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ALAM HUNTING TRADITIONS.
Part I.
INTRODUCTION and WALLABIES

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
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KALAM HUNTING TRADITIONS.
Part I.
INTRODUCTION and WALLABIES

Ian Saem Majnep and Ralph Bulmer

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The material contained in these Working Papers constitutes a series of progress reports on work being carried out in the Anthropology Department of the University of Auckland. The Working Papers are not intended for public circulation because of their tentative and preliminary status, but are being privately circulated on a limited basis, for the purpose of inviting comments and suggestions from interested workers on the ideas set out in them. These papers are not finished products embodying the final views of their authors, and readers should note that they are not to be cited without clear reference to their tentative and preliminary character. No Working Paper is to be reproduced without the consent of its author.
INTRODUCTION and WALLABBIES

Ian Saem Majnep and Ralph Bulmer

Edited by Andrew Pawley
Illustrations by Christopher Healey

Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland
1990
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For my mother Kalam, who with such fortitude
 carried me when we slept under the trees and in the rock-shelters
 and under the leaking roofs of desolate houses,
 so that I survived and grew.
 I have not forgotten her.

Ian Saem Majnep
This is the first of a series of 12 Working Papers entitled *Kalam Hunting Traditions*. In these, Ian Saem Majnep describes his people's knowledge of and beliefs concerning the marsupials and rodents of their region of Papua New Guinea, and their methods for hunting these animals. Saem's Kalam text is translated by Ralph Bulmer. The series is illustrated by Christopher Healey's drawings.

When Bulmer died in July 1988, the text of *Kalam Hunting Traditions* was almost complete but a great deal of finishing work remained. Saem and Bulmer had planned the overall structure of the series and Bulmer had done much of the editing of *KHT I-III*, including writing a preface and giving a title to each Working Paper, standardising the spelling of Saem's Kalam text, reordering sections of the Kalam text in some chapters, polishing the English translations, breaking down the Kalam and English texts of each chapter into matching numbered paragraphs, and compiling footnotes and references. For *KHT IV-XII*, Bulmer had composed titles and standardised spelling but had hardly begun the other editorial tasks. When his illness was diagnosed we agreed that, if he did not recover, I should carry on with the editing job as best I could.

Bulmer's Preface to *KHT I* gives an account of the history of the project up to March 1988, and I have appended further notes there.

It is intended that these Working Papers form the basis of a book to be called *Animals the Ancestors Hunted: An Account of the Wild Mammals of the Kalam Area, Papua New Guinea*. An earlier Majnep and Bulmer paper about forest plants used by hunters as food (*Some Food Plants in our Kalam Forests*, Working Paper 63, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland) will also be part of this book. A central purpose of the Working Papers is to elicit commentary from colleagues, and from Kalam readers (and listeners), in order to improve the book. As a simple linguist, with no expertise whatsoever in biology, and not much in social anthropology, I am in particular need of help from colleagues knowledgeable in these disciplines. For example, the prefaces I have written for *KHT IV-XII* are based mainly on information given in Bulmer and Menzies (1972-73), and parts of them are likely to be outdated, both in respect to Ralph Bulmer's later views and to matters such as scientific determinations and nomenclature. Ralph Bulmer would certainly have added footnotes to the English translations of *KHT IV-XII*, dealing with such matters, with disagreements among Kalam informants, with Kalam customs and beliefs relevant to particular translations, and so forth. If you have suggestions, corrections or other relevant information please write to me at the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601.

The (English) titles of each volume of *Kalam Hunting Traditions I-XII* follow.

I. Introduction and Wallabies.
II. The True Arboreal Kapuls: the Copper Ringtail and the Giant Rodents.
III. The Tricky Arboreal Kapuls: Arboreal Montane Cuscuses, Smaller Ringtails, Striped Possum and Sugar-glider.
IV. *Madaw*, the Terrestrial Cuscus.
V. Women's Prime Game: the Bandicoots.
VI. The Native Cat; and the Water-rats and Waterside Rat.
VII. Introduction to the As Mammals: the Colonial-nesting Small Rodents, and the Small Dasyurids.
VIII. Other As Mammals of the Higher Forest.
IX. As Mammals also found at Mid-altitudes.
X. *Kwpyak*: the Dirty Rat.
XI. Mammals of the Warm Lowlands.
Ian Saem Majnep is a Kalam-speaker from the upper Kaironk Valley of the Schrader Range, in the Simbai region of the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. It is likely that 1948 was his year of birth. He and I have worked together since 1963. In 1974-75 we drafted a book on birds (Majnep & Bulmer 1977). As that task drew to a close, Saem suggested that our next book should be on kapuls and on hunting. Kapul is the New Guinea Pidgin (Tok Pisin) term for marsupials other than the very smallest kinds, together with large rodents, and echidnas. It is not applied to dogs, pigs and other large quadrupeds, nor to bats. Because there is no standard English term for this grouping, and because the Pidgin term is well-known to anyone familiar with New Guinea or its literature, it is convenient to adopt it into English.

In 1976-77 Saem tape-recorded some important statements from knowledgeable Kalam people, in the Kaironk Valley and at Port Moresby. Between 1977 and 1982 he recorded and transcribed what were intended as twenty chapters, of varying lengths, describing the kapuls and smaller rodents and marsupials of his home region, plus an Introduction and an Epilogue. For most of these he also provided Pidgin translations, on tape and in transcript. These Pidgin versions are generally close to the original Kalam, but in some passages Saem gives an abbreviated statement and in a few he adds information or interpretations that he had not remembered to include in the original text.

Between 1977 and 1985 I retranscribed Saem’s Kalam texts, attempting to bring the orthography into conformity with Andrew Pawley’s (1966) phonemic conventions, and, with much help from Saem, translated them into English. And in 1984-85 Christopher Healey, who had illustrated Birds of My Kalam Country, provided us with drawings of the more important species Saem had described.

That the book Aps basd skop kmn ak pak-nilbgpal (Animals the Ancestors Hunted) has not yet appeared is my responsibility. Partly this is a consequence of misjudging, up to 1980, the time the work would take, and especially the time that Saem and I would have to spend together on the text; and partly it is a consequence of heavy competing demands on my attention in 1984-86. But I was also brought to a halt by agonizing over editorial and translation problems - doubts as to whether I had correctly understood many passages, dismay at the gulf between my stilted English and the style of the Kalam original, and indecision as to how far it was legitimate to excise repetitions and re-order paragraphs - though Saem had assured me that I should feel quite free to take my own judgment in this regard.

Saem had, from the start, expressed the strongest wish that the book should appear in a Kalam version, for local readers, as well as in English. My response was to argue that we should get the English edition out first, then produce an edited Kalam text that would be consistent with the English. It is only very recently that I have realised that this was not a satisfactory ordering of priorities - and that the difficulties that were delaying my completion of the English text could be substantially reduced if we presented the Kalam version, with minimal abbreviation or other editing, first.

This Working Paper is thus an experimental presentation of drafts of what are intended as two of the first sections of the book, Saem’s Introduction and his First Chapter.

Kalam speakers in the Upper Kaironk Valley identify two locally-spoken dialects of their language: etp mnm, which is shared by Kalam communities in the Simbai Valley, and ty mnm, which has affiliation to the dialect or dialects of the Asai Valley and the northern watershed of the Schraders. Saem regards himself as a ty mnm speaker, and in his texts generally adopts ty mnm forms. It should be noted that Andrew Pawley’s 1966 grammar of Kalam describes etp mnm.

This is not the place for an extended discussion of the very considerable problems involved in translating Kalam into English (see also Pawley 1987), but three particular difficulties may be mentioned. One is that to an English speaker Kalam seems painfully and repetitively explicit where English seems gracefully and economically elliptical, yet bewilderingly elliptical where English is forthrightly explicit. Thus a highly 'literal' translation is, if not impossible, extremely tedious for the English reader. Another and more familiar translation problem, for it occurs even between European languages, is that many words in Kalam have no exact equivalents in English, and vice-versa. This has not inhibited me from using English words which have no close matches in Kalam. "Animal" is a case in point. No term in Kalam matches this, any more than any term in English matches kmn (here translated as 'kapul' - see above).
But to avoid what would in English be stylistically clumsy repetitious use of ‘kapul’ or of the pronoun ‘it’ or of the name of some particular kind of kapul, I use from time to time ‘animal’ or ‘creature’ or ‘beast’. The scholar wishing to keep track of Kalam folk-zoological concepts is invited to pay careful attention to the Kalam text and also to refer to Bulmer & Menzies 1972-73, Majnep & Bulmer 1977:45-49, and the draft Kalam Dictionary (Pawley & Bulmer n.d.).

A third problem of editing and translation that needs mention here is that of determining where a Kalam sentence begins and ends. Clauses are generally not too difficult to isolate, from grammatical features as well as, often, from audible junctures in the taped statement; and, from the forms of their verbs, subordinate clauses can be distinguished from main clauses. However the problem is to decide whether a subordinate clause is associated with a preceding main clause or a succeeding one - or even, perhaps, with both. These decisions were particularly difficult in the case of the second text presented in this Working Paper. Saem’s original taped statement on the wallaby was one of the first he prepared, in November 1977, and he recorded considerable sections of it with the machine-gun-like speed that is natural to much of Kalam discourse. I regretfully pointed out to him that I found this tape extremely difficult to work with, even assisted by his own transcription. So he re-recorded this chapter, at slow speed. This indeed made most of the individual words accessible to me - but destroyed the natural flow of the oral presentation, and made the junctures even harder to perceive than they had been in the fast version! In his later recordings Saem generally hit what was for me a happier compromise, his statements delivered somewhat more slowly than in natural speech, but still with recognisably normal speech-rhythms. Ideally each numbered sentence or paragraph in the Kalam texts that here follow should start with a capital letter and end with a full-stop; but because of my uncertainty as to whether these junctures truly coincide with the beginnings and ends of what may properly be regarded as sentences, I have often left small letters and commas.

As I hope I have already indicated, I am only too conscious that there will be many errors both in my transcription of Saem’s texts, and in our translations of these, despite the generous help that Andrew Pawley has from time to time given us. But it seems far better to make these texts generally available, in however imperfect a state, than not to do so. Their availability should make it possible for later scholars to improve upon our work. There are also in the Kalam transcripts here presented some deviations from the original tape-recorded texts that reflect corrections Saem himself has made as we have worked over them together.

Saem’s work in the early years of this project was in part supported by the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. He is very grateful both to the Institute for its help and to former Directors Ulli Beier and Andrew Strathern for their encouragement. Financial support from the University of Auckland Research Grants Committee (Grants 141/63 of 1977, 141/94 of 1979, and 141/112 of 1982) is also gratefully acknowledged.

Nearly all zoological identifications have been provided by J.l. Menzies, whom we also thank for helpful comments on earlier drafts of our English translation. Peter Dwyer has also provided many useful comments. Most of all we thank the people of Gobnem and Kaytog, and various friends from the Simbai and Aiome areas whose individual help Saem acknowledges in later sections of these reports.

Saem’s original recordings from 1976-78, including cassettes ISM1-4, 6-21 and 24-26, and his own original transcripts of these, have been deposited in the University Library at the University of Papua New Guinea, where it is intended that the remaining original cassettes and transcripts will also eventually be lodged. Dubbings of the papers and xeroxes of the transcripts are held in the Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.
EDITOR’S ADDITION TO PREFACE

Ralph Bulmer’s preface gives a brief history of Kalam Hunting Traditions up to March 1988. Here I add notes on three related matters. On Bulmer’s earlier work among the Kalam and the growth of his partnership with Ian Saem Majnep (my purpose is to give the reader a clearer picture of the long-term research setting in which the present project developed). On the procedures by which ISM and RB created the Kalam texts and the English translations in KHT (to evaluate these properly one needs to understand how they were done, and RB’s modest remarks in the preface leave out a good deal). And finally, on the history of KHT since March 1988.

Bulmer’s first visit to the Kaironk Valley for five or six weeks early in 1960 proved to be a watershed in his career. He was already an experienced ethnographer, having done extended fieldwork among the Saame (Lapps) of Norway and Sweden in 1950-51 while an undergraduate at Cambridge, and among the Kyaka Enga of the Baiyer River in the Western Highlands of Papua New Guinea in 1955-57, as a PhD student at the Australian National University. In 1958 he went to the University of Auckland as a lecturer in social anthropology. Up to that time his ethnographic research had followed conventional lines, being mainly concerned with the subject matters — social structure and social organisation — which at that time dominated in British social anthropology. But the Bulmer head housed two different intellectual personas. Alongside the anthropologist dwelt a keen natural historian, who for years had had to make do with bushwalks and desultory collecting and reading pursued on the side. The problem was how to give the alter ego official and equal rights in research.

Bulmer began looking for a place in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea where he could combine in a systematic way his deep interest in natural history with his training in ethnography. He had in mind a locality whose inhabitants lived close to and exploited extensive areas of primary forest and retained a way of life minimally disturbed by contact with Western institutions.

The Kaironk Valley, in the Schrader Ranges, came to his attention via a patrol officer’s detailed report on a first patrol through that region. RB’s brief 1960 stay among the Kalam-speaking people of the Upper Kaironk confirmed his hopes that here he had found an ideal place to serve as a base for an interdisciplinary study of a Highland people’s traditional uses and perceptions of a well-forested natural environment. On that visit he was accompanied by a linguist from Auckland, Bruce Biggs, who worked out the main features of Kalam’s difficult sound system and developed a phonemic orthography.

In August 1963 Bulmer returned to the Kaironk for six months, this time with me in tow. As a doctoral student in linguistics, my brief was to compile a grammar of the etp mnm dialect of Kalam and to contribute to a dictionary that also embraced the ty mnm dialect spoken by RB’s main informants, who lived higher up the valley slopes at Gobnem, near the forest. We stayed together at my camp in Kaytog for a month before RB’s little house at Gobnem was built and within days of our arrival he was collecting and calling for specimens of plants and animals. Among those who brought in specimens was Saem Majnep, then aged 14 or 15. Saem brought in some rare birds that he had shot on trips to quite distant hunting grounds. Bulmer soon became aware of the lad’s bushcraft and general alertness and added him to a growing staff of field assistants, headed by the big-man, Wpc, with whom RB regularly walked about in the bush.

During RB’s next few field trips and his sojourn as Professor of Anthropology at the University of Papua New Guinea from 1968 to 1973 (when Saem was also working as a technical assistant at the UPNG), the young man became his leading field assistant. He did a variety of tasks from preserving specimens to organising camps during bushwalks, and was one of RB’s three or four main informants on matters ethnographic, zoological and botanical.

Remarks made in his inaugural lecture at the UPNG, on the role of anthropology in New Guinea, show that Bulmer was already thinking of the next stage in his collaboration with Saem
and other key Kalam informants. He spoke of the need in ethnographic reporting for two-sided partnerships in which the informant is given equal status with the anthropologist. He meant not only joint authorship but, above all, a form of ethnographic reporting in which the insider is allowed to speak for himself, instead of having his words filtered through the prism of the anthropologist's interpretation and reformulated in Western forms of discourse. A year or two later came one or two jointly authored working papers and then the first Majnep and Bulmer book, *Birds of My Kalam Country*, begun and largely completed in 1974.

The book was widely praised both for the quality of its contents and as a ground-breaking experiment in ethnography, in which the expert insider became the primary reporter, with the anthropologist confined to a background role, as translator and commentator. As we shall see, however, Bulmer's behind the scenes role in the production of *Birds* was rather more influential than its presentation suggests.

About the time *Birds of My Kalam Country* had gone to press, Bulmer asked Saem if he would like to do another book about Kalam natural history and, if so, what the subject should be. RB himself had in mind a book about plants, a field in which he and Saem had done much groundwork over the years. To his surprise Saem plumped for a book about *kmn* (game mammals or 'kapuls'—see RB's Preface, above). As Bulmer and James Menzies had already written a 50-page paper on *kmn*, RB naturally was uncertain about how much new material he and Saem could come up with. But Saem was adamant that there was much more to be said. Kapuls were really important in Kalam life, he insisted—far more so, in fact, than birds. In the summer of 1977-78, when Saem spent three months in Auckland, the Kalam text of the new book began to take shape. Its main title was *Aps Basd Skop Kmn Ak Pak Ñbelgpal*, or *Animals the Ancestors Hunted*.

The *Animals* book was produced in a very different manner from its predecessor. Comparing the procedures followed in each, and allowing for RB's greater expertise in ornithology than in other branches of zoology, it is easy to see why the *Birds* book was drafted in about three months while the *Animals* book took about six years to reach the same stage. Although in *Birds* Saem determined the groupings of birds and largely decided the ordering of chapters, and each chapter was presented as if Saem were telling it as a continuous narrative, in fact (as Bulmer made clear in his preface to *Birds*) the narrative was based on RB's careful records of daily interviews with Saem over some three months, which had been conducted in a mixture of Tok Pisin, English and Kalam. The procedure followed by RB was to select bits from Saem's contributions to these dialogues, skilfully seam them into a continuous first person narrative, and transform the whole into a fairly colloquial English.

In the second book the partnership took a quantum leap forward. By 1977, Saem had learnt to write his own language with some fluency and had some experience of producing a book. Now he began to write the first draft of all the main chapters in Kalam. The audience he had in mind included not only anthropologists, zoologists, and educated Europeans; he also wished to reach educated Papuans and his own Kalam people. Accordingly, the authors planned two editions of the book—one consisting of the Kalam text, the other of Bulmer's English translation of this plus annotations and commentary. They would have liked a single bilingual edition but were doubtful of finding a publisher for such an enterprise.

It would be more accurate to say that Saem "spoke the first draft". Having thought out the main points to be made in each chapter, he dictated his thoughts into a tape recorder, and then transcribed the tape, now and then modifying the spoken text. Some of the chapters were drafted during Saem's three months in Auckland in 1977-78, the rest after his return to the Kaironk. By the time of RB's next trip to the Kaironk, in 1980, Saem had completed transcripts of all 20 main chapters, along with several important myths related by other men, and had mailed copies of the tapes and transcripts to Auckland. For most chapters he also taped and transcribed a rough translation of the Kalam into Tok Pisin.

Bulmer now subjected this material to some complex treatment. First, he listened to the tapes with Saem's transcriptions in front of him, and retranscribed each Kalam chapter in
what he intended to be a consistently phonemic orthography. As Saem's fast speech recordings in Kalam often proved too difficult, RB asked Saem to record slow versions of most chapters. Then began the trickiest task of all – the production of a satisfactory English translation.

Much of Bulmer's translation procedure will be familiar to any ethnographer or anthropological linguist – his initial method followed closely the tradition of Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and their Magic*. The first step was to produce a trilinear text, with the Kalam on top. Under that he entered word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and below that a first crack at a free translation. The latter kept fairly close to the Kalam phrasing; naturally it made poor reading in English – RB's immediate object was simply to understand what Saem's text meant. After consulting with Saem to clarify obscure points he worked out a more idiomatic translation. Then he typed out the Kalam and English texts as separate documents, and continued to polish the translations. By the end of 1980 RB had completed translations of nearly all chapters and submitted these to two colleagues, Peter Dwyer and James Menzies, for comment on zoological and ethnographic points.

Over the next three years steady progress was made with the book. During 1981-82 Saem redrafted several of his original Kalam chapters and they worked together on these during Saem's next visit to Auckland, in the summer of 1982-83. In 1983 they published as a Working Paper Saem's lengthy statement on forest plants used as food by hunters. By 1984 Christopher Healey had completed most of the drawings of the animals. Most of the job was now done, but it was to be another three years before RB could return to it. By that time Saem was already busy writing their third book, on plants. Embarrassed by the delay, Bulmer hit on the idea of putting the material out bit by bit in a series of working papers. This procedure had several advantages. It would allow the material to circulate at least two or three years ahead of full publication, reaching a fair number of colleagues for commentary and giving funding agencies something for their money. And it would ensure that the full bilingual text would be available to Kalam readers. To minimise bibliographical confusion he decided to give the working papers a separate title from the book. At the end of 1987 he set to work editing the translations of the early chapters, making many changes in style and a few in substance.

In my opinion Bulmer's translations (especially those for the first eight chapters, for which he completed the revisions) are masterly. Partly for their clear, colloquial prose – which a reader who knows no Kalam can appreciate, but which in its long, descriptive sentences retains something of Kalam discourse style. But even more for the way in which the translations bridge the considerable gaps between Kalam and English semantics and discourse structure. I find it odd how often travellers and scholars, when reporting what speakers of language X said to them, gloss over the difficulties of understanding and translating across radically different language-culture systems. The fact is that accurate translation or paraphrase is often impossible – try putting into Russian or Chinese an English cricket commentator's summary of a day's play. To bridge language-culture codes that have markedly different categories, assumed knowledge, and discourse structure with a minimum of distortion to the author's message the translator needs a deep knowledge of both codes. To do this and at the same time produce a highly readable translation requires, in addition, considerable stylistic virtuosity.

Some of the difficulties met when translating Kalam into English can be seen in small scale in Bulmer's handwritten notes on the title of the book, which reads as follows (I have added the numbers):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APS</th>
<th>BASD</th>
<th>SKOP</th>
<th>KMN</th>
<th>AK</th>
<th>PAK</th>
<th>ÑBELG</th>
<th>PAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>grand-</td>
<td>grand-</td>
<td>generational</td>
<td>game-</td>
<td>those</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>eat-they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mammal</td>
<td>habitually did</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) ancestors kapuls those they-hunted

(3) Animals the ancestors hunted
The free translation takes considerable liberties. RB accepted that, in the cause of readability, one must generally transform the lexical categories of one language into the nearest, or stylistically most suitable equivalents in the other, instead of using descriptive expressions that translate the sense more accurately. English 'ancestors' is a fair translation of the first phrase *aps basd skop*. But Kalam *kmn* has no standard equivalent in English. RB has explained elsewhere why he chose to translate it, in technical works, as 'game mammal', and, in this book, most often by the Pidgin term *kapul*. Here he uses the familiar English term 'animal', which has a far broader reference, because it is better suited to the context — a title that must be immediately intelligible to a wide readership. In the final phrase, Saem gives a formula for a sequence of actions: *hit (i.e. kill by striking) eat they habitually did*, that is conventional in Kalam but has no lexical equivalent in colloquial English. The translation 'they hunted' captures part of the Kalam concept — that part that makes immediate sense to an English speaker — but it misses other details that are significant in Kalam culture, e.g. the manner in which game-mammals are killed and the fact that they are eaten. (Kalam speakers often also mention, as part of the hunting formula, that the animals are brought and baked in an earth oven.)

RB often finds it necessary to go beyond the Kalam text in order to retrieve unstated knowledge which must be made explicit for the text to make sense to an English speaker. As a rule he neatly works this extra material into the translation itself rather than into a footnote. On occasion he resorts to footnotes to explain the author's 'backing knowledge', but only rarely.

Between November 1987 and March 1988 RB began knocking *KHT I-III* into shape. But his progress was hampered, then stopped by the lung cancer that first manifested itself as a brain tumour in January 1988. Over the next few months he explained to me what Saem and I needed to do to complete the *KHT* series and the book. However, in the final months of his life such was Bulmer's optimism, in regard to his frailty, that I could not badger him to tackle immediately the many tasks that only he could do properly. Among these were to write prefaces and do the footnotes for each of *KHT IV-XII*, and to tidy up the translations of later chapters. He did explain to me how to locate and select photographs showing the major ecological zones that Saem speaks of and some of the hunters and their game, what kinds of information he thought should be included in the two maps, and how to go about compiling the glossary of plant names mentioned in the book.

Saem arrived in Auckland on June 27 1988, with a draft of the first 13 chapters of *Kalam Plant Lore*, and over the next couple of weeks he and RB were able to spend some time discussing the next stages of that project. Saem stayed in New Zealand until the end of November, dividing his time between the *Plants* book and *KHT* work. We were able to go over the Kalam text of most of the chapters of *KHT*, tidying up the punctuation and spelling, and making some small changes to the Kalam texts and the translations. Saem selected photographs for publication in the book and drafted the captions, and we worked a little on a map showing some of the place names referred to in the text.

I have now done about as much as I can with the *KHT* materials, without the kind of additional expert advice requested in the Foreword. I am indebted to several other people who have helped in the production of these working papers. Nancy Bowers compiled the glossary of plant names mentioned in the text. Inger Miller put most of the English text onto word processor. The tricky and tedious task of putting the Kalam onto word processor, and formatting the pages of the working papers, was performed by Jonathan Lane, who also assisted with proof-reading and other production tasks. The maps were drawn by Jan Duncan.
Map 1: Location of Kalam
(adapted from Majnep and Bulmer 1977:10)
A PRONUNCIATION GUIDE TO KALAM

Kalam text is written here in the phonemic orthography devised by Biggs (1963) as modified by Pawley (1966). This orthography is explained below, first in the form of a pronunciation guide designed for readers not familiar with phonetic notation, and second, in more phonetic terms.

The following is an alphabetical list of the letters used to write Kalam vowels and consonants together with a guide to their pronunciation. Most of the pronunciation rules are couched in terms of nearest equivalents in English (RP or Queen’s English, unless otherwise indicated) and are necessarily very approximate -- a number of Kalam sounds have no exact phonetic equivalents in English.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{as in English father or charm.} \\
\text{b} & \quad \text{at the beginning or in the middle of a word, mb as in thimble; at the end, mp as in limp.} \\
\text{c} & \quad \text{at the start and end of a word, ch as in church; in the middle, j (or dg) as in judge.} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{at the start and middle of a word, nd as in handy; at the end, nt as in ant.} \\
\text{e} & \quad \text{as in set or feather.} \\
\text{g} & \quad \text{at the start or in the middle of words, ng (or ngg) as in anger; at the end, nk (or ngk) as in ink or bank.} \\
\text{i} & \quad \text{at the start or middle of words, nj as in injure; at the end, nch as in inch.} \\
\text{k} & \quad \text{at the start and end of words, k as in kangaroo; in the middle similar to g in aghast, but with the breathy sound of ch in Scottish loch or nicht.} \\
\text{l} & \quad \text{the tongue tip is turned back as in r, but is held against the roof of the mouth as in the l of loud.} \\
\text{m} & \quad \text{as in maim.} \\
\text{n} & \quad \text{as in nanny.} \\
\text{ŋ} & \quad \text{ny as in onion or nuisance, or as Spanish ň in mañana.} \\
\text{ŋ} & \quad \text{as in sing.} \\
\text{o} & \quad \text{as in naught or port.} \\
\text{p} & \quad \text{at the beginning of words, approximately f as in find; in the middle of words approximately v as in ever; at the end of words either p or b.} \\
\text{s} & \quad \text{at the start and end of words s, as in sit or kiss; in the middle s or z.} \\
\text{t} & \quad \text{at the start of words t, as in till; in the middle and end, r as in three, when the r is flapped like a soft d.} \\
\text{w} & \quad \text{at the start of words and after a vowel, w as in wind or cow; after a consonant, u as in lunar or cruel.} \\
\text{y} & \quad \text{at the start of words and after a vowel, y as in yard or day; after a consonant, i (or ie or ee) as in field or been.}
\end{align*}
\]

The sound system of Kalam is quite complex, in that the relation between a phoneme (a class of sounds perceived by native speakers as being the same) and its phonetic realisations is often one-many. Sometimes a single phoneme has several sharply distinct phonetic variants, conditioned by context, while certain phonemes consist of a cluster of two phonetic segments.

There are four nasal consonants /m m ŋ ñ/, realised as [m n ŋ ñ] .

There are four prenasalised obstruents /b d j g/ which word-initially (except after a word ending in a homorganic oral obstruent) and word-medially contain a voiced final segment [mb nd ŋ ŋg], and word-finally a voiceless final segment [mp nt ŋ ŋk]. Initially, after a word ending in a voiceless homorganic obstruent, they are realised as plain [b, d, g or j, g].
There are five oral obstruents /p t c s k/. Initially these are voiceless [s t č s k]. Medially between vowels /p t c k/ are voiced [s r ō s k]. Finally /p/ is either [p, b or ţ], /t/ is [t], and /c s k/ are voiceless [č s k].

There is one lateral /I/ which is retroflexed and flapped.

The two semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ are realised as [w] and [y] initially and before a vowel or semi-vowel, as [u] and [i] between consonants, and as [uw] and [iy] finally.

There are three vowel phonemes /a e o/. In most contexts these are realised as [a e o], with slight lengthening in stressed position. But when stressed before a palatal consonant they sometimes end in a palatal glide, as [a.i, e.i, o.i].

A consonant is followed by a predictable vowel (called a 'release vowel') when it stands alone or when it is followed by another consonant or semivowel in the same phonological word. The shape of this release vowel varies considerably according to context. For instance, in words of the form CCaC, the release of the first consonant is a short unstressed copy of the stressed a in the following syllable, e.g. ykam 'group' is [yaγa.m] or [yōya.m], ptaj 'unmarried' is [pərā.nč] or [pərā.nč]. When a consonant is followed by w or y, that consonant has as its release vowel [u] and [i], respectively, e.g. m-wog [muwo.nč] 'taro garden' but m-yad [miyā.nt] 'my taro'; b-wow [mbuwōw] 'mother's brother' but b-yad [mbiyant] 'my kinsman'. In most contexts the release is a short high central [ɻ], e.g. katp 'house' is [kar+p], kmn 'game mammal, kapul' is [kɻmɻn]. In words consisting of a single non-palatal consonant the release vowel is a short central or low central [ə], e.g. b 'man' is [mbə], m 'taro' is [mə], g 'do, make' is [ŋgə].

Phonological words. Phonological words may consist of one or more consonants with each consonant optionally preceded by a vowel, i.e. C, CC, CCC, etc., or VC, CVC, VCC, CCVC, etc. (where C stands for any consonant, and V for any vowel).

Syllables and Stress. Each word-initial vowel is a syllable. Each consonant plus its following vowel (if any) or vowel release constitutes a syllable. Each word-final consonant belongs to the same syllable as the preceding consonant. The main stress in a phonological word falls on the final syllable, e.g. aki 'bamboo' is [aγi], jakak 'it grew up' is [ŋaγák]. Other syllables are given secondary stress.
Introduction

Plate B

Facsimile of first page of I.S.

Cassette ISM 28

Plagin's own transcript of Introduction
Plate A
Fascimile of first page of I.S.
Majnep's own transcript of
Kalam text of Introduction
Cassette ISM 27

Plate A
Fascimile of first page of I.S.
Majnep's own transcript of
Kalam text of Introduction
Cassette ISM 27

Plate A
Fascimile of first page of I.S.
Majnep's own transcript of
Kalam text of Introduction
Cassette ISM 27
Plate C
Sgaw
_Dorcopinus vanheurni_
Little Forest Wallaby
Introduction

MÑÝ BWK AK MNM NED AGNGAYN, AT AK MÑÝ AGNGBEYN

1. Byn-b yad ogok, fiskol payskol ogok pen tkebal ogok, mdengabal won ogok, mñafl yad ak tap nb ak, tap aps basd skop mdelgpal won ak, mdl ty ty gelgpal, agl gos ak ngngabal.

2. Pen byn-b mñafl ognap ogok nb ogok, pen agngabal, byn-b nb ogok ty ty gl mdelgpal, tap nb ak mdl mgel tap nb ak ty, tap nb ak ty gelgpal ak. Ned nñl, ksen tap ognap ngijn agl, gos ak ngngabal.


4. Ak mey mdl mgel, tap gelgpal nb ogok, tap ymlak ak mñafl agngebyn, mñafl-yad ak ami tap ogok maglsèk bwk alañ agnagb.


6. Pen ak nñl pyowngabm arñ, mñafl-yad ak mey tap ned ami ngngabm.

7. Sblam ak, kmn mab ak, Waym olarñ agl tk gebyn agak. Mñafl ogok maglsèk sd wog nab kwb ogok mdeb nokom nokom, Bayab-jl, As-Katp nab ogok tap kmn sbłam ak ymgek amek nññl, gmwnñ, am katp señ señ ak, knelgpal mey mñafl nb ogok.

8. Sblam nb ogok mey am nññl mey agngabm, byn-b ak ned mdl, sbłam mey ogonl, kmn pak dad apl ad ñbl, katp señ mey ogonl agl mey tap nb ak nbep ned yomngab.

9. Sblam nb ak almñal. Olap sbłam yb ak, kmn sbłam yb ak, olap sbłam ssskanay ak.

10. Waym yp Mobñ yp ned mdl, kmn pak dad apl, kab g ñbl, sbłam tk ymgetek nb ogok mey.

11. Nmwd-ney ssskanay apal, nmwd mey kmn sbłam yb ak. Kmn sbłam yb ak mey, kmn ak pak dad apl, tk ad ñbal ak, ssskanay ak kmn kab-sek, tap kab ognap, ma-agl adpal.

12. Tap olap ami ngngabm, mey kaw ak, kaw ak mñafl ytk at ogok d dek, Dñnak, Gwilkm-Gabob, Kwenñ-kwym okok dek, sgaw kaw ogok dolgpw ogok, mey kasek am pyowl ngngabal mey nb ogok.

13. Yp pen agngabal, yesek agwp agngabal. Agl gos ak ngngabal, am kaw ak yp tap sbłam ak yomengab mey ngngabm ogok, ognap ngngabal.

Introduction

I NOW BEGIN THE INTRODUCTION TO THIS BOOK

1. My own people, within the lifetime of the present generation of children, may well wonder how our grandparents lived and worked and went about this land of ours.\(^1\)

2. And people from other regions or other countries may also be interested to know how people used to live here in the past and want to find out something about this.

3. The tradition about our country that our great-grandparents and our grandparents and our parents have passed down, and that I therefore know, is that originally there were kapuls\(^2\) up at Waym (at the head of the Simbai Valley) and over at Mobñ (on the Aunjang side), and that the First Hunter\(^3\) burnt for firewood the animals he killed; and that then, a little later, he filled a string-bag with animals and carried it around the land, tipping its contents out in various places.

4. So now I want to describe the traditional practices that derive from that time, and the plants that were then cultivated.

5. How the animals and plants came to be the way they were, and where the stories about them originated, is what we shall present.

6. If you should seek for the most ancient things that you can still find in my country, these are the cordylines, and the burnt remnants of the kapuls that the First Hunter used to fuel his fires, up on Waym hill.

7. From there these ‘kapul cordylines’\(^4\) were taken and planted in many places. In what are now the swordgrass tracts at Bayb-jî (above the pass between the Simbai and the Kaironk Valleys) and at As-kotp (in the upper Kaironk) there are still a few clumps of cordylines from plantings around old house-sites, where people used to come to sleep.

8. Should you wonder about the cordylines you see, what these will show you is the locations of the earliest people’s house sites, where they cooked and ate the animals that they hunted.

9. The cordylines are of two kinds, ‘kapul cordylines’, which are true cordylines, and sskanay cordylines.

10. These were both originally planted at Waym and Mobñ, the first places where ovens were made with heated stones and kapuls were cooked and eaten.

11. Sskanay is the cross-cousin of the real kapul cordyline that is used in ovens when kapuls are cooked, and is not itself used in the cooking of either kapuls or vegetables.

12. Another thing you will find all through areas where there is or has been forest, such an Dîînak, Gwîkm-Gabob and Kwenì- Kwym, are pits in the ground. These pits, which you can’t help noticing, are ‘wallaby pits’.\(^5\)

13. If people doubt my word as to what these are, they need only look at the cordylines in the same areas, to be convinced.

14. Where stretches of swordgrass now stand there formerly was forest, and in those places a few old house-sites still remain, to which cordylines were taken, for foliage to use in cooking kapuls, and the stems were planted, so that cordyline enclosures\(^6\) persist there to this day.
However, most of the cordyline in swordgrass areas was chopped out for transplanting (or uprooted in the process of garden-making) as people moved (their hunting camps) into the remaining forest, so that only a few areas of shrubbery are still there.

But if you go into the forest, up into the beeches, you'll find that many cordyline enclosures remain.

They remain at places where ancestors took the kapuls that they killed, to cook and eat.

For all the different hunting-territories in the forest there are different cordyline enclosures.

Seeing these groves of cordylines in the heart of the forest, an ignorant person might assume that they grew wild there, but this is not the case. From earliest times cordyline cuttings were taken and transplanted right through the forest, wherever people went; and when people went hunting, or harvesting alnaw pandans, cutting off the fruit, they cooked the game and the nuts in the cordyline enclosures.

Thus the numerous hollows in the ground which can be found immediately around the cordyline shrubbery are old oven pits where pandanus nuts were cooked on the heated stones.

This applies to the many pits right at the cordyline enclosures, whereas the numerous pits you can find elsewhere in the forest are old wallaby pit-traps.

People hunt where they know who the ancestor was that the cordyline enclosure belonged to, in the knowledge that the hillside on which this particular man had his cordylines was his land, and of where the boundaries were set. This was how our forefathers hunted, and gathered plants, each only on his own territories, and using the camp sites in their own cordyline enclosures.

The men of my grandfathers' generation did likewise, and in due course showed their sons these places; and because their sons in turn showed us, we know, when we visit these ancient groves of cordyline, which of them belonged to our own ancestors, and from time to time we cook animals at them when we are out hunting. These are also the cordyline enclosures where we should cook and eat pandanus nuts when we harvest them.

Thus the starting point for what I have to tell - and I do not know if the same applies in your areas and in other countries - is how in the earliest times the beings who lived in it hunted kapuls and cooked and ate them, and the knowledge of this that men later needed when they went hunting.

In preparations for going out to fight, and in observances after killing an enemy, our great-grandfathers adhered to the practices that they knew from these ancient stories, and so did our grandfathers and our fathers. And now we, their sons, follow these same practices that were established in the legends, the kinds of magic that were performed when planting crops as well as when hunting kapuls.

However not all our traditional practices derive from this source, from our own region and our own ancestors. In the case of introduced crops, such as taro or bananas or sugar-cane, which arrived recently from various other areas where they had earlier been established, the magic for their cultivation originated in these same areas and was taught to us as we acquired the crops.

But the earliest practices in the land of our ancestors had their origins in the events related in the legends.
28. Pen b ognap aken, byn ognap mňab okok nb ogok tkjakl, nįl agngabal.

29. Pen mňab-yad ak, byn twd, b twd pen tap skwl yp tap okok, mňy won awl nėp owp, 
aps skop basd skop, mam ned skop, tap ty gelgpal ak, jwn-ceg yad ak mdeb.

30. Tap ty tap ty gl gelgpal, tap ty tap ty gl kmn nen amelgpal agl, jwn-ceg yad ak mdeb, 
ak mey mňy agebyn ak.

31. Mňab yb ognap, mňab town ognap yb okok mey nby, tap ogok magisek nb okok bteyt 
nep, nap-nby ak mdek won ak, nasd-nby ak mdek won ak apek mey, tap mňab nb ak 
gelgpal, tap ak magisek, gos ogok sakl gl, tap nb nbep an agńnawŋ. Mey kty nb okok 
nį mddl kwbalŋŋ, mňy mey, gos ak nįl, b ognap apal. basd skop ty ty gl mdel ak, 
bapy skop ty ty gl mdelgpal, yes ogok ty ty mdelgpal agl gos ogok npal ak.

32. Mňab-yad ak, tap gwp ak, ned yes ak mddl gelgpal, bapy skop mddl gelgpal, tap nb ak 
mdeb ak, yad nįl, yad ognap npyn ak mey mňy agebyn ak.

33. Yes ogok mddl gelgpal ogok yad ma-npyn. Yokop sosm ak nep npyn, basd-yad ak mddl, 
tap golgwp ognap nbnep yad ma-npyn, bapy mdolgwp won ak pen yad nokom nokom 
yp mam-ned skop ognap nįl agńfbal, bapy bwow mdebal ogok yp ognap nįl agńfbal.

34. Yad key ognap amy agńfbw, byn-b ogok agńespal npyn.

35. Mňab-nby ognap mey yad ma-npyn ak, mňab-yad ak mňab ak, mňab yb almŋal nep 
me y kmn ak ḥgek agel npyn ak. Waym yp, mňab Mobľ ak yp, kmn mab ak agl tk gl 
mdek, kmn nb ogok ty gyn ty gyn agńmwŋ. Am ngak mňab okok kmn ak ma-mdek nįl, 
ogok mab wog nep mdek. Ap wad ak mgan alyan, wad ygdebyn agak, dad aml gak, 
mňab kmn ak wad-sek tek twg-sogak sńakukan. Mňab ak mey kmn ak kab-sek tek 
mdeb ak, koŋay yb tek mdeb ak.

36. Dad aml, omŋal omŋal sogak sńakan tek mey, skol skol tek, tap kwb tap kwb koŋay tek 
ognap mdeb ak. Dad aml nokom nokom sogek ytk at at ogok mey, kmn ak nokom 
nokom tek mdeb, nb apal sek, nb agl sosm agel ngnek.

37. Mňab sńok nby, b-cn mňy tkjakl apwn, mňab ognap, mňab tkjakl apwn. Aps basd ak 
yes ak, ty ty gl mňab akal ḥkimwŋ tkek apek, cn mdobn agl npwn ak tek, kty sosm apal 
ak tek ak.

38. Mňab-yad ak, tap kmn ak ned wagn ak ḥgek ak, mňab mey agebyn omŋal ak, Waym 
yp, Mobľ yp, mey kmn ak nb ak ḥgebyn agak, ksen mňab okok magisek amnak.

39. Kmn kab am mňab mab wog nab okok, peki ad g ḥbek tap ogok gl, sblam ogok kas 
ak tkı, tap msagay ak tkı, tap yp adek mey gl, dsn ak, tap ḥpepek ak tkı dad apl mey ad 
ḡbekog ogok, добег ogok tanak okok, добег ogok tkdadapl sek, ad ḥbekŋ nįl mey, 
mňy won ogoni, kmn kab-sek am pakı, mab wog nab okok, dap adpal mey tap mey 
agebyn ogok, dsn ak, ḥpepek ak, добег ak.
28. There may be people in some places who will question the truth of what I say, on account of my age.

29. But in fact in my area the arrival of Europeans and of the schools and other modern ways of doing things is very recent, so the knowledge of the former activities of my grandmothers and grandfathers, and of my elder brothers, is there in my own head.

30. For myself have witnessed and can well remember the things they used to do, including their hunting lore and hunting methods, which I now describe.

31. You may come from some area where, for example, there have been towns and other kinds of developments for a long period, since the time of your fathers and of your grandfathers. In which case, being ignorant of traditional life and wanting to find out about it, you would discover that those who had the knowledge are now dead, so that when people begin to wonder about the way their parents and their grandparents and their ancestors lived, it's too late to find out.

32. But for my area, I do know something about the ancient customs and about conditions in my parents' lifetime, so I draw on personal experience in the account I give.

33. Of course I don't know from personal observation what the ancestors did, but only know the stories about this; and likewise I didn't myself see the activities of my grandfather; however my elder brother has told me a little about the events of my father's lifetime, and my father's surviving brothers have also told me of their experiences.

34. My mother gave me personally her account. Thus these are the people who have provided me with information.

35. I don't know about your areas, or other regions, but according to what I have been told, there were only two places in my homeland where there originally were kapuls. These were Waym and Mobn, where kapuls were broken up and used for fuel instead of firewood; and the First Hunter, wondering what he should do with all these animals, discovered that there were other areas that had none. So he came home and filled string bags with kapuls, and he carried them away, and in the places where he tipped out a whole bag-full of kapuls there are still heaps of animals, they are very plentiful.

36. In other areas where he went and tipped out a couple of pairs, there are fewer, though in some years they can be fairly plentiful. But where he just dropped one or two in the bush, kapuls are still only present in very small numbers. This is the story that has been handed down, and that I myself have heard and believe in.

37. Nowadays, when we (Kalam) travel in other regions such as, perhaps, your own, we hear stories about ancestors and their origins in particular places, and about their history and migrations and their descendants, stories which are similar to ours.

38. In my area, kapuls originated in the two places I referred to, but later got distributed everywhere else.

39. When the First Hunter took the bundles of kapuls that he killed, deep in the forest, and made ovens to cook them in, he broke off cordyline and msagav (Alpinia sp.) foliage, to line the ovens and cover the food, and he also gathered dsn fern (Diplazium sp.) and ŵepek (Cyrtandra sp.) foliage to cook and eat, and where dobeg fern (Conioaramme sp.) grew he picked this for the same purpose. And so today, when people kill kapuls in the forest, they cook them in the ovens with these plants that I refer to, dsn, dobeg and ŵepek.
40. Mj ogok tkl mdek ogok mey, tap msagay ogok, walb ogok, tap sblam ak, kmn sblam nb ogok tk adgek. Adgek mey nb ogok, mf iy won ogoni nbnep, mey tap ak gek gek ogok nep tkl adpal ak.

41. Mab wog ogok tagospwn nnl, ywan gek, koslam yb tapwn.

42. Mn lab yb ognap gak tek, tap ogok koryay yb nb okok ma-jakak. Maj ak kapt okok dad ami mey agl, ftb opwn ak. Nb okok yokop abwn fn ak, slok yaposp nnl, ywan gosp, tap alnaw ak swwp ak tbiwobn apwn mey, km ftb, pwg agl mey opwn ak.

43. Tap olap niepek ak am nb okok tkl, km fb bon pwg agek mey opwn ak, yad pen agngabyn.

44. Mn lab-yad ak nbnb gl tap ogok lwp apyn nb ak, koslam g tapwn, gos ak nnl agngabm er.

45. B kmn pak ftb tapal nb ogok, koslam yb tapal, ywan ogok gakn, lab ogok tanbal, aptan apyap gl mdebal, fn kogm ogok tan tagel tagel sayn gosp, koslam tanl pakpal.

46. Nby pen gos ak nnl agngabm er, tap nb ak yokop, EASY ami pakpal agl gos ak ngngabm. Met, lab ogok tanbal ogok tanbal mdeb. Ogok am tanl npal ogok mdeb, tan aptan apyap gel gel gel, fn kogm ogok sayn gosp, tan tagl mey knwb, lab ak nep tanl mey pakpal ak.

47. B ma-nnep ak, b kmn pakwp ak yp amngab ak pen, amebyn agngab. Yad mf iy mab wog okok amebyn, agek yp amngabal yp abal ak pen, am mab tan aptan apyap gespal, ywan kw b sktek ogok gosp, koslam b nb ogok kty tag npal ak mey, apal pwb nb won awl geb ak, dwgep won ak, mdl pwg agngab, agl mdespal mey, tap ak yokop gwp agl gos ak npal ak.

48. B mn lab okok nb yokop nb ogok, b nb ak yp abal, ogok ywan gosp, gos pat ll mdl, ksen mn lab tiwk nb okok ognap kty ma-abal.

49. B cn tagl, tag npwn ak nep, ftb tagl npwn ak nep, mey nb gaknn apwn, tap ak yokop gwp agl tapwn ak.

50. Kmn ak pen, mn lab ognap ma-pakftbal okok. Aml mey ngngabm npal, kmn ogok mab kd okok yokop bsg mdeb, okok mser nep mdeb. Gos ogok nnl apwn, mn lab mey gwp awl tek, mn lab nb ak nbnep gwp agl, gos ak ngngabm.

51. Pen mn lab yad ak, tap kmn ak, pak ftbwn ak mey, koslam nw-day tek ak pyowl tanl pakpal.

52. Pen bapy kay mdelgpal won ak, basd kay mdelgpal won ak mey, byn-b ak nokom nokom mdelknn, mey kmn ak koyay mdelgwp.

53. Pen cnnp tklepal, nnl, mf iy won ogoni nbnep, byn-b koyay mdelb apal, kmn ak pak ftb dpal, nokom nokom mdeb, ak mey tan tagl, koslam yb pakpal ak.

54. Tap kayn ak mey ney ognap tagl, man okok kmn kneb ogok, ognap swwp.
40. For foliage to line the ovens the First Hunter gathered msagay, walb (Aplinia sp.) and cordyline, that is kapul cordyline, and these plants are still used in the same way today.

41. We who go on long hunting expeditions in the forest know what it is to get hungry, for the activity is very strenuous.

42. When we are going somewhere where there are few edible plants, we carry sweet potato with us, sometimes for considerable distances before we cook and eat it. After that is finished and we have set out again and carried on hunting without anything to eat until we feel exhausted and very hungry, we cut shoots of alnaw pandans and eat them raw.

43. Or, I must add, we may go and break off lengths of Cyrtandra and eat the raw foliage, to sustain us till we get home.

44. These kinds of plants are, should you wish to know, native in our forests where we regularly go, and where walking and searching for animals is arduous and exhausting.

45. The kapul-hunters' expeditions in the forest are very strenuous, and they get very hungry as they climb tree after tree, searching up and down the forest ridges, and their arm-muscles and elbow-joints are weak from the constant climbing, so that it becomes really difficult to climb and catch their prey.

46. You shouldn't think that hunting is easy: far from it, hunters have to climb tree after tree after tree, until their elbow joints have no strength left in them, and have to go on walking and searching and climbing until at last they find a tree with a kapul lair in it and they manage to make a kill.

47. If a man who doesn't know how to hunt goes out with an experienced hunter, saying, "Sure, I'll come into the forest," and accompanies a hunting party, and they start climbing trees, one after another, on and on, (by midday) the newcomer will be dying of hunger, but the real hunters just carry on.

48. Visitors from some other area, or from local settlements that are not near the forest, who accompany a hunting party, get miserably hungry and don't enjoy themselves at all, and next time they are asked if they want to join a hunting expedition, they don't go.

49. But those of us who are familiar with the country and used to hunting in the forest know how to feed ourselves when we are out, and not to worry if we sometimes go hungry.

50. If you go to parts of the country where people don't hunt, you may see kapuls just sitting out on branches, and you might get the idea that they are normally found out in the open like this, and that this applies around here.

51. But I can assure you that here in my area, where we hunt regularly, climbing the trees in search of kapuls is like hunting for needle-points.

52. However it's true that in my father's time, and in my grandfather's time, when there were fewer people about, kapuls were quite plentiful.

53. But by the time we were born it was like today, when the population here has become numerous and hunting has reduced the number of kapuls so that there are only a few about and it is really hard to catch them.

54. Dogs go out and kill some ground-dwelling kapuls.
55. B kayn-sek ak mey dad tagebyn agwp, kayn ognap swwp, ney ognap pakwp. Pakl mey fn nb ak kawsek tek kmn ak pakpal. Dad apl, pakl dad apespal nřl, byn-b katp okok ḳbal ogok, ognap pen kty nb okok pak ḳbal opal.

56. Yad apyn, kmn ak pak ḳbwn, pak ḳbal apyn nb ak, b mřšab yad ak mdebal ak maglsek tkjakl, kmn ak ma-pak npal. B nokom pakep tek, ognap kty pakpal.

57. B sŋok ytk ak wagn okok mdebal ak, mob wog okok mdebal ak, mey kmn ak pakpal ak.

58. B nop kty ak, nwossed yes kty ak pakolgwp, ḳ-ney ogok mey, kmn ak pakespal, mey nop skop nb ak nep pakel, ḳ-ney skop nb ak nep pakel. B leklek kty ak kmn ak pakek, b yb ak mey pakpal ak, b yokop ognap cny ma-pakpwn, ognap nbnep kty ma-pakpal, b yb ognap kty nep pak ḳbal.

59. Nby pen gos ak nřl agngabm eŋ, b yb nb ak, kty maglsek tkjakl, kmn ak pakpal agl gos ak ngngabm. Met, b yokop kty pakřneb tek ognap kty pakřbal, b kmn pak npal ogok kty pakpal.

60. B cn kmn pakřbwn nb ak, mřšab ak tkwpnř, gos ak nřl, npwn fn ak, ytk olař nŋospwn. Mřšab ogok ygl wgl tbl, kty ameb ameb tek losp, wog day am gpwn fn ak koslam am gpwn, koslam am gpal.

61. Mřšab ak tkosp, kmn nen abwn fn ak, am mob wog oklař amnnwknř, cnop gos tep npwn, tep gwp fn ak, fn nb ak tagl apal, kmn ognap pakngabn agl gos ak npal.

62. Kmn ak nokom olap pakpal ak, ak tep gos ak ppor ggapnř mey, mob ogok gos gis tanl, ognap sek pakpal, fn ognap omřal pakpal, fn ognap nokom pakpal.

63. Mřšab sŋok solwara sek lak okok, mřšab nb ogok, b fishermen ogok kty tagl mey, fis ak nbnb gl djn agl, wben tap ogok yoki djn agl, tap okok nbnb qin agl, b nb ogok kty dpal ogok-tek mey. Mřšab-yad ak b kmn pakwp ak ney nokom aml mey agwp, mob mey ak tanl paknm, mob ak mey tanm agl.

64. Mob ak pyow dad aml, kmn ak tap ak ḳbgosp, pyow dad aml, mob nŋek ppor gwp ak, gos ney ak nŋek, tep gwp mob ak mey, mob nb ak tanl pakwp ak.

65. Mřšab tkwp fn ak, am mob wog okok, aml mob ogok, tan am am oklař aml, mřšab ytk ognap nŋospwn, ytk ogok kwmjyby agl, cb gosp, koslam fn ognap opwn.

66. Ognap mey mserŋ okyarmdl, npwn mřšab ogok ytk ak kwmjyby agek, cb gek, kwjan gl mdl, wog waty ogok gpwn.

67. B kmn pak ḳbal, ogok mey nb gl, gos nb ogok nřl, nb gpal ak.

68. Ognap am mob wog okok knospwn nřl, mřšab ak dwgep ak kslm apig mdosp, owaknř, gwby tp tap mař̌imod tap ogok agaknř, cnop tep gwp, ognap ktp tep gaknř knbal, mnek kmn nen okok tapal.
55. When a dog-owner decides to take his dog out hunting with him, and the dog catches some kapuls and the owner kills some, on such a day they may get quite a number to take back for the people in the settlement to eat; though they may eat their catch themselves, before returning home.

56. Although I'm describing how my people catch and eat kapuls, not everyone in my area knows how to hunt. In fact only a few men are expert and regular hunters.

57. These are men who live near the edge of the forest, or in settlements in forest clearings.

58. They have fathers who have hunted, and ancestors who have been hunters for many generations, so it's a family tradition. But even in such families, while the more notable men will be hunters, others of us do not necessarily hunt.

59. Also you must not think that these hunters are always out hunting. Even men who enjoy hunting only go out at certain times; but when they do, it's the experts who get the animals.

60. The time we go out is when the weather is good. On days when we look up towards the forest and the skies are clear and visibility is really good, it's very frustrating to have to keep working in the gardens.

61. So it's when there is fine weather and we can get out after kapuls and go off up into the forest that we feel really great, and thoroughly enjoy climbing the trees. Walking and searching in the forest at such times, people expect to catch kapuls.

62. When hunters make their first kill, they feel really good about it, and continue to climb trees with enthusiasm, and they may get several more, though sometimes they get only one or two animals.

63. Just as, in places by the sea, when fishermen set out with hooks and lines they need to know where to go and what to do, so in my place a hunter has to have the particular knowledge of which trees to climb.

64. (Before he starts to climb) he searches on the ground below for fragments of leaves and fruit or other signs that kapuls have been feeding, until he gets a hunch that there's a kapul curled up in its nest in a particular tree, and feels a real sense of satisfaction as he climbs up and kills it.

65. In the dry season, when we go up into the mountain forest and climb some tree and sit high up on a clump of epiphytes and scan the landscape, the distant woodlands shimmer with beauty, and this is so delightful to look upon that it may be hard to bring oneself to climb down and return home.

66. Sometimes when we are down in the cultivation areas and gaze up and see the forest look so gloriously beautiful, we have to force ourselves to turn our eyes away, if we are to get on with making our garden fences.

67. Such are the feelings of hunters who regularly go into the forest.

68. Another pleasure when we camp out in the forest is in the early evening, just as it is getting dark, and we hear cicadas and the calls of the manmod lizards. This makes us happy, as we settle down for a night's sleep, before setting out the next day after kapuls.
69. Mnřab-yad ak II, mřab Highlands nb ogok, pen mřab ytk ytk lak okok, am sblam wog nb ogok konjy ngnagbm, sblam wog okok lak ogok.

70. Mnřab-yad ak IImwř, pat-sek I dad apl, mřab nb ogok ytk ytk ogok lek owak, kaw ogok nb okok dek owak, mey mřab-yad ak, gpał gpał ak tek gpał ak pen.

71. Mnřab nb ogok pen, mnm ak nep, key agespal mey nrj, byn-b ognap nrj pen, b ognap mřab okok nb ak nrj agngabal. Gos kty ak key nrj, kmm nen amng, tap nb ogok, key gpal agngabal, pen mmm-kty ak key agl mdespal mey, kmm nen amng tap kty nb ogok key gl abal, gos nsted kty ak nb golgwp, kmm nen amng, tap nb ogok key nrj amolgwp tek, mey cn nbıp gpnw, kty nbıp gpał.

72. Pen mřab okok maglsek, ksn tap kaj tap ogok owak, ned mřab ak lgl, tap mey kmm nb ogok pakl dad apl, byn kty ogok tawelgpal. Smy ogok tk II mdelgpal, kmm nb ogok am pak dad apl mey kaj tek pakl, tb penpen lfl gelgpal, mey nb ogok agel ognap npwn.

73. Ognap mřab-yad ak nb agel npyn ak, mřab ognap nbıp tap ogok maglsek, pen yad nokom nokom tagl agmën apal, basd skop kmm nen g nbelgpal taw ogoni agl, ognap agel yad npyn.

74. Btyet mdelgpal won nb ogok, koslam yb mdelgpal. Pen mňy tap ogok, tap ogok, tap ogok gl, tap ogok tap ogok aposp mey mňy ognap gos ak nrj apal, ned byn-b ogok nb gl mdl mgel, nb gl mey cn mdobn ak tek, mdebal agl mřab yb ognap npal.

75. Mřab yb yad ak, pen ned ognap koslam mdelgpal, tap ogok maglsek ma-mdolgwp.

76. B nokom nokom mey rich mdelgpwp, tap okok maglsek mdelgpwp, tw mnan ogok mdelgpwp ogok maglsek, b ognap maglsek yokop mdelgpal.

77. Mey kmm komeŋ, as komeŋ okok g tag tag II pak nb tag tag II apl mgel mey, wog waty nokom nokom g yml, g nblg mdelgpal.

78. Won nb ogok gos kty ak konjy ma-mdolgwp, gos kty nokom mdelgpwp amelgpal. Mey kmm komeŋ okok, as komeŋ okok g nb tag tag lobn agelpal, apl yokop wog ogok skol bad bad ognap gl nbl knelgpal.

79. Mnm agebyn ak, gos-yad ak nep nrj agebyn, nb ak mřab-yad ak.

80. Tap okok maglsek bapy mdek won ak, cptmel apobkop nrj, tap ogok maglsek yad ma-nřl tek agm arŋ, tap nb ogok change gek, yad nrj agm arŋ, ak ty ty gl mdelgpal agl, gos pat II pen agm arŋ.

81. Mňy tap ogok maglsek, basd kay tap ty gelgpal, bapy kay tap ty gelgpal okok, mey am agmŋepyn ognap yp.

82. Mňy yad agebyn m-yb awl arŋ, tol mdak tap m-yb ak ym nfb nmb mamd akan, kagol sŋak, tp sŋak lengabal, mey tap nb ogok maglsek, change gngab ak, aps basd skop ty ty gelgpal agl. Mey ſlapay nb ogok mdengabal won ak mey, ma-ngngabal ak, ſlapay ksn tngabal mdengabal ak.
69. There are other parts of the Papua New Guinea Highlands where the forests are similar to those in my area and you will find many tracts of cordyline shrubbery.

70. Also, for considerable distances from my home area, in places where there is mountain forest, pits can be found, just like those near my own home.

71. In those places, people who speak different languages may, as is to be expected, differ from us in some of their beliefs and traditions, and for that reason differ from us in some details of their hunting practices. For their observances derive from their ancestors, just as ours have been passed down from ours.

72. But very widely (in Papua New Guinea) the story that we hear is that, before pigs and various crops were introduced, people gained their livelihood by hunting. At those times women also hunted and gathered wild plants in the forest. And when ceremonies were held, they killed and cooked kapuls, like pigs are now killed and cooked, and divided and distributed and exchanged the meat, as gifts of pork are now distributed and exchanged.

73. This is certainly the tradition in my area, and in my travels in other regions I have from time to time been told similar stories of how the ancestors used to hunt in the local mountain forests.

74. In the olden days life was hard. For it's only recently that so many of our crops and livestock and modern ways of doing things have reached us, though people in some places may imagine to the contrary that the ancestors lived as they themselves live today, and had an easy life: but this is quite wrong.

75. In many places, including my own, there was much hardship and most people had very few material possessions.

76. Only a few rich and important men owned valuable things such as high-quality stone axes and pieces of greensnail and other shells; most had no wealth at all.

77. They spent much time going back and forth to their ancestral cooking sites or shrines on their hunting grounds, living on the animals they killed, and they made only a few small gardens for crops.

78. In those days their concerns and ambitions were quite limited. They just devoted attention to their hunting territories and shrines, and made a few small garden plots around their homesteads.

79. What I'm now describing is what I know from my own experience.

80. But if the white man had come to my area in the time of my father or my grandfather, I wouldn't have seen all this and I could only have described the changed way of life that has come since, and could not have been at all confident in talking about the past.

81. Whereas, fortunately, with regard to the activities of my grandfather's people, as of my father's generation also, I have been able to ask my surviving relatives for the information that I need.

82. Even in the very near future, perhaps five or six years from now or even four, some of the things I describe may well change, so that in our children's time people won't know how their grandparents' generation lived.
83. Mnab-yad ak, pen mnab ognap Papua New Guinea byn-b ksen mdengabal ogok kty mey agñobt.

84. Tep mhf y agdpyn.
It’s for this reason that the two of us are now setting this knowledge on record, for the people who come later, and their children yet unborn, not just in my own area but in other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Well, now I have finished my statement.
FOOTNOTES

1. Kalam text recorded in Auckland on Cassette ISM 27(1) on 8.2.78 and Pidgin translation on ISM 28(1&2) on 9.2.78. Later, in December 1982, Saem provided an additional and more autobiographical statement, for inclusion in the Introduction or the Epilogue. We hope to present this in a later working paper.

2. See above, Preface p.9, for clarification of ’kapul’.

3. ‘First Hunter’ is a term invented by the translator for a being or beings who are never named in the Kalam text but only referred to by pronouns or implied by the inflections of verbs. A small but uncertain number of these beings are believed by Kalam to have been the original human or human-like inhabitants of the Kalam area. See Majnep & Bulmer 1983:55-56, fn 20.

4. See #9 ff below. A broad-leaved and robust form of the familiar ‘tanket’, Cordyline fruticosa Goeppert. This fascinating species or cultigen is vegetatively propagated in a wide range of varieties by the Kalam, as by many other Oceanic peoples. Yet many varieties also fruit freely and presumably at least occasionally new variant forms are thus propagated. There is also in the Schrader forests a distinctive miniature wild or feral Cordyline, possibly a different species from C. fruticosa but fairly closely related to this and known to Kalam as sblam avdk (‘wild sblam’) or kcekv sblam (‘goblin sblam’). This is not to be confused with either the ‘kapul cordyline’ or the sskanav (see below), which is undoubtedly a different species from any other forms discussed here.

5. Bell-shaped pits, those in a reasonable state of preservation being about 1.3 m deep and 0.6 m in diameter at the top (Majnep & Bulmer 1977:19).

6. ‘Cordyline enclosure’ is an awkward term for these encircling or partially encircling thickets of shrubbery, but ‘bower’, which is probably the closest English term, has pastoral-poetic connotations that are not here appropriate.


8. Mañmod are said to be of two kinds. The beech-forest kind has not been zoologically identified (Bulmer, Menzies & Parker 1975:279).
Chapter I

YAD MÑY KMN SGAW AK SOSM AGNGEBYN

1. Mnab bteyt yb bwk ak raitim gng, sgaw ak dl ned bwk ayng, dl ned ak Ingabwt mey mñy agngebyn.

2. Bteyt bteyt ped okok, aps basd yad ogok, yes yb ogok, mñab lññ lññ gek ṅìn ak, gak ṅìn ak, byn-b ognap gos tkjakl nnl apal ar, cn aps yes cn ak sgaw ak tkl tkek. Tkdad apek apek apek cn mñy mdobn agl byn-b ognap nb apal.

3. Byn-b Kalam byn-b kəŋəy yb nb agl mgel, nb agl yad sosm ognap agel ngnek, nnl pen mñy bwk ak raitim gng, ned mey sgaw ak raitim gng, d ned first chapter ned ing mey mñy sosm agngebyn.

4. Kmn sgaw ak kña almñal lak, tap kwb wagn ak, skol wagn ak.

5. Lakññ, sgaw ak kjen pet tagwp at ak nep tagwp ned won ogok.

6. Nb golgwp am okok, kayn ywk gespal yp mey aml mdosp, mey aml tïwk okok tagwp, kjen yesek okok tagwp, mey aml kjen yesek tïwk okok tagwp.

7. Ney kapkap gos ak nnlgn, ñb tagwp at nep amwb, tagwp at ak nep owp.

8. Mdeb ak mab wagn okok, mab jwj ak molwk okok pwgjwak ak, bteyt ak kwyn wagn okok nb okok nep yokop bsñl, pwñl mdeb.

9. Tap ogok mey yokop tap acb acb ogok ñnynb, pen bểt ñnynb. Tap ognap yad ma-npyyn mey yokop tap yokop tap acb acb ogok ñnynb.

10. Ñnbebyn agwp, kjen tagwp at ak nep tagtag lwp nnl.

11. Kayn ak aml, ywk ggospp nnl mey pwktkd agl aptan apyap gwp ak, g mdek, g mdek kayn ak wtsek nep ywk aptan apyap gel gel gel gel, ap ap ap ap kayn ak swng gwp ak.

12. Agwp nb gl ñn magl man alyar man-dwp, kayn swng glaknn mey agwp ak, "bęp ma-ymelgpan ñn magl ak gey, ñn magl yad ak lwm alyar debyn" agosp nnl.

13. Ñn-magl omñal at ak dl man alyar tawaknn, mey kayn abey apl swwp ak, kayn swwp ak ognap b ñapal.

14. Pen b ak ñagnng gpal ak, ywk aptan apyap gel gel, kayn ywk aptan apyap gaknn mey, b ak apl apal, b kayn-sek ak apal mñy sgaw ak aptan apyap geb tam ak agobn apal, aml dam dam mab-tek ak dpal.
Chapter I

NOW I'M GOING TO TELL THE STORY OF SGAW, THE WALLABY

(This chapter is mainly concerned with the small forest wallaby, *Dorcopsulus vanheurnii*, no bigger than a hare, which is the typical sgaw, and with the rather larger pademelon or scrub-wallaby, *Thylagale bruiini*, that Kalam refer to as kotwal.)

1. To write of ancient history in this book we have to put the wallaby first, as I shall explain.

2. Some people believe that very long ago, in the time of our remote ancestors when the land had only newly taken shape, a wallaby-woman was the original ancestress from whom, through many generations, they are descended.

3. Many Kalam people hold this belief, and I have heard some of the legends that they tell. It's because of this, now I'm writing this book, that I'm going to begin the first chapter with the wallaby, and tell its story.

4. There are two kinds of sgaw wallabies, one somewhat larger than the other.

5. Wallabies habitually use the same tracks that they've always followed.

6. Only when dogs chase them do they use unfamiliar paths through the forest.

7. As they feed, they just move quietly along these usual tracks, in whichever direction they lead.

8. They rest under the trees, sometimes in hollows right under the bases of the trunks, or under fallen trees, or under tree-ferns, and they sit there, quite motionless.

9. They only feed on small plants. I don't know what kinds, except that I know they eat *bep* (*Runugia klossii*).

10. They feed and hop along the tracks they always use.

11. But when a dog goes after them they run this way and that, with the dog following, chasing them up hill and down, on and on, trying to catch them.

12. The wallabies don't touch the ground with their front paws, unless the dog gets close. Then they cry out to the dog, "You don't pick bep. You don't have hands like I do!". (But when they say this it is because they are tired and have to put their front paws on the ground.)

13. It's when they have reached the stage of putting their front paws on the ground that the dog gets close enough to kill them, and it's then too that the men can shoot them with their arrows.

14. Or, when men have been following a wallaby, back and forth, on and on, and their dog has been chasing it about, the men may stop by a track they think the wallaby will take, and get cut branches and place them in the path.
15. Mab-tek ak lespal mey sgaw ak ap ap nb awl ngwp, sgaw ap ap nb awl mab-tek wt ak nrj sdol gwp, "Yad mfy kjer tapyn ak mab-tek yowp ey", agwp agl. Nrj mdosp, nrj mey ognap napal mey pwnr aptan apyap gak nrj mey ognap napal, ognap kayn swwp.

16. Sgaw ak mdeb ak mňab-yad Kalam, kamay pwnrak pwnrak atat ak nep mdeb, mňab ytk ytk at ak nep mdeb, mňab srơk takl takl gwp at ak nep mdeb.

17. Sgaw mdeb mňab ytk ytk at nb ak mfy mňab yokop yad Kalam, mňab ytk takl takl lak ak okok.

18. Pen mfy b ognap aml, pen agngabal, pen sgaw kaw nb ogok nńd apal agl, aml ngngabal, sgaw kaw nb ogok kơnay yb yb, kơnay yb yb won nb ogok aps basd skop yes skop delgpal.

19. Kaj kty mey nb ak won nb ogok dl gelgpal, kaw ogok gelgpal mňab ytk kwb at ogok delgpal, skol at ogok delgpal, ņg bak okok delgpal, gwgw okok taw skol ogok mňab okok magistik dl mdelgpal.

20. ņg tkdad apl, nb okyń yokelgpal, ognap ņg tkdad apl yokelgpal, ognap yokop kaw dl, ognap yokop kaw ak nep dl,

21. atat ogok del amolgwp, atat ogok dep apolgwp, atat ogok del amolgwp, atat ogok del apolgwp, mňab ytk ogok delgpal mňab bak okok delgpal, ņg bak okyń delgpal, gw okok delgpal, dl nb ogok am ňn ogok jwwl, ňn ogok jwwl tausen ognap, ognap kơnay yb, kơnay yb, kơnay yb delgpal.

22. Atat ogok del amnakń, atat ogok yapek apolgwp, atat ogok dl amnakń, atat ogok yapek apolgwp.

23. Nb gl basd skop won nb ak kaj-kty mey nb ak, mey kmn sgaw ognap, kmn yb ogok sek dl jmńl, mey kaj-kty mey nb ogok.

24. Smy tklobn agelgpal, mey am nb ogok am ned nep yapolgwp ak Smy ak tkil, am ned ned yapolgwp ak mey dl, mlep lelgpal.

25. Two akan three-pella m ak ymelgpal, mey takn January yp, perŋ ak yp, mey gwdl tkelgpal.

26. Takn tgap ak yp, mamd ak yp, mey Smy ak katp ognap gelgpal. G II mdelgpal takn kagol ak, mey ognap am, nb ogok sgaw kaw delgpal delgpal okok plpl gl,

27. del amolgwp, kmn ned yapolgwp, nb ogok dl mlep lelgpal, takn ak yp, jlı ak yp ňńngabn agl.


29. Abara pwnr, jlı aml ognap II tagelgpal, Smy ak lotw nokom ola mdeb agl pwgrkd agl, am kmn nb ogok ognap mlep II g gelgpal nen.
15. When the wallaby sees the heap of foliage it thinks, "Oh, some broken branch has fallen in my usual track", and when it pauses there, they may shoot it, so that it writhes there on the spot, turning from one side to the other; or the dog may kill it.

16. In my Kalam country the wallaby lives up in the big stands of beeches, high up in the mountain forest where it is quite cool.

17. The cool mountain forest is where the sgaw wallaby is now found, both in my own Kalam country and elsewhere in Papua New Guinea.

18. However if nowadays those men who can recognise wallaby pit-traps go and look for them, they can still find large numbers of these (many of them considerably lower down the mountain sides), that our grandparents and more distant ancestors had dug in their time.

19. The wallabies (and other game animals of the forest) were to them what pigs are to us now. They dug these pit-traps in the big forests, and in smaller areas of bush, at stream-sides, on terraces and on small ridges, in all kinds of terrain.

20. In some cases they diverted water from streams to fill the pits, in others these were left empty.

21. They made these holes in series in every direction, away over that hill and back along this one, on and on they dug them in the forest and at the forest edge and at stream-sides and on level places, enough to be counted round and round the body, thousands of them.

22. They kept these in repair so that when they set them they found that wallabies fell in them, again and again.

23. So at that time these animals really were their pigs, but it was not just wallabies but true kapuls that were caught in the traps.

24. When they were preparing for a smv festival they used first to go and trap animals in the pits and smoke-dry them.

25. After (in the previous year) they had planted the taro for the festival, they went in January or February to cut gwdi (Pandanus antaresensis) leaves for the thatch of the ceremonial houses; and they did this also in March and April.

26. Some houses were built in May, some in June, and it was at this time that they set the pit-traps.

27. They took the animals that fell in them early in the season and smoke-dried them, planning to eat them in July or August, at the time of the festival.

28. They smoke-dried animals at camping sites at various places, Gwilkm, Gabowb, Gwilkm-jl (Gwilkm-slopes), Ymed, Aps-gw, Atwak-pakep, and at Kwi̱qa̱, Klemdep, Somon, Sadakay, Dwmw, Dcgok, Kw̱ḏw-ne, and Kw̱ḏw-ym, continuing to do so until it was time to return home to build food-stores.

29. After they had done this they resumed their trapping, and when the smv festival was only about a week off, they would hurry back with the smoked carcasses so that these were ready when the men and boys had gone inside the house for the initiation ceremonies.
30. Smy sk mdaknī mey ami, ognap km delgpal, mey ami gelgpal kmn nb ognap km delgpal.

31. Sgaw ognap km delgpal. Di mgel delgpal, nb ogok mň ak pogl swngab agl, mlwk ogok ņaľ II pwg tmel agl, tawep oγaŋ ņaľ II pwg tmel agl, ňů magl ogok II pwg tmel agl, nb ogok dad apl abaľ mgan ak lel mdolgwp.

32. Mnek mňy won awl mey kaj pak ņabal ak, kaj tkjakl pakpal ak, won nb ogok dad apl, abaľ mgan ak lel mdolgwp.

33. Mnek b mļwk nb ogok tkjakl, mey kaj kty mey nb ogok twn twn glaŋnī, mey tkjakl pakl padkolgwp, pakobn agelgpal.

34. Kmn nb ogok byn kty ognap dam tawelgpal, nwmy nwmmam ktop ognap tbl II ņelgpal, won nb ogok tap konjy yb ma-mdek.

35. Mňy sgaw ak first chapter Ingabt nb ak, mnm jwī ak nb mdeb nwshed b ak Womk-kay mňy mdebal alyāŋ mňab Womk-taw alyāŋ, nb alyāŋ, nwps yes yb ak sgaw tkl mdolgwp.

36. Mňab Sadakay alym, mňab Sadkay kosad apal alym mdolgwp.

37. Mdek nŋl ar, ksen byn omnj kly ak Smy tkūl, tkūl mdeťek, kṣen waib nen pyow dad am am ngetek, byn nb ak nb gl mđețek nŋl ak.

38. nb ak b ak mļwk nb ak mdek, mňab Sadkay kosad nb alym mdek nb ak.


40. Mdebal ak mnm jwī ak olap nb ak mdeb. Olap aps-yad ak byn-b mňab-yad okok mňy byn-b ognap nŋl, nŋhŋ tęp gpal, aml agnŃagabal byn-b yes ak ty ty gl tkwp agnŃagabal.

41. Byn-b yes nby ak ty ty gl tklek owp agnŃagabal, pen byn-b nb ogok kty tkjakl, byn-b ognap nŋ tęp gpal agnŃagabal, "Aps-cę ak yes ak tap sgaw ak aŋ gl, tkımwrį, tkdad apek apek, cn mňy mdobn" agnŃagabal.

42. Agespāl mey, "Cd nb gl nopn ak cn mňab yb okok nb mowpn okok, nb okok mowpn, sgaw ak nbnb gl, sgaw tkł mdosp" agl, nbep agńagabal.

43. Mňy sgaw ned Ingabt mnm jwī nb ak.

44. Mňab country ognap pen agńagabal tap monkey-sek lak okok pen agńagabal "Met, byn b yes cn ak nbnb gl, tap monkey ak tk dad aplek mey cn mdobn" agńagabal.

45. Mdobn mey awl mňab ak II glmwrį, ognap pen agńagabal "Met, cny tap ogok ogok lwp, mňab-yad ak mey apal ak tap sgaw ak cnop yes mey nb gl tkł lwp" apal.

46. Sgaw nb ak agep jwī ak gwp, byn-b yb ak gpal gpal tek mey tagwp ak, tawep kd omŋal ak nep, tawľg mey tagwp ak aŋ, ňů kn omŋal nb ak man ma-dwp.
(And at this time, after the men and boys had gone inside the house) they would go and fetch some animals that they had kept alive.

When they brought live wallabies they collected vine-ropes and, in case the animals bit, they tied up their snouts tightly, and they also tied up their feet and paws, to carry them down.

On the next day, the one on which in present times we (prepare to) kill and eat pigs (on the morrow), they used formerly to carry down the wallabies and put them in the store for the night.

And on the following morning, when the initiates emerge from the ceremonial house and when nowadays they would be slaughtering the pigs that are tethered one by one (in front of the house), they would kill the wallabies.

They gave some of these kapuls in payment for their wives, and some they cut up and gave to their kin; for in those days they had few valuable things to give.

The reason why we are now putting the wallaby in the first chapter is that the forefathers of the Womk people, those who now live down there on Womk ridge, were descended from a woman, in very ancient times, who was originally a wallaby.

She lived down at Sadakay (below and to the west of Gwilk), in the former grassland there (and her name was Maykop).

Later two women came there looking for walp (Alpinia sp.) foliage, in preparation for a smv festival, and they found that the place was inhabited.

They discovered a nose-man (a young man who had recently been initiated, having his nasal septum pierced). This was down there at Sadakay grassland.

Down there at Sadakay one of them bore him a child, a girl who (when she grew up) thought she would go to Saby-ceb to eat ksgan taro. She came (and married) there and had descendants who are now the Womk people.

So this is the story of the origin of that group. There is a similar story in my own place about one of my own ancestresses on my mother's side; in fact people from all around this area have similar explanations for their origins.

If you ask such people about the story of their ancestors, they will confidently reply, "Our first ancestor was a wallaby, and we are all descended from her children".

They will tell you that they know that they are not immigrants from some place or other outside this area, but that they have always been here, as descendants of the wallabies.

So this is the reason why we are putting the wallaby first.

It's true that in some countries, where they have monkeys, people will assure you that their ancestors were descended from monkeys.

Even in our own country, people will tell you that they had various different origins; but in my home area we believe that we are descended from wallabies.

One reason for this is that the wallaby is like a human in the way that it moves upright on its two hind legs, and does not put its hands on the ground.
47. Nn kd omñal ak yokop mdakññ mey, byn-b yb ak gpal tek tawep kd omñal ak, tawep kd omñal alyar nep mey ññ有时候 ak.

48. Kjer kjer tagwp okok mey pedok, pedok pdeg llig ññ有时候 tagwp, tagek tagek tagek, okok amwbp, okok owp.

49. Knwb ak nb nep mey yokop, nb sññalyang nep bsñl pwñl, nan pwñl mdeb, ma-knwb, yokop sgaw ak nan pwñl mdeb.

50. Yokop nan pwñl mdig mdosp nññ, nan pwñl mdek mññ flab ak tkwp. Mññ flab ak tkak, nñçg mey amwbp okok nep mey ññ有时候 tagwp ak, ññ有时候 tagwp.

51. Gññ tagl, pen ap ap ognap mab wagn knwb, tp ok pen mdeb ognap mab wagn tp yesek ogok pen knwb, apek apek kelip owp ak, mab wagn tp yesek ogok pen knwb ak, mab jwñ wagn okok knwb.

52. Mey byn-b yb ak gpal tek mey gwp ak, nb gebyn agwp. Ññ kd omñal ak man alyar ma-dwp, nb gl mdosp nññ mey aps yes cn ak nb gl, nbnb ak mdek mey ak, mññy gos ak nññ dad am am ññyn.

53. Yad nep ma-gebyn byn-b yad katp okok. Katp okok maglsek ognap tkjaki aggnabal, ognap yñ aqññbal, ognap nep aqññgabal, aggnabal "Met, tap ak cn nbnb gl sgaw ak tk dad apek, mey nññl mey cn mdobñ* aggnabal.

54. Bep ak bep olap nep sgaw-trmwd apal. Bep nb ak jakak tap mab wog nab okok, kamay wog okok.

55. Ognap wog ak tbespal nb okok key jakwp, wog salm okok key jakwp nb okok.

56. Pen wog ak tbl ymngabal ak, pen wog salm nb ogok mab ogok am am oklar amnggab ak, pen bep nb ogok jak mdengab nb okok, nb ogok sgaw ognap ap tkññwb nb ogok.

57. Sgaw ak, ñññwbp ak apl wog tbpal spot okok, bteyt jakak ak bep mey nb ognap tk ññ有时候 gwp.

58. Mññ flab olap apal Sgaw-gog apal, mññ flab Gwlkm ak nep ayn alym, nb ak pen yokop mññ flab ak nep yñ Sgaw-gog apal.

59. Tap sgaw ak yb ak agep nopey olap apal, 'wjer' apal, olap 'sgaw' apal.

60. Olap pen cn ññññññ skol ogok, mññ flab Gwlkm okyar md md ññññññ, tap pwñ ak sñññ nd toli mgolwp, nññ pwñ ak lkaññ lkaññ bad bad ogok pakolgwp, mññ flab ytk at at ogok, pakek nñçg agolgwp, "mey mññy sgaw pwñ ak paksññb ey!" agolgwp.

61. Sgaw pwñ ak mey pakññb ak, sgaw ak mdeb mdeb pwñl mdeb mdeb mab wagn wagn.

62. Dwñ dwñ snññk mey, dwñ dwñ at ak mey, pwñ ak mey, pwñ lkaññ mey, bad bad nb ogok pakññb agł, ññ pagolgwp. Pwñ lkaññ lkaññ ak mññ flab ytk ak ty ty pakññb agł, pag daptan daptan ognap at ogok lolgwp, ognap jñ ogok lolgwp, ognap ajp ak, ognap warjtem ak, ognap. Ññ ak jwwł agolgwp. Mññ flab ytk ak mññy sgaw ak nbnb gl, mey mññ flab ytk mey ak ak mdeb agł, cn nb gl, ññ pagpag lolgwp mey ogok, mññ flab ytk ytk dwñ at nb ogok, dek ap yowak.
47. It doesn't use its upper limbs to walk with, in the same way that people do not; it just moves around on its lower limbs while it is feeding.

48. The paths it hops along at it feeds are the familiar ones it has used many times before. It wanders back and forth along these, in this direction and that, for considerable distances.

49. It will sleep anywhere, out in the open. It rests just sitting upright and motionless, with its paws together, not lying down and really sleeping.

50. It will stay like this, quite still, all night, until after dawn has broken, when it moves off to feed.

51. After wandering about and feeding it sometimes comes back to sleep in the same place, but it may spend the next night at the foot of a tree in quite a different part of the forest, having travelled an enormous distance from its previous resting place by the time it gets dark.

52. The fact that it behaves like a human, not placing its forelimbs on the ground, has always seemed to me to be relevant to the story about our ancestors.

53. But it's not only I who think this, it's what my relatives all round these parts would say. They'd tell you, as they've told me, that this is why they believe it was a wallaby they are descended from.

54. The variety of _bep_ ( _Runcia klossii_ ) that they call _bep sgaw-trmd_ ( 'wallaby-ear bep') grows in the forest, including the beech zone.

55. It comes up by itself where trees have recently been felled to make gardens, and among regrowth in garden fallow.

56. Especially where areas have been cleared for cultivation and have afterwards been left for long periods so that the trees have grown up really tall, this _bep_ will remain and the wallabies will come there to pick and eat it.

57. They visit old garden clearings when the trees are growing up again, and feed on their _bep_ which is once again growing there.

58. There is a place below Gwklm called Sgaw-gag ('Wallaby-Saurauia trees'), but there's no special reason for this name.

59. Another name for the Wallaby is _wjen_. It's an alternative to _sgaw_.

60. When we were little children, staying at Gwklm in the lower part of the clearing, we would watch the sun setting and briefly covering patches of forest with red, and we would say, "Look, now the sun is warming the wallabies!".

61. For the red glow of the sun-set lighting up the hills was, we thought, reaching and warming the wallabies as they sat motionless under the trees.

62. We would count how many hill-tops the sun touched with red. Sometimes it touched seven hilltops, sometimes eight or nine or ten, or right on up to 23, and we would argue about how many wallabies might be in each place.
63. Cn ṇapay-skol ogok nb gi, Gwikm okyarkey mdī agolgpwn nb ogok.

64. Nb ogok aps basd skop agelgpal ak pen mey cn nṛḷ.

65. Pen kaw ak delgpal ak, dlī mdelgpal, ṇī tdkap nb okyar yolk, tap am kwyn ak, kas ak mlep golgpw, ognap delgpal, ap ognap yokop am mab tṛḷ mlep mlep golgpw, bad ogok dad apl, gadal badal gl, tap yokop mj-kas, mab-kas mlep golgpw ogok dap nb ġl lelgpal.

66. Awl ll amelgpal mey aṛ̃, kṁn mey ap at nb awl, kṁn ak yp, sgaw ak yp pwgtkdi agl awl apl agolgwp aṛ, kṛṇ ṇad tapyn at ak amnyn agl. Kṛṇ ṇb mdeb agl mey tob ap at nb ak tawek, talkek mey alym nb okyar ṇamolgwp, mey kaw mgan alyar ṇamolgwp ak.

67. Gek mey ak b ak aml mey, nṛḷ mey ognap delgpal ak. Pen kaw nb ak yokop dl ma-kṭgelgpal ak, ap keykey sṛṇodaṛ nṛḷ, abey sṛṇaṅw̃d talakl amolgwp.

68. Nb ak mey, yad agebyn ak tk gelgpal ak, kwyn kas wt ak dap kaw delgpal ak, twb at ak ll amelgpal, gek sgaw agŋolgpw, awl yokop apl, tap kas yowp agl, mey ap tap kas at nb ak tawek, talkek, alym nep mey kaw mgan alyar ṇamolgwp ak.

69. Mṛṇy pen tap sgaw nb ak, kayn ak abey mdebyn agwp mey, mṛṇy pen kayn ak abey mdebyn agwp nṛḷ mey, b ak abey kornya mḍīg mey ognap ṇagṛṭbīl, ognap kayn sṛṇw̃b, ognap nb ġespāl, nṛḷ mey, skol skol mdeb ak.

70. Ned mḍolgwp won ak sgaw ak kornya yb mḍolgwp. Kayn ak mdebyn agak mey tkjakl, ognap ney key sw ṇṛṇw̃b.

71. Ognap kayn sw dad apek byn-b ṇ̄ībelgpal, ognap byn-b ṇagelgpal, ognap nb gi, kayn gdad amel amel, pen mṛṇy nokom nokom mdeb, mṛṇab yad ak.

72. Ned pak dad apobn agelgpal. mapn ogok, mapn kwb sketek akoy kaj ak gelgpal tek, kaj mapn twnn gpal tek, twnn gl ġl adpal tek mey aṛ. Gagn kas yp, mj kas ppsp dap alyar lōnb alyargpal, mj bep tdkap nb okyar yolk, tap yp adng ġl gpal ogok, dnb okyar ll, sgaw mapn kd nb ogok dnb okyar ṇek adl mey ṇībelgpal ak, kaj mapn twnn tek mey adl ṇībelgpal ak.

73. Pen mṛṇy ognap nb ma-gpāl, nb gpal agl yokop.

74. Yad nb agel ngnek, sgaw kaw ak d dad am am am mak askak mey mṛṇab Mobiālym, Kwdeṛṇ sṛṇak taw okw̃d okdāṇ lakk ak mey, ll dad am am lak mey mṛṇab Nodol Aṛṇ, nab kwb sṛṇāk lak.

75. Okdāṇ lakk ak, mṛṇab Waym oḷāṇ lakk, ap yowak mey ll dad aml mdek, nṛḷ mṛṇab Gogy Ayg ogok mṛṇab ak ytk ytk at ak nep dek amnak, dl dad apyapli bynl-b ak agṇen yp nb agṅak. Mṛṇab ak ytk ytk at ak nep dek amwb agak.

76. Mount Wilhelm okok ma-npyn ak, yokop mṛṇab Goroka Dalo Pass apal, mṛṇab ytk dwm at nb ak, mṛṇab ytk ytk dwm at nb ogok, dek ap yowak.
This was how we children would pass the time, down there below Gwikm waiting by ourselves (for our parents to come home from hunting in the forest).

(It's not something we had invented), our grandparents and other elders had done the same thing, and had taught us to do so.

When they had dug pits and diverted water into them, they went to gather dry tree-fern foliage or small dry branches from trees, and they laid the stems of these criss-cross over the tops of the holes, and then put dry leaves on top of them.

After they had done this, a kapul - either an arboreal kapul or a wallaby - might come running along, not thinking there was anything wrong with its usual track. But when it stepped onto the pit-covering, it would just fall through down into the hole.

This is how men caught them. But if the pits were not covered over, nothing would be caught; they couldn't just be left open. For if animals came along and saw one, they veered off to the side, going back to their usual track when they were past it.

When they did as I've described, and left tree-fern foliage on top of the pits, a wallaby would think that the foliage had just fallen onto the track, and would come along and step on it, break it, and tumble down into the pit.

However, what affects the wallabies today is not the pit-traps but the presence of dogs, and not merely the fact that people keep dogs, but that the human population has increased. Thus the wallabies have been reduced by hunting with bow and arrow and by dogs killing them, so that now there are only a few left.

Formerly wallabies were very plentiful, but when dogs are present they get away by themselves and kill and eat these animals.

Dogs also brought some animals home that the people ate; and people shooting wallabies have for quite a long period been taking dogs out with them, so that they are now quite scarce in my area.

In the old days, when they killed wallabies they were very impressed by the size of their livers, and they treated these as they did livers of pigs, cooking them in a separate bundle in the oven. First they put down a layer of gaan foliage (Ficus dammaropsis) or other large leaves, then they tipped in beng greens (Runia klossii) and placed the wallaby livers down in with these, separating them from the carcases and cooking them in a bundle in the same way that they cooked pigs' livers.

But now they don't do this anymore, they just cook a wallaby's liver with the rest of the carcass.

I've been told that wallaby pits are distributed continuously from here to as far as a little above Mobn, to the north, and from the slopes on the side of that ridge they continue as far as Nodol and Apen (between the Asai, Gainj and Simbai Valleys).

Across from there, they come up to Waym (at the head of the Simbai Valley) and continue on through the ridge-forest as far as Gogy and Ayg (two peaks in the middle Simbai Valley, above Kwbtp), according to one of my relatives from down there whom I have consulted.

I don't know about Mt. Wilhelm, but in the Goroka region, in the mountain forests around the place they call Dalo Pass, they are present.
77. Yad mña b kaw nokom olap ngnek, ak ognap b ogok agnən aglak an, mña b ytk ytk dwm at nb ak yokop kaw ak dek ap yowp aglak.

78. Kaw nb ak ty nen delgpal agep, jwj ak ma-npwn.

79. Mña-b-yad ak, yad okwd ak tap sgaw ak kaw apal, kmn yb ogok dl maglsek. Kmn ogok ned gtagelgpal man okok aŋən, díg mey sgaw kaw nb ogok, díg mey g ñb tagelgpal.

80. Gel gel nŋl, ksen ty ty glmwn, am mab-kd ñar aŋən, mňy ty ty gl nwp apal an, kmn sgaw ak nokom nopey kaw ak dpal agl, byn-b ak nb agespal npyn.

81. Kaw ak kamay nab okok maglsek an, dlmwn dəd ad ayapil, mab swgwn jakak, mab yb jakak won alyanən dek amnak ak.

82. Ddəd aml snaltyanən dek, mña bGWnpogep ayn at nab kwb snak dek, snak nb ak mña b Abok-dwm-day, Abok-dwm-day snak nokom nokom dwm տիր տիր ak nep dl,

83. mña b Basaben-day snak dl, mña b arjwd Alpan House Klap wən nab snak nb ak dl mdeka. Ak nb ak mña b Kaybetem okdar ayn ayn nab snak nb Kwyopy nab snak nb ak mña b Bayab-jl nab snogok nokom nokom dl, Sbəy nab nokom nokom dl,

84. mab swgwn jakak at ak nep dek, amnak ak, dəd ad aml mña b Gapn snɔlarən dek amnak ak, nab nb ogok mab won ogok mdołgp.

85. Mňy pen mnm jwj nb ak mey, mab nb ak mab Wog maglsek mdołgp ak.

86. Yad b ak an agek ngnek ak. Aglak ak mña b nb ak Waym olarən nb, mña b Sbəy mdeba nab kwb ak, mña b ak nb, Ñwkwd, Ñamñam Il dəd ad Pln, mña b Pwgo y nab kwən ak mdeba Il dəd ad Pln, Kaytog Il dəd ad Pln, BIm Il nab kwb ak, mab wos ak mdołgp aglak, mab maglsek məd dəd ad gəd woɡ ak nep jakak ak pen aglak.

87. Ksen tap kob ak gg dagiplag aglak mey, mña b Kämner-taw snaltyam daglespal, mey kob nb ak yəd apl, g mey tap gd ak yən pəm ok nb gl apyowp aglak.

88. Pen əŋ nab kwb ogok tap gd ak, awl nb ogdarən nb ogdarən nb awl əŋdəf mdeka ak, mey kwı̂n mlep ogdarən nb ak ynl, pag nb okdarən aml, mey mña b nab nb ak yn abn, gd ak, əŋdəf mdeka ak mey.

89. Təp mlep mlep gl mdeka ak mey ynl, tap mlep mlep gl mdeka ak nab nb ak mey dagles, yən dəd ad, yən dəd aml, yən dəd aml, yən dəd aml mey, dəd am am am, yən dəd aml mña b Matol Magok ogym amjəkosp.

90. Nŋl, byn-b ap nŋl mey mňy mña b tep at nb ak pen ynwβ, nŋl pen swd ak jakosp nŋl mey an, mňy byn-b ak mdeba l agel ngnek.

91. Nb ak agep nb ak ognap nŋd agnən, nŋd agngəbal.
I've seen one myself (near Nomane), and when I asked about it I was told that there were plenty more of these disused pits up in the bush.

We don't know how the digging of these pits originated.

Although up here in my country they are called wallaby-pits, all kinds of kapuls used to get caught in them when they were foraging on the ground.

But eventually these animals seem to have realised what was happening to them, and decided to move up into the trees. Thus, according to what I have been told, people nowadays assume (incorrectly) that it was only wallabies that were caught in the pits.

The pits run right through the beech-forest, but they continue on down into areas where swown (Garcinia schraderi) and other typical forest trees grow.

The holes go on down to Gwnpogep (on the east side of the Tient Valley, now half a kilometre from the forest edge), right up on the side of the knoll, and there are one or two at Abok-dwm-day (the next exposed ridge up the Kaironk Valley, on the same northern side), on the barren tops of the slopes.

They go on to the Basaben area, to the ridge above Alapan Rest House, to the slopes below Kaybetem (but still above the main road), to Kwocoy, to Bayb-jl slope (at the pass between the Kaironk and Simbai Valleys) where there are just a few, and also over there to Sbay (referring to the area where the Sbay group live, at the head of the Ynen stream in the Upper Simbai Valley, not to the Government Station and township lower down, which is now known as 'Simbai').

Thus these pits were dug wherever the swown garcinias used to grow. They are also found above Gapn (in the Upper Simbai Valley), where there was formerly forest.

The basic point is that all these places were in the past forested.

One story I've heard is that from Waym to right at Sbay and from there to Nwkwd and Namnam and on to Pnb (on the south side of the upper Kaironk) and Pwgoy (further down the Kaironk Valley, near the river on its north side) and Kaytog, and right on down to Blm (between the middle Kaironk and the Sal Rivers) there was formerly tall forest interspersed with dense thickets of gd (tangle-fern, Gleichenia sp.).

Later this was burnt off, in a fire which started way down at Kamnen-taw in the Simbai Valley. From there it spread in this direction, burning on through, wherever there was fern.

Where streams ran through the brakes, there were places where the fern grew right over the water so that the fire carried across, or dry tree-ferns at the stream-sides caught ablaze and fell so that they set light to the fern-beds on the other bank.

Vegetation was withered by the heat and burnt on and on right down the valley to Matol and Magok (in the Kopon area of the middle Simbai Valley).

When people saw the effects of the burning they thought the ground looked good for cultivation, and the open areas where swordgrass (Miscanthus) grew up after the burn-off are now occupied.

Those who tell this story will say that it is true.
92. Jy tap agebyn ak, apyn mña\n\n93. Tap ogok maglsek mdengab nb okya\n\n94. Kty byn-b ned mdelgpal nb ogok mey, kaj kty mey nb ogok ak ar, pakl nb gl dap ńgb\n\n95. Agek ngnek ak pen ar, sosm ak pen nb nep agl apal, mña\n\n96. Ak pen nw\, mña\n\n97. Agep nb ak nw\, aglak a\n\n98. Mey mña\n\n99. Bteyt nb gek, nw\, ak pen ogok ak pen apal, nwmdw mey nb ak apal, s\n\n100. Ognap pen yokop al\, kab sek adpal, ognap pen yokop mj ak tkdad apl, adng ak adpal, pen k\n\n101. Nb gl kab tp tp kty ńgbelgpal, mña\n\n102. Nb ogok mña\n\n103. Ognap nep mña\n\n104. Pen mña\n\n105. Gl sblam nokom olap nep ma-delgpal, nb ak sblam nb sskanay apal, sblam nb ak pen mey kas ak pat pat lak, k\n\n106. Sblam nb ogok mña\n
92. Whether or not it is, it is interesting that if you dig ditches (or road-cuttings) in these places I've been talking about, you will find old hearths and cooking stones, deep down beneath the red top-soil.

93. Quantities of stones, together with charcoal and other things are to be found.

94. It might seem that these sites which, according to what I've heard, are found at all the places I've mentioned, from over at Kamnen-taw - or Sbay-Kamneg - through to Matol and Magok down-valley from here, were used by the early people to slaughter and eat their pigs.

95. However the story I've been told is that on all these same ridges it was wallabies, killed in hunting, that they brought to cook on the stones and eat.

96. So I'd like to say some more about these particular places. At Kaybetem, at Basd-komen(17) in the area round Sagay, and at Namnam, kapul-cordylines(18) were formerly planted, and you can still see thickets of these growing in the sword-grass, where they have spread from the original plantings of single stocks around former house-sites.

97. As to whether this information is true or not, people are convinced that it is.

98. The cordylines they planted included the other kind known as sskanay or ddochn, the cross-cousin of the real cordyline. This was not used to line the ovens and wrap the food when they were cooking kapuls, for they discovered long ago that meat would not cook properly if they used the leaves of this plant.

99. This was why they called it the cross-cousin, and only picked the leaves of the one they called the kmn sbjam, or kapul-cordyline, to use in the ovens with the animals.

100. They also sometimes use kapul-cordyline leaves when they bake pandanus nuts, as also some other kinds of leaves, but they don't use sskanay in any kind of cooking.

101. The (true) cordyline was to be found wherever people had used it in cooking, stripping off leaves and then replanting the stem.

102. But further down the valley where there is a fair amount of settlement, it has been cleared away.

103. However it is still present up in the beech forest. It looks as though it has been carried up there and planted. Seeing it there, strangers to the area might wonder why it should have been planted.

104. In fact, ever since the land came into being and kapuls were found on it, this cordyline has been cultivated for its foliage, and when people have hunted animals they have broken off its leaves to use them in the ovens.

105. But they didn't use the kind called sskanay, for it has rather long thin leaves, whereas the leaves of the kapul- cordyline are shorter and quite broad, which makes them suitable for using in the ovens with the hot stones.

106. In the beech forest, ownership of nut pandanus groves is associated with ownership of cordyline enclosures.(19)
107. Wji met sblam mgan apal.

108. B mñab alñaw mñab ak lak nb okok, sblam mgan okok nrj alap, b yes ak nop lwp ak sblam mgan ney ak alap.

109. Aml, pen nigbagaban, mñab kamay wog nabnab okok sblam mgan ogok, koñay yb mdengab.

110. Jy b mñab nop nb ak, kmn nen amebyn agwp, sblam mgan nb ak, kmn nen amng, am am sblam mgan nb ak, knebyn agop mey, katp ney señ nb ak knebyn agwp mey.

111. Katp señ ak gebyn agwp, maj day tap ogok dam nb ak pag ñebyn agwp, sblam tam nb ogok dam lebyn agwp, mey kmn nen amwb ak.

112. Pak dad apl mdosp mey ognap nb okok adñbl, ognap dad katp owp.

113. Olap pen b bpa-ya-ak Wpc yp kesi ak agñl, kesi met ak yokop nb agek ngnek, mñab Kaytog alym limwñj.

114. Mñab Kaytog lak nb ak, b ak b Bogys ak b nwsed yes ney ak, am am am am am ngak ñapay-skol omñal ak sgaw tk lwp akarñ, tk lek nrñ tap dayday dyoki ak, ñb mdespyt, nrñ ñb mdebek.

115. nrñ mdosp, ymaglosp nrñ mey, ñapay omñal nb ak, ymagll, tap kwb gl mdespyt nrñ mey, ktynñal key dpyt aglak.

116. Dl ñapal ak tklespyt, nrñ mey, mñy mey mñab Kaytog alym b nak Tblakn, b nak Bogys b ogok mey mdebal ogok, mey mñy mey mñab Kaytog alym mdoñ aglak.

117. Kaytog alym mñab ned b lak mey nb ogok, ned amjakl ñapay omñal nb ak kotpey ned tk letek nrñ mey.

118. Ñapay omñal nb ak kty tkl, tket aml, apl gek mey, mñy Kaytog alym mdebal ak.

119. Mñab ak Kaytog alym pen b bpa-ya-ak yp agñl agak arñ, agñl met arñ yokop kesi ak nb glmwnñ mnek mnek dolgp, nb gl agolgp. Mñab Kaytog alym nb gl dwp ak, ñapay omñal ak nb gl okyanñ, nb am dad apl mñab Kaytog ped ak mdebal ak, b Kaytog ped ogok ak, kty mñab mñy nep opal agak.

120. B mñab nb eym ned ll gek yes mey b nak Tblakn. Ksen am ñapay-ney omñal nb ak dad apebyn agak mey, ñapay omñal nb ak am dad apl ymagek, tap kwb gteknñ, kty key dobt agtek mey tklmñj. Tkkel amek, mey mñy mñab nb ogok mdebal ogok.

121. B nak Apespyn nwamam ney almñal mdebyt, mñab Bñ-m-kd olanñ, b oñal nb ak ktop apal, yb apal Sgaw-ñed, Sgaw-ksen apal. B oñal nb ak ktop, yb ak ty nen ll ak, ak yad ma-npyñ yokop Sgaw-ñed, Sgaw-ksen ageñ npyn.

122. Pen kmn sgaw ak ñlwk tkwp ty ty gl g g, ttoñ mgan alyñ mdebk ak ma-npyn.
107. Thus (on the track down to Gwikm from the Tsient headwaters) there is a patch of shrubbery called 'Wjmet's cordylines' (because a man called Wjmet, one of Saem's maternal ancestors and grandfather of Wjagn who is currently the owner of the site and its associated pandans, planted them).

108. When men see a patch of cordylines in the pandanus areas, they know that some particular ancestor has planted them there.

109. If you look for them you will find many of these cordyline enclosures up in the beech forest.

110. When the owner of a forest tract goes hunting, he starts by spending the night in his hut which is on its long-established house-site in a cordyline enclosure.

111. Because this is an ancestral site, he takes sweet-potato with him and breaks a bit off (raw) and places it in a cordyline fork, before he goes off after kapuls.

112. When he's come back with his catch, he cooks and eats part of it there, and takes part of it home with him.

113. There is a legend that my maternal uncle (actually, mother's cousin) Wpc told me - not really a legend, he just told me this - about something that happened below Kaytog settlement.

114. An ancestor of Bogys (or Tblakn, of Skow) was wandering about a long distance from his then home (which was over on the Ramu fall, to the north), and eventually he came to Swayem (below Wegp-tam) and there he found two little children, a boy and a girl, who are supposed to have been the children of wallabies. They were just eating scraps of food that people had thrown away. So he took them home with him (to Kwinan-Kamgok) and fostered them.

115. He fostered them and when they grew up he told them they should marry each other.

116. They did so, and had children, and their descendants include Bogys and his relatives who have settled below Kaytog.

117. Thus this group originated down there, their ancestors being those two children.

118. The descendants moved around but eventually returned to where they now live.

119. My uncle explained that it was because they had retained the story of their descent from the two children down there below Kaytog that these men had returned there to live.

120. It's because Tblakn's ancestor had taken the children and fostered them till they grew up and married and had descendants that these men now live there.

121. A man you may know of called Apespyn (the paternal grand-father of Bossboy Asr) had two brothers who lived on the near side of Blm Mountain, whose names were Sgaw-ned ("Wallaby Senior") and Sgaw-ksen ("Wallaby Junior"), but I don't know why, I only know that they had these names.

122. What the wallaby does when it gives birth to offspring, which are later found in its pouch, I don't know.
123. Sgaw ak ney flw ak tkebyn agwp, ttn mgan tawl dad tagwp, kmn yb ognap gpal tek.

124. Ttn mgan tawl dad tagwp nen mdek, mdek, tap kwb gwpn mey key am tagwp.

125. Pen kmn ognap kty tkl kosy nd tapal ar ney yokop ttn mgan alyar nep. Ney olap kosy nd ma-tagwp, md md tap kwb gl, mey dam dam mab wagn okok lek mdeb, tap kwb gl mey ney key tagwp ak.

126. Kmn ognap pen tkl, mey ttn mgan ak tawl dad tapal nen, md md kas jakaknr, yokep mgan ak mdeb, tap kwb tap kwb gaknr, kosy nd okok tap flb tap ak nen, kosy nd nep tapal, flb tagtag lobn apal, dad apl, jy mey tp kty am knbal ak.

127. Pen sgaw ak nb ma-gwp, yokop tkebyn agwp. Ktg amwb, ney okok tap flb tagng ognap yokop, ognap ney ktg amwb okok nep mdeb.

128. Pen yd fn nokom olap ma-ngek ar, pen ak ttn mgan ak tawl dad tagwp. Tagl pen fn olap ak kosy nd ma-tagwp.

129. Pen jy mnab-yad ak kmn yb ognap katp ak gl knbal. Ygtk ll knbal, mab yb okok swtk limwr knbal, dap katp ogok gl knbal, mab ak mgan okok knbal.

130. Sgaw ak nokom mey yokop bsg mdeb, yokop bsg mdl, nan pwrl mdeb okok.

131. Kmn yb ognap kty maglsek kn dpal katp ak kty mdeb okok maglsek mdeb. Ar ney nep awsek yokop okok g tagwp, g tag-tag lebyn agwp, yokop okok pwrl mdeb, knwb ak mey yokop nb nep ap alyar bsgbebyn agwp mey, yokop mey okok nan pwrl mdeb ak.

132. Tawep alyar tap kaj flw ak tawep ak lak tek lak, kobty ak tawep ak lak-tek lak ak, pen ar ak tawep ak kdkd lak ar, mey kaj flw ak tawep ak lak tek lak ak.

133. Lebyn agak day alpol d skol gl, tb flng flbal mey, tawep day alpy mley, won day alpy, day nb alpy mey tap kwb tap kwb tek ak mdeb ak. Knm day alpol ak, skol gebyn agak, skol g dad apyp lak fn wagn nab kwb ak, lebyn agak, day alyar sw sw tek lak.


135. Tap nb ak pen day alpol d skol gak, day alpy nep nrj, mey nb apal ak. Byn-b nb ogok ktop nb ak tek lak ak nrj, mey nb apal ak.

136. B ognap b ogok penpen agl apal ar, penpen flgl, flagengabyn agl apal ar, "Nad nb ak yokop aml, sgaw tek ak mab wagn okok, bsg mdengaban akar, katp ak gl kgabn" apal, "katp gl kg, nad nb ap" agngabal.

137. "Pen mnf won ogln tap cp yp ok yp flgl, pen cptrml aml ywk ggek, sgaw-tek mab wagn wagn okok yokop ma-mdengaban."

138. "Byn-b yb pen dap katp ak gl mdebal, sgaw ak ney key nb ak mey gwp aml, mab wagn wagn okok key mdeb, mdek ak mey mnab ak ttek tagwp."

When the wallaby has a young one, it puts it in its pouch and carries it about, like some true kapuls do.

It carries the baby about in its pouch for a fair time, until it grows large, and then it walks about by itself.

Some kinds of kapuls carry their young on their backs, but the wallaby just leaves its young in its pouch, and it stays there, without being carried on the mother's back, until it grows big enough to be left under a tree, and to hop about by itself.

Some animals that carry their young in their pouches leave them there, after their fur has grown and they get quite large, and then carry them around on their backs when they go out to feed and when they go to their sleeping-places.

But the wallaby doesn't do this. It just leaves its young just where they happen to be at the time, when it goes off to feed.

I admit I haven't actually seen this myself, I've only seen them carrying young in their pouches. But they don't carry their young about on their backs.

In my area some of the true kapuls make nests to sleep in, or burrow into clumps of epiphytes, biting off twigs or roots that are in their way, and line a nesting chamber inside their burrow.

But the wallaby is different, it just sits out in the open, with its front paws together.

Some true kapuls sleep in colonies in their nests or lairs, but this one (the wallaby) just wanders about and rests sitting still, sleeping where it sits, paws together, quite motionless.

Its hind foot is something like the trotter of a baby pig, and like the claw of a cassowary it is sharp, though it is the shape of the hoof of a little pig.

The upper part of its body is small. When a carcase is cut up for distribution, the leg-joint - foot and thigh - is quite large, but the neck section is small, as also are the shoulders and upper limbs, though the animal's lower parts are disproportionately large.

When people are quarrelling they say, "Your head is tiny like a wallaby's!", or, "You have a pointed head like a sian (a small bush rodent) or a wallaby".

This is because the wallaby's upper parts are so disproportionately small, and lower limbs so large, and there are some people who are that shape too.

When men are quarrelling and threatening to fight, they shout, "If you shoot at me, are you going to run off and sleep like a wallaby under the trees, or where are you going to build a house to sleep in?".

"Nowadays if you kill someone or start shooting at people, the white man will chase you, and you won't even be able to live under the trees like a wallaby!"

"Real people build houses and live in them, but the wallaby is different, it can just rest in the hollow under the trunk of a tree and then, next morning at dawn, hop off again".

Another thing they say when they are quarrelling is, "If you run off like a wallaby or a cassowary, are you going to eat real food? I'll be surprised! You'll just be eating berries and wild fruit, and sleeping under the trees and vines".
140. Byn-b ognap penpen agl apal, "Yad mdak nep paken, sgaw-tek kaban d d wos gngaban!" akaŋ, "Yad nep ňagen sgaw-tek gws-gws gngaban!" apal.

141. Sgaw ak nb gl ňagespal nŋi, kaban dl aml, olaŋ aml, apyap pakl, aml olaŋ aml, apyap pakl, gws-gws g dad aml, dam dam, mey key okok kmwb ak.

142. Gwp nb ak mnm jwj ak nŋi apal, "Yad nep mey mdak yad mey nb nep ňagengayn, sgaw-tek gws-gws gngaban!" apal, agep won olap nb apal.

143. Kmn nb ognap, gak tek yokop walak sek lak. Kmn ognap pen walak ak yb ak kaj walak ak gl lak tek lak. Kmn sgaw wcm, madaw ymdwŋ mn nb ogok yokop walak ak anŋ, byn-b yb ak gak tek yokop walak wt-sek lak tek, yokop pabl beŋ okyanŋ, Ilmwŋ yokop kwyan gl, yokop keykey snanyaŋ lak, byn-b yb ak gak-tek gak.

144. Kmn nb ak pen, gwgtgw kwy kwy owp, pen ksen kas ak agl adespal, nŋi mey, nb ogok mey kwy ak pwgtkp ak, kas-sek km nep mdakŋi ak gwgtgw kwy owp.

145. Nb ak pen mfly tap kotwal ak nop agngayn, lak tap Cdonŋ gw alyanŋ, nb ak sgaw ak yp, kotwal ak yp, d jmnl, d jmnl ned first chapter d Iŋŋ, mey agngebyn ak.

146. Sgaw ak ned kamay okwd Ilmwŋ I dad aml, ksen kotwal ak okyanŋ lak ak, gw okyanŋ lak ak mey kotwal ak nop agngebyn ak.

147. Mňab-yad okwd nd okyanŋ ak pen apal, mňab pbob tkwp gw okyanŋ nb apal.

148. Kotwal ak nop ak tap kwb ak ll leuk gw alyanŋ, sgaw ak lak mňab-yad kamay alŋwd, kotwal ak lebyn agak ak, tap kwb tap kwb ak.

149. Kotwal nb ak yad nŋ tep ma-gpyn, sosm ney ognap nŋ tep ma-gpyn.

150. Êb tagwp ak ma-npyn yokop agel npyn.

151. Kotwal ak ll pen tap kwb ak lak, ney tagwp mňab ney mdeb, mňab kunai jakak, jakak okok mňab Cdonŋ okyanŋ, Nwmwl gw okyanŋ tagebyn agwp.

152. Sgaw ak tagwp tagwp tek mey tagwp ak, alyanŋ mey tap kaskas mey ogok ňiŋwb, gebyn agak alyanŋ ak, tap kwb yb ak lak.

153. Kotwal nb alyanŋ lak ak, pen ney tap kaskas kob ksen aglpal ogok ňb tagwp.

154. Tap gwpgwp ogok kunai gwp, tap ogok maglsek, pen kunai gwp tap gwp pŋpŋ okok ňb tagwp, kob ksen aglpal okok ňb tagwp, nb gl mey mab mgan mgan mey nb okok tagwp.

155. Jy alyanŋ mfly jy yad alŋwd gelgpal tek, sgaw kaw delgpal tek, mfly kotwal kaw awl agel, yad ma-npyn, tap kaj kaw ogok delgpal agel npyn.

156. Kotwal ak yokop tagl ňapal.

157. Pen kjer ak ney at nokom tagwp akarŋ, sgaw ak gwp-tek mob wag orŋwd, mob wag orŋwd mey apwŋ kjer ak nb gl tagwp agl. kjer at pwgtkyapl, kjer at nokom tagwp nb ak nep tagwp, nb gl kjerŋ ak pwgtkyapl mdeb nŋi, mey anŋ nb gl tagek jy nb okyanŋ, yad ma-npyn ak.
When people are quarrelling they also say, "Just wait, suppose I shoot you like a wallaby, what will you do then? If I shoot you, you'll writhe about like a wallaby; oh, I'll just shoot you like a wallaby and how you'll writhe!".

For when they have shot wallabies they have seen them go jumping away, until they fall and writhe on the ground before they die.

It's for this reason that they say, "I'll just shoot you like a wallaby, and like a wallaby you'll writhe about". This is a standard insult.

The male genitals are like those of various of the arboreal kapuls. Some kapuls (e.g. the giant rats) have testicles like those of a pig, but the wallaby, the ringtail, the cuscus and the ringtail have testicles like real men do. These just hang down together below and separate from the underside of the animal, like a human being's do.

This animal has quite a distinctive odour, though it loses this when the fur is singed off and the flesh is cooked. It only smells when it has its fur on.

Now I want to talk about the creature called kotwal (the pademelon or scrub wallaby, Thylacoleo bruijni), which lives in the flatter country to the north, and put this animal, together with the forest wallaby, at the beginning, in this first chapter.

Whereas the saaw is essentially an animal of the beech forest, the pademelon lives on the plains at lower altitudes.

People up here in my country regard the lowlands as having a hot climate.

The pademelon of the lowlands grows larger than the wallaby of the beech forest.

I don't know much about the pademelon, and have not heard many stories about it.

How it feeds and moves about I have't seen for myself, I've only been told.

This animal, which is quite large, lives in country where there are kunai (Imperata) grasslands, down below in the northern lowlands and on the Jimi side.

It hops along like the forest wallaby, and eats various kinds of foliage that grow down there, and it grows large.

The pademelon feeds on foliage in places where the grassland has been burnt off.

It eats the young shoots of the kunai (Imperata) grass and the tips of the new growth of other plants after the burning; but it is also found in the forest.

I don't know if they can identify pits for pademelons in the lowlands, like the ones that were dug for wallabies up here, though I have heard that they dig pit-traps for wild pigs.

They hunt pademelons by stalking and shooting them.

However I don't know if the pademelon keeps to its own well-trodden tracks like those of the forest wallaby up in the mountains.
158. Nb okyar mab wog jakwp okok, jy mñaCdorj gw man okok, mab wog jakl mdek nãtag yapl lak mgan nb okok tagwp akañ, jy añ kunai wog okok tap wog okok tagwp, yad ma-npyn. Ak pen nb nep yad ma-npyn, at tagwp nb ak nep tagwp, nb ak nep tagwp ey, jy at ogok keykey tagwp ey.

159. Jy yad b ognap gpal tek, jy yad nb okyar tagl ñskol mdl, katp okok mdl, tagl nñl ap nep, yawbyn-b ognap yp agñeblap nñl ap nep, ak mey ap nep, yaw mey sgaw ak gwpgwp tek. Mey yokop ak apal, kotwal ak mey nb ngl tagwp okok, nb tagwp okok, kmm ak yokop gw alanya lwp agespal ak npyn.

160. Pen kmn nb ak tap kwb tap kwb ak lak, mñaMoresby mdl, mey kmn nb ak ognap korñay yb npyn ak, size ney ak nb gl lwp agl, korñay yb amon pwgw aptan apyap gakñn.

161. Pen sgaw ak mey nñl tep gpyn ak, kotwal ak lebyn agak, tap kwb wagn ak lak, skol wagn ak lak ok. Pen yad nb okyar ngnek ak pen ognap mña-cn okwd, sgaw ak acb ak lak ak tek lak, korñay yb ngnek okdari Port Moresby, mña okok, sgaw ak lak tek, lak ak pen kty pen apal kotwal apal.

162. Pen gak nb ak tek pen mña-yad okwd, pen kotwal ak gak tek tap kwb yb olap lla-lak, pen mey sgaw ak ney lak tek.

163. Lak ak pen, mey apwh tap kwb wagn olap, skol wagn olap apwn, kty nb alpy pen yad ngnek skol yb ognap mña-yad okwd sgaw ak lak tek ak.

164. Kotwal ak tap kwb kññ ak mñaCdorj gw alanya, Nwmwl alanya lak, agep jwj ak nb mdebkmn ak gak, atwak ak alñwd lak ak, yaked ak alanya tap kwb yb ak lak. Atwak ak alñwd skol ak lebyn agak, yaked alanya tap kwb yb ak lak. Madaw ak alñwd skol kññ ak kamay alñwd lak ak, madaw alanya tap kwb kññ ak lak. Pakam ak mña-yad ak alñwd lak ak kty alanya beyd ak lak, beyd apal ak tap kwb tap kwb ak lak, kaj nñwk won tek lak, beyd apal.

165. Pen nb gl yad agññen aglak an, kmm kotwal ak l dad aptanl, mña Asay kd alanya, d aptan d aptan lwp aglak mey mña Kotwmdek alñwd ayn won sññalanya, ñg tam alanya lwp aglak, mey nb sñañak lak.

166. Pen b bnap-yad ak Wpc cp katp-sek ak ñagl mastapl am ywk gek, won nb ak kayn ak ney olap mdolgp.

167. Byñ-ney mña okyamalÃ¡ ndawntal, nñl kotwal swak ñblmnñ, yp ap agek ngnek.

168. Kotwal ak mey md dad aptanl, lwp mey mña Kotwmdek-ayn won nb alanya.

169. Kayn kotwal swak nb ak yb ney ak Sapol agelgpal.

170. Kayn nb ak yad am Gobnem olar mdelgpyn won nb ak, kayn nb ak mdolgp ak pen, md dad aml ksen, jy b nak Noly-nap ney apl, dad amek dad nb okyamalÃ¡ amek nñl, ty dek nñl ñgagl, ksen kwmak ak.

171. Kayn nb ak kmm ak korñay yb swolgpp an, ksen jy ney dad nb okyamalÃ¡ amek, nñl, kotwal nb ak swek, ñbl mgel, yp apl mnm ak nb ak ngnek.
Indeed I have no idea how it moves around, either in the open space under the big lowland forest trees or out in the grasslands and the garden areas.

If like some men I had gone on visits down there as a boy, I would be able to answer these questions, from observation and from information people had given me. But as it is, all I have been told is that this kapul moves about and feeds on the ground and lives on the lowland plains.

However I've often seen quite big kapuls of this kind, which are the size kotwal are supposed to be, round Port Moresby. One frequently sees them go leaping away, when they are disturbed.

I know the sgaw (forest wallaby) well and think that there may be two kinds of kotwal, a larger and a smaller, for some of the ones I've seen (as carcasses in Koki Market in Port Moresby) are only about the size of sgaw: though most of the wallaby-like animals I saw there were of the kind people call kotwal.

But in my home region the kotwal does not get really large, it's not much bigger than the forest wallaby.

Thus we believe that there are two kinds of kotwal, a larger and a smaller, for I've seen quite small ones that are no bigger than the wallabies of the beech forest.

The explanation for the larger kotwal being found at lower altitudes in the northern lowlands and on the Jimi Valley plains is that (in many groups of animals the smaller kind lives higher up, the larger lower down). For example, the atwak cuscus (Phalanger sericeus) is smaller than the vakad (an unidentified cuscus) which lives at lower altitudes; the madaw cuscuses (Phalanger aymnotis) include a smaller kind up in the beech forest and a large kind lower down; the pakam bandicoot (Peroryctes rafflesianus) in my country high up is known as beyd lower down, where it grows larger, as big as a baby pig.

I've asked about the kotwal's distribution and was told that in the Asai Valley it is found as far up as a little below Kotwmdek, by the confluence (of the Kamok and Sabol rivers).

At the time (1956) when Wpc, my mother's brother, had ambushed and killed some people in their house, and the Australian Government Officers had come and chased him, he had a dog which went down to the Asai.

(While Wpc himself hid out in the mountain forest) his wife took the dog with her when she went down there (to take refuge with her brothers.) She told me that when down there it killed a pademelon, which she ate.

Thus pademelons are found as far up-valley as Lower Kotwmdek (where her brothers live).

The dog that killed the pademelon was called Sapol.

When I came up here to Gobnem to live, the dog was here, and it stayed here until not long ago. Then that man Noly-nap (or Tbosd, Wpc's brother-in-law) took it away down to the Asai again, and for some reason it was shot and it died of its wounds.

That dog was a great hunter. I was told that when it was taken back to the Asai it caught more pademelons that people ate.
172. Kotwal nb ak arŋ yad nrŋ tep gl tek, kmn yb ogok mña-b-yad okwd gek nrŋ tep gpyŋ ogok nb ak.

173. Sgaw ak gek nrŋ tep gpyŋ at tek gl tek arŋ, kaw ak nbnb gl dpal ak, nbnb gl dl ñbelgpal agl.

174. Agel mnŋy npyn ak tek nb alyaŋ, nb gpal agl kesm yp d ñel, yad olap ma-ngek, kesm ak d ñen gel tek arŋ, pat-sek agnm arŋ.

175. Mnŋy mey tep agdpyn ak.
172. I would know more about these pademelons if they lived up here, like the arboreal
kapuls I do know about,

173. I know a fair amount about the forest wallaby, and about the pits they dug to catch it,
and how they ate it.

174. If I had obtained information about these kinds of things for the pademelon, I could
include it; but I haven't been given the kind of stories that would let me talk about it at
length.

175. So now I've completed my statement.
1. Kalam text recorded in Auckland on Cassette ISM 1 (15.11.77) and re-recorded, at slower speed, in ISM 12 (14.12.77). Pidgin translation on ISM 2 (17.11.77).

2. Saem is in good company in distinguishing larger and smaller kinds of saaw, for Wpc, the late Big Man of Gobnem and a considerable authority on wildlife also held this opinion (Bulmer & Menzies 1972:493).

If they are not simply referring to size-variation within the species Dorcopsulus vanheurni, it is possible that the larger saaw is a Dorcopsis sp. J.I. Menzies identified the mandible and toes of a wallaby killed by a dog at Añban in the upper Tsient Valley (?) 2250 m in about August 1971 as possibly Dorcopsis hageni (Bulmer & Menzies ibid.), though the view of many zoologists is that this species is unlikely to be found at this altitude (Ziegler 1972:11). Bulmer's impression is that since the 1960s there have been significant changes in the wallaby populations of the forest and forest-edge areas on the north side of the upper Kaironk Valley. In the 1960s hardly any wallabies were seen or reported. However by the 1980s the beech-forest population of Dorcopsulus vanheurni seemed to have somewhat recovered. On hunting and botanical collecting expeditions in 1980 and 1985 Bulmer several times had his attention drawn to wallabies (which always disappeared before he could glimpse them) or their dung. And from the date of the dog's killing the Dorcopsis, referred to above, on through the 1970s, there were a number of reports of larger saaw being encountered and killed in the forest or at the forest edge in the upper Tient Valley at about 2200 - 2300 m. The only skeletal material retained from these episodes and given to Bulmer was in fact Dorcopsulus vanheurni: but it is possible that either Dorcopsis or the pademelon Thylogale bruiini had also been seen.

Although all upper Kaironk people know the term kotwal and that it refers to a kapul similar to but larger than the saaw, very few are familiar with Thylogale. Thus the third possibility for the identity of the "larger saaw" is that these are in fact pademelons.

3. The most basic Kalam green vegetable, grown in several cultivars and also present in the forest in feral populations. See below #54-57.

4. Kaironk Kalam count on body-parts from one little finger to the other, initially to 23, then by additional 22s on each return sequence, back and forth. In the 1960s, when Kalam schoolboys were first mastering decimal arithmetic, Bulmer noted that some of them could with considerable speed convert numbers from English to Kalam, up to the sixties or eighties.

5. The term kmn vyb ('true kapuls') is somewhat flexibly applied, but most often refers to the larger local arboreal kinds, i.e. the bigger ringtails, the cuscuses and the giant bamboo rat (Mallomys).

6. The smv dance-festival is the major Kalam ceremonial institution, combining boys' initiation ceremonies, propitiation of the ancestors, a pig-feast and distribution of pork and durable wealth to affines, and a spectacular all-night dance. See Majnep & Bulmer 1977.

7. Abañ are raised and high-walled platforms, built along the fence of the ceremonial house's enclosure to store taro for up to several weeks and other vegetable foods and meat for briefer periods.
8. Kalam do not, traditionally, pay bridewealth at the time of marriage. However they honour their wives, by making gifts to these women’s kin, when they hold smy festivals. (See Majnep & Bulmer 1977:23.)

9. Above Womk Government Rest House, towards the bridge over the Mwdbi River.

10. A highly-valued traditional taro variety.

11. Saem’s original intention, as expressed orally to Bulmer, was to start this chapter with the statement, “You Europeans believe you are descended from monkeys; we Kalam think that we are descended from wallabies. That is why I put the wallaby in the First Chapter of this book”. But he changed his mind.

12. See fn 3 above.

13. Saem adds that when the wallaby feeds, it breaks foliage off with its paws.

14. Some Saurauia species tend to appear as scattered and often shrubby trees in Miscanthus, eventually taking over from this. There is a high density of Saurauia in disturbed areas at the forest edge in the Gwlkm region (Bulmer & Allen 1987).

15. In this statement Saem appears to assume that a new pit has been dug. Elsewhere he describes the situation when an old pit has been refurbished and concealed, and a stick or small branch is placed in the animals’ usual track, to divert them over the covered pit (Majnep & Bulmer 1977:19).

16. For the possibility that Gleichenia fern could constitute a “more or less stable subclimax” see Paijmans (1976:96) and Bulmer & Allen (1987).

17. Literally “grandfather shrine”. Komen are groves of trees, often in rocky places, where ritual cooking of animals formerly took place.

18. See above fn 4 to “Introduction”.

19. See above fn 6 to “Introduction”.

20. Walak refers, in its strictest sense, to the testicles and scrotum, but it is extended to refer to male external genitalia collectively. As an anatomical feature relevant to the classification of mammals, the form of the male genitalia is of considerably greater interest to Kalam than whether or not a female animal has a marsupial pouch.

21. There are no wild pigs, and no traditions of wild pigs, in the upper Kaironk Valley, apart from the very occasional beast which is said to stray up into the crest forest on the southern (Jimi) side. In the wider region Bulmer has obtained no evidence of wild or feral pigs above approximately 1500 m, until the 1970s when some domestic stock from Gwlkm (2200-2400 m) is said to have escaped and established itself, at least temporarily, as a viable feral population at that altitude.

22. These would have been the Agile Wallaby, Wallabia agilis, a large species present in the coastal Papuan savannah but not in the lowlands to the north of the main Papua New Guinea mountain ranges.

23. Game is brought from considerable distances for sale in Koki and other Port Moresby markets.
REFERENCES


