

WORKING PAPERS IN
ANTHROPOLOGY
ARCHAEOLOGY
LINGUISTICS
MAORI STUDIES



No. 85
ALAM HUNTING TRADITIONS.
Part I.
INTRODUCTION and WALLABIES

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

Private Bag, Auckland

WORKING PAPERS

in
ANTHROPOLOGY
ARCHAEOLOGY
LINGUISTICS
MAORI STUDIES

No. 85

KALAM HUNTING TRADITIONS.

Part I.

INTRODUCTION and WALLABIES

Ian Saem Majnep and Ralph Bulmer

APRIL 1990

ISSN 0112-0832

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.

APS BASD SKOP KMN AK PAK ŃBELGPAL

KALAM HUNTING TRADITIONS

I

INTRODUCTION and WALLABIES

Ian Saem Majnep and Ralph Bulmer

**Edited by Andrew Pawley
Illustrations by Christopher Healey**

Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland

1990

Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	<i>Andrew Pawley</i>	7
<i>Preface</i>	<i>Ralph Bulmer</i>	9
<i>Editor's addition to Preface</i>		11
<i>A pronunciation guide to Kalam</i>	<i>Andrew Pawley</i>	17
	<i>Other chapters by Ian Saem Majnep translated and annotated by Ralph Bulmer</i>	
INTRODUCTION	<i>Mñy bwk ak mnm ned agngayn, at ak mñy agngebyn</i> 'I now begin the introduction to this book'	22
CHAPTER I	<i>Yad mñy Kmn Sgaw ak sosm agngebyn</i> 'Now I'm going to tell the story of Sgaw, the wallaby'	38
References		64
ILLUSTRATIONS		
PLATE A	First page of Ian Saem Majnep's transcript of Kalam text of Introduction (fascimile)	19
PLATE B	First page of Ian Saem Majnep's transcript of Pidgin text of Introduction (fascimile)	20
PLATE C	<i>Sgaw (Dorcopsulus vanheurni)</i> , Little Forest Wallaby - Chris Healey	21
MAPS		
MAP 1	Papua New Guinea: Location of Kalam	15
MAP 2	Kalam territory - Jan Duncan	16

Amy-yad Kalam gos key nŋl,
yp dad apl mab-jwj,
katp wot molwk okok knl,
tap-kwb gnek,
yad gos nop nŋlg mdebyn.

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

FOREWORD

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.
- XII. Dogs, Wild Dogs and Spirit Dogs. Epilogue, Myths and Plant Glossary.

PREFACE

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-ñbelgpal* (*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.I. 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 *persona*. 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 Nbelgpal*, 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 Papua New Guineans 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):

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------|--------------|---------------------------------|-------|--------|----------------|
| | APS | BASD | SKOP | KMN | AK | PAK | ÑBELGPAL |
| (1) | grand- | grand- | generational | game- | those | strike | eat-they |
| | mother | father | group | mammal | | | habitually did |
| (2) | <i>ancestors</i> | | | <i>kapuls those they-hunted</i> | | | |
| (3) | <i>Animals the ancestors hunted</i> | | | | | | |

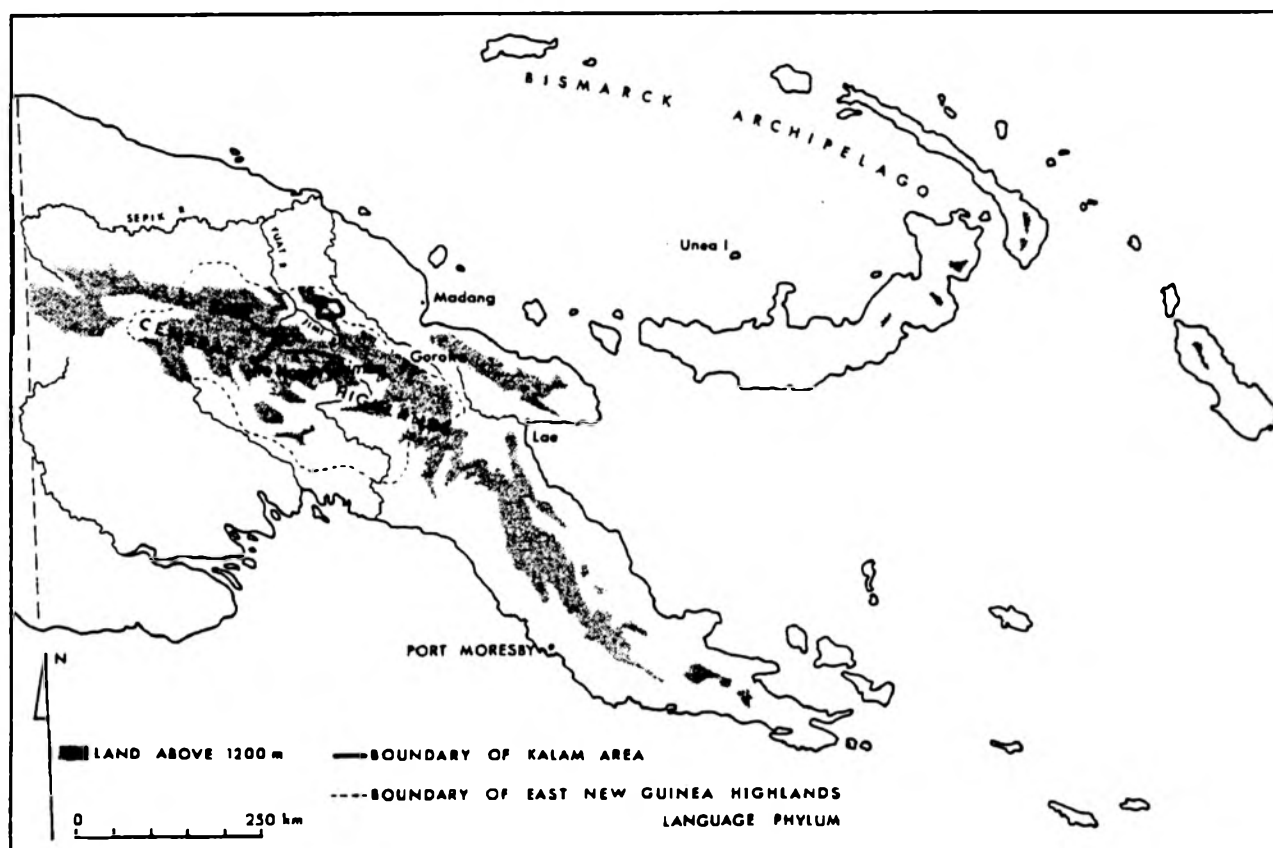
The free translation takes considerable liberties. RB accepted that, in the cause of readability, one must generally transform the lexical categories of one language into the nearest, or stylistically most suitable equivalents in the other, instead of using descriptive expressions that translate the 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.

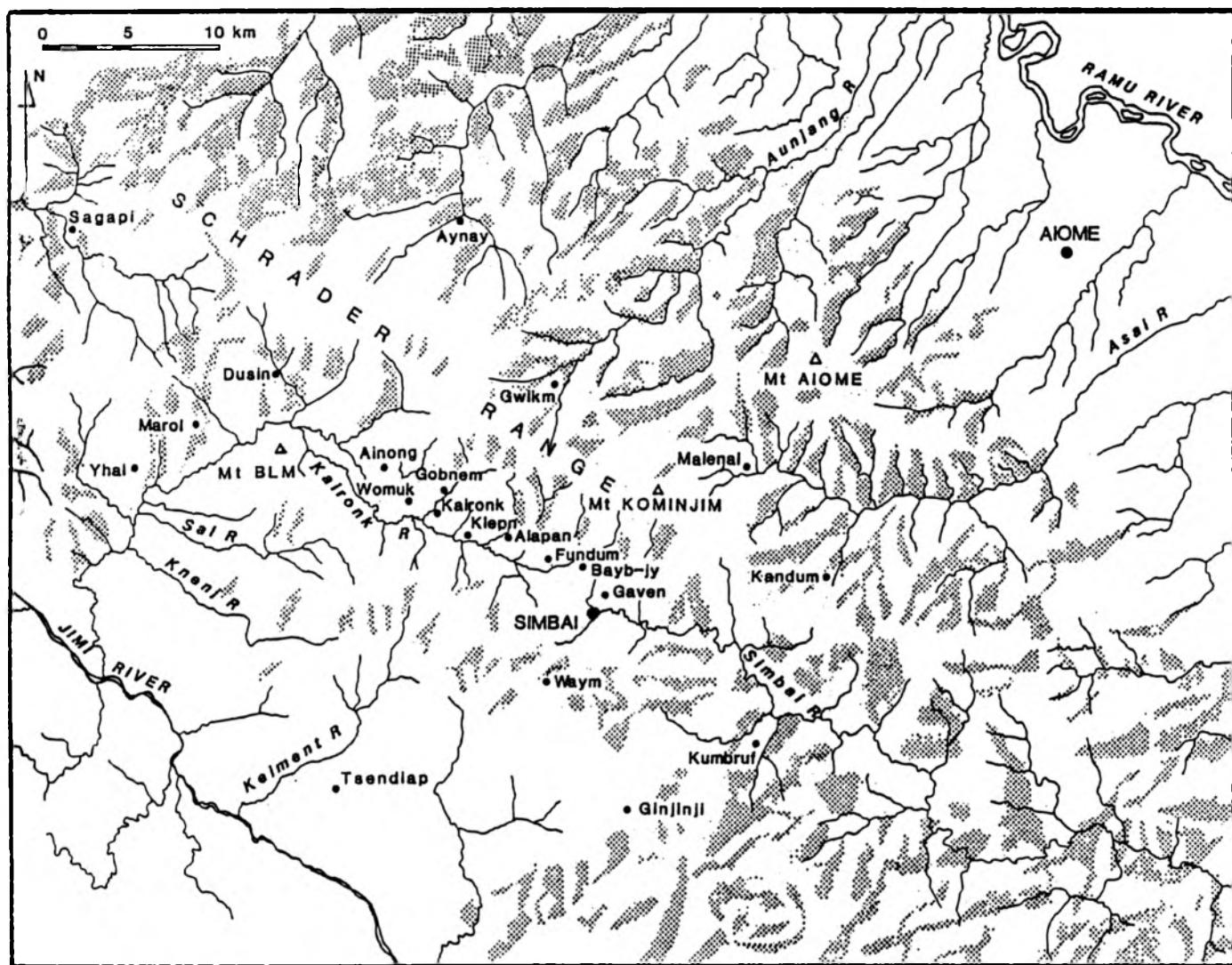
Between November 1987 and March 1988 RB began knocking *KHT I-III* into shape. But his progress was hampered, then stopped by the lung cancer that first manifested itself as a brain tumour in January 1988. Over the next few months he explained to me what Saem and I needed to do to complete the *KHT* 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)



Map 2
Kalam territory
by Jan Duncan

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.

- a* as in English *father* or *charm*.
- b* at the beginning or in the middle of a word, *mb* as in *thimble*;
at the end, *mp* as in *limp*.
- c* at the start and end of a word, *ch* as in *church*;
in the middle, *j* (or *dg*) as in *judge*.
- d* at the start and middle of a word, *nd* as in *handy*;
at the end, *nt* as in *ant*.
- e* as in *set* or *feather*.
- g* 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*.
- j* at the start or middle of words, *nj* as in *injure*;
at the end, *nch* as in *inch*.
- k* at the start and end of words, *k* as in *kangaroo*;
in the middle similar to *g* in *aghost*, but with the breathy sound of *ch* in Scottish *loch* or *nicht*.
- l* the tongue tip is turned back as in *r*, but is held against the roof of the mouth as in the *l* of *loud*.
- m* as in *maim*.
- n* as in *nanny*.
- ñ* *ny* as in *onion* or *nuisance*, or as Spanish *ñ* in *mañana*.
- ŋ* as in *sing*.
- o* as in *naught* or *port*.
- p* 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*.
- s* at the start and end of words *s*, as in *sit* or *kiss*;
in the middle *s* or *z*.
- t* 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*.
- w* at the start of words and after a vowel, *w* as in *wind* or *cow*;
after a consonant, *u* as in *lunar* or *cruel*.
- y* 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*.

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 ñ ŋ/, realised as [m n ñ ŋ].

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 ñj ŋg], and word-finally a voiceless final segment [mp nt ñč ŋk]. Initially, after a word ending in a voiceless homorganic obstruent, they are realised as plain [b, d, č or ʃ, g].

There are five oral obstruents /p t c s k/. Initially these are voiceless [p̥ t̥ c̥ s̥ k̥]. Medially between vowels /p t c k/ are voiced [p̬ r̬ t̬] and /s/ is either voiced [z] or (more often) voiceless [s]. Finally /p/ is either [p, b or β], /t/ is [ʈ], and /c s k/ are voiceless [č s k].

There is one lateral /l/ 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 [yaɣá.m] or [yəɣám], *ptaj* 'unmarried' is [p̥ará.nč] or [p̥ərá.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* [muwó.nk] 'taro garden' but *m-yad* [miyá.nt] 'my taro'; *b-wow* [mbuwów] 'mother's brother' but *b-yad* [mbiyánt] 'my kinsman'. In most contexts the release is a short high central [ɨ], e.g. *katp* 'house' is [karɨp], *kmn* 'game mammal, kapul' is [kɨmɨn], *bɨc* 'striped possum, *Dactylonax palpator*' is [mbɨlɨč]. 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. *akl* 'bamboo' is [aɣɨl], *jakak* 'it grew up' is [ŋjaɣák]. Other syllables are given secondary stress.

Plate B

Fascimile of first page of I.S.
Majnep's own transcript of his
Pidgin translation of Introduction
Cassette ISM 28

INTRODUCTION Chapter. (1)

9/2/1978 Auckland Tape no (28)

I.S. Majnep

①
nau long Book long introduction Chapter first Bai ego long en. nau mi like
toktok nau olsem man mari Biking mi na long place na. ol yangpala man yang
pala mari Boys na Girls long place na. nau ol karam long en Behind Bai
istap long en long dispala Time. long place Bilong mi long Befayut ol
Tubu Tubua Bilong mi istap long dispala Time na ol mekim Warden
line siminty. Na Wak Bout olsem Warden Roun olsem Warden ego pinim kum
olsem long dispala time. ol istap long en. ol Bai tok na tingting
olsem long en. Tasol olsem man mari long narapala place on
narapala Country too ol ting olsem ol man mari long haw place
long dispala half. ol istap istap olsem Warden long Befayut Bai ol
ting olsem ol istap long dispala Time ol mekim Warden kine siminty long
en. na nau long dispala Time mipala Lutim na. Behinin ol mipala Belite
long en. Behinin mipala tingting long en. ting olsem Ture long disp
ela place on Ture long en. na Behinin mipala Lutim narapala kine
siminty long en. ol Bai tingting olsem Tasol nau long place Bilong
mi ol Tu Tubun na Tubua Bilong istap long dispala Time. Time olsem
long Tu Tubun. Tubua Bilong istap long dispala Time na olsem
long Tubua Bilong istap long dispala Time. papa Bilong mi istap long
dispala Time. guand Stand putim on olsem long man Before etem
etem long dispala half long en long dispala Time dispala Time
olsem History olsem Story long dispala olsem Story Bilong
Kinin on History Bilong kin. pas Time istap long yulayun
na istap long Mobli. Kikin na karam etem na olsem.
mekim pai Dut Bilong en long dispala mumu long en long
Stone Bilong en. enon na en mekim on kukim namd Tasol
Bout nabaut tasol Bout nabaut long en. na olsem istap
long en. na Behinin en cistap na pulmapim long Bag na karam
go Kaprahim en long Olgate half long place Bilong mi na
Olgate half long narapala place ol tok olsem na mihim
en dispala Time ol istap na. . . mekim Warden siminty on
putim long place on. insite long Bush na nau long dispala
Time. ol plimim long en nau long dispala Time mipala Lutim
nau dispala siminty mi like tok tok nau. long place Bilong
mi. long Olgather siminty istap long Bush. istap long place
nau long dispala Time mitopela toktok long Bout mitopela tok
olsem kin en istap olsem Warden. istap olsem olsem na
Olgather dispala siminty istap olsem olsem. na Story pastime

(1) Introduction Chapter (1)
 page 81 211776 Auckland Tape no 27
 L. S. Majnep.

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

man Book ak manm ned agneyay
 agneyay agneyay at an man

agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay

Th abel agneyay mednyabl won agneyay mednyabl yad Tap nb ak i up Basal

skop mednyabl won agneyay mednyabl TT gelyapal TT gelyapal TT gelyapal

mednyabl agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay

nb agneyay pan agneyay agneyay nb agneyay TT gelyapal mednyabl

~~Tap nb ak mednyabl mednyabl mednyabl~~

Tap nb ak mednyabl mednyabl Tap nb ak T gelyapal agneyay

mednyabl ksn Tap agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay

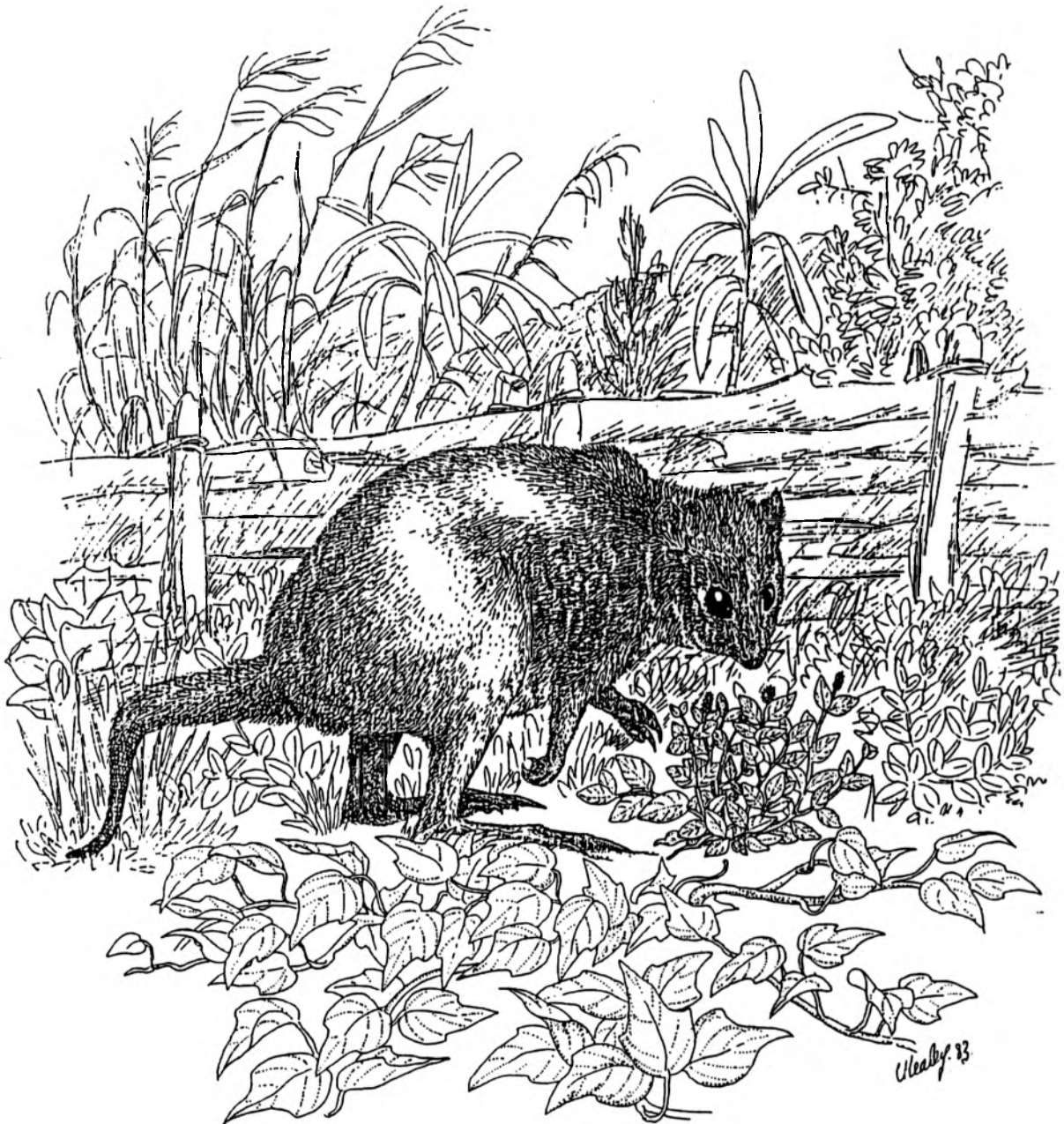
man mednyabl yad ak. Tap up Basal yad agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay

mednyabl agneyay agneyay mednyabl mednyabl agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay

mednyabl agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay

mednyabl agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay agneyay

Plate C
Sgaw
Dorcopsulus vanheurni
Little Forest Wallaby



Introduction

MÑY BWK AK MNM NED AGNGAYN, AT AK MÑY AGNGEBYN

1. Byn-b yad ogok, ñskol payskol ogok pen tkebal ogok, mdengabal won ogok, mñab yad ak tap nb ak, tap aps basd skop mdelgpal won ak, mdl ty ty gelgpal, agl gos ak ngngabal.
2. Pen byn-b mñab 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 ngjn agl, gos ak ngngabal.
3. Mñy mñab-yad ak, tap aps basd yes ogok, basd skop mdl, bapy skop mdl, mñab lgek ñn ak ll, kmn ak mñab Waym olan lebyn agak. Mobñ ak ll, pak dad apl mab tek agl tk mdl mdek. Ksen dam wad ak wad ygebyn agak, dam mñab ogok sogek amwb. Agel mey yad npyn ak.
4. Ak mey mdl mgel, tap gelgpal nb ogok, tap ymlak ak mñy agngebyn, mñab-yad ak aml tap ogok maglsek bwk alyan agngabt.
5. Kmn ak nb-nb gl mdolgwp, tap ogok nb-nb gl mdolgwp, sosm ak nb gl, tpak nb tkjakwp agongabt.
6. Pen ak nñl pyowngabm an, mñab-yad ak mey tap ned aml ngngabm.
7. Sblam ak, kmn mab ak, Waym olan agl tk gebyn agak. Mñab ogok maglsek sd wog nab kwb ogok mdeb nokom nokom, Bayab-ñl, As-Katp nab ogok tap kmn sblam ak ymgek amek nñl, glmwn, am katp serj serj ak, knelgpal mey mñab nb okok.
8. Sblam nb ogok mey am nñl mey agngabm, byn-b ak ned mdl, sblam mey ogonl, kmn pak dad apl ad ñbl, katp serj mey ogonl agl mey tap nb ak nbep ned yomngab.
9. Sblam nb ak alnñal. Olap sblam yb ak, kmn sblam yb ak, olap sblam sskanay ak.
10. Waym yp Mobñ yp ned mdl, kmn pak dad apl, kab g ñbl, sblam tk ymgetek nb ogok mey.
11. Nmwd-ney sskanay apal, nmwd mey kmn sblam yb ak. Kmn sblam yb ak mey, kmn ak pak dad apl, tk ad ñbal ak, sskanay ak kmn kab-sek, tap kab ognap, ma-agl adpal.
12. Tap olap aml ngngabm, mey kaw ak, kaw ak mñab ytk at ogok d dek, Dñnak, Gwikm-Gabob, Kwnen-kwym okok dek, sgaw kaw ogok dolgwp 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 sblam ak yomengab mey ngngabm ogok, ognap ngngabal.
14. Mñab mñy sd wog mdeb nab kwb ogok, ned mab wog ak mdolgwp. Mdek nñl, katp serj ogok mey nb okok nokom nokom mdolgwp. Kmn pak dad apl, katp serj kty nb ogok ad ñbl, sblam nb ogok tkl adl ñbl mgel, sblam ognap tp ymelgpal. Ymel mey sblam mgan ogok mñy mdeb.

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-ji (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 sksanay 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. Sksanay 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 as Dñnak, Gwlkm-Gabob and Kwnen- 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.

15. Sd wog okok, tbjwl, pakel, am dwp aml, ytk ytk day at mab wos ak mdek amwb, atat ak adan, nokom nokom mdeb.
16. Mab wog nab okdan, kamay wog nab okok aml ngngabm, sblam mgan ogok konay yb mdengab.
17. Mdengab nb ogok, basd yes ogok mdl kty am kmn pak dad apl nb okok, ad ñbelgpal.
18. Mñab ak keykey lak tek, sblam mgan ak mey keykey lak ak.
19. Pen b ma-nnep ogok am mab wog nab nb okok, sblam wog nb ogok nrl, gos ogok ag ngngabal an, key jakwp agngabal. Met, mñab ak lgl, sblam ak tk keykey pwrlek aml aml, mab wog nab kwb okok maglsek mdek nrl, b ak mñab ak lak lak tek, am sblam mgan nb ogok keykey mdl. Kmn pak ñb tagl, alhaw tk ñb tagl, alhaw kab tk dad apl, sblam mgan nb ogok adl gelgpal.
20. Kaw twb ogok, konay mdengab, sblam mgan okok. Kaw twb ogok mdengab ogok, tap alhaw kab ak tk dapl adelgpal.
21. Mey sblam mgan nb ogok kaw twb konay mdengab ogok, mab wog wog okok ngngabm konay mdengab. Kaw ogok ak sgaw kaw delgpal mey nb ogok.
22. Sblam nb ogok nrl apal, b nak yes ak sblam mgan apal, agespal kmn nen abal ak. Aml apal, b nak ak sblam mgan mñab taw ak, mñab ney ak taw ak, yt ak lem ak lek amnak nbnb gl agl, mey basd skop yes ogok am mñab-kty key ak nep tagl, sblam mgan nb ak knl, kmn pak dap ad ñbl apelgpal.
23. Basd skop yad ak nbnep gelgpal, gl ñ-ney skop ktop yomel, ñ-ney skop nbnep gl mgel, man cnop yoml, cn mñy aml mey sblam mgan nb ak, ognap am nrl apwn. Basd skop sblam mgan pet agl, kmn pak dad apl nb ogok ad ñbl, ognap opwn. Alhaw kab tk dad apl, sblam mgan yes pet nb ak ad ñbwn sek.
24. Mnm yad agebyn jwj nb ak, mñab nby ognap mey, kty ognap mey yad ma-npyn ak, mñab yad ak, mñab ak lgl mdek, kmn ak pak dad apl, ty ty gl, adl ñbek, am tap nb ogok, tap ty tap ty nrlmwñ, ksen kmn nen amnak.
25. Tap ty tap ty glmwñ nrlmwñ ksen ak penpen ñagek. Ñagl dad apl ty ty gek, agl sosm nb alyan gek. Sosm ak nrl mey, basd yes skop nb ak nep gel, basd skop nb ak nep gel, bapy skop nb ak nep gel, mñy cn ñkem abey, mey tap sosm ak mdek at ak nokom, agek at ak. Kwj ak ty ty gl agak, tap ty tap ty gl, tap ak ymññng kwj ak gak, kmn nen amnak, gek at ak mey, mñy cn abey gpwn ak.
26. Gos cn ak nep nrl, olap ma-gpwn, tap mñy nep owp ogok, tap yñ ogok, m yñ ogok, kafm yñ ogok, gam ogok, mñy nep mñab yb olap tkjakl, owp ak mey, nb okok owakññ. Kwj abey agñek apek mey, mñy ognap kwj ksen nb yp, tap ksen nb ogok aposp npal ak.
27. Ned tap ognap ak basd yes skop mñab kty nb ak g glmwñ, tap ty tkjakl, sosm g gek at nb sek mey cny gpwn ak yp.

15. 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.
16. But if you go into the forest, up into the beeches, you'll find that many cordyline enclosures remain.
17. They remain at places where ancestors took the kapuls that they killed, to cook and eat.
18. For all the different hunting-territories in the forest there are different cordyline enclosures.
19. 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,⁽⁷⁾ cutting off the fruit, they cooked the game and the nuts in the cordyline enclosures.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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.
23. 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.
24. 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.
25. 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.
26. 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.
27. But the earliest practices in the land of our ancestors had their origins in the events related in the legends.

28. Pen b ognap akan, byn ognap mñab okok nb ogok tkjakl, nñl agngabal.
29. Pen mñab-yad ak, byn twd, b twd pen tap skwl yp tap okok, mñy won awl nep 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 mñy agebyn ak.
31. Mñab yb ognap, mñab town ognap yb okok mey nby, tap ogok maglsek nb okok bteyt nep, nap-nby ak mdek won ak, nasd-nby ak mdek won ak apek mey, tap mñab nb ak gelgpal, tap ak maglsek, gos ogok sakl gl, tap nb nbep an agñnmwñ. Mey kty nb okok nñ mdl kwbalnñ, mñy mey, gos ak nñl, 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. Mñab-yad ak, tap gwp ak, ned yes ak mdl gelgpal, bapy skop mdl gelgpal, tap nb ak mdeb ak, yad nñl, yad ognap npyn ak mey mñy agebyn ak.
33. Yes ogok mdl gelgpal ogok yad ma-npyn. Yokop sosm ak nep npyn, basd-yad ak mdl, tap golgwp ognap nbnep yad ma-npyn, bapy mdolgwp won ak pen yad nokom nokom yp mam-ned skop ognap nñl agñbal, bapy bwow mdebal ogok yp ognap nñl agñbal.
34. Yad key ognap amy agñwb, byn-b ogok agñespal npyn.
35. Mñab-nby ognap mey yad ma-npyn ak, mñab-yad ak mñab ak, mñab yb almñal nep mey kmn ak lgek agel npyn ak. Waym yp, mñab Mobñ ak yp, kmn mab ak agl tk gl mdek, kmn nb ogok ty gyn ty gyn aglmwñ. Am ngak mñab okok kmn ak ma-mdek nñl, ogok mab wog nep mdek. Ap wad ak mgan alyañ, wad ygdebyn agak, dad aml gak, mñab kmn ak wad-sek tek twg-sogak sñak mey. Mñab ak mey kmn ak kab-sek tek mdeb ak, koñay yb tek mdeb ak.
36. Dad aml, omñal omñal sogak sñak tek mey, skol skol tek, tap kwb tap kwb koñay 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. Mñab sñok nby, b-cn mñy tkjakl apwn, mñab ognap, mñab tkjakl apwn. Aps basd ak yes ak, ty ty gl mñab akal tklmwñ tkek apek, cn mdoñ agl npwn ak tek, kty sosm apal ak tek ak.
38. Mñab-yad ak, tap kmn ak ned wagn ak lgek ak, mñab mey agebyn omñal ak, Waym yp, Mobñ yp, mey kmn ak nb ak lgebyn agak, ksen mñab okok maglsek amnak.
39. Kmn kab am mñab mab wog nab okok, paki ad g ñbek tap ogok gl, sblam ogok kas ak tkl, tap msagay ak tkl, tap yp adek mey gl, dsn ak, tap ñepek ak tkl dad apl mey ad ñbgek ogok, dobeg ogok tanak okok, dobeg ogok tkdadapl sek, ad ñbgek nñl mey, mñy won ogonl, kmn kab-sek am pakl, mab wog nab okok, dap adpal mey tap mey agebyn ogok, dsn ak, ñepek ak, dobeg 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 I 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 Mobñ, 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 ñepek (*Cyrtandra* sp.) foliage to cook and eat, and where dobeg fern (*Coniogramme* 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 ñepek.

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, mñy won ogonl nbnep, mey tap ak gek gek ogok nep tkl adpal ak.
41. Mab wog ogok tagospwn nñl, ywan gek, koslam yb tapwn.
42. Mñab yb ognap gak tek, tap ogok koñay yb nb okok ma-jakak. Maj ak katp okok dad aml mey agl, ñbl opwn ak. Nb okok yokop abwn ñn ak, slok yaposp nñl, ywan gosc, tap alñaw ak slwp ak tbjwobn apwn mey, km ñbl, pwg agl mey opwn ak.
43. Tap olap ñepek ak am nb okok tkl, km ñbon pwg agek mey opwn ak, yad pen agngabyn.
44. Mñab-yad ak nbnb gl tap ogok lwp apyn nb ak, koslam g tapwn, gos ak nñl agngabm erj.
45. B kmn pak ñb tapal nb ogok, koslam yb tapal, ywan ogok gaknñ, mab ogok tanbal, aptan apyap gl mdebal, ñn kogm ogok tan tagel tagel tagel sayn gosc, koslam tanl pakpal.
46. Nby pen gos ak nñl agngabm erj, tap nb ak yokop, EASY aml pakpal agl gos ak ngngabm. Met, mab ogok tanbal ogok tanbal mdeb. Ogok am tanl npal ogok mdeb, tan aptan apyap gel gel gel, ñn kogm ogok sayn gosc, tan tagl mey knwb, mab ak nep tanl mey pakpal ak.
47. B ma-nñep ak, b kmn pakwp ak yp amngab ak pen, amebyn agngab. Yad mñy mab wog okok amebyn, agek yp amngabal yp abal ak pen, am mab tan aptan apyap gescpal, ywan kwb sketek ogok gosc, koslam b nb ogok kty tag npal ak mey, apal pwb nab won awl geb ak, dwgep won ak, mdl pwg agngab, agl mdespal mey, tap ak yokop gwp agl gos ak npal ak.
48. B mñab okok nb yokop nb ogok, b nb ak yp abal, ogok ywan gosc, gos pat ll mdl, ksen mñab tlwk nb okok ognap kty ma-abal.
49. B cn tagl, tag npwn ak nep, ñb tagl npwn ak nep, mey nb gaknñ apwn, tap ak yokop gwp agl tapwn ak.
50. Kmn ak pen, mñab ognap ma-pakñbal okok. Aml mey ngngabm npal, kmn ogok mab kd okok yokop bsg mdeb, okok mserj nep mdek. Gos ogok nñl apwm, mñab mey gwp awl tek, mñab nb ak nbnep gwp agl, gos ak ngngabm.
51. Pen mñab yad ak, tap kmn ak, pak ñbwn ak mey, koslam ñw-day tek ak pyowl tanl pakpal.
52. Pen bapy kay mdelgpal won ak, basd kay mdelgpal won ak mey, byn-b ak nokom nokom mdlaknñ, mey kmn ak koñay mdlgwp.
53. Pen cnop tklespal, nñl, mñy won ogonl nbnep, byn-b koñay mdobn apal, kmn ak pak ñb 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 ñn nb ak kawsek tek kmn ak pakpal. Dad apl, pakl dad apespal nrl, byn-b katp okok ñbal ogok, ognap pen kty nb okok pak ñbal opal.
56. Yad apyn, kmn ak pak ñbwn, pak ñbal apyn nb ak, b mñab yad ak mdebal ak maglsek tkjakl, kmn ak ma-pak npal. B nokom pakep tek, ognap kty pakpal.
57. B sɲok ytk ak wagn okok mdebal ak, mab wog okok mdebal ak, mey kmn ak pakpal ak.
58. B nop kty ak, nwsed yes kty ak pakolgwp, ñ-ney ogok mey, kmn ak pakespal, mey nop skop nb ak nep pakel, ñ-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 pakñbal.
59. Nby pen gos ak nrl agngabm eɲ, b yb nb ak, kty maglsek tkjakl, kmn ak pakpal agl gos ak ngngabm. Met, b yokop kty pakñɲeb tek ognap kty pakñbal, b kmn pak npal ogok kty pakpal.
60. B cn kmn pakñbwn nb ak, mñab ak tkwpnɲ, gos ak nrl, npwn ñn ak, ytk olan ɲɲospwn. Mñab ogok ygl wgl tbl, ktg ameb ameb tek losp, wog day am gpwn ñn ak koslam am gpwn, koslam am gpal.
61. Mñab ak tkosp, kmn nen abwn ñn ak, am mab wog oklaɲ amnnwknɲ, cnop gos tep npwn, tep gwp ñn ak, ñn nb ak tagl apal, kmn ognap pakngabn agl gos ak npal.
62. Kmn ak nokom olap pakpal ak, ak tep gos ak pponɲ ggaknɲ mey, mab ogok gos gos llg tanl, ognap sek pakpal, ñn ognap omɲal pakpal, ñn ognap nokom pakpal.
63. Mñab sɲok *solwara* sek lak okok, mñab nb ogok, b *fishermen* ogok kty tagl mey, *fis* ak nbnb gl dɲn agl, wben tap ogok yokl dɲn agl, tap okok nbnb gɲn agl, b nb ogok kty dpal ogok-tek mey. Mñab-yad ak b kmn pakwp ak ney nokom aml mey agwp, mab mey ak tanl paknm, mab ak mey tanm agl.
64. Mab ak pyow dad aml, kmn ak tap ak ñbgosp, pyow dad aml, mab ɲɲek pponɲ gwp ak, gos ney ak ɲɲek, tep gwp mab ak mey, mab nb ak tanl pakwp ak.
65. Mñab tkwp ñn ak, am mab wog okok, aml mab ogok, tan am am oklaɲ aml, mñab ytk ognap ɲɲospwn, ytk ogok kwmijby agl, cb gosp, koslam ñn ognap opwn.
66. Ognap mey mserɲ okyaɲ mdl, npwn mñab ogok ytk ak kwmijby agek, cb gek, kwjan gl mdl, wog waty ogok gpwn.
67. B kmn pak ñbal, ogok mey nb gl, gos nb ogok nrl, nb gpal ak.
68. Ognap am mab wog okok knospwn nrl, mñab ak dwgep ak kslm aplɲ mdosp, owaknɲ, gwɲ yp tap mañmod tap ogok agaknɲ, cnop tep gwp, ognap ktop tep gaknɲ 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 mañmod lizards⁽⁶⁾. This makes us happy, as we settle down for a night's sleep, before setting out the next day after kapuls.

69. Mñab-yad ak ll, mñab *Highlands* nb ogok, pen mñab ytk ytk lak okok, am sblam wog nb ogok koray ngngabm, sblam wog okok lak ogok.
70. Mñab-yad ak llmwɿ, pat-sek l dad apl, mñab nb ogok ytk ytk ogok lek owak, kaw ogok nb okok dek owak, mey mñab-yad ak, gpal gpal ak tek gpal ak pen.
71. Mñab nb ogok pen, mnm ak nep, key agespal mey nɿl, byn-b oɱnap nɿl pen, b oɱnap mñab okok nb ak nɿl agngabal. Gos kty ak key nɿl, kmn nen amng, tap nb ogok, key gpal agngabal, pen mnm-ky ak key agl mdespal mey, kmn nen amng tap kty nb ogok key gl abal, gos nsed kty ak nb golgwp, kmn nen amng, tap nb ogok key nɿl amolgwp tek, mey cn nbnep gpwn, kty nbnep gpal.
72. Pen mñab okok maglsek, ksen tap kaj tap ogok owak, ned mñab ak lgl, tap mey kmn nb ogok pakl dad apl, byn kty ogok tawelgpal. Smy ogok tk ll mdelgpal, kmn nb ogok am pak dad apl mey kaj tek pakl, tb penpen lɿl gelgpal, mey nb ogok agel oɱnap npwn.
73. Oɱnap mñab-yad ak nb agel npyn ak, mñab oɱnap nbnep tap ogok maglsek, pen yad nokom nokom tagl agnɿen apal, basd skop kmn nen g ñbelgpal taw ogonl agl, oɱnap agel yad npyn.
74. Bteyt mdelgpal won nb ogok, koslam yb mdelgpal. Pen mñy tap ogok, tap ogok, tap ogok gl, tap ogok tap ogok aposp mey mñy oɱnap gos ak nɿl apal, ned byn-b ogok nb gl mdl mgel, nb gl mey cn mdoɱn ak tek, mdebal agl mñab yb oɱnap npal.
75. Mñab yb yad ak, pen ned oɱnap koslam mdelgpal, tap ogok maglsek ma-mdolgwp.
76. B nokom nokom mey *rich* mdolgwp, tap okok maglsek mdolgwp, tw mnan ogok mdolgwp ogok maglsek, b oɱnap maglsek yokop mdelgpal.
77. Mey kmn komerɿ, as komerɿ okok g tag tag ll pak ñb tag tag ll apl mgel mey, wog waty nokom nokom g yml, g ñblg mdelgpal.
78. Won nb ogok gos kty ak koray ma-mdolgwp, gos kty nokom mdolgwp amelgpal. Mey kmn komerɿ okok, as komerɿ okok g ñb tag tag lobn agelgpal, apl yokop wog ogok skol bad bad oɱnap gl ñbl knelgpal.
79. Mnm agebyn ak, gos-yad ak nep nɿl agebyn, nb ak mñab-yad ak.
80. Tap okok maglsek bapy mdek won ak, cptmel apobkop nɿl, tap ogok maglsek yad ma-nɿl tek agnm aɿ, tap nb ogok *change* gek, yad nɿl agnm aɿ, ak ty ty gl mdelgpal agl, gos pat ll pen agnm aɿ.
81. Mñy tap ogok maglsek, basd kay tap ty gelgpal, bapy kay tap ty gelgpal okok, mey am agnɿespyn oɱnap yp.
82. Mñy yad agebyn m-yb awl aɿ, tol mdak tap m-yb ak ym ñbñb mamd akanɿ, kagol sɱak, tp sɱak lengabal, mey tap nb ogok maglsek, *change* gngab ak, aps basd skop ty ty gelgpal agl. Mey ñapay nb ogok mdengabal won ak mey, ma-ngngabal ak, ñapay ksen tkngabal 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. Mñab-yad ak, pen mñab ognap *Papua New Guinea* byn-b ksen mdengabal
ogok kty mey agñobt.

84. Tep mñy agdpyn.

83. 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.
84. 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-leafed 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 aydk ('wild sblam') or kceky sblam ('goblin sblam'). This is not to be confused with either the 'kapul cordyline' or the sskanay (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.
7. Possibly Pandanus brosimos. See Majnep & Bulmer 1983:3 & passim.
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. Mñab bteyt yb bwk ak *raitim* gng, sgaw ak dl ned bwk ayng, dl ned ak lngabwt mey mñy agngebyn.
2. Bteyt bteyt ped okok, aps basd yad ogok, yes yb ogok, mñab ln̄ ln̄ gek ñn ak, gak ñn ak, byn-b ognap gos tkjakl nr̄l apal ar̄, 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 koṇay yb nb agl mgel, nb agl yad sosm ognap agel ngnek, nr̄l pen mñy bwk ak *raitim* gng, ned mey sgaw ak *raitim* gng, d ned *first chapter* ned lng mey mñy sosm agngebyn.
4. Kmn sgaw ak kñṇ almr̄al lak, tap kwb wagn ak, skol wagn ak.
5. Laknr̄, sgaw ak kjer̄ pet tagwp at ak nep tagwp ned won ogok.
6. Nb golgwp am okok, kayn ywk gespāl yp mey aml mdosp, mey aml tlwk okok tagwp, kjer̄ yesek okok tagwp, mey aml kjer̄ yesek tlwk okok tagwp.
7. Ney kapkap gos ak nr̄lg, ñb tagwp at nep amwb, tagwp at ak nep owp.
8. Mdeb ak mab wagn okok, mab jwj ak molwk okok pwgɟwak ak, bteyt ak kwyn wagn okok nb okok nep yokop bsɟl, pwr̄l mdeb.
9. Tap ogok mey yokop tap acb acb ogok ñṇwb, pen bep ñṇwb. Tap ognap yad ma-npyn mey yokop tap yokop tap acb acb ogok ñṇwb.
10. Ñbebyn agwp, kjer̄ tagwp at ak nep tagtag lwp nr̄l.
11. Kayn ak aml, ywk ggosp nr̄l 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 alyar̄ ma-dwp, kayn swng glaknr̄ mey agwp ak, "bep ma-ymelgpan ñn magl ak gey, ñn magl yad ak lwm alyar̄ debyn" agosp nr̄l.
13. Ñn-magl omṇal at ak dl man alyar̄ tawaknr̄, mey kayn abey apl swwp ak, kayn swwp ak ognap b ñapal.
14. Pen b ak ñagng gpāl ak, ywk aptan apyap gel gel, kayn ywk aptan apyap gaknr̄ 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 dpāl.

Chapter I

NOW I'M GOING TO TELL THE STORY OF SGAW. THE WALLABY ⁽¹⁾

(This chapter is mainly concerned with the small forest wallaby, Dorcopsulus vanheurni, no bigger than a hare, which is the typical sgaw, and with the rather larger pademelon or scrub-wallaby, Thylogale 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. ⁽²⁾
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 (Rungia klossi). ⁽³⁾
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 nr̄l sdol gwp, "Yad mñy kjer̄ tapyn ak mab-tek yowp ey", agwp agl. Nr̄l mdosp, nr̄l mey ognap ñapal mey pwr̄l aptan apyap gak nr̄l mey ognap ñapal, ognap kayn swwp.
16. Sgaw ak mdeb ak mñab-yad Kalam, kamay pwr̄lak pwr̄lak atat ak nep mdeb, mñab ytk ytk at ak nep mdeb, mñab sr̄ok takl takl gwp at ak nep mdeb.
17. Sgaw mdeb mñab ytk ytk at nb ak mñy mñab yokop yad Kalam, mñab ytk takl takl lak ak okok.
18. Pen mñy b ognap aml, pen agngabal, pen sgaw kaw nb ogok nr̄d apal agl, aml ngngabal, sgaw kaw nb ogok koñay yb yb, koñay 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 mñab ytk kwb at ogok delgpal, skol at ogok delgpal, ñg bak okok delgpal, gwgw okok taw skol ogok mñab okok maglsek dl mdelgpal.
20. Ñg tkdad apl, nb okyar̄ yokelgpal, ognap ñg 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, mñab ytk ogok delgpal mñab bak okok delgpal, ñg bak okyar̄ delgpal, gw okok delgpal, dl nb ogok am ñn ogok jwwl, ñn ogok jwwl *tausēn* ognap, ognap koñay yb, koñay yb, koñay yb delgpal.
22. Atat ogok del amnaknr̄, atat ogok yapek apolgwp, atat ogok dl amnaknr̄, atat ogok yapek apolgwp.
23. Nb gl basd skop won nb ak kaj-kyt mey nb ak, mey kmn sgaw ognap, kmn yb ogok sek dl jmñl, mey kaj-kyt mey nb ogok.
24. Smy tklobn agelgpal, mey am nb ogok am ned nep yapolgwp ak smy ak tkll, am ned ned yapolgwp ak mey dl, mlep lel gpal.
25. *Two* akan̄ *three-pella* m ak ymelgpal, mey takn *January* yp, per̄ ak yp, mey gwdl tkelgpal.
26. Takn tgap ak yp, mamd ak yp, mey smy ak katp ognap gelgpal. G ll 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 lel gpal, takn ak yp, jl ak yp ñr̄ngabn agl.
28. Mlep ogok mey mñab mñab mey l tag delgpal ak, mñab Gwlkm Gabowb Gwlkm-jl, Ymed, Aps-gw, Atwak-pakep, mñab Kw̄r̄jañ, Klemdep, Somon, Sadkay, Dmw, Dogok, Kwdw-ner̄, Kwdw-ym okok maglsek lel gpal. L tag tag dl mdelgpal, pen katp apl, jy apl abañ pen pwr̄lel gpal.
29. Abañ pwr̄l, jy aml ognap ll tagelgpal, smy ak lotw nokom olap mdeb agl pwgtd agl, am kmn nb ogok ognap mlep ll 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,⁽⁴⁾ 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 ⁽⁵⁾ that were caught in the traps.
24. When they were preparing for a smv⁽⁶⁾ 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 owdl (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, Gwlkm, Gabowb, Gwlkm-jl (Gwlkm-slopes), Ymed, Aps-gw, Atwak-pakep, and at Kwlñañ, Klemdep, Somon, Sadakay, Dwmw, Dcgok, Kwdw-nerj and Kwdw-ym, continuing to do so until it was time to return home to build food-stores.⁽⁷⁾
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 mdaknr̄ mey aml, ognap km delgpal, mey aml gelgpal kmn nb ognap km delgpal.
31. Sgaw ognap km delgpal. Dl mgel delgpal, nb ogok mñ ak pogl swngab agl, mlwk ogok ñag ll pwg tmei agl, tawep ogyar̄ ñag ll pwg tmei agl, ñn magl ogok ll pwg tmei agl, nb ogok dad apl abañ mgan ak lel mdolgwp.
32. Mnek mñy won awl mey kaj pak ñbal ak, kaj tkjakl pakpal ak, won nb ogok dad apl, abañ mgan ak lel mdolgwp.
33. Mnek b mlwk nb ogok tkjakl, mey kaj kty mey nb ogok tw̄n tw̄n glaknr̄, mey tkjakl paki padkolgwp, pakobn agelgpal.
34. Kmn nb ogok byn kty ognap dam tawelgpal, nwmy nwmam ktop ognap tbi ll ñelgpal, won nb ogok tap kor̄jay yb ma-mdek.
35. Mñy sgaw ak *first chapter* Ingabt nb ak, mnm jwj ak nb mdeb nw̄sed b ak Womk-kay mñy mdebal alyar̄ mñab Womk-taw alyar̄, nb alyar̄, nwps yes yb ak sgaw tkl mdolgwp.
36. Mñab Sadakay alym, mñab Sadkay kosad apal alym mdolgwp.
37. Mdek nr̄l ar̄, ksen byn om̄ñal ak smy tkll, tkil mdetek, ksen walb nen pyow dad am am ngetek, byn nb ak nb gl mdetek nr̄l ak,
38. nb ak b ak mlwk nb ak mdek, mñab Sadkay kosad nb alym mdek nb ak.
39. Mdl mdek, byn nb ak nb alym mdl mdek, mñab Sadkay ap nb alym tklek, ap Sadkay alym tklek mey agak, Saby-ceb alyar̄ ksgar̄ sbel ak ññng amebyn agl. Agl ap nb alñwd tklek mey, mñy Womk-kay mdebal ak.
40. Mdebal ak mnm jwj ak olap nb ak mdeb. Olap aps-yad ak byn-b mñab-yad okok mñy byn-b ognap nr̄l, nr̄nr̄ tep gpal, aml agngabal byn-b yes ak ty ty gl tkwp agengabal.
41. Byn-b yes nby ak ty ty gl tkek owp agengabm, pen byn-b nb ogok kty tkjakl, byn-b ognap nr̄ tep gpal agngabal, "Aps-cn ak yes ak tap sgaw ak ar̄ nb gl, tkimwr̄, tkdad apek apek, cn mñy mdobn" agngabal.
42. Agespal mey, "Cn nb gl nopn ak cn mñab yb okok nb mowpn okok, nb okok mowpn, sgaw ak nbnb gl, sgaw tkl mdosp" agl, nbep agñngabal.
43. Mñy sgaw ned Ingabt mnm jwj nb ak.
44. Mñab *country* ognap pen agngabal tap *monkey*-sek lak okok pen agngabal "Met, byn b yes cn ak nbnb gl, tap *monkey* ak tk dad apek mey cn mdobn" agngabal.
45. Mdobn mey awl mñab ak ll glmwr̄, ognap pen agngabal "Met, cny tap ogok ogok lwp, mñab-yad ak mey apal ak tap sgaw ak cnop yes mey nb gl tkl lwp" apal.
46. Sgaw nb ak agep jwj ak gwp, byn-b yb ak gpal gpal tek mey tagwp ak, tawep kd om̄ñal ak nep, tawlg mey tagwp ak ar̄, ñn kd om̄ñal nb ak man ma-dwp.

30. (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.
31. 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.
32. 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.
33. 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.
34. They gave some of these kapuls in payment for their wives, ⁽⁹⁾ and some they cut up and gave to their kin; for in those days they had few valuable things to give.
35. 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.
36. She lived down at Sadakay (below and to the west of Gwlkm), in the former grassland there (and her name was Maykop).
37. Later two women came there looking for walb (Alpinia sp.) foliage, in preparation for a smy festival, and they found that the place was inhabited.
38. 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.
39. 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⁽⁹⁾ to eat ksgan taro. ⁽¹⁰⁾ She came (and married) there and had descendants who are now the Womk people.
40. 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.
41. 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".
42. 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.
43. So this is the reason why we are putting the wallaby first.
44. It's true that in some countries, where they have monkeys, people will assure you that their ancestors were descended from monkeys. ⁽¹¹⁾
45. 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.
46. 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. Ñn kd omñal ak yokop mdakññ mey, byn-b yb ak gpal tek tawep kd omñal ak, tawep kd omñal alyañ nep mey ñb tagwp ak.
48. Kjeñ kjeñ tagwp okok mey pedok, pedok pdeg llg ñb tagwp, tagek tagek tagek, okok amwb, okok owp.
49. Knwb ak nb nep mey yokop, nb sñalyañ nep bsgl pwnl, nan pwnl mdeb, ma-knwb, yokop sgaw ak nan pwnl mdeb.
50. Yokop nan pwnl mdlg mdosp nñl, nan pwnl mdek mdek mñab ak tkwp. Mñab ak tkak, nñlg mey amwb okok nep mey ñb tagwp ak, gñb tagwp.
51. Gñb tagl, pen ap ap ognap mab wagn knwb, tp ok pen mdeb ognap mab wagn tp yesek ogok pen knwb, apek apek kslm owp ak, mab wagn tp yesek ogok pen knwb ak, mab jwj wagn okok knwb.
52. Mey byn-b yb ak gpal tek mey gwp ak, nb gebyn agwp. Ñn kd omñal ak man alyañ ma-dwp, nb gl mdosp nñl mey aps yes cn ak nb gl, nbnb ak mdek mey ak, mñy gos ak nñ dad am am npyn.
53. Yad nep ma-gebyn byn-b yad katp okok. Katp okok maglsek ognap tkjakl agngabal, ognap yp agñbal, ognap nep agñngabal, agngabal "Met, tap ak cn nbnb gl sgaw ak tk dad apek, mey nñl mey cn mdoñ" agngabal.
54. Bep ak bep olap nep sgaw-tmwd 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 oklañ amngab ak, pen bep nb ogok jak mdengab nb okok, nb ogok sgaw ognap ap tkññwb nb ogok.
57. Sgaw ak, ññwb ak apl wog tñpal spot okok, bteyt jakak ak bep mey nb ognap tk ñbl gwp.
58. Mñab olap apal Sgaw-gog apal, mñab Gwlkm ak nep ayn alym, nb ak pen yokop mñab ak nep yb Sgaw-gog apal.
59. Tap sgaw ak yb ak agep nopey olap apal, 'wjeñ' apal, olap 'sgaw' apal.
60. Olap pen cn ñapay-skol ogok, mñab Gwlkm okyañ md md nñolgpwn, tap pwb ak sañd yaplg mdolgwp, nñl pwb ak lkañ lkañ bad bad ogok pakolgwp, mñab ytk at at ogok, pakek nñlg agolgpwn, "mey mñy sgaw pwb ak pakñeb ey!" agolgpwn.
61. Sgaw pwb ak mey pakñeb ak, sgaw ak mdeb mdeb pwnl mdeb mdeb mab wagn wagn.
62. Dwm dwm sñok mey, dwm dwm at ak mey, pwb ak mey, pwb lkañ mey, bad bad nb ogok pakñeb agl, ñn pagolgpwn. Pwb lkañ lkañ ak mñab ytk ak ty ty pakñwb agl, pag daptan daptan ognap at ogok lolgpwn, ognap jl ogok lolgpwn, ognap ajp ak, ognap wajtem ak, ognap. Ñn ak jwwl agolgpwn. Mñab ytk ak mñy sgaw ak nbnb gl, mey mñab ytk mey ak ak mdeb agl, cn nb gl, ñn pagpag lolgpwn mey ogok, mñab ytk ytk dwm 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 (Rungia klossii)⁽¹²⁾ that they call bep sgaw-tmwd ('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.⁽¹³⁾
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 Gwlkm called Sgaw-gog ('Wallaby-Saurauia trees'),⁽¹⁴⁾ 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 Gwlkm 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 ñapay-skol ogok nb gl, Gwikm okyar key mdl agolgpwn nb ogok.
64. Nb ogok aps basd skop agelgpal ak pen mey cn nrl.
65. Pen kaw ak delgpal ak, dlg mdelgpal, ñg tkdap nb okyar yokl, tap am kwyn ak, kas ak mlep golgwp, ognap delgpal, ap ognap yokop am mab trl mlep mlep golgwp, bad ogok dad apl, gadal badal gl, tap yokop mj-kas, mab-kas mlep golgwp ogok dap nb wl lelupal.
66. Awl ll amelgpal mey an, kmn mey ap at nb awl, kmn ak yp, sgaw ak yp pwgtkd agl awl apl agolgwp an, kjer yad tapyn at ak amnyn agl. Kjer yb mdeb agl mey tob ap at nb ak tawek, talkek mey alym nb okyar amolgwp, mey kaw mgan alyan amolgwp ak.
67. Gek mey ak b ak aml mey, nrl mey ognap delgpal ak. Pen kaw nb ak yokop dl ma-ktgelgpal ak, ap keykey snodar nrl, abey snalrwd talakl amolgwp.
68. Nb ak mey, yad agebyn ak tek gelgpal ak, kwyn kas wt ak dap kaw delgpal ak, twb at ak ll amelgpal, gek sgaw agnrolgwp, awl yokop apl, tap kas yowp agl, mey ap tap kas at nb ak tawek, talkek, alym nep mey kaw mgan alyan amolgwp ak.
69. Mñy pen tap sgaw nb ak, kayn ak abey mdebyn agwp mey, mñy pen kayn ak abey mdebyn agwp nrl mey, b ak abey koray mdlg mey ognap ñagñbal, ognap kayn sñrwb, ognap nb gspal, nrl mey, skol skol mdeb ak.
70. Ned mdolgwp won ak sgaw ak koray yb mdolgwp. Kayn ak mdebyn agak mey tkjakl, ognap ney key sw ñrwb.
71. Ognap kayn sw dad apek byn-b ñbelgpal, ognap byn-b ñagelgpal, ognap nb gl, kayn gdad amel amel, pen mñy nokom nokom mdeb, mñab yad ak.
72. Ned pak dad apobn agelgpal. mapn ogok, mapn kwb sketek akoy kaj ak gelgpal tek, kaj mapn twwn gpal tek, twwn gl adpal tek mey an. Gagn kas yp, mj kas pspas dap alyan lobn agelgpal, mj bep tkdap nb okyar yokl, tap yp adng gl gpal ogok, dnb okyar ll, sgaw mapn kd nb ogok dnb okyar sek adl mey ñbelgpal ak, kaj mapn twwn tek mey adl ñbelgpal ak.
73. Pen mñy ognap nb ma-gpal, nb gpal agl yokop.
74. Yad nb agel ngnek, sgaw kaw ak d dad am am am *mak* askak mey mñab Mobñ alym, Kwdper snak taw okwd okdar lak ak mey, ll dad am am lak mey mñab Nodol Apen, nab kwb snak lak.
75. Okdar lak ak, mñab Waym olan lak, ap yowak mey ll dad aml mdek, nrl mñab Gogy Ayg ogok mñab ak ytk ytk at ak nep dek amnak, dl dad apyapl byn-b ak agnñen yp nb agñak. Mñab ak ytk ytk at ak nep dek amwb agak.
76. *Mount Wilhelm* okok ma-npyn ak, yokop mñab *Goroka Dalo Pass* apal, mñab ytk dwm at nb ak, mñab ytk ytk dwm at nb ogok, dek ap yowak.

63. This was how we children would pass the time, down there below Gwilkam waiting by ourselves (for our parents to come home from hunting in the forest).
64. (It's not something we had invented), our grandparents and other elders had done the same thing, and had taught us to do so.
65. 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.
66. 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.⁽¹⁵⁾ But when it stepped onto the pit-covering, it would just fall through down into the hole.
67. 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.
68. 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.
69. 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.
70. Formerly wallabies were very plentiful, but when dogs are present they get away by themselves and kill and eat these animals.
71. 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.
72. 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 qaan foliage (Ficus dammaropsis) or other large leaves, then they tipped in bep greens (Rungia klossii) and placed the wallaby livers down in with these, separating them from the carcasses and cooking them in a bundle in the same way that they cooked pigs' livers.
73. But now they don't do this anymore, they just cook a wallaby's liver with the rest of the carcass.
74. I've been told that wallaby pits are distributed continuously from here to as far as a little above Mobñ, 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).
75. 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 Kwbt), according to one of my relatives from down there whom I have consulted.
76. 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 mñab kaw nokom olap ngnek, ak ognap b ogok agnrjen aglak aŋ, mñab 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. Mñab-yad ak, yad okwd ak tap sgaw ak kaw apal, kmn yb ogok dl maglsek. Kmn ogok ned gtagelgpal man okok akan, dlŋ mey sgaw kaw nb ogok, dlŋ mey g ñb tagelgpal.
80. Gel gel nŋl, ksen ty ty glmwŋ, am mab-kd olaŋ amek nŋl, mñy ty ty gl nwp apal aŋ, kmn sgaw ak nokom nopey kaw ak dpal agl, byn-b ak nb agespal npyn.
81. Kaw ak kamay nab okok maglsek aŋ, dlmwŋ ddad apyapl, mab swgwn jakak, mab yb jakak won alyaŋ dek amnak ak,
82. Ddad aml sŋalyaŋ dek, mñab Gwñpogep ayn at nab kwb sŋak dek, sŋak nb ak mñab Abok-dwm-day, Abok-dwm-day sŋak nokom nokom dwm tŋl tŋl ak nep dl,
83. mñab Basaben-day sŋak dl, mñab alŋwd *Alpan House Klap* wsŋ nab sŋak nb ak dl mdek. Ak nb ak mñab Kaybetem okdaŋ ayn ayn nab sŋak nb Kwyopy nab sŋak nb ak mñab Bayab-ŋl nab sŋogok nokom nokom dl, Sbay nab nokom nokom dl,
84. mab swgwn jakak at ak nep dek, amnak ak, ddad aml mñab Gapn sŋolaŋ dek amnak ak, nab nb ogok mab won ogok mdlgp.
85. Mñy pen mnm jwj nb ak mey, mab nb ak mab Wog maglsek mdlgwp ak.
86. Yad b ak an agek ngnek ak. Aglak ak mñab nb ak Waym olaŋ nb, mñab Sbay mdeb nab kwb ak, mñab ak nb, Ñwkwd, Ñamñam ll dad aml Pnb, mñab Pwgoy nab kwn ak mdebal ll dad aml, Kaytog ll dad aml, Blm ll nab kwb ak, mab wos ak mdlgwp aglak, mab maglsek mdl tap gd wog ak nep jakak ak pen aglak.
87. Ksen tap kob ak gg daglpal aglak mey, mñab Kamneŋ-taw sŋalym daglespal, mey kob nb ak yn dad apl, g mey tap gd ak ynek pym ok nb gl apyowp aglak.
88. Pen ñg nab kwb ogok tap gd ak, awl nb ogdaŋ nb ogdaŋ nb awl ñagdl mdek ak, mey kwyn mleŋ ogdaŋ nb ak ynl, pag nb okdaŋ aml, mey mñab nab nb ak yn abn, gd ak, ñag dl mdek ak mey.
89. Tap mleŋ mleŋ gl mdek ak mey ynl, tap mleŋ mleŋ gl mdek ak nab nb ak mey daglel, yn dad aml, yn dad aml, yn dad aml, yn dad aml mey, dad am am am, yn dad aml mñab Matol Magok ogym amjakosp.
90. Nŋl, byn-b ap nŋl mey mñy mñab tep at nb ak pen ynwb, nŋl pen swd ak jakosp nŋl mey aŋ, mñy byn-b ak mdebal agel ngnek.
91. Nb ak agep nb ak ognap nŋd agng, nŋd agngabal.

77. 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.
78. We don't know how the digging of these pits originated.
79. 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.
80. 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.
81. The pits run right through the beech-forest, but they continue on down into areas where swgwn (Garcinia schraderi) and other typical forest trees grow.
82. The holes go on down to Gwñpogep (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.
83. 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 Kwyopy, to Bayb-ji 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').
84. Thus these pits were dug wherever the swawn garcinias used to grow. They are also found above Gapn (in the Upper Simbai Valley), where there was formerly forest.
85. The basic point is that all these places were in the past forested.
86. One story I've heard is that from Waym to right at Sbay and from there to Ñwkw and Ñamñam 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.).
87. 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.
88. 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.
89. 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).
90. 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.⁽¹⁸⁾
91. Those who tell this story will say that it is true.

92. Jy tap agebyn ak, apyn mñab nab nb ogok kab ognap pen pken g dad aml ngngaban, man il lkañ lkañ yy okyañ, molwk molwk okyañ, kab ogok mdengab nb okok.
93. Tap ogok maglsek mdengab nb okyañ, kab kab ognap, mab bj ognap, tap ognap yp mdengab nb ogok.
94. Kty byn-b ned mdelgpal nb ogok mey, kaj kty mey nb ogok ak añ, pakl nb gl dap ñbgl g mdelgpal ak añ, kab tp mey at nb ogok, mdek amngab ak. Mñab yb apyn ogok, mñab Kamner-taw alym nb ak, mñab Sbay-Kamner nb gl, l dad aml mdek mey Matol Magok okym okok lek, okok nb gl lak, lak ak pen nb agel ngnek.
95. Agek ngnek ak pen añ, sosm ak pen nb nep agl apal, mñab taw taw yad yb apyn ogok. Taw nb ogok sgaw kab ogok ñag dap ad g ñb gelgpal, gelgpal taw nb ogok aglak, agel ngnek.
96. Ak pen nñl, mñy mey tap bwk ak agebyn ak, mñab nb gl mdek Kaybetem, nab kwb ogok nb gl mdek Sagay Basd-komen nab kwb ogok, Sagay-day, mñab Ñwkwd Namñam nab kwb ogok kmn sblam ak tkl ymgl mdek. Mñy pen aml, ngngabm sblam wog wog nb ogok tkl ymgak okok, swd wog nab kwb ogok tk ymgek ogok, nab kwb nb okok mdengab, sblam nb ogok katp ser pwnl kws gak. Sblam nb ogok cn kmn sblam apwn, wagn nokom nokom ymek aptan ak nb ogok.
97. Agep nb ak nñd aglak akan, olap agng ak, nñd yb agngabal.
98. Mey mñab nb ak, sblam nb ogok ymak ak nwmwd mey sskanay ak, ddober ak, sblam nb ak kmn kab ak pak dad apl mdespal. Sblam nb ak tkl ma-dpal, sblam nb ak tkdad apl agl adngabal ak ma-yngab.
99. Bteyt nb gek, nñl ak pen ogok ak pen apal, nwmwd mey nb ak apal, snok kmn sblam apal ak mey kmn kab pak dad apobn apal, tkl adpal.
100. Ognap pen yokop alñaw kab sek adpal, ognap pen yokop mj ak tkdad apl, adng ak adpal, pen kmn sblam nb ak nwmwd apal, sblam sskanay akan, sblam nb ak pen tap kab nb ak ma-gpal.
101. Nb gl kab tp tp kty gñbelgpal, mñab keykey lak tek, ñbelgpal nñl, sblam nb ak keykey tkl pwnlek amnak.
102. Nb ogok mñab day okyañ, nb day okyañ, byn-b mdebal day okyañ nb gl ognap, mñy tbjwwl, pakel am dwp nñl.
103. Ognap nep mñab kamay nab okdañ ak sblam nb ogok, nb gl dam ymak tek, nb gl mdeb. Sblam nb ogok, sblam nb ogok pen b ma-nñep ak pen nñl aml agngabal, sblam nb ogok ty nen ybal agngabal.
104. Pen mñab ak lgek ñn ak kmn ak llg mdek, sblam nb ak tkl pwnlek, kmn ak pakl mdelgpal mey sblam nb ak tkl adelgpal.
105. Gl sblam nokom olap nep ma-delgpal, nb ak sblam nb sskanay apal, sblam nb ak pen mey kas ak pat pat lak, kmn sblam ak pen mey kas ak tbtik dl, ak lebyn agak, pspas ak lak, lak ak mey nb ak adpal ak, mey kab agl adpal ak.
106. Sblam nb ogok mñy pen mñab kamay nep nab okok, tap alñaw mñab ak keykey lak tek nep, sblam mgan ak keykey apal.

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-Kamner - 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 Namñam, 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 sksanay or ddobn, 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 sblam, 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 sksanay 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 sksanay, 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. Wjmet sblam mgan apal.
108. B mñab alñaw mñab ak lak nb okok, sblam mgan okok nñl apal, b yes ak nop lwp ak sblam mgan ney ak apal.
109. Aml, pen ngngaban, 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 bpap-yad ak Wpc yp kesm ak agñl, kesm met ak yokop nb agek ngnek, mñab Kaytog alym llmwñ.
114. Mñab Kaytog lak nb ak, b ak b Bogys ak b nwsed yes ney ak, am am am am am am ngak ñapay-skol omñal ak sgaw tk lwp akan, tk lek nñl tap dayday dyokl ak, ñb mdespyt, nñl ñb mdetek. Aml, nñl dad owp agak mey mñab Swayam py okok dad apl,
115. nñl mdosp, ymaglosp nñl mey, ñapay omñal nb ak, ymagll, tap kwb gl mdespyt nñl mey, ktymñal key dpyt aglak.
116. Dl ñapal ak tklespyt, nñl mey, mñy mey mñab Kaytog alym b nak Tblakn, b nak Bogys b ogok mey mdebal ogok, mey mñy mey mñab Kaytog alym mdobn aglak.
117. Kaytog alym mñab ned b lak mey nb ogok, ned amjaki ñapay omñal nb ak kotpey ned tk letek nñl 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 bpap-yad yp agñl agak añ, agñl met añ yokop kesm ak nb glmwñ mnek mnek dolgp, nb gl agolgp. Mñab Kaytog alym nb gl dwp ak, ñapay omñal ak nb gl okyañ, 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 ymaglek, tap kwb gteknñ, kty key dobt agtek mey tklmwñ. Tklel amek, mey mñy mñab nb ogok mdebal ogok.
121. B nak Apespyn nwmam ney almmñal mdebyt, mñab Blm-kd olañ, b omñal nb ak ktop apal, yb apal Sgaw-ned, Sgaw-ksen apal. B omñal nb ak ktop, yb ak ty nen ll ak, ak yad ma-nepyn yokop Sgaw-ned, Sgaw-ksen agel npyn.
122. Pen kmn sgaw ak ñlwtkw ty ty gl g g, ttoñ mgan alyañ mdeb ak ma-npyn.

107. Thus (on the track down to Gwlkm 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 Kwlñañ-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 Asñ) 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 ñlwk ak tkebyn agwp, ttorŋ mgan tawl dad tagwp, kmn yb ognap gpal tek.
124. Ttorŋ mgan tawl dad tagwp nen mdek, mdek, tap kwb gwpnŋ mey key am tagwp.
125. Pen kmn ognap kty tkl kosyŋd tapal aŋ ney yokop ttorŋ mgan alyanŋ nep. Ney olap kosyŋd 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 ttorŋ mgan ak tawl dad tapal nen, md md kas jakaknŋ, yokep mgan ak mdeb, tap kwb tap kwb gaknŋ, kosyŋd okok tap ñb tap ak nen, kosyŋd nep tapal, ñb 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 ñb tagng ognap yokop, ognap ney ktg amwb okok nep mdeb.
128. Pen yad ñn nokom olap ma-ngek aŋ, pen ak ttorŋ mgan ak tawl dad tagwp. Tagl pen ñn olap ak kosyŋd ma-tagwp.
129. Pen jy mñab-yad ak kmn yb ognap katp ak gl knbal. Ygtk ll knbal, mab yb okok swtk llmwŋ knbal, dap katp ogok gl knbal, mab ak mgan okok knbal.
130. Sgaw ak nokom mey yokop bsg mdeb, yokop bsg mdl, nan pwnl mdeb okok.
131. Kmn yb ognap kty maglsek kn dpal katp ak kty mdeb okok maglsek mdeb. Aŋ ney nep awsek yokop okok g tagwp, g tag-tag lebyn agwp, yokop okok pwnl mdeb, knwb ak mey yokop nb nep ap alyanŋ bsgebyn agwp mey, yokop mey okok nan pwnl mdeb ak.
132. Tawep alyanŋ tap kaj ñlwk ak tawep ak lak tek lak, kobty ak tawep ak lak-tek lak ak, pen aŋ ak tawep ak kdkd lak aŋ, mey kaj ñlwk ak tawep ak lak tek lak ak.
133. Lebyn agak day alpol d skol gl, tb ñng ñbal mey, tawep day alpy mley, won day alpy, day nb alpy mey tap kwb tap kwb tek ak mdeb ak. Kŋam day alpol ak, skol gebyn agak, skol g dad apyap lak ñn wagn nab kwb ak, lebyn agak, day alyanŋ sw sw tek lak.
134. Pen byn-b ognap penpen agl apal, "Sgaw-tek jwn skol gnak!" akan, "Sjan sgaw-tek jwn kdkd gnak!" apal.
135. Tap nb ak pen day alpol d skol gak, day alpy nep nŋl, mey nb apal ak. Byn-b nb ogok któp nb ak tek lak ak nŋl, mey nb apal ak.
136. B ognap b ogok penpen agl apal aŋ, penpen ñagl, ñagengabyn agl apal aŋ, "Nad nb ak yokop aml, sgaw tek ak mab wagn okok, bsg mdengaban akan, katp ak gl kngabn" apal, "katp gl kng, nad nb ap" agngabal.
137. "Pen mñy won ognl tap cp yp ok yp ñagl, pen cptmel 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 mñab ak tkek tagwp."
139. Pen mñy won ogñl penpen agl agngabal, "Nad mñy yokop aml sgaw-tek, bsg mdengaban akan?" apal. Pen mnm won ognap penpen agl nb apal, "Sgaw-tek, kmn kobty-tek amlmn, tap ogok ñblmn met, yokop mñ-magl mab-magl okok nep ñbl, yokop mab wagn wagn okok, mñ-wagn mab-wagn okok nep kn mdengaban akan?" apal.

123. When the wallaby has a young one, it puts it in its pouch and carries it about, like some true kapuls do.
124. It carries the baby about in its pouch for a fair time, until it grows large, and then it walks about by itself.
125. 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.
126. 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.
127. 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.
128. 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.
129. 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.
130. But the wallaby is different, it just sits out in the open, with its front paws together.
131. 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.
132. 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.
133. 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.
134. When people are quarrelling they say, "Your head is tiny like a wallaby's!", or, "You have a pointed head like a sjan (a small bush rodent) or a wallaby".
135. 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.
136. 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?".
137. "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!"
138. "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".
139. 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 kabn d d wos gngaban!" akan, "Yad nep ñagen sgaw-tek gws-gws gngaban!" apal.
141. Sgaw ak nb gl ñagespal nŋl, kabn 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 nŋl apal, "Yad nep mey mdak yad mey nb nep ñagengayn, sgaw-tek gws-gws gngaban!" apal, agep won olaŋ 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 kmn nb ogok yokop walak ak aŋ, byn-b yb ak gak tek yokop walak wt-sek lak lak tek, yokop pabl beŋ okyaŋ, llmwŋ yokop kwyŋ gl, yokop keykey sŋalyaŋ lak, byn-b yb ak gak-tek gak.
144. Kmn nb ak pen, gwtgwt kwy kwy owp, pen ksen kas ak agl adespal, nŋl mey, nb ogok mey kwy ak pwgtkp ak, kas-sek km nep mdaknŋ ak gwtgwt kwy owp.
145. Nb ak pen mŋy tap kotwal ak nop agngabyn, lak tap Cdoŋ gw alyaŋ, nb ak sgaw ak yp, kotwal ak yp, d jmŋl, d jmŋl ned *first chapter* d lnŋ, mey agngebyn ak.
146. Sgaw ak ned kamay okwd llmwŋ l dad aml, ksen kotwal ak okyaŋ lak ak, gw okyaŋ lak ak mey kotwal ak nop agngebyn ak.
147. Mñab-yad okwd nd okyaŋ ak pen apal, mñab pbob tkwp gw okyaŋ nb apal.
148. Kotwal ak nop ak tap kwb ak ll lek gw alyaŋ, sgaw ak lak mñab-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. Ñb tagwp ak ma-npyn yokop agel npyn.
151. Kotwal ak ll pen tap kwb ak lak, ney tagwp mñab ney mdeb, mñab *kunai* jakak, jakak okok mñab Cdoŋ okyaŋ, Nwmwl gw okyaŋ tagebyn agwp.
152. Sgaw ak tagwp tagwp tek mey tagwp ak, alyaŋ mey tap kaskas mey ogok ñŋwb, gebyn agak alyaŋ ak, tap kwb yb ak lak.
153. Kotwal nb alyaŋ lak ak, pen ney tap kaskas kob ksen aglpal ogok ñb tagwp.
154. Tap gwp-gwp ogok *kunai* gwp, tap ogok maglsek, pen *kunai* gwp tap gwp pŋpŋ okok ñb tagwp, kob ksen aglpal okok ñb tagwp, nb gl mey mab mŋan mŋan mey nb okok tagwp.
155. Jy alyaŋ mŋy jy yad alŋwd gelgpal tek, sgaw kaw delgpal tek, mŋy kotwal kaw awl agel, yad ma-npyn, tap kaj kaw ogok delgpal agel npyn.
156. Kotwal ak yokop tagl ñapal.
157. Pen kjeŋ ak ney at nokom tagwp akan, sgaw ak gwp-tek mab wog oŋwd, mab wog oŋwd mey apwn kjeŋ ak nb gl tagwp agl, kjeŋ at pwgtkyapl, kjeŋ at nokom tagwp nb ak nep tagwp, nb gl kjeŋ ak pwgtkyapl mdeb nŋl, mey aŋ nb gl tagek jy nb okyaŋ, yad ma-npyn ak.

140. 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!".
141. For when they have shot wallabies they have seen them go jumping away, until they fall and writhe on the ground before they die.
142. 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.
143. The male genitals⁽²⁰⁾ 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 wcm ringtail, the madaw cuscus and the yndwn 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.
144. 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.
145. Now I want to talk about the creature called kotwal (the pademelon or scrub wallaby, Thylogale bruijini), 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.
146. Whereas the sqaw is essentially an animal of the beech forest, the pademelon lives on the plains at lower altitudes.
147. People up here in my country regard the lowlands as having a hot climate.
148. The pademelon of the lowlands grows larger than the wallaby of the beech forest.
149. I don't know much about the pademelon, and have not heard many stories about it.
150. How it feeds and moves about I have't seen for myself, I've only been told.
151. 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.
152. It hops along like the forest wallaby, and eats various kinds of foliage that grow down there, and it grows large.
153. The pademelon feeds on foliage in places where the grassland has been burnt off.
154. 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.
155. 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.⁽²¹⁾
156. They hunt pademelons by stalking and shooting them.
157. 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 okyaŋ mab wog jakwp okok, jy mñab Cdoŋ gw man okok, mab wog jakl mdek ñagtag yapl lak mgan nb okok tagwp akaŋ, jy aŋ *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 okyaŋ tagl ñskol mdl, katp okok mdl, tagl nŋl ap nep, yaw byn-b ognap yp agñeblap nŋl ap nep, ak mey ap nep, yaw mey sgaw ak gwp gwp tek. Mey yokop ak apal, kotwal ak mey nb nb gl tagwp okok, ñb tagwp okok, kmn ak yokop gw alyaŋ lwp agespal ak npyn.
160. Pen kmn nb ak tap kwb tap kwb ak lak, mñab *Moresby* mdl, mey kmn nb ak ognap koŋay yb npyn ak, size ney ak nb gl lwp agl, koŋay yb amon pwgjw aptan apyap gaknŋ.
161. Pen sgaw ak mey nŋ tep gpyn ak, kotwal ak lebyn agak, tap kwb wagn ak lak, skol wagn ak lak ok. Pen yad nb okyaŋ ngnek ak pen ognap mñab-cn okwd, sgaw ak acb ak lak ak tek lak, koŋay yb ngnek okdaŋ *Port Moresby*, mñab okok, sgaw ak lak lak tek, lak ak pen kty pen apal kotwal apal.
162. Pen gak nb ak tek pen mñab-yad okwd, pen kotwal ak gak tek tap kwb yb olap ll ma-lak, pen mey sgaw ak ney lak tek.
163. Lak ak pen, mey apwn tap kwb wagn olap, skol wagn olap apwn, kty nb alpy pen yad ngnek skol yb ognap mñab yad okwd sgaw ak lak tek lak ak.
164. Kotwal ak tap kwb kñŋ ak mñab Cdoŋ gw alyaŋ, Nwmwl alyaŋ lak, agep jwj ak nb mdeb kmn ak gak, atwak ak alŋwd lak ak, yaked ak alyaŋ tap kwb yb ak lak. Atwak ak alŋwd skol skol ak lebyn agak, yaked alyaŋ tap kwb yb ak lak. Madaw ak alŋwd skol kñŋ ak kamay alŋwd lak ak, madaw alyaŋ tap kwb kñŋ ak lak. Pakam ak mñab yad alŋwd lak ak kty alyaŋ beyd ak lak, beyd apal ak tap kwb tap kwb ak lak, kaj ñlwk won tek lak, beyd apal.
165. Pen nb gl yad agnŋen aglak aŋ, kmn kotwal ak l dad aptanl, mñab Asay kd alyaŋ, d aptan d aptan lwp aglak mey mñab Kotwmdek alŋwd ayn won sŋalyaŋ, ñg tam alyaŋ lwp aglak, mey nb sŋak lak.
166. Pen b bnap-yad ak Wpc cp katp-sek ak ñagl *masta* apl am ywk gek, won nb ak kayn ak ney olap mdlgp.
167. Byn-ney mñab okyaŋ mdlmwŋ kayn ak dad amelak, nŋl kotwal swak ñblmwŋ, yp ap agek ngnek.
168. Kotwal ak mey md dad aptanl, lwp mey mñab Kotwmdek-ayn won nb alyaŋ.
169. Kayn kotwal swak nb ak yb ney ak Sapol agelgpal.
170. Kayn nb ak yad am Gobnem olaŋ mdlgpyn won nb ak, kayn nb ak mdlgp ak pen, md dad aml ksen, jy b nak Noly-nap ney apl, dad amek dad nb okyaŋ amek nŋl, ty dek nŋl ñagel, ksen kwmak ak.
171. Kayn nb ak kmn ak koŋay yb swolgp aŋ, ksen jy ney dad nb okyaŋ amek, nŋl, kotwal nb ak swek, ñbl mgel, yp apl mnm ak nb ak ngnek.

158. 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.
159. 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.
160. 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. ⁽²²⁾
161. I know the sqaw (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 sqaw; though most of the wallaby-like animals I saw there were of the kind people call kotwal. ⁽²³⁾
162. But in my home region the kotwal does not get really large, it's not much bigger than the forest wallaby.
163. 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.
164. 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 yakad (an unidentified cuscus) which lives at lower altitudes; the madaw cuscuses (Phalanger gymnotis) include a smaller kind up in the beech forest and a large kind lower down; the pakam bandicoot (Peroryctes raffrayanus) in my country high up is known as bevd lower down, where it grows larger, as big as a baby pig.
165. 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).
166. 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.
167. (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.
168. Thus pademelons are found as far up-valley as Lower Kotwmdek (where her brothers live).
169. The dog that killed the pademelon was called Sapol.
170. 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.
171. 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 aŋ yad nŋ tep gl tek, kmn yb ogok mñab-yad okwd gek nŋ tep gpyn ogok nb ak.
173. Sgaw ak gek nŋ tep gpyn at tek gl tek aŋ, kaw ak nbnb gl dpal ak, nbnb gl dl ñbelgpal agl.
174. Agel mñy npyn ak tek nb alyan, nb gpal agl kesm yp d ñel, yad olap ma-ngek, kesm ak d ñen gel tek aŋ, pat-sek agnm aŋ.
175. Mñy 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.

FOOTNOTES

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 sqaw 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 sqaw 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 sqaw 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 sqaw, very few are familiar with Thylogale. Thus the third possibility for the identity of the "larger sqaw" 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 yb ('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 Gwilk 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 Pajmans (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 Gwilk (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

- BIGGS, B.G. 1963. "A Non-Phonemic Central Vowel Type in Karam, a "Pygmy" Language of the Schrader Mountains, Central New Guinea", Anthropological Linguistics 5(4):13-17.
- BULMER, R. & B.ALLEN. 1987. Correspondence, "Pigs and Pitpit", Science in New Guinea 13(2):97-99.
- BULMER, R. & J.I. MENZIES. 1972-73. "Karam classification of marsupials and rodents", Journal of the Polynesian Society 81(4):472-99, 82(1):86-107.
- BULMER, R., J.L.MENZIES & F. PARKER. 1975. "Kalam classification of reptiles and fishes", Journal of the Polynesian Society 84(3):267-308.
- MAJNEP, I.S. & R.BULMER. 1977. Birds of Mv Kalam Country. Auckland, Auckland University Press.
- _____. 1983. Some Food Plants in Our Kalam Forests, Papua New Guinea. University of Auckland, Department of Anthropology. Working Paper No. 63.
- PAIJMANS, K. 1976. "Vegetation" in K. Paijmans (ed), New Guinea Vegetation. Canberra, A.N.U. Press. pp.23-105.
- PAWLEY, A.K. 1966. The Structure of Karam: a grammar of a New Guinea Highlands Language. Ph.D. thesis, University of Auckland.
- _____. 1987. "Encoding events in Kalam and English: different logics for reporting experience" in R.S. Tomlin (ed) Coherence and Grounding in Discourse. Amsterdam, Benjamins. pp.329-60.
- PAWLEY, A.K. & R. BULMER. n.d. A First Dictionary of Kalam. Mimeo, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland. (Sections first circulated 1970-74).
- ZIEGLER, A.C. 1972. Guide to Native Land Mammals of Northeast Guinea (Preliminary Version). Honolulu, B.P. Bishop Museum.