Tosulebu's narrative skills and the complexity of their tales are more or less adult-like (see also Senft 2010: 154ff, 245ff; also 158ff).

Table 15 in Section 3.1 already showed that the 9 tales that were told by the men differ with respect to their length. Based on the structural analyses of the stories presented in the Tables 16 to 25 in Section 3.2, the following Table 27b summarizes these differences with respect to the actual length of the tales and their complexity – which finds its expression in their macro- and micro-structures.

Table 27b. The structural complexity of the tales told by the adult men (A)

Tale	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9
Narrator's age	52	54	47	26	50	27	45	29	29
No. of lines transcribed	172	19	102	207	161	99	73	77	124
No. of episodes	9	4	6	9	4	8	6	7	6
No. of subevents (in episodes)	1	1	2	1	6	1	1	1	2
Note:	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
If an episode reports just one event	5	1	4	2	3	3	1	1	1
this is counted as one subevent	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
	6	1	4	3	9	4	5	2	1
	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
	4	1	4	2	3	5	7	4	8
	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)
	1		3	3		3	5	7	3
	(5)		(5)	(5)		(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)
	4		2	5		3	1	2	5
	(6)		(6)	(6)		(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
	3			2		3		6	
	(7)			(7)		(7)		(7)	
	4			7		3			
	(8)			(8)		(8)			
	8			1					
	(9)			(9)					

This table shows that the shortest tale – Mokeilobu's tale (A2) of the sticking girls – just consists of 19 lines of transcription whereas the longest tale (in the sample presented here) – Pulia's advice for children (tale A4) – consists of 207 lines of transcription. The complexity of the macro-structure – the episodes – and the micro-structure – the subevents per episode – agree with George Miller's (1956) insights into the information management of the human memory with respect to

its capacity for processing information mentioned above: the most complex tales told by the adults encompass no more than 9 episodes (see tales A1 & A4) and the number of subevents per episode does not exceed 9, either (see tale A5).

To sum up, the Trobriand tales documented and analyzed here are structured or “chunked” (Colby 2011: 193) in such a way that they are within the limits of the information processing capacity of the human memory. On the one hand, we can equate the episodes of the tales as the chunks that are memorized and, on the other hand, the subevents with the items that constitute these chunks. Our analyses of the Trobriand tales (and the reanalysis of the tale B10 presented above) shows that neither the number of episodes nor the number of subevents that constitute these episodes exceed the number nine. Thus the structure and complexity of the tales from the Trobriands confirm once more Miller’s findings published in his paper on “the magical number seven plus or minus two”. In addition, these analyses of the stories also confirm Bartlett’s (1932: 312) insight that our memory – and its capacity – is “‘schematically’ determined” (see Subsection 1.3 above). Thus, I want to point out once more that the structure of the tales help both the narrator as well as the audience to easily recall, process and reconstruct them.

4.5 The role of the tales for the Trobriand Islanders’ culture and society

This subsection provides some information about the situative contexts of story-telling on the Trobriands, discusses the role of the “*biga sopa*” language variety of Kilivila which is co-constituted by the genre “*kukwanebu*” (story, tale), summarises the culture-specific topics of the tales, presents some hypotheses about their cultural functions, the moral(s) they convey and the needs they serve. I look at the tales from a deliberately taken Eurocentric point of view to find out whether there are culture-specific features of the Trobrianders’ *kukwanebu*.

4.5.1 Situative contexts of story-telling on the Trobriands

The people of Tauwema told me that they all learned these and other tales from their parents, grandparents, siblings, relatives or other adults and members of their peer-group. The situative contexts in which these stories were told were various and manifold.

In the days before Coleman lamps, families used to sit on the veranda of their houses in the evening after dinner, and after a while one of the adults started to tell the family a tale or a mythical story.

When the children in their own independent little communities, in “their small republic” as Malinowski (1929:45) referred to these groups, were tired of playing games or doing other things and sat together to relax, one of the elder peers in their group usually started to tell tales – and then challenged other children to tell one of their stories – as demonstrated at the end of Taidyeli’s tale of Magibweli (A5; see Subsection 3.2.5) and Kalavatu’s tale of Kavalokwa (A7; see Subsection 3.2.7).⁴²

When people were travelling by canoe or when they rested on their way to other villages or in the gardens, usually someone used the opportunity to tell a story – not only to entertain grouching children, but also the other adults.

And as I mentioned in the previous chapters, people came to me after I had finished my work – usually in the evenings when my Coleman lamp was burning – and suddenly made the proposal to tell a story to me and the other people present. Or – as in the case with Mokeilobu (see Subsection 3.2.2) – there was a landmark which we passed and I was told the story that goes with it – either on the spot or some time later.

Both children and adults enjoyed telling stories which they had learned from others or made-up themselves (like for example Pulia, see Subsection 3.2.4) and – as with almost all other activities on the Trobriands – there was a strong competitive element involved and good narrators were very proud of their skills.

Contrary to many Trobriand myths, these (fairy)-tales and stories belong to everybody and thus everybody has the right to tell them. The stories and tales “obviously [serve] needs” in the Trobriand society – we will come back to this point in Subsection 4.5.3 below – and they are “intrinsically pleasurable” (Jacobs 1959:7).

The Trobriand Islanders still tell these stories now and then, however, more and more children and adolescents are no longer interested in these tales of old, now that they communicate with each other using their Digicell cell phones... And thus the art of narration is in decline and the traditional stories sink into oblivion.

4.5.2 The *kukwanebu* as a genre that co-constitutes the “*biga sopa*” language variety of Kilivila and the impact this variety has for the Trobriand Islanders’ society

In Senft (2010a) I present and illustrate the Trobriand Islanders’ own indigenous typology of their non-diatopical registers or language varieties as well as the emic typology of genres or text types in Kilivila that constitute these varieties. One of these varieties is called “*biga sopa*” – the joking or lying speech, the indirect speech,

42. Note that this context confirms Nicolopoulou’s (1996: 383) insights into the role of the peer-group for the socialization into narrative discourse (see Subsection 2.1).

the speech that is not vouched for (see Senft 2010a: 13f., 149ff). And together with the metalinguistically also labeled genres or text categories “jokes”, “gossip”, “songs”, “ditties” and “harvest shouts” the *kukwanebu* constitute this variety. I briefly mentioned and explained general features of the *biga sopa* in the Subsections 2.2.2.13 and 3.2.1 above in connection with the curses that are uttered in Tosulebu’s tale of Naulivali and Nabukubwabu (tale B13, lines 38–39 & 47–48) and the obscene speech used in Mokeilobu’s tale of Ilakavayega (tale A1, lines 46–50, 73–76, 86–88 & 110–112). As pointed out elsewhere (Senft 2010a: 149f), this variety is absolutely characteristic for Trobriand forms of talk – it constitutes the default register of Trobriand discourse, so to speak. It is based on the fact that Kilivila, like any other natural language, is marked by features that include ‘vagueness’ and ‘ambiguity’. Both these features are used by its speakers as stylistic means to avoid possible distress, confrontation, or too much and – for a Trobriand Islander at least – too aggressive directness of certain speech situations.

If hearers signal that they may be insulted by a certain speech act, speakers can always recede from what they have said by labelling it as *sopa*, as something they did not really mean to say. Thus *sopa* signals the speakers’ “unmarked non-commitment to truth” (Bill Hanks, p.c., see also Senft 2008c). Trobriand etiquette then prescribes that hearers must not be offended at all by those utterances that were explicitly labelled as *sopa*.

The Trobriand Islanders employ this variety in everyday conversation, in small talk, in gossip, in flirtation, in public debates, in admonitory speeches, in songs and in stories as a means of rhetoric to avoid possible conflicts and to relax the atmosphere of the speech situation. The *biga sopa* variety also contributes to put forward arguments because it allows speakers to disguise their thoughts verbally and to disagree in a playful way without the danger of too much personal exposure.⁴³ Moreover, the *biga sopa* variety is used for mocking people. As a means of irony and parody it can be used to criticize certain forms of sociologically deviant behavior, relatively mildly asking for immediate correction.

Finally, the *biga sopa* variety offers the only license for the verbal breaking of taboos and thus for the licensed use of of obscene speech and many insults curses and swear words, that is, ways of speaking that are otherwise stigmatized as *biga gaga* – as bad speech. As already mentioned above (Subsections 2.2.2.13 and 3.2.1), *biga sopa* genres that include *biga gaga* characteristics serve the function of so-called “safety valve customs” (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1984: 492ff; Senft 1987a). This ethological concept needs some explanation: Every society puts some of its realms, domains and spheres under certain specific taboos. However, the stricter

43. How this is done is illustrated in Senft (1987b, 1991).

the society is in regard to its observance of these taboos, the more these taboos are ignored. But a society can secure its members' observance of certain taboos, especially of taboos that are important for its social construction of reality, by allowing the discussion of its taboos – especially of the sociologically less important ones – as topics of discourse. It may even allow its members to imagine the ignorance of taboos – in a fictitious way, of course. And this is exactly how and why 'safety valve customs' develop.

Genres of the *biga sopa* that clearly show features of *biga gaga* are first of all classified as *sopa* – as play, as something fictitious in Trobriand society. The *biga sopa* thus generates a forum where the breaking of taboos – and thus the use of 'bad language' – is allowed, if it is done verbally! This forum permits a specially marked way of communication about something 'one does not talk about' otherwise.

These characteristic features and the social and cultural functions of the *biga sopa* fit perfectly with the contents of the tales told on the Trobriands and with the functions they fulfill for the Trobriand Islanders. Some such aspects of the cultural role of the tales will be discussed in the next subsection.

4.5.3 Topics of the stories and some hypotheses about their cultural function and their culture-specific features

In this subsection I briefly summarize the contents of the tales told by the boys and by the men once more, point out culture-specific aspects of the respective story (from a Eurocentric point of view) and offer some hypothesis about the reasons why these tales are told and about the moral(s) they convey and the needs they serve.⁴⁴ This subsection shows that the Trobriand Islanders' tales are much more complex than Malinowski defined and characterized them.⁴⁵

The first "Tale of the red ant" (tale B1) told by the youngest boy in my sample is a very brief and for the Trobriand Islanders quite humorous sketch of a fatal episode in the life of a red ant. The moral of this story seems to be educational: Children should start at a rather early age to get familiar with their biological environment.

44. Note that John Kasaipwalova (1975: 244), a famous poet from the Trobriand Islands, points out that "[o]ral literature has been the most popular art form for passing on legends, history, morals, and social values".

45. Malinowski (1929: 339) provides the following characterization of the *kukwanebu*:

"They contain accounts of avowedly fantastic and unbelievable events; they are meant to stir the imagination, to pass the time pleasantly, and, above all, to raise a laugh – at times a very ribald one". See also Senft (2010a: 153f.).

The same holds for the second story, the “Tale of the white caterpillar” (tale B2), which features a different protagonist but otherwise is quite similar and comparable to the first story and conveys the same moral.

The “Tale of the girl and the mirror” (tale B3) reports its protagonists eternal problem and struggle with a mirror because she is convinced that she is ugly.

In this story magic that must have been put on the mirror plays an important role. Towesei also alludes to the fact that even after her death the girl is still bothered by the mirror. He does not explain, however, that the Trobriand Islanders believe in an immortal spirit that “lives” after the death of a person in an underworld at Tuma, one of the Trobriand Islands (see Senft 2011). Without this culture-specific background information, this part of the tale remains rather cryptic for an uninformed listener.

I assume that the moral of this tale is threefold: Children should neither feel contempt for themselves (assuming, for example, that they are ugly) nor be conceited; they should beware of magic that may make them do things they do not want to do, and they should start to learn that the members of their society believe in a life after death. The hint to Trobriand eschatology in this tale may serve as a means to make the children ask their parents and their (older) peers about these beliefs.

The “Tale of the monkey” (tale B4) reports how this stranger makes friends with a dog, a pig, a cat and a man, how it leads them one after the other to its house and then out of the blue puts a curse on them that causes them to die.

However, no information is provided as to why the monkey behaves so rude and unpredictable.

The moral of this tale seems to be quite evident: Do not trust strangers too quickly, do not accompany them to their living places and beware of magicians and their destructive “black” magic!

In the “Tale of the pig” (tale B5) we learn that a pig gives birth to three men, that these men sharpen their spears and that the pig then puts some magic on them. When a Dokonikani comes to the area where they are living, the men are worried. The oldest brother kills the ogre and with the help of his two brothers he buries him.

Towesei provides no explanation why a pig can give birth to three men and he presupposes that everybody in the audience knows that a “Dokonikani” is a man-eating ogre. This tale also leads the listener into a world of magic in which a pig can give birth to human beings and is in command of magical powers.

The moral of this tale seems to be: Beware of man-eating ogres, and if you are worried by one, kill a Dokonikani before he or she kills and eats you! The more abstract version of this moral could be: Take personal fears seriously, but if they are close to overwhelming you, overcome them.

The topic of Dokonikani is taken up again in the “Tale of the rooster” (tale B6). The protagonist of this tale – a prototype of a cock – does not realize how dangerous it is to go to the garden of a Dokonikani and to eat the tubers and other plants that are cultivated there. The Dokonikani does not notice the rooster in the garden during its first visit, but when the cock comes again to his garden, he kills it.

Again the moral and message of this tale seems to be: Beware of a Dokonikani, respect his or her belongings and do not go to the village gardens on your own – or, in the more abstract version: Do not take uncalculable risks.

The “Tale of the girl who was killed by a tree” (tale B7) reports the fatal accident of its protagonist who went to a water well in the bush to fetch fresh water. The girl is killed by a tree there and her spirit goes to another world. Her rotting corpse is found after a while by a man roaming around in the area. This man informs the girl’s relatives about her death and they come and bury her.

In this story Towesei does not provide any reason for why he refers to a leaf in the water in the first subevent of the first episode of this story. Alluding to the fact that the girl’s spirit goes to another place, he assumes that everybody is familiar with the Trobrianders’ belief in the Tuma underworld and the life of the spirits of the dead there. It remains completely unclear why the girl’s relatives do not search for the child when she did not return from the water well after a while, but let her corpse rot in the bush. This is something that would never happen in real life on the Trobriands.

The moral of this tale is, to my mind, threefold: Children should always carefully monitor their environment, especially when they are alone in the bush (but also at the beach or on the reef) to avoid accidents like the one reported here. The children’s relatives have to always look after them and search for them if they do not return to their homes in time – but Trobriand children can trust in their relatives just doing this. Children should start to learn that the members of their society believe in a life after death. The hint to Trobriand eschatology in this tale – like the one in the “Tale of the girl and the mirror” (tale B3) – may again serve as a means to make the children ask their parents and their (older) peers about these beliefs.

The “Tale of Tokositagina” (tale B8) features a Dokonikani again. In this tale we learn that this ogre is caring for a little boy who is alone at home and crying for his parents despite the fact that his crying makes the cannibal angry.

In the first episode of this story there is a cryptic reference to two leaves falling down from a tree. Why the Dokonikani takes this as a sign that he can leave the protagonist of the story remains unclear. There is no explanation for the fact that the boy and his parents obviously live an ordinary life as direct neighbours of an ogre.

When the boy has grown up, he decides to steal coconuts from the Dokonikani's palm tree. The ogre notices Tokositagina in the top of his tree, announces that he will kill and eat him – with an innuendo to Dobu Island which must remain cryptic for the uninformed listener – and climbs up to the tree-top to seize the boy. The boy fights the ogre by throwing bunches of coconuts and coconut leaves on him and finally kills him. Then he climbs down the tree and buries the Dokonikani.

The moral of this tale could be that even a boy who once was a cry-baby can win a fight against a man-eating ogre – or, more generally: overcome your fears and fight for your life.

The “Tale of Pepekwa” (tale B9) features a fish as its protagonist that is angry because its parents do not feed it properly. It kills its bird, puts the bird's feathers on its body and threatens its parents with flying away and abandoning them. Its mother tries to convince Pepekwa to stay with her; she even offers her son to leave her husband and go with him to different villages on Kiriwina Island where she will marry a village pig.

The message of this rather bizarre tale is twofold: Mentioning the name of a village on a far away island and the names of four villages on Kiriwina Island contribute to making the children familiar with their geographical environment. The fact that the protagonist's father does not play a role whatsoever in this tale and the proposal of Pepekwa's mother to marry a pig in each of the four villages where she wants to go and live together with her child highlights the special bond between a mother and her children in a matrilinear society in which the father is not related whatsoever with his child(ren).

The “Tale of these children and the Dokonikani” (tale B10) features two boys who do not properly look after the skirts of their mother and aunt while they are together with them in the gardens. When the skirts get wet and thus are spoiled, they run away and flee to a Dokonikani who cares and cooks for them while they look after her baby-daughter.

In this tale Dudaavelu mentions that the boys catch a crawfish to improve their meal, but this episode is left open-ended.

However, we learn that one day the boys decide to kill the ogre's daughter. After the brutal murder of this child they look for leaves for an earth-oven, then announce their deed to the ogre who chases them to various places where she tries to get hold of them using her magical powers. However, the boys manage to overcome all the dangers – once even with the help of magic – and they finally kill the ogre by outwitting her.

The message of this tale is at least threefold: Ogres are not human beings, despite the fact that they may resemble them, thus one can kill them and even butcher them like pigs. Younger siblings should follow the advice of their older brothers and sisters. If siblings trust in each other and are loyal to each other, if they are witty and have acquired culturally important knowledge they can be invincible.

The “Tale of these children” (tale B11) features two girls who use to trap birds at the beach. Whenever they have trapped a bird and roasted it, their mother and her older sister come to them and ask for parts of the bird and its feathers. When the girls refute such a request and only give their aunt the bird’s feathers, the woman and the girl’s mother fly away and abandon the children. The older girl manages twice to make her mother come back and breast-feed her younger sister who is still a suckling, but then the girls’ mother abandons them for good, just leaving a wooden plate for them behind. On this plate the children float over the ocean to another place where they can live and stay together sound and safe.

Dudaavelu does not explain at all why the mother of the two girls and her older sister can fly. This is just taken for granted – although cultural knowledge allows the informed listener to infer that these women must have at least strong magical powers or that they may even be flying witches – “*munukwausi*” – i.e., menacing female magicians whose destructive powers are very much dreaded by the Trobriand Islanders. This may also explain the fact that the mother abandons her children, one of which is still a suckling, who live in the vicinity of a dangerous ogre. Such a behavior of a mother is unimaginable for Trobriand Islanders.

To me the moral of this tale is threefold: Be generous and always generously share your belongings with your relatives. Learn magical formulae and acknowledge and respect the power of magic. Be aware of the fact that even close relatives can be frightening sorcerers or witches who may deviate from the proper general behavior of ordinary Trobriand Islanders.

The “Tale of the cat” (tale B12) tells the story of how a clever cat manages to kill a conceited Dokonikani – who is a powerful magician – by outwitting the ogre with the help of his very own magical powers. The cat asks the ogre whether he can change into a dog and a cat. The ogre does it. Then the cat asks him to change into a mouse and as soon as he has done so the cat eats the mouse.

The message of this tale is that although the terrifying Dokonikani may have strong bodily powers and command powerful magic, they are also conceited and rather stupid at times so that clever and witty individuals can escape from them or even kill them. Or more general: Use your wits in competitive and in dangerous situations.

The “Tale of Naulivali and Nabubukwaku” (tale B13) reports the strange behavior and the magical powers of the protagonists’ grandmother. Because the old woman offers these girls meat which she takes from the flesh of her own body, they want to escape from her. One night they run away – using magic themselves to be as fast as possible – but with the help of much stronger magic the old woman manages to get the girls under her control again. Although the older girl directs very obscene curses both against her younger sister and her grandmother, she is not punished for that. The grandmother asks the girls to get her brother to the place where she

caught up with them, and when her brother comes, she first insults him because of his sickness but then sails away with him, leaving the girls behind. When the adults reach a beach in the north-western part of Kiriwina Island, the brother plays a trick on his sister and abandons her there. The old woman goes to a cave which she wants to use as a shelter, but there she is killed by hermit crabs.

The old woman's sister and her child are briefly introduced at the beginning of the story, but never mentioned again later. Tosulebu simply states that the grandmother of the two protagonists can make meat out of the flesh of her own body, without providing any explanation of why she can do that. He also mentions out of the blue that Naulivali has swallowed her younger sister during their flight from their grandmother and that Nabububwaku manages to jump from her sister's belly out of her mouth when they had reached the sea. Another unexplained fact is the old woman's faculty to throw her hand into the sea to bring the canoe with the two girls inside back to the shore. The only explanation for all these strange qualities of the protagonists is offered by the Trobriand Islanders' belief in magic and the power of magical formulae which every Trobriand Islander takes for granted. In connection with the old woman insulting her brother there is just a casual hint to elephantiasis – without any further elaborations or explanations. At the end of the tale we do not learn anything about what happened to the girls when their grandmother left them at the beach.

The moral of this tale seems to be (at least) fivefold: Learn magic and respect its powers. Be aware of the fact that even close relatives can be frightening sorcerers or witches. Younger siblings should obey their older siblings. One should never ridicule sick people. One can utter obscene and other curses only in fairy-tales like this one or in other genres that are classified as *sopa* and co-constitute the *biga sopa* variety of Kilivila, but never address such a curse seriously to anybody in everyday interactions on the Trobriand Islands.

The first tale told by an adult, the “Tale of Ilakavayega” (tale A1) features the female protagonist, her two young cousins, a brown heron and again a Dokonikani. The two cousins of Ilakavayega collect shells at the reef and are molested by a brown heron that insults their aunt with bawdy language. After having experienced this twice, Ilakavayega's cousins and her aunt make a plan to trap the bird and punish it for its pornographic innuendos.⁴⁶ The girls catch it, put it in a basket and go home. On their way they pass a man-eating ogre. He spots the bird and demands its head. The girls agree, kill the heron, cook it and keep its head for the Dokonikani to eat. However, during their meal Ilakavayega is so greedy that she eats the bird's head,

46. As mentioned in 3.2.1 and 4.5.2 the explicit sexual speech of the bird is a characteristic feature of the *biga sopa* register of Kilivila which is co-constituted by stories and tales.

too. Being afraid of the Dokonikani's wrath, Ilakavayega hides within a big woven basket and tells her cousins to run and hide away. The ogre comes to their house and looks for the heron's head. During this search he finds Ilakavayega, kills her and eats her on the spot. Then he searches for the girls who finally make it to hide in the top of a coconut tree. The ogre announces that he will kill and eat them – with an innuendo to Dobu Island which must remain cryptic for the uninformed listener – and climbs up the tree. The girls throw coconuts at him and finally kill him. They throw his corpse into the sea and continue their life at her aunt's place.

The moral of this tale is threefold: (1) Do not use obscene speech (except in fairy tales). (2) Keep your promises. (3) If a Dokonikani tries to kill you, fight back. Or, more general: overcome your fears.

The “Tale of the sticking girls” (tale A2) tells the story of two young sisters from Keli who paddle to Koma, a village on Kaile'una Island. Because of a heavy rain they seek shelter in a cave between Koma and Giwa. The powerful weather magician Tobibida from Koma invites them to his place, but when they rather impolitely decline his offer, he puts a spell on them and they get petrified. The reef rock formation where the outlines of the two girls are visible (for people with some imagination) has become a landmark which is named “the sticking girls”.

This tale emphasizes again the power of Trobriand magicians, especially the power of “*bwagau*”, i.e., of black magicians. The moral of this story is: Be polite to adults and behave well if you meet unknown people – they may have the power to punish you otherwise.

The “Tale of Karavata” (tale A3) features the young mother Karavata, her baby and – again – a Dokonikani. The ogre sees Karavata at the beach and forces her to accompany him to his place. He takes her baby and asks Karavata to carry his beautiful walking stick. On their way over a coral ridge Karavata throws this stick into holes in the coral hoping that she and her baby can escape the cannibal while he is looking for his stick. Her fourth attempt to get rid of the Dokonikani is successful – he gets lost in one of the coral caves while looking for his walking stick. Karavata runs to the place where the Dokonikani lived, throws away the skulls of the ogre's victims and stays there with her baby.

The Dokonikani is presented as a brutal but foolish bogeyman who does not see through Karavata's plan. Karavata is introduced as a young mother, but there is no mention of the father of her child. But this is not necessary at all in the Trobrianders' matrilineal society in which a father is not related with his child. And it seems to support the eschatological myth that men have nothing to do with the procreation of children (see Senft 2011: 31ff). The moral of this story is again that clever people can even escape a Dokonikani if they are bold enough and use their wits.

Pulia's "Advice for children" (tale A4) features a boy who leaves his father and roams the bush on his own. Night falls and he sleeps in the bush. In his dream he hears his father's admonitions. The next day he meets a bushfowl which protects him from the attack of a snake. They walk the bush and have a nap at noon. A Dokonikani smells the boy and his younger brothers bring him and the fowl to their village. The bushfowl wakes up his comrade before they reach the cannibals' village. There the ogre greets the boy, invites him to stay and eat with him and his brothers. They try to poison him and to kill him with a booby trap below his sleeping mat, but the fowl always warns the boy and saves his life. When they leave the village, the old Dokonikani send his daughters after him to kill him, but the boy's love magic prevents them from doing him any harm. The younger daughter even decides to run away with him and the fowl, they steal a lame horse, outwit the Dokonikani who pursues them with a fast horse, trick him, steal his horse and ride back to the boy's father and stay with him.

The bushfowl is introduced as a true friend who protects the boy from the snake's attack and the Dokonikani's attempts to poison him and to kill him with a booby trap under his sleeping mat. The boy only manages to deal with the ogre's daughters because of his strong love-magic – otherwise the girls would have killed him, too. The Dokonikani, his little brothers and his daughters are presented as perfidious characters who are ready to kill even young children. They represent the prototypical strangers in whom Trobrianders should never trust. It is interesting to note that this tale made up by a father for his daughter does not mention the boy's mother. In this tale it is the father who is admired by his son who finally stays with him together with his girl-friend and the bushfowl.

The threefold moral of this "advice" is mentioned explicitly in episode two of the tale: (1) Don't walk alone in the bush. (2) Don't share a meal with a stranger. (3) Don't sleep in a stranger's house. And with his comments on this subgenre of a "*kukwanebu*" Pulia illustrates once more how deeply rooted the Trobrianders' fears of black magic and black magicians are.

The "Tale of Magibweli" (tale A5) introduces the mother of Tobumyo and Karavata. Magibweli's younger daughter Karavata gave birth to her son Kwapa – who is the main protagonist of this tale. His brothers-in-law invite Kwapa for a trip to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands to barter betelnuts and sago. On their trip home they abandon him on the shore, but Kwapa remembers his mother's prediction and advice, takes a magic canoe out of his basket, flies home and tells his mother what has happened. When his brothers-in-law return they tell Karavata that Kwapa was killed, she shows them that her son has already arrived at home. A few days later the men invite Kwapa for a second trip to the islands and abandon him there once more; however, this time they stole his basket to make sure that he could not return home again with his flying canoe. Kwapa remembers that his mother had told him

to look for his aunt Tobumyo who lives there. When he finally finds her, she warns him to beware of his cousin and to hide away from him. Kwapa's cousin is the sun. He suspects that his mother is concealing something from him, and after three days she tells him about Kwapa, the son of her sister Karavata. The sun tolerates Kwapa, but cannot help trying to eat him. Whenever he attempts to grab him, Kwapa tells him to respect him as a relative. After a long time Tobumyo asks her son to bring Kwapa back to his mother in Kaduwaga. Tobumyo's son brings Kwapa back to his mother who is overwhelmed with joy to see him. The sun leaves his kinspeople, returns to his mother and tells her that everything is fine with their relatives again.

In this tale it remains unclear why Kwapa twice accepts the invitations of his brothers-in-law to accompany them to the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, despite his mother's warnings and prophesies. It also remains unclear why his brothers-in-law abandon him there twice, recklessly disregarding the possible consequences of their mischievous behavior which could be fatal for Kwapa because of the Dokonikani who live there. One wonders why the tale introduces Kwapa's brothers-in-law without mentioning Kwapa's wife. And it is taken for granted that Kwapa's aunt Tobumyo could give birth to the sun and live with him. As pointed out in Subsection 3.2.5, this story is a praise of kinship ties in the Trobrianders' matrilinear society. Even a supernatural power like the sun – who is personified by the Trobrianders as a man – will not do any harm to one of his kinfolds. In addition, the tale again emphasizes the importance of magic which is manifest by Karavata's visionary powers and Kwapa's flying canoe and the magic that goes with such a vessel. The danger of Dokonikani who could harm Kwapa is only alluded to implicitly.

The moral of this tale is at least twofold: (1) You can always trust in your matrilinear kinfolds. (2) Make sure that you get hold of strong magic to overcome problems of all kinds.

The "Tale of a turtle" (tale A6) is about a turtle and her beautiful daughter. The young turtle loves to warm herself up sitting on a stone at the beach after diving in the sea. A man who has heard of her beauty looks out for her at the reef, sees her, catches her and makes her marry him. They live in the man's village. After a while his mother dies. Everybody bewails her except the turtle. The village people are shocked by the turtle's behavior, but before the situation escalates, a younger sister of her husband brings her into her house. There the turtle tells her sister-in-law why she did not cry and asks her to bring a basket. Then she starts crying and – as her mother had told her – as soon as her tears fall into the basket they turn into valuables. After she has finished crying, she goes to the beach and calls for her mother with a spell-like formula. Her husband finds her at the beach with her mother and the beautiful turtle tells him that she now will leave him. He should go to their house where he will find the valuables – which from then onwards were distributed during mourning rituals.

As pointed out in 3.2.6, this story can be understood as a kind of origin myth for the ritual exchange of valuables during mourning rituals – and probably also during Kula-expeditions and at some weddings. Again, magic plays an important role in this story – there is prophesy, magical metamorphosis of tears into valuables and far-reaching calls. And there is a strong emphasis on culturally appropriate behavior with respect to mourning: not to cry for a deceased person is stigmatized and dangerous, because it creates the suspicion that the person who shows such unheard-of behavior was probably responsible for this case of death.

The moral of this story may be twofold: (1) You cannot escape your fate. (2) You cannot disregard cultural norms.

The “Tale of Kavalokwa” (tale A7) features murder in Milne Bay Province. The protagonist Kavalokwa is a betelnut addict who will stop at nothing to get hold of this common drug. One day Kinala people from the D’Entrecasteaux Islands land at his place to barter betelnuts and sago. Kavalokwa takes them by surprise, kills them and steals their goods. After having chewed all these nuts – without giving any of them to his two wives – he looks for betelnuts everywhere, messing up his younger wife’s grass-skirts. She gets upset and tells him to sail to his sister who is married and lives with the Kinala people on one of the D’Entrecasteaux Islands. There he will get betelnuts. He follows this advice, builds a canoe and sails to his sister’s place. His sister greets him, feeds him and provides him with betelnuts. However, the Kinala people of the village want revenge for his killing of their friends. They ask the husband of Kavalokwa’s sister to stab his brother-in-law with his spear. During the first night Kavalokwa’s sister keeps guard and nothing happens to her brother. But in the second night she falls asleep and her husband kills her brother. Realizing what has happened in the morning, she asks her two sons to prepare their canoe to bring their uncle back home. When they are ready to sail off, the older son goes from the beach up to the village to inform his father about their plans. He tells him that they want to say good-bye to him on the beach. On their way down to the beach the young man hurts himself, and when his father tries to treat his scratch, the boy decapitates him with his axe. Hearing the voices of the other Kinala people, he rushes to the beach and he, his mother and his brother manage to sail away before the villagers reach them. After their arrival at Kavalokwa’s place they bury him and stay there. Kavalokwa’s wives are not mentioned any more, they seem to be irrelevant at, and for, the end of the tale.

This story highlights the strong bond and the special relationship between brother and sister on the Trobriands as well as the fact that in this matrilineal society the closest male relative of children is their uncle, and not their father – with whom they are not related at all. This explains why Kavalokwa’s nephew killed his father to revenge the death of his uncle.

The moral of this story is certainly that there is nothing more important on the Trobriands than kinship relations and kinship ties.

The tale “Morevaya and Bukuruvi” (tale A8) is a love story with a miserable end. Bukuruvi is a beautiful girl, but none of her many male admirers finds favor in her eyes. Having heard about her beauty, Morevaya, who lives on Goodenough, decides to paddle to Omyuva on Woodlark Island to meet her. His powerful love magic makes Bukuruvi dream of Morevaya, and soon after he has arrived at Omyuva, she comes down to the beach and urges the seemingly reluctant Morevaya to come with her, stay in her house, sleep with her and marry her. Bukuruvi’s father organizes the wedding of his daughter. Before bride and bridegroom present themselves to the inhabitants of Omyuva, they decorate themselves and dress up for the wedding. When they are ready to leave their house, they have a brief argument about who should go first. Morevaga points out that he is the stranger in the village and makes Bukuruvi present herself to the villagers first. The villagers praise the beautiful couple and they all celebrate the wedding. After 4 years Bukuruvi gives birth to a son. The boy grows up and Morevaga wants to go back to Goodenough claiming that he wants to show his family to his relatives there. They leave Omyuva and paddle to Morevaga’s village. As soon as they arrive there, Morevaga abandons his wife and his son on the beach, goes up to the village, meets his relatives and a former girl-friend, marries her and forgets about Bukuruvi and her son. Another man who lives in Morevaga’s village finds the abandoned woman and her son at the beach, marries Bukuruvi and lives together with her and her son in another part of Morevaga’s village.

This story certainly underscores once again the power of magic: Morevaga’s love magic makes the proud and choosy Bukuruvi not only dream of him, but also go down to the beach when he had arrived at her village and urge him to come with her, sleep with her and marry her. But first and foremost this sad love story justifies the virilocal rule and custom of family residence which is valid for many Massim societies.

The moral that can be drawn from this miserable end of a famous love story is that a man’s kinship-relations and his society’s residence rules override even extraordinary beauty in the relationship between husband and wife.

The tale “Kuviviya – Takola” (tale A9) reports about the changing relationship between two birds, Takola – a seagull that lives on Vakuta Island – and Kuviviya – a small brown bird that lives in the southern part of Kiriwina Island. After living together in peace for a while, Takola plans to control this southern area of the Trobriands. He intensifies his contacts with Kuviviya and the birds decide to show each other their houses. But Takola cheats his friend and shows him a different place. Knowing about Kuviviya’s house, the seagull puts sticky fruits in it hoping

that the little bird will get stuck and perish. However, when Kuviviya enters his sticky house, he manages to free himself from the fruits: He suspects that Takola was the one who assaulted him in this way and plans his revenge. He hides in the sand near his house and keeps watch for a while. After some days Takola comes to Kuviviya's house, they fight with each other, but the seagull manages to escape unrecognized by Kuviviya. Takola pursues his plan to kill Kuviviya. He uses pieces of sticky wood and puts the gluing materials into Kuviviya's house. Then they go fishing at various places and decide to meet in the north of Kiriwina island. After this meeting the seagull rushes back to Kuviviya's house, makes it even more sticky and then flies home. When Kuviviya returns to his house from his fishing expedition, he gets stuck there and dies. After a while Takola comes to Kuviviya's house, finds the dead bird and buries him. Now he controls the fishgrounds of the area.

This tale features many local landmarks and placenames – especially in the southern area of the Trobriand Islands. As pointed out in Subsection 3.2.10, the moral of this story is twofold: (1) Get familiar with your geographic environment. And (2) Do not trust other people without reservation, they may even kill you to gain more power and control.

These summaries of the tales told by the Trobriand boys and men reveal the following: The stories' characters and protagonists encompass

- boys (B8, B10; A4, A7) and
- girls (B3, B7, B11, B13, A1, A2, A4),
- men (B13, A5, A7, A8) and
- women (B11, B 13, A1, A3, A7, A8),⁴⁷
- animals (B1, B2, B4, B6, B9, A1, A9),
- animals interacting with humans (B4, B5, A1, A4, A6)
- and animals interacting with the Dokonikani ogres (B6, B12),
- Dokonikani cannibals (B5, B6, B8, B10, B11, A1, A3, A4, A5)
- and even the largest object in our solar system, the sun – though in an anthropomorphized version, however, with cannibalistic traits (A5).

With the exception of the Dokonikani – the terrifying cannibals who obviously play the role of the paradigmatic bogeymen in the Trobriand Islanders' tales – all the other characters can be good or bad.

The themes these stories cover and illustrate include

47. Note that contrary to Kemper's research results on English narratives, the Trobriand tales do not reflect a "preference for male characters" (Kemper 1984: 102) and it is not true, either, that the Trobriand tales "portray male characters as being more adventurous than girls and female characters as being less active and more nurturant" (Kemper 1984: 103),

- fatal accidents (B1, B2, B7),
- violence that ends in the killing of animals (A1, B4, B6, B9, A9), Dokonikani ogres – even in their infancy (B5, B8, B10, B12, A1, A3)⁴⁸ – as well as people (B4, A1, A7),
- the special role of the mother-child bond in the Trobriand matrilineal society (B9, A3, A5, A7, A8),
- trust – especially in kinspeople (B7, B10, B13, A5, A7) and
- mistrust – especially in strangers, but sometimes even in matrilineal kinspeople (B4, B11, B13, A2, A4, A5, A7, A8, A9),
- the role of all forms of magic (B3, B4, B5, B9, B10, B11, B12, B13, A2, A4, A5, A6, A8),
- animals as well as places and features of places in both the narrower and broader biological-geographical environment (B1, B2, B7, B9, A9) and even
- hints to eschatological beliefs (B3, B7, A3).

And the moral(s) these tales convey and the needs they serve encompass the following dos and don'ts:⁴⁹

- behave properly (B3),
- be generous (B11),
- overcome your fears (B5, B8, A1),
- use your wits (B12, A3),
- keep promises (A1),
- be polite (A2),
- respect traditional forms of knowledge, especially the power of magic (B3, B4, B5, B9, B10, B11, B12, B13, A2, A4, A5, A6, A8),
- respect traditional residence rules (A8),
- do not go alone into the bush and gardens (B6, A4),
- do not share a meal with strangers (A4),

48. Note that Prinzhvinda Chakravarti (1974) considers “the ogre-killing child” a major theme of Papua New Guinea folklore.

49. I want to point out here once more that (the vast majority of) these “morals” and “needs” are based on my – etic – hypotheses. With the exception of Pulia who told me why he made up his “Advice for children” (tale A4) for his daughter, all the other narrators as well as other consultants reacted to my questions about this issue with the stereotypical reply “*Kukwanebu wala*” – “(It is) just a story” (see also Baldwin 1971: 122, 144). However, my etic hypotheses are somewhat confirmed by Baldwin (1971) who points out that the stories convey a “moral discipline”, are a “vehicle of instruction” with a “therapeutic” function (p. 111f.), that besides their quality of being “pure entertainment, recreation and play” (see p. 118, 122, 144, 280) they are also “educative” and comparable to “morality plays” (p. 197). See also Wiessner (2014).

- do not sleep in the house of strangers (A4),
- do not ridicule the sick (B13),
- do not use obscene speech (B13, A1) and
- do not disregard cultural norms and rituals, like e.g., mourning rituals (A6),

This survey of the stories' characters and protagonists, themes and morals illustrates the importance of proper verbal and nonverbal behavior and the role of cultural norms, customs, rules and belief systems in the Trobriand Islander's society which are highly valued and which are of crucial importance for the Trobriand Islanders' social and cultural construction of their reality (see Berger, Luckmann 1966; Malinowski 1929; B. Senft 1984; G. Senft 2010). The stories reflect the important role of magic, magicians, sorcerers and witches within and for the Trobriand Islanders' culture (see Malinowski 1935, 1974; Senft 1985d, 1997, 2001, 2009). However, it is not only important for the Trobrianders to acquire powerful magical formulae of all kinds, it is also absolutely necessary for them to become familiar with their biological and geographical environment – even at a very young age, because this familiarity is necessary to survive in an area that is full of dangers and perils. The incarnation of these perils are man-eating ogres, the Dokonikani. However, even children can overcome these terrifying monsters (and other dangers) if they are witty, clever, bold, loyal to their siblings, follow the advice of their older brothers and sisters and acquire culturally important forms of knowledge. The tales also emphasize that not only man eating Dokonikani are dangerous – people in general may be wicked and perilous, especially when they are strangers. Therefore one should not trust in them naively and without reservation but always be on one's alert. The only people one can trust – at least in most cases – are kinspeople, because kinship ties and relationships are strongest in the Trobrianders' matrilineal society.

What is interesting and thus deserves a special mention is the fact that some of the tales also topicalize forms of behavior which are absolutely atypical for the Trobriand Islanders and their society and would never happen in real life. For a Trobriander it is unimaginable, for example, that relatives would not look after a child that had an accident in the bush – as reported in “The tale of the girl (who was killed by a tree)” (tale B7). No Trobriand child would be so afraid of the wrath of his or her mother and aunt because he or she has spoilt some of their belongings that they would run away and stay with an ogre – and no child would feel and express *schadenfreude* realizing that they have better food than their mother – as the “Tale of these children (and the Dokonikani)” reports (tale B10). No Trobriand mother – not even a flying witch – would abandon her young children – as the “Tale of these children” (tale B11) reports, and no grandmother would behave like Naulivali's and Nabububwaku's grandmother towards her grandchildren and her sick brother – as reported in tale B13. It seems that these tales provide a definition of important cultural values *ex negativo*, so to speak.

At the end of this survey I want to point out the following four general observations I made during my close analyses of the Trobriand tales and briefly discuss them:

1. Neither the children nor the adults monitor what information their listeners share with them and what not, they do not provide much information about the protagonists' motifs and forms of behavior. They seem to take it for granted that everybody is familiar with certain characters (like a *Dokonikani*), with their protagonists' special qualities, powers and forms of behavior, the role of magic, Trobriand belief systems, and so on.

This observation will be of crucial importance for discussing the question of how culture specific the tales of the Trobrianders are.

2. Not all characters introduced in a tale and not all motifs mentioned in a story play a role or are somehow elaborated in the ongoing telling of the narrative.

This observation just reveals that these tales represent unedited forms of speech production. That we find in these oral presentations of the stories "transitions from one episode or subevent to another one which are not always necessarily logical, reports of unmotivated actions of the protagonists and the intrusion of the miraculous may be one of the charactersitic features of fairy tales and myth" (Volker Heeschen, p.c.).

In our Western tradition of reading fairy-tales, we easily forget that even the so-called "folk" fairy tales (*Volksmärchen*) of the brothers Grimm were carefully edited and re-edited over and over again (after the first edition by Wilhelm Grimm only). Some tales were even censored and expurgated (like for example "Rapunzel" because of the protagonist's pregnancy), and all the tales were changed in such a way that they finally were perfectly suited for children as their target group (see Rölleke 1999: 273ff & 305ff).

3. We observe that ambiguous or at least unequivocal references with third person verb prefixes to protagonists of the tales obviously create no problems for Trobriand audiences.

This observation indicates that the narrators take it for granted that their audience is familiar with their tales. They simply assume that the listeners know who is doing what when (see also Baldwin 1971: 244). This point is also important for the argumentation put forward in the next subsection.

4. It is remarkable that the storytellers produce incredibly few self-repairs, hesitation phenomena and speech errors in their narrations.

This observation emphasizes that the narrators of the tales – be they children or adults – know that they are engaged in a very special form of speech production which – being a specific form of verbal art – requires the speakers utmost concentration and attention and careful and constant monitoring of one’s speech production. What is indeed amazing is that the Trobriand children have learned how to properly perform this form of verbal art at a relatively young age.

In what follows I discuss the (more or less immanent) question of this chapter, the question about the culture-specificity of the Trobrianders’ tales.

4.6 How culture-specific are the tales of the Trobriand Islanders?

If we compare the inventory of *dramatis personae*, the themes and the morals of the Trobriand tales with Kirtley’s (1971) famous “Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives”, we notice that these stories confirm many of Kirtley’s analyses and observations (see also Baldwin 1971). First of all, the Trobriand tales illustrate “the rich vein of fantasy in Oceanic narratives” (Kirtley 1971:iv). Like the Polynesian narratives, many of the Trobriand tales topicalize violence (Kirtley 1971:v), we note “the omnipresence of the sea” and the influence of geography and culture in shaping the tales “to a marked extent” (Kirtley 1971:vi); this last observation holds especially for the topicalization and the role of magic which indeed “permeates Oceanic folklore” (Kirtley 1971:v). The Trobriand tales topicalize many of the motifs that Kirtley lists in the motif-index in his famous reference work, namely “culture heroes ... [t]opographical features ... [a]nimals with human traits ... [f]anciful traits of animals ... [m]agic ... [p]ersons with extraordinary powers ... ogres ... [d]eceptions ... [t]riumph of the weak ... [f]amily ... [c]ustoms ... [e]scapes and pursuits ... [a]bandoned or murdered children ... [l]ove ... [m]arriage ... [c]are of children ... [t]raits of character” (Kirtley 1971:xxviii). A comparison of the protagonists, themes and morals of the Trobriand tales with the motif index in Slone (2001b: 1005ff) – which follows the structure of Kirtley’s index – also reveals that the Trobriand tales share many motifs with other Papua New Guinean folktales. But can we claim that these tales are culture-specific?

Looking at a selection of 76 fairy tales (Rölleke 1999) from the 200 tales and 10 children legends collected by the Grimm brothers (Rölleke 1999:298), we find almost all the motifs represented which are topicalized in the Trobriand stories. Violence is pervasive (see e.g., the tale “Bluebeard”), we have animals with human and/or fanciful traits as protagonists (see e.g., “Cat and Mouse in Partnership”), magicians, witches and bewitched (especially princesses and princes) as protagonists are abundant (see e.g., “The Frog Prince”), there are persons with extraordinary

powers (see e.g., “How Six Men Got On in the World”) and ogres who want to kill and eat children (see e.g. “Fundevogel” and “Rumpelstiltskin”), there is deception (see e.g., “Godfather Death”) and triumph of the weak (see e.g., “Brother and Sister”), love and marriage plays an important role (see e.g., “King Grisly-Beard” and “Allerlei-Rauh”), there are escapes and pursuits (see e.g., “Strong Hans”) and there are abandoned children (“see e.g., “Hansel and Gretel”). What we do not find in these stories are references to specific places or villages – all geographical reference remains general, but like the sea in the tales from Oceania, forests, hills and streams play an important role in the European stories.⁵⁰

But given the fact that the Trobriand tales neither have specific story schemata nor represent motifs that are completely different from motifs topicalized in European fairy tales, then why do non-native Trobriand listeners to, and readers of, these tales need all the background information provided in the Chapters two and three to understand what is actually going on in these Trobriand tales?⁵¹ In his monograph on Clackamas Chinook Myths and Tales, Melville Jacobs (1959: 1f.) points out that

[e]xcept for the small band of professional folklorists, readers of non-Western oral literatures are as rare as nuclear physicists who read Bulgarian poetry ... One reason is that the content of an exotic literature is not often very intelligible to persons of other sociocultural heritages... The manner of life of the people is strange and is left undescribed. The personalities of actors in the stories are unfamiliar. The humor feels bizarre. A second reason lies in the structuring and style of an oral literature: its narrators usually delivered relatively bare bones of their stories, while the native audience immediately filled in with many associations and feelings which a non-member of the group could not possibly have. An outline, no matter how excellently translated, is not likely to maintain a reader’s curiosity because too much of the original, whether spoken or sensed, is missing.

Accordingly, I believe that ... publications of non-Western oral literature must be written out in terms of the total literary event in the native setting, accompanied by all that needs to be said in order to reconstruct and explain that phenomenon to the outsider.

In the present volume the background information provided for each and every tale serves exactly that function – namely, to inform the reader about the culture-specific “associations”, connotations, tacit assumptions, agreements and the

50. See also Kirtley (1976) who discusses the thematic affinities which Polynesian narratives share with tales from other areas of the world.

51. This question echoes Baldwin’s (1971:238) statement of “how incomprehensible a [Trobriand, G.S.] story can be if the background is not known”.

complex overall “sociocultural heritage” manifest in these tales that the native Trobriand Islanders share in their mutual knowledge of presuppositions that are specific for their culture. These culture-specific presuppositions that are familiar to all Trobrianders and which are taken for granted by the Trobriand narrators (a fact which is supported by the first and also the third observation made at the end of the preceding subsection) have to be made explicit to outsiders – and it is probably one of the most thrilling and exciting experiences of anthropologists and (anthropological) linguists when they realize that the inferences they made and the conclusions they drew on the basis of their ethnographic work have actually discovered some such implicit culture-specific presuppositions. It is these implicit presuppositions and connotations which are acquired during the socialization processes into the Trobriand culture that make the tales of the Trobriand Islanders culture-specific – and this holds not only for the Trobrianders’ narratives but also for tales and many other forms of verbal behavior in all human cultures.

Appendix I

Reanalysis of seven year old Dudaavelu's "Tale of these children and the Dokonikani" based on the discussion of the complexity of this story in Subsection 4.4.

Table 28. Dudaavelu's "Tale of these children and the Dokonikani" – a structural reanalysis (compare Table 11 in Subsection 2.2.2.10)

	lines
The ritualized introductory formula of a tale	1
Part 1: How the children came to the Dokonikani and what they did there	
<i>Episode 1 The children, their mother and their aunt</i>	
Subevent 1 The children go with their mother and aunt to the garden and are told to not put down their baskets full of skins because it will rain.	1–5
Subevent 2 In the garden the brothers quarrel with each other, put the baskets on the ground and it starts to rain.	6–8
Subevent 3 The smell of the wet skirts attracts snakes.	9–11
Subevent 4 The women chase them away.	11–12
Subevent 5 The boys run away and go to a Dokonikani.	12–13
<i>Episode 2 The boys stay with the Dokonikani and her daughter</i>	
Subevent 1 The Dokonikani invites them to stay, tells them that she will cook for them if they look after her baby daughter while she goes to work in the garden.	13–16
Subevent 2 The boys agree, the Dokonikani works in the garden, cooks their meals and they all go to sleep.	16–20
Subevent 3 The next morning the Dokonikani goes to the garden again and the boys look after her child.	20–23
<i>Episode 3 The boys incident with a crawfish</i>	
Subevent 1 Their daily routines continue for a while, but the boys do not like the Dokonikani's food and decide to go fishing; they find a crawfish that bites the older boy who shakes his hand full of pain.	24–32
Subevent 2 After some time during which the Dokonikani weans her daughter, the older boy finally shakes his hurting hand again and a crawfish comes out of it.	32–35
Subevent 3 The Dokonikani cooks it and they eat together.	35–37
Subevent 4 Their daily routines continue.	38–42

Table 28. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 4 The boys get tired of looking after the child and kill it</i>		
Subevent 1	One day the older brother asks his younger brother what they will do with the child.	43–44
Subevent 2	They kindle a fire and cook the child on it.	45
Subevent 3	They weave a basket.	46
Subevent 4	They chop the cooked child into pieces.	46–47
Subevent 5	They put the pieces into the basket and hang it on the roof of the Dokonikani's house.	48
<i>Episode 5 The Dokonikani comes back, the boys tell her with a mocking song from a safe distance what has happened and the ogre tells them that she will chase and kill them</i>		
Subevent 1	The ogre comes back, asks about her daughter and the boys tell her that she is sleeping.	48–51
Subevent 2	The Dokonikani asks them to go to a breadfruit tree and get some leaves for an earth-oven.	51–55
Subevent 3	The boys do that, climb up the tree and the older brother sings a mocking song telling the ogre to look up if she wants to see her daughter.	55–59
	The Dokonikani finishes making the earth-oven still not aware of what happened with her daughter.	59–60
Subevent 4	The older brother sings his mocking song a second time.	60–62
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani does not understand him and asks the boys to repeat what they just said.	63–64
Subevent 6	The younger brother answers that they did not say anything.	64–65
Subevent 7	After a while the older boy sings his mocking song for the third time.	65–67
Subevent 8	Now the Dokonikani looks up, sees her butchered child hanging there in the basket and announces that she will chase the boys to kill and eat them.	68–70
Part 2: The Dokonikani chases the boys and is finally killed by them		
<i>Episode 1 The Dokonikani chases the boys at the breadfruit tree</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani finishes the earth oven, goes to the breadfruit tree and bites off a fruit.	71–72
Subevent 2	The boys jump to two other trees while the ogre bites off breadfruits, they come down from the trees and run away.	72–76
<i>Episode 2 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the banana tree</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani curses them and tells them that they will come to a banana tree; if they eat a banana they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	76–80
Subevent 2	The boys come to a banana tree; the younger brother wants to eat a banana, but the older boy tells him what will happen if they do this and they run away.	80–86

Table 28. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 3 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the mango tree</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the banana tree the boys have already gone. The Dokonikani curses them and tells them that they will come to a mango tree; if they eat a mango they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	86–91
Subevent 2	The boys come to a mango-tree and after a similar conversation as before they run away.	91–97
<i>Episode 4 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the custard apple tree</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the mango tree the boys have already gone. The ogre curses them and tells them that they will come to a custard apple tree; if they eat an apple they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	97–101
Subevent 2	The boys come to a custard apple tree, and after a similar conversation as before they run away.	101–108
<i>Episode 5 The Dokonikani chases the boys to the corn field</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the custard apple tree the boys have already gone. She curses them and tells them that they will come to a corn field; if they roast and eat the corn they will get blind and she will catch and kill them.	108–112
Subevent 2	The boys arrive at the corn field and after a similar conversation as before they run away.	112–118
<i>Episode 6 The Dokonikani chases the boys to a river</i>		
Subevent 1	When the Dokonikani arrives at the place with the corn the boys have already gone. She curses them and tells them that they will come to a river; the contact with its water will make them blind and she will catch and kill them.	118–122
Subevent 2	The boys come to a river that is split into creeks, they see a breadfruit tree, put a spell on it, climb up the tree and hide inside a breadfruit.	122–126
Subevent 3	The Dokonikani comes to this breadfruit tree, throws a stick at a fruit, it falls down, she makes a fire and cooks it.	127–132
Subevent 4	The boys within the fruit urinate on the fire and extinguish it.	132–134
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani puts the breadfruit aside and makes a fire again, but after a while she takes the breadfruit and throws it to the other side of the river.	134–140
Subevent 6	There the boys get out of the fruit, the older brother tells the Dokonikani that he put magic on this fruit so that they could hide inside of it; that it was the fruit which she tried to cook, that they extinguished the fire and that she threw them with the fruit to the other side of this dangerous river.	140–151

Table 28. (continued)

		lines
<i>Episode 7 The Dokonikani and the boys on the mountain</i>		
Subevent 1	The Dokonikani puts a spell on the river and crosses it, but when she arrives at the other side the boys have already gone. She curses them and tells them that they will come to a mountain; there they will get blind and she will catch and eat them.	151–157
Subevent 2	The boys go to this mountain, they climb it and when they try to go down again the mountain becomes so big that it reaches the sky.	157–161
Subevent 3	The Dokonikani comes to the mountain, catches a pig and tells the boys (whom she does not see) that they will stay there without food while she will eat pork and yams; then she cooks, eats and goes to sleep.	161–167
Subevent 4	The boys make a stretcher, put her food on it, take it away and eat it.	167–170
<i>Episode 8 The boys kill the Dokonikani</i>		
Subevent 1	After the Dokonikani has not eaten for a while she catches another pig, cooks it and goes to the other side of the mountain.	170–173
Subevent 2	The older brother spies on her.	173–174
Subevent 3	The Dokonikani fills food into pandanus leaves, she notices the boy and tells him that she knows that he and his brother ate her food but that now she will eat him.	174–177
Subevent 4	The boy tells her that she should better first eat his younger brother and then him because otherwise she will have a problem with his younger brother.	177–180
Subevent 5	The Dokonikani tells him that she will first eat him.	180–181
Subevent 6	The boy tells her again that she should better eat his younger brother first.	181–182
Subevent 7	The Dokonikani takes out her yams and pork, grabs the boy and tries to tear off parts of his body.	183–187
Subevent 8	The boy tells her that while she tries to eat him his younger brother will come and cut off her head, and while he says so his brother comes and kills the Dokonikani.	187–189
	Coda that indicates the end of a tale.	189–190
<i>Episode 9 The older boy points out that he and his brother were chased away from home by their mother and their aunt and that they will live forever on this mountain and eat much better food there than their relatives back home</i>		
	Ritualized formula indicating the end of the tale	193

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This volume presents 22 tales from the Trobriand Islands told by children (boys between the age of 5 and 9 years) and adults. The monograph is motivated not only by the anthropological linguistic aim to present a broad and quite unique collection of tales with the thematic approach to illustrate which topics and themes constitute the content of the stories, but also by the psycholinguistic and textlinguistic questions of how children acquire linearization and other narrative strategies, how they develop them and how they use them to structure these texts in an adult-like way. The tales are presented in morpheme-interlinear transcriptions with first textlinguistic analyses and cultural background information necessary to fully understand them. A summarizing comparative analysis of the texts from a psycholinguistic, anthropological linguistic and philological point of view discusses the underlying schemata of the stories, the means narrators use to structure them, their structural complexity and their cultural specificity.

ISBN 978 90 272 4453 6



9 789027 244536

John Benjamins Publishing Company