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**NGADHA TEXT TRADITION: THE COLLECTIVE
MIND OF THE NGADHA PEOPLE, FLORES**

by

Stephanus Djawanai

(MATERIALS IN LANGUAGES OF INDONESIA, No.20)

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE
LATE DR. PAUL ARNDT, S.V.D.

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I recognise that the study needs reworking, but as it is, it has served my purpose in discovering a way to analyse social meaning embedded in a text which, to the Ngadha people, is coherent. My hope in publishing this book is that other students will also benefit from such a way of doing linguistics and studying culture, that is, through a close reading of a single text, along with all the relevant cultural background information, to show the connecting patterns it has with the language, the culture, and the people and their world of ideas.

I wish to extend my gratitude to The Rockefeller Foundation for the financial support throughout my graduate study at The University of Michigan; to Alton L. Becker, Judith O. Becker, Kenneth C. Hill, Richard A. Rhodes, and Peter E. Hook for their advice and criticism; to my wife Titiek and our sons: Endra and Wisnu for their love; and last but not least, to Dr. W.A.L. Stokhof, Editor of the series 'Materials in languages of Indonesia', for his recommendation, and to *Pacific Linguistics*, A.N.U. for considering my work for publication.

EDITORS' NOTE

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ABBREVIATIONS

act	= action (of classifier)	-O	= oblique case (of pronoun)
ap	= adjective phrase	obj	= object
asp.m	= aspect marker	pred	= predicate
cl	= close (of pronoun)	P(+ number)	= paragraph
class	= classifier	pl	= plural (of quantifier)
coll.	= collective (of quantifier)	po	= point (indicates sub- division of an expository paragraph)
contrast	= contrastive (of quantifier)	pp	= prepositional phrase
D-quot	= direct quotation	prefer.m	= preference aspect marker
dis	= distributive (of quantifier)	proc	= procedural (of type of paragraph)
E	= event (indicates subdivision of a narrative paragraph)	prog	= progressive aspect marker
excl	= exclusive (of pronoun)	PV text	= Penu and Vegu text
Expo	= expository (of type of paragraph)	Q-tag	= question tag
FSi	= father's sister	reflex	= reflexive (of pronoun)
hon	= honorific (of pronominal reference)	subj	= subject
incl	= inclusive (of pronoun)	S(+ number)	= sentence number in the text
indef.n	= indefinite number (of quantifier)	st	= step (subdivision of a procedural paragraph)
interj	= interjection (or exclamation)	t	= turn at talking (in an embedded dramatic dialogue)
I-quot	= indirect quotation	VH	= verbal head
lit.	= literally (of literal meaning)	voc	= vocable(s) (nonsense sound(s) in singing)
MBr	= mother's brother	VP	= verbal phrase
nar	= narrative (of type of paragraph)		

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

"Ancestors live forever in what they said."
(Ngadha proverb)

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 deals with the old tradition of Ngadha: the language, people, and cultural heritage preserved in the oral tradition. Section 2 explains the goals of the study. Section 3 provides a summary of the consecutive chapters in the dissertation. Section 4 gives the theoretical orientation of the study, that is, a brief survey of the works of modern scholars in linguistics, anthropology and literary criticism who have affected or are related to my work, followed by definitions of terms used in this study.

1.1. The old tradition of Ngadha

1.1.1. The language and the people

The Ngadha¹ language is spoken on the west-central part of the island of Flores, Indonesia (see Map 1 on p.22), by an ethnic group also known as the Ngadha people. The area in which Ngadha is spoken is part of *Kabupaten Ngada* (The Regency of Ngada) which is part of *Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur* (The Province of the Southeast Islands).²

No reliable figures can be given on the number of speakers of the language; they may range from fifty to sixty thousand people. This estimate is based on the most recent government census taken in October 1978.³ According to the census, the population of three districts (Kecamatan: Aimore, Bajawa, and Golewa) and one subdistrict (So'a) in which the Ngadha language is spoken, is 66,450 people, including those who do not speak Ngadha.

It needs to be noted that the districts in which Ngadha is spoken were parts of the *Onderafdeling Ngada*, which, during the Dutch colonisation period (1907-1945),⁴ was ruled by a king appointed by the Dutch government. The Regency of Ngada of today is a unification of three *Onderafdelings*: Nagekeo, Ngada and Riung,⁵ and has a population of 164,021 people (according to the 1978 government census).

The general assumption is that the Ngadha language belongs to the Austronesian family of languages, based at least on the geographical location within the Austronesian area and scanty observation of the similarities between Ngadha and other Austronesian languages. As for the relationship of Ngadha with nearby

languages, Verheijen (1977) suggests that Ngadha belongs to the Ngadha-Lio subgroup, which is part of the Bima-Sumba group (following Jonker 1898). It is apparent, however, that extensive studies are needed to bring more light to this matter, since in some way Ngadha is deviant from Austronesian norms: words do not have clear cognates, and the grammatical processes are different.

1.1.2. The Ngadha traditional concepts of language

The Ngadha word for *language* is *sezzu* (lit. *to speak*), the word for *utterance* is *boro* (lit. *mouth*) or *vivi* (lit. *mouthful*), and the word for *meaning* is *naji* (lit. *to say*; also *reprimand* in other contexts). Note that the expressions all have to do with speaking or speech and the organ of speech which is used by extension to mean utterance. The traditional concept does not distinguish language from speech, perhaps because Ngadha is an essentially oral tradition in which all forms of knowledge are transmitted in face-to-face interactions and stored only in the human memory. To the traditional Ngadha people, language/speech is part of the social institution in which every member of the cultural heritage plays a role in its development and preservation; there is no distinction between an ordinary speaker and a poet, a singer, a story-teller, or a scholar.

The culture does distinguish a 'good' speaker from an ordinary speaker. A 'good' speaker is one who can speak well in public and one who knows how to use traditional proverbs and sayings correctly in appropriate situations. In addition, a 'good' speaker has to be knowledgeable of the old tradition, ways of life, and customary laws. Such a speaker may be asked to be a mediator in disputes, perform rituals, be a speech-maker in proposing and wedding ceremonies, etc.; and the usual case is that a 'good' speaker is an older person.

It needs to be pointed out that proverbs and traditional sayings play an important function in the preservation of knowledge and the teaching of language and its proper use. The evidence is drawn from the fact that in formal meetings and the traditional 'teaching' (which is done by way of telling legends, myths and stories, singing songs, and quoting proverbs and traditional sayings), the quoting of traditional proverbs, sayings and the ancestors' wise words is very common whether the speaker wants to stress a point, make a proposition or claim, highlight the themes (of legends and songs), or to provide a summary statement of the purpose or result of a verbal encounter. In short, the traditional way of transmitting knowledge is largely proverbial and is done in direct verbal interactions.

As an illustration of the traditional concepts of language and language use, the following are some proverbs⁶:

- (1) Da della muzi dhuu olo pu'u ngia go vae-sezzu.
da adult/ancestor live until forever FROM place/face go water-speak
Ancestors live forever in (from) what they said (their speech).
- (2) Soro da molo moe lii goo; soe da modhe moe
speak da good/perfect like sound gong give=an=utterance da good like
lii robe !
sound jew's=harp
Speaking only what is perfect is like the sound of gongs; speaking only
what is good is like the sound of jew's-harps!

- (3) Mazi da molo bhila ebbu poo; punu da bila
talk da good/perfect like grandparent advise tell da healthy/good/clean
 bhila nusi pera !
like great=grandparent show/teach
Speak only what is good like the grandparents have advised; tell only
what is good like the great-grandparents have shown (taught)!
- (4) Sezzu ma'e sala; vivi ma'e ze'e; boro ma'e sala;
speak DO=NOT wrong utterance/mouthful DO=NOT bad mouth DO=NOT wrong
 lemma ma'e leko !
tongue DO=NOT be=crooked
Speech must not be wrong; utterance must not be bad; mouth must not be
wrong; tongue must not be crooked!

Proverb (1) is an acknowledgement of the ancestor's place in the building of the tradition, and exemplifies the fusion of the present and the past in the consciousness of the people and the power of the spoken word, as Ong (1976) puts it. Note that the words of the ancestors are referred to as "the water of speech" (*vae sezzu*) which is a metaphor associated with wisdom, blessing, and procreation. The word *vae water* refers to saliva which grandparents use to bless a child.⁷

The spoken words of the ancestors live in the social institution built primarily by and in the language and by the people who speak it. The notion is clearer in sentence 231 of the legend text (Chapter 2) which reads, "If the legend is good, then let us *make* it, together we will *make* our legend", or in the narrator's claim: "Our ancestors did not just go about telling legends; there's something they wanted to tell us. They *made* the legend, and if we think it is good, let us continue *making* it." (see 2.1.3.). Note that the narrator uses the word 'make' (*tau*), not tell (*punu*) the legend. The legend is a history, a story of the ancestor(s),⁸ and it will continue to live if the present generation of Ngadha speakers actively preserves the cultural heritage.

Proverbs (2-4) exemplify the cultural concepts of language use; that is, a speaker must be careful in using language because it is powerful in that it may hurt others, and consequently the speaker himself, if it is not used properly. The proverbs are advice normally directed to young people, and they are often coupled with a reminder which reads "Lest people sing about you" (*Rivu tuku seu; rivu people/thousand, tuku lest, seu sing*). Singing an individual to shame is an effective social sanction for violations of traditional laws or misbehaviours in the Ngadha culture (also see Appendix III for the discussion of traditional songs).

It is worth pointing out too that the telling of traditional legends is associated with rituals in that the telling exemplifies a journey to the past 'histories' of the ancestors, thus 'recreating' or 'reliving' the past. Important legends are kept as a secret and told only within family circles for fear that an outsider might know the family 'roots' and destroy them. In my field trip to Ngadha (October 1978 - January 1979) I met some older informants who refused to tell me the traditional legends or cite invocations. Based on these experiences I came to the conclusion that the old scholars wanted to impart their knowledge of the old tradition only to those who they thought deserved to receive the knowledge. And it is worth mentioning that I personally respected their rights to give or not give me the knowledge because I did not consider them as mere informants but as traditional scholars to whom I came to learn.

1.1.3. Arndt and his place in the Ngadha tradition

Dr. Paul Arndt, S.V.D. (1885-1962) was a Catholic priest who came to Indonesia and worked on Flores island from 1923 until his death in 1962. His interest in the Ngadha culture and his love for the people and culture are exemplified by the long list of his published works on the Ngadha culture, language, ethnography, social and economic structures, traditional religion and a collection of Ngadha myths and legends (see the complete list in the bibliography), and the fact that he spent half of his life in Ngadha. It should be noted that in an important sense, this study is a continuation of Arndt's pioneering work for the preservation and documentation of the Ngadha culture in writing.

Arndt's works on Ngadha culture are too numerous to be covered in this introduction; thus I will give brief comments only on those works that I perceive as the most important. (1) *Gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der Ngadha* (1954) which Arndt started in 1924 and completed in 1953, is a complete ethnography of Ngadha and contains detailed accounts of the social relations and structures of the Ngadha people and culture. It provides descriptions of the social relationships within the family, which includes discussion of marriage and initiations involving a child from birth to adolescence, the social relationships within the extended family and clan, which includes descriptions of rights and duties, as well as the caste system, and the social relationships within the village which includes the explanations of rights and duties of the villagers along with the customary laws that bind the village and its inhabitants as a community.

It is worth noting that Arndt provided examples and cited legends, invocations, proverbs and utterances in Ngadha to highlight the descriptions or events that he himself had witnessed.

(2) *Die wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse der Ngadha* (1963) was published posthumously in his memory. The book contains a detailed description of the Ngadha economic structure and a complete description of the livelihood of the people in the villages, illustrated with photographs that Arndt himself had taken.

(3) *Mythen der Ngadha* (1960) is a collection of myths and legends written as they were dictated to him by his language helpers. The book contains 32 legends and myths and their translations.

(4) *Wörterbuch der Ngadhasprache* (1961)' is a Ngadha-German dictionary which contains about 10,000 word roots, and is accurate and complete. Arndt not only provided the Ngadha words and their meanings in German but included the usage of those words by citing sentences and phrases in which they occur.

(5) *Grammatik der Ngad'a-Sprache* (1933) is a sketch grammar of the Ngadha language. The sketch is short and there are certain points that Arndt did not work out or which he stated ambiguously; however, for the most part, the sketch deserves credit considering the fact that it was compiled about fifty years ago.

Arndt's works are invaluable particularly with regard to information about the Ngadha culture that cannot be obtained today due to the changes in the social system and ways of life. It is worth noting that some conclusions that I make with respect to the symbolic forms embedded in the Legend of Penu and Vegu the Orphan in this study (Chapter 4) resulted from working back through Arndt's works.

1.1.4. Other works on Ngadha

Dr. H. Bader, S.V.D. has done some research on the Ngadha culture and continued Arndt's work. Bader's important work is *Die Reifefeiern bei den Ngada* (1957)⁹ which deals with the puberty initiation rites and celebrations and the symbolisms involved. It is also to be noted that the book is Bader's Ph.D. dissertation.

Other researchers whose works on Ngadha I am aware of but have not been able to study carefully or get hold of are J. Lalunono's "Die Welt der Todes der Ngadaner" (1968), R.H. Barnes's "Ngada" (1972), F. Wouk's "Ngad'a articles, ligatures and the question of modification and predication" (1977), P. Moore's "Nga'da phonology" (1980), and H.J. Daeng's master's thesis on Ngadha (1965).¹⁰

Finally, mention should be made of the Prayer and Hymn book (*Sura Ngasi neë Meb'ö*) in Ngadha which is published by the Catholic Mission of Flores (1972, seventh printing). This book is the first introduction of writing into Ngadha published for and widely used by the public.

1.2. The goals of the study

The title of this study is 'Ngadha text tradition: the collective mind of the Ngadha people, Flores'. The main body of data under analysis is an oral text, *The Legend of Penu and Vegu the Orphan* (Nange Penu ne'e Vegu ana-halo) as it was told to me by Mr. Y Wezo, on January 9, 1979. The text comprises 237 sentences in total and is approximately 22 minutes long in recording time. Added to the text is a recording of the goo-laba ensemble whose total length is about four minutes and which is discussed in Appendix II. In addition, I include a traditional song (*Seu Lalu-sebbha*) which is eight minutes and fifty seconds long and is discussed in Appendix III. A recording of the legend text, the goo-laba ensemble and the traditional song is provided as part of the study.

My main purpose in writing this study has been to discover the text strategies that the narrator uses in the building of the text and to investigate the content of the text along with the symbolism contained in it that reflect the collective mind of the Ngadha people, as well as the collective imagination that helped shape the legend into a historical and literary work which has been handed down from generation to generation as a form of knowledge. My task has been to try to extract the principles of order and coherence from the diverse realms of social thought and action, whether it be in language, text structure, marriage practices, rituals, concepts of time and space, attitudes connected with the social relations and place of the individuals in the society, or the ritual music and song connected with the text.

The study is concerned primarily with collective representations manifest in language, in the text and its performance, and the social discourse that it evokes. To put the text in its proper perspective within the Ngadha culture I provide as many contexts and as much ethnographic detail as possible within the limited space of this study to enhance a better understanding of the legend text and its place with respect to the Ngadha culture and the people who produced the text.

It is to be noted that the text is presented as it was performed without editing. The purpose is to keep a detailed record of its oral recounting, which is an important aspect of the text's structure and meaning, particularly

considering the fact that Ngadha is an essentially oral-aural tradition. It is also worth noting that the present study is meant to address a wide audience, and for that purpose, the method of presentation adopted is not formal but follows the lines of greatest fluency.

1.3. Summary of the consecutive chapters in this study

Chapter 1, the Introduction, consists of four sections: 1) the old tradition of Ngadha, 2) the goals of the dissertation, 3) the summary of the consecutive chapters in the study, and 4) the theoretical orientation, i.e. a brief review of some of the literature within linguistics, anthropology and literary criticism that serve as a theoretical background for or are related to my work.

Chapter 2, the Legend of Penu and Vegu the Orphan (Nange Penu ne'e Vegu ana-halo) concerns the text and its translations. The chapter consists of two sections: 1) the introduction (to the text) which gives some background about the story-teller, the performance setting, the reason for the choice of the text, the conventions adopted for the transcription and gloss of the text and some illustrations (consisting of a map, figures and plates) and 2) the text, followed by the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and the free translation in English, and the notes and footnotes to the gloss of the text. It needs to be pointed out that the Ngadha text, the gloss, and the free translation in English are presented in three separate subsections and are arranged in a way that would allow easy reference and make the Ngadha text stand out.

Chapter 3 is a sketch grammar of the Ngadha language. The sketch grammar is meant to provide the reader with some idea of the basic mechanisms of the grammar of the Ngadha language in the hope that it will aid the reader to get more out of the legend text (Chapter 2). In addition, the sketch grammar, which deals with the lower level structures of Ngadha grammar, serves as a preparation for the analysis of the higher level structures of the text presented in Chapter 4 of the study. It is also worth noting that the sketch grammar serves a secondary purpose, that is, as a test for traditional Indo-European notions of grammar as they are applied to a non-Indo-European language.

The chapter consists of six sections: 1) the introduction (to the sketch grammar), 2) a summary statement of the phonology of the Ngadha language, 3) the sentence patterns, consisting of brief analyses of the basic and complex (coordination and subordination) sentences, 4) the major particles, which serve as the basic elements of the Ngadha grammar, 5) the phrase patterns, comprising brief analyses of noun phrases, adjective phrases, verbal phrases and prepositional phrases, and 6) the conclusion and final notes which present some findings and points in the grammar that deserve further study.

Chapter 4, macro structures of the text (The Legend of Penu and Vegu the Orphan (Chapter 2)), deals with the higher level structures of the PV text. The chapter consists of two major sections: 1) the coherence systems which provide the basic framework of the text, namely that of time, location and identity (being) and the interplay between the story world and the real world (as exemplified by the relationship of the text, the characters in the story and the people who produced and own the text), and 2) the narrative structures consisting of the analyses of section (i.e. the episodic subdivisions of the PV text) and paragraph structures. The chapter also includes a presentation of some findings regarding the macro structures of the PV text.

And finally, the appendices and bibliography. The appendices consist of three parts. Appendix I presents the calendrical systems which explain the Ngadha traditional concept of time, that is, the year, months, seasons, day, and stages of the day. A brief comment on the symbolism contained in some significant numbers is also included. Appendix II presents a description of the Ngadha goo-laba ensemble and music. The description is meant to provide insights into the function of the goo-laba music used to highlight the ritual climax and closing of the performance of the PV text. Appendix III presents a brief analysis of a Ngadha traditional song (Seu Lalu-sebbha) whose primary function is to provide a sample frame for the song lines (the rhymed couplets) quoted in the PV text and to illustrate the use and formation of parallel constructions, chaining processes, rhymes and meter that serve as cohesive devices in the formation of paragraphs in the text.

1.4. Theoretical orientation

This section deals with the works of modern scholars in linguistics, anthropology, and literary criticism that in some ways have affected or are related to my work and some of the terms used in this study.

1.4.1. Review of the literature

The review of some of the literature that serves as a theoretical background for the present study is ordered in accordance with the insights that the works and their authors provide to the present undertaking. The effect of these works pertains to several kinds of insight:

1. The kind that provides insight to the notion text: Barthes's and Becker's discussions of the study of text as part of modern philology, and the relationship of a text to its contexts, producer(s), intention and other texts.
2. The kind that provides insight to the higher level structures of grammar and the organisation of textual structures: Pike's and Pike and Pike's discussions and explanations of the higher level constituency in grammar; Longacre's ideas on the chaining processes responsible for paragraph formation and the rhetorical types (narrative, procedural, expository and hortatory discourse); Longacre's and Rhodes's ideas on the function of particles in the higher level structures; Grimes's ideas on the backbone and thread of relevance in discourse; and Labov's and Labov and Waletzky's discussion of narrative structures.
3. The kind that provides insight to the lower level structures of grammar. Whorf's discussion of the three kinds of assertions in Hopi, and Fox's discussion of parallel constructions.
4. The kind that provides insight to ethnographic interpretations and the nature of oral traditions: Geertz's interpretive theory of culture; Judith Becker's discussion of the Javanese concept of cyclic time; and Ong's discussion of the characteristics of oral traditions.

1.4.1.1. Barthes and A.L. Becker

Barthes in his essay "From work to text" (Barthes 1979) gives a review of the principal propositions underlying the study of text; that is, they deal with method, genre, the sign, the plural, filiation, reading (in an active sense), and pleasure. Concerning these propositions Barthes offers the following observations:

- (1) A text must not be thought of as a defined object but a methodological field that is to be demonstrated. A text is experienced only in an activity, a production because it exists only as discourse.
- (2) A text cannot be apprehended as part of a simple division of genres because it always goes to the limit of the rules of enunciation (rationality, readability, and so on). A text often eludes classification because it always implies an experience of limits.
- (3) A text is approached and experienced in relation to the sign, and its field is that of the signifier; the logic that governs it is metonymic. Like language, a text is structured but decentered and without closure. In addition, a text is radically symbolic.
- (4) A text always achieves plurality of meaning because every text is an intertext of another text (i.e. 'woven').
- (5) A text is read without the father's (author's) signature, because it is a network ('woven') and no one part can be assigned as 'belonging' to an author.
- (6) A text requires an attempt to abolish (or at least to lessen) the distance between writing (or telling) and reading (or listening) by linking the two together in a single signifying process. A text asks the reader (or listener) for an active collaboration, an interaction.
- (7) A text is linked to pleasure without separation; it participates in a social utopia of its own that allows no enunciative subject to hold the position of judge, teacher, analyst, confessor, or decoder. The theory of text can coincide only with the activity of writing (or producing).

Barthes's ideas help me understand my text (the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan) better, particularly his notion of interaction and the act of producing. It is also worth noting that Barthes's idea runs parallel to the Ngadha traditional notion of text as expressed by Mr. Wezo in the PV text (sentence 231) "If the legend is good, then let us *make* it, together we will *make* our legend" (also see 1.1.2. above).

Becker in his essay "Text-building, epistemology, and aesthetics in Javanese shadow theatre" (Becker 1979) stresses the need for a new philologist, a specialist in contextual relations in all areas of knowledge in which text-building is a central activity. He defines philology as the text-centered study of language and maintains that the task of the philologist is to describe several kinds of relations in order to recreate a conceptually distant context needed to understand and to extract the meaning of a text. The relations that Becker proposes are:

- (1) The relations of textual units to each other within the text, which establishes hierarchy and coherence in the text.
- (2) The relations of textual units to other texts, since part of the context of any text is, more or less, all previous texts in a particular culture, especially texts considered to be in the same genre; readable literature is structurally coherent with its own ancestors.

(3) The relations of the units in the text to the intention of the creators of the text, with intention defined as the relations of the creator to the content of the text, the medium, and the hearers or readers.

(4) The relation of textual units to non-literary events with which units in the text establish relations of the sort usually called reference.

Becker's four relations pertain to fundamental methodological approaches required to interpret and explicate a text, that is, coherence, intertextuality (prior texts), intentionality (who, what and why), and reference (the realities outside the text). Becker also maintains that a text will be preserved by giving it new interpretations for new contexts which by its own right is an art of invention. Thus a text is constantly in the making because each cultural generation that is aware of the value of a certain text as a form of knowledge and a source of enjoyment will give it an ever newer interpretation.

Becker's ideas are parallel to those of Barthes and, coincidentally, are similar to those of the traditional Ngadha scholars as represented by Mr. Wezo who told me the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan. It is to be noted that Mr. Wezo did not just tell me the legend and stop at that point, but he also gave an evaluation concerning the producers ('owners') of the legend and the meaning contained in it and its relation to them manifest in the citing of invocations (sentences 232 and 233 of the PV text, Chapter 2); he even asked me (by correspondence) to add the ritual music (the Ngadha goo-laba ensemble) as part of the text. These I interpret as the narrator's attempts to 'recreate' the text and give it a new interpretation, a new meaning in the context of the Ngadha culture of the current time period.

1.4.1.2. Pike, Pike and Pike, Longacre, Rhodes, Grimes, Labov and Waletzky, and Labov

Pike's works cannot be adequately summarised in this brief review. In general terms Pike's *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior* (Pike 1967; second and revised edition) and Pike and Pike's *Grammatical analysis* (Pike and Pike 1977) provide important insights to the higher level structures of grammar. Using the tagmemic approach to language, Pike (1967) aims to extend the hierarchy of constituency from word to discourse and ultimately to behavioreme as the highest constituent. His tagmemic analysis of text sentences (i.e. sentences in context) in discourse show how the sentences are linked into the whole and what grammatical relations are used to achieve this. Using the four-cell tagmemic analysis, Pike and Pike (1977) present a tentative framework for the referential hierarchy of a language, distinguishing four levels: performative interaction, story, event, and identity. The hierarchical organisation of reference according to Pike and Pike is a part-whole hierarchy in which the different levels embed within each other. Except for units of the lowest level, each unit of each level may be analysed into parts, which themselves are parts of the same or different levels. The part-whole relation implies that the whole has parts, and each part may in turn be a whole which itself has parts, and so on.

It is to be noted that although I do not use the tagmemic techniques and formalisms in this study, the tagmemic approach has greatly influenced the way I analyse my text; that is, the parsing of it into different levels according to what Pike and Pike call "the ideational sequence of propositions" responsible for its paragraph and episodic organisations.

Longacre's *An anatomy of speech notions* (1976a), *Philippine languages: discourse, paragraph and sentence structure* (1968) and *Hierarchy and Universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages* (1972a) provide useful discussions and explanations of discourse types and paragraph structures. Longacre makes an important observation that there is a natural outline of discourse indicated by its linguistic structures and not imposed by the researcher. His researcher. His analysis of linguistic mechanisms used to produce cohesion and linkage in texts and particularly the chaining processes have greatly affected my work. In fact, my analysis of the PV text (Chapter 4) is a test of Longacre's model devised for the Philippine languages as applied to yet another language (Ngadha) within the Austronesian area. The similarities between the Ngadha text structure and those observed by Longacre in the Philippine languages may well be evidence of the relatedness of these languages.

In two other articles: "'Mystery' particles and affixes" (1976b) and "The paragraph as a grammatical unit" (1979) Longacre observes that certain verbal and nominal affixes and sentential particles have a function which relates a unit or element to a unit larger than the sentence, i.e., to the paragraph and the discourse. He also observes that they are impossible to analyse within the domain of a single sentence because they refer to a larger unit. Such particles and affixes often mark the main event line of a discourse. Longacre's observation is parallel to my findings of the function of certain particles in Ngadha (see Chapter 3; 3.3.2.1.(b) and 3.4.). Such particles serve to indicate important sequences of events and prominence of information and often function as a bridge between the lower level structure and the discourse.

Rhodes, in a paper called "Some aspects of Ojibwa discourse" (1979) investigates the function of structural phenomena (morphemes, words, or constructions) that mark out where one is in the text, what level of prominence or focus a particular textual unit is, and where the points of transition are in the text structure. He focuses his observation on the logical and interactive phenomena which serve to indicate the logical relationships among the various clauses, sentences and larger units and the way the speaker (or narrator) uses the text to interact with the hearer. Rhodes's findings on the functions of certain particles in Ojibwa that serve to mark theme, transition and even the end of a paragraph are in a way parallel to Longacre's findings, and I have greatly benefitted from his analysis.

Grimes in *The thread of discourse* (1975) discusses the kinds of information in discourse: events, identifications, settings, explanations, evaluations, collateral, and performatives and how they are integrated and welded together. He maintains that the integration of various kinds of information is partly dependent on the decisions about how much information to put in each sentence of a text, and that information is often divided up into blocks or quanta which are then transmitted to the hearer at a rate the speaker thinks he can best assimilate and process. Grimes suggests that there is a limit in the time span, amount of information and rate at which the information is communicated that a speaker can require of the listener. He also claims that to facilitate understanding, language makes use of certain devices such as linkage, repetition, chaining, etc. to provide cohesion by relating what is being said at the moment back to what has already been said. These ideas and the techniques he devises (following Thurman) to display a text by laying out each kind of information are useful and have helped me with my work.

Labov and Waletzky's paper "Narrative analysis" (in Helm 1967) and Labov's essay "The transformation of experience in narrative syntax" (1972) provide me

with a model against which I could compare my text. Labov's subdivision of the narrative into six main components: abstract (what the narrative is about), orientation (who, when, what, where; the identification of the participants and settings), complicating action (then what happened; the core of the narrative that moves the story ahead), evaluation (so what; the speaker's attitude to the subject matter and the purpose of the telling), result or resolution (what finally happened) and coda (the closure) corresponds very closely to the natural kind of organisation familiar in the oral narrative of personal experience, perhaps, in all cultures.

It is to be noted that evaluation is considered by Labov to be the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause, because it is in the evaluation that the narrator indicates the point of the narrative. This idea has helped me understand the evaluative devices found in my text (e.g. emphatic particles, resumptive pronouns, heavy identifications, repetitions, parallel constructions, and expressive pronunciation and chanting), as they are used by the narrator to create dramatic effects and to appeal for belief or suspension of disbelief.

1.4.1.3. Whorf and Fox

Whorf in his essay "Some verbal categories of Hopi" (in *Language, thought & reality* (1956); reprinted from *Language* (1938)) discusses the three kinds of assertions of Hopi verbs: reportive, expective and nomic. The reportive is simply a reporting statement, telling of the historical actuality of a certain situation; the expective declares an expectation or anticipation of a situation; and the nomic offers the statement as a general truth and does not declare any particular situation. He also explains that there is no distinction in the reportive between the past and present, for both are equally accomplished fact and what is in the present tense in English, for example, is from the Hopi standpoint simply a report to others concerning a situation shared with them. The report is either redundant information, or used to call attention to, or tell about some fragment of the situation not fully shared. He concludes that to the Hopi 'he is running' need not be different from 'he was running', for if both the speaker and listener can see the runner, then the 'is' of the former sentence means the listener can see for himself and that he is being given redundant information, and that is its only difference from the latter sentence.

Whorf's explanation has helped me understand why tense distinction is irrelevant in Ngadha or Indonesian languages. His observation of the three kinds of assertion in Hopi can equally be applied to Ngadha which distinguishes realis (marked by *da*), irrealis (marked by *vi*) and generic (unmarked) distinctions in verbals (see 1.4.2. below and 3.4. for the discussion of the particles in Ngadha).

Fox's essay on "Semantic parallelism in Rotinese ritual language" (1971) is an excellent example of oral poetry characterised by the coupling of virtually all semantic elements. The ritual language that Fox studies is formal, formulaic, and parallelistic; he finds that the semantic elements comprise prescribed dyadic sets structured in formulaic phrases and forming perfect parallel poetic lines. Fox's findings are parallel to my findings in Ngadha in which parallel constructions are extensively used not only in the ritual language as exemplified by the invocations in the PV text (see sentences 232 and 233 of the text; Chapter 2) and traditional songs (see the sample song in Appendix III), but also in narration and action predicates, phrases, and words. In addition there are instances of what I call nonsense counterparts of adjectives, verbs

and nouns; that is, morphemes that do not seem to have a meaning (or perhaps are obsolete or archaic words that have dropped out of use) and whose function is to build meter, rhyme and parallel constructions (see 3.5.2.3.(c)).

1.4.1.4. Geertz, Judith Becker and Ong

Geertz's essays in *The interpretation of cultures* (1973) provide new perspectives for the analysis of cultural forms. He suggests that analyzing cultural forms is an activity parallel to penetrating a literary text and that cultural forms can be treated as texts, as imaginative works built out of social materials. Geertz's explanations of the characteristics of ethnographic description (i.e. it is interpretive of the flow of social discourse, and the interpreting involved consists of trying to rescue the 'said' of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms), of the social nature of human thought (i.e. it is social in its origin, functions, forms, and applications) and of the symbolic structures in terms of which persons are perceived as representatives of certain distinct categories of individuals have provided richness to my work and helped me to get more out of my text, particularly in my attempt to reconstruct the past history and the collective imagination of the Ngadha people as these are preserved in the legend text I am analysing.

Judith Becker's essay "Time and tune in Java" (1979) provides an excellent perspective to the non-Western notion of time; that is, the organisation of time as cyclical units with smaller cycles moving within larger cycles and with points of cycle coincidence functioning to mark important moments of time. Her study not only casts more light to the cyclic notion of time, which is characteristically oriental, but also to the structure of the music tradition in Java. She also maintains that both the music system and time sense in Java are related though they can be analysed independently as closed systems. Judith Becker's findings have helped me in my analysis of the Ngadha goo-laba music (Appendix 2) and the analysis of the temporal framework responsible for the organisation of my text (Chapter 4). Her work has also inspired me to look at the calendrical system and significant numbers in Ngadha (Appendix I) which is part of my effort to interpret the transition points in my text marked by shifts in the temporal reference (i.e. the intervals of two years (S 47 of the PV text), three months (S 96), and every other day (S 157, 164, 171, 175, 180, 187, 197, and 206; Chapter 2).

Ong in his book *Interfaces of the word* (1977) notes that the memory of 'illiterate' man is thematic (i.e. memory of things and actions) and formulaic. He also claims that elaborated expressions, parallelism, repetitions, balanced symmetry, and neat oppositions are linguistic forces that tend to make speech in oral-aural cultures formulaic and redundant. But the redundancy and relatively rigid formulas are a necessity in such cultures due to the fact that spoken words do not infallibly carry equally well to everyone in an audience and the fact that all forms of knowledge are stored only in the human memory.

Ong also explains some of the features of an oral tradition, namely the use of stereotyped expression, standardisation of themes, epithetic identification of individuals, generation of 'heavy' or ceremonial characters, formulaary or ceremonial appropriation of history, cultivation of praise and vituperation, and copiousness. These strategies serve to help the 'illiterate' people organise and retrieve knowledge and perhaps also serve as a mnemonic device to teach the

younger generations the ways of the oral tradition.

Ong's explanations and discussions have provided me with useful insights about the Ngadha culture which is an essentially oral-aural tradition and to my interpretation of the oral history contained in the legend I am analysing.

To conclude, the following is a list of other works that have in one way or another, provided insights and richness to my work: Jones's analysis of thematic structure (1977), Naylor's discussion of focus in Austronesian syntax (1978), Comrie's study of verbal aspects (1978), Givón's investigation of the relation between discourse and syntax (1979b) and his discussion of the building blocks of language: time, location and being (1979a), Fillmore's lectures on deixis (1975), Halliday and Hasan's explanations of anaphoric and cataphoric relationship (1975), Austin and Searle's theories of speech act (Austin 1962, and Searle 1969), Becker's study of the Classical Malay sentence structure (1979), Errington's study of Hikayat Hang Tuah (1975), Pratt's application of the theory of speech act in the study of literary discourse (1977), Propp's analysis of the structure of folktales (1968), Genette's study of narrative discourse (1980; English translation), Lord's investigation of oral composition and oral tradition (1976), Needham's discussion of symbolic classifications (1970), Barnes's study of the collective thought of the people of Kedang (1974), Scollon and Scollon's ethnography of speaking, a case study of Chipewyan (1979), Witherspoon's analysis of the Navajo universe (1977), Bateson's explanation of the Balinese value system (1972) and his explorations and explanations of the connecting patterns of mind and nature (1979), Lomax's study of the distributions of human culture and the relationship between song and dance style and the social structure and culture history (1968), Bloch's explanation of the nature and meaning of symbols in rituals (singing and dancing) (1974), and Nettl's study of the structure of music in its cultural contexts (1964).

1.4.2. Some definitions of the terms used in this study

The concern of this section is the definitions of some of the terms used in this study which depart from their ordinary use in the literature or which might otherwise be ambiguous. Most of the terms that are discussed below are found in the sketch grammar of Ngadha (Chapter 3), and some are found in the analysis of the macro structures of the PV text (Chapter 4) and in the appendices.

1. Allative particles: *dhuu until*, *pee as far as*, and *sai up to/reach*. These particles indicate the points at which motion ends. Ajamiseba (1978, following Macdonald and Soenjono (1976)) uses the term to designate the suffix -i in Indonesian whose function is to indicate that the action of the verb moves toward or onto the object of the verb, or is applied to it.
2. Continuatives (*vali again/more* and *dhanu also/too* see 3.4.(i) and 3.5.3.4.2.(f)) and sequential connectives (*so, tetto/to, siba/ba/si, no'o/nosa, gezze/gezzi, ghe'e and then*; see 3.3.2.1.(b)). The continuative *vali* marks the setting up of a new frame for a certain action, while *dhanu* marks that the action or event is still within the same frame (i.e. a strip of activity). The sequential connectives mark sequence of events according to the referential order of happenings, and are associated with action predicates.
3. The term complementiser is used to designate particles (*go* 'marker of specificity', *da* 'realis marker', *vi* 'irrealis marker' and *naji* 'quotative modal') that have an additional function of marking embedding or complementation. These particles often designate highly specific information in the discourse, and it

is often the case that the elements which contain the specific information are deleted and what is left are the particles functioning as slot keepers.

4. Discourse pointer (na; see 3.4.(g)), narrative pointers (devve, roa *aforementioned*; see 3.4.(h)) and narrative emphasiser (mu; see 3.4.(e)). Both the discourse pointer and narrative pointers function as anaphora, but the narrative pointers specifically point to the text-evoked time, thus relating what is being said to the time when the same element was first or previously mentioned in the discourse. Devve and roa are often reinforced by the discourse pointer na. Another difference worth pointing out is that na may also function as a cataphora. The narrative emphasiser mu cannot be translated, and its function is to give emphasis often associated with evaluation in which the speaker appeals for belief or suspension of disbelief.

5. Laminating verbs are verbs of saying whose function is to introduce direct or indirect quotations. Scollon and Scollon (1979:151) use the term 'laminating' for a set of verbs which are used to frame a piece of the narrative as spoken or thought by a character in the narrative, not necessarily the narrator. The 'laminating' verbs require an embedded structure as part of their structure.

6. Oblique case (see 3.5.1.6.) is found only with the pronouns proper of certain dialects of Ngadha; it designates patient, genitive (when marked by go), or object of a prepositional phrase. Note that beside the oblique case there is the nominative case which is unmarked and labelled as the neutral case. The reason that I label it neutral is because genitive constructions may occur in the nominative case when not marked by the particle go.

7. Realis marker (da; see 3.4.(b)) and irrealis marker (vi; see 3.4.(c)). The realis marker is used to indicate that an action really happened or is happening; it is similar to what Whorf (1956) calls reportive assertion in the Hopi language. The irrealis marker on the other hand, marks plan, wish, or future action; it is similar to Whorf's expective. And Whorf's nomic for the verbal category in Hopi is parallel to the unmarked verb forms in Ngadha (see 1.4.1.3. above). It is to be noted that the terms realis and irrealis are found in the literature on Austro-nesian languages; an example of the use of the terms is found in Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna's discussion of Bahasa Parwa (Kawi or Old Javanese language) (1954).

8. The thematic marker (nga; see 3.4.(d)) functions to mark prominence of information at the clause, sentence and discourse level. Nga is also found in combination forms, and the most important combination form is perhaps the third person thematic pronoun ngata (also see 3.5.1.6.). The importance of ngata is exemplified by the fact that it is the only pronoun proper in Ngadha that can be used to refer to non-human individuals/entities and that it is often used as a resumptive pronoun. As a resumptive pronoun ngata usually occurs in clause-final positions and functions to reinforce the subject which may occur as a nominal, personal name, or even another pronoun (non-thematic).

9. Script (see 4.1.1.1(b)); the term is used to mean presupposed traditional ways of doing things and speaking about them, including livelihood and procedures. A script is shared cultural knowledge, known to members of a certain culture; it is highly specific and hence often not overtly stated or marked.

10. Section (see 4.2.1.). The term is used to mean an episodic organisation or subdivision of a narrative. The PV text (Chapter 2) is divided intuitively into sections, following the Ngadha traditional sense of plot.

Other terms used in the discussion of the macro structures of the text follow Labov's subdivision of narratives (Labov 1972), and the terms used to refer to rhetorical types of discourse in the discussion of paragraph structures follow Longacre (1968, 1972a and 1976a).

NOTES

1. See 3.2.1. for the Ngadha phonemes and the orthography used in this study.
2. See note 1 to Chapter 2 for the hierarchy of the government of Indonesia. Note that the standard spelling used by the government (The Regency of Ngada) for the word Ngadha is Ngada. Other spellings of the word as used by Arndt are Nad'a, Ngad'a, Ngadha and Nga'da. The spelling used in this study is Ngadha which conforms to the orthography adopted. And it needs to be pointed out that the language Ngadha is also referred to as Bahasa Bajava (Bajava language) but I prefer to use the term Ngadha following Arndt.
3. The census figures were obtained from the Census Bureau of *Kabupaten Ngada* (The Regency of Ngada) in December 1978 (during my field trip).
4. Both Arndt (1954:7) and Bader (195?:1) reported that the Dutch first came to Ngadha in 1907. Other reports give May 19(?), 1907 as the date on which the Dutch expedition landed on the south coast of Ngadha. It is worth noting that I met and talked with old eye witnesses of the arrival of the Dutch expedition but they had no idea about the exact date and I have not been able to get the information about the expedition from the National Archives of Indonesia.
5. See Map 1 on p.22. Note that up to 1927 the Nagekeo area was divided into two *Onderafdelings*: Nage and Keo (Said 1937).
6. I learned these proverbs as a child; Ngadha is my first language.
7. The blessing is done by licking one's thumb and make an X sign on the forehead of a child while citing a traditional prayer for good luck. The ritual is called *rura emma father's saliva* (*rura* or *vae rura saliva*, *emma father*). It is worth noting too that *vae rura* is often associated with semen (of 'god') in Ngadha traditional myths which depict relationship or 'marriage' between 'god' and human females.
8. See footnote 1 to the Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the text (2.2.4.).
9. I have Bader's book at my disposal, but somehow the date of publication was not put in the book.
10. Drs. H.J. Daeng is an anthropologist who wrote his Master's thesis on Ngadha, but I have not been able to get hold of his work the title of which is *Membangun masyarakat desa Ngadha* (1965; Master's thesis, University of Indonesia).

Chapter 2

THE LEGEND OF PENU AND VEGU THE ORPHAN (Nange Penu ne'e Vegu ana-halo) THE TEXT AND ITS TRANSLATIONS

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. The story-teller, Y. Wezo

Mr. Yohanes Wezo, who told me the legend, is 53 years old. He was born on December 31, 1926, at Sadha village. Mr. Wezo is well known among the people of Ngadha as a consummate story-teller. As an illustration of his fame both as a story-teller and a preserver of traditional knowledge, I might mention that in 1974 Mr. Wezo told and retold a legend entitled *Jara Masi Masi Horse* (*jara horse*). *Jara Masi* was believed by many to be the ancestor of the people of the Inerie area. Since many people believed that part of the legend was true history, the people and the government of the 'Aimere district names a newly-founded junior high school 'Jara Masi Junior High'.

Mr. Wezo's education consisted of: elementary school (1934-1939; at a Dutch Standard School), two years of education at the Lower Catholic Seminary at Mataloko (1939-1940), and a six-month vocational training period in agriculture at Detusoko (1942). During the Japanese Occupation period, Mr. Wezo worked for the Japanese Mitsui at Ruteng, Manggarai Regency (1945), and was later transferred to work for the Department of Agriculture at Bajava (1946-1949). In 1955 he was elected Vice-Chief of the village of Vaepana, and later Chief of the village. In 1959 he was elected Chief of his home village, Sadha; and from 1960 to 1965 he was Chief of Vogo district. When I interviewed him in January 1979, Mr. Wezo was Head of the Archives Section of the Ngadha Regency Office at Bajava.¹

I chose to work with Mr. Wezo in collecting traditional legends of the Ngadha people because of his vast repertoire of legends and myths, as well as his ability to remember them without help. From Mr. Wezo alone, I collected (recorded on tape) eight legends: *Penu ne'e Vegu ana-halo Penu and Vegu the orphan*, *Manu Liu The Liu bird*, *Ho'o ne'e Ga'e Slave and High Caste*, *Vonga Runu The Runu Flower*, *Dizi ne'e Toda Dizi and Toda*, *Bu'u ne'e Iza Bu'u and Iza*, *Bu'u Lalu ne'e Vogo The war of Lalu and Vogo*, and *Seghi Seghi*.²

2.1.2. The performance setting (of the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan)

The legend was recorded on tape on January 9, 1979, at Mr. Wezo's home at Mataloko village. The setting was an intimate one as I was received as a guest

in Mr. Wezo's house for two days. And in the two-day period I was able to get seven hours of recording of legends, oral histories, interviews on the Ngadha tradition, and Mr. Wezo's personal history.

In the beginning, the recording session was felt to be awkward, but soon Mr. Wezo forgot about the tape-recording and displayed his knowledge with ease. I even had to ask him, from time to time, to pause for the purposes of taking notes, flipping sides or changing cassettes. Clarifications were asked of Mr. Wezo only after he had finished with a legend or story. Our talk was interrupted, now and then, by other guests who came for short visits, mealtimes and bedtime. Mr. Wezo's wife and two adolescent daughters joined us only occasionally, while the other children were somehow kept away for fear of disturbing us.

The legend was told by Mr. Wezo as part of an answer to my questions on the Ngadha traditional marriage practices.

2.1.3. Why 'The legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan' was chosen for this study

The legend is, in my opinion, one of the richest (from the eight legends that I got from Mr. Wezo) in that it is a good example of a mixture of true history and the collective imagination of the Ngadha people as preserved in an oral literary work. First, in terms of its structure, the text is very rich because embedded in the narrative, which depicts an arranged marriage practice as its central theme, are elements of dramatic, procedural, hortatory and expository discourse.³ Secondly, the text is not too long (approximately 22 minutes of recording time), but it is long enough to provide examples which would allow me to study its grammar and syntax and to draw certain conclusions on the grammar of the Ngadha language without having to cite examples from other texts. Thirdly, I have two versions of the same legend, told by the same narrator at two different occasions at my disposal, i.e. the 1976 version which was collected by my helpers at Bajava (Mr. El. Gorunai and Mr. B.J. Wea), and the 1979 version which I myself collected. I have transcribed both versions of the legend, but I chose to analyse the 1979 version for this study. However, I am using part of the 1976 version, i.e. the final part which contains two invocations cited by Mr. Wezo as part of the legend.⁴ The invocations are important in that they attest to the true history part of the legend, that is concerning the migration of the people of Takatunga and Saraseddu to the Bai area and their relationship as claimed by Mr. Wezo.

It needs to be stressed that the content of the text and the symbolisms contained therein are not taken to be of marginal interest in this study but as forming an integral part of the analysis of its structure and functions. The legend was collected for the purposes of linguistic analysis, i.e. the analysis of its formal properties, along with the ethnographic, historical, philosophical and literary details it embodies.

Concerning the choice between the two versions of the legend, I decided to analyse the 1979 version because I feel more comfortable with it due to the fact that I collected it myself. I had the chance to interact with the story-teller, Mr. Wezo, and asked him questions concerning ideas about the Ngadha tradition and customs that I did not know or which were unclear to me. In addition, I am of the opinion that some knowledge about the story-teller is crucial to the interpretation of the text since it is an oral text which was handed down from generation to generation by word-of-mouth. I am inclined, at least partially, to perceive the text through the perspectives of the story-teller.

I label the story-telling act a 'performance' because I see Mr. Wezo as a puppeteer similar to a 'dalang' in the Javanese shadow-theatre, for example. He, like a puppeteer, is the voice of the characters in the legend. He lays bare their thoughts and schemes, and guides me as an audience by explaining and clarifying for me the complicated events and ideas depicted in the legend. Unlike reading a legend in a book (i.e. the written form), I see the story-teller as an actor and a commentator. He is, in a sense, of the stage and yet beyond it, because he is not acting according to a rigid written text, but a text which allows for his personal creativity to play a part. And as a commentator, he reveals for me the human world of the Ngadha people as depicted in the microcosm of the characters in the legend.

It is likely that Mr. Wezo only memorises the outlines of the many legends and stories he had learned from his father (as he claimed), hence it is up to him to fill in the details as he recited a legend. The details of the legend may vary from one performance to another depending on who the audience is, for example. In the 1979 version, Mr. Wezo undoubtedly added explanations of words or expressions which he felt were unfamiliar to me.

It is to be noted, too, that the story-teller adds new interpretations to the legend each time he recited it. A very important part of the legend of Penu and Vegu the Orphan is the role of the woman, the heroine of the story. She is the central figure of the story and her microcosm exemplifies an important philosophical notion of the Ngadha people concerning 'order' and 'disorder'. Penu violates social order by refusing to marry a man chosen by her parents and uncles, and the consequence is her being expelled from the community. The reason for her being expelled from Takatunga community is to maintain social order within that community. On another level however, the heroine, Penu, acts according to what is right by her own conscience, thus of a higher order, i.e. the order of the conscience. She suffers from being expelled as symbolised by her transformation into a fish (which is, in a sense, 'death'), but the sufferings give her power of a supernatural kind. The power is exemplified by her being restored to life ('resurrection') and helping the hero, Vegu the orphan to be successful in farming, cattle-breeding, building a traditional house, making golden ornaments, and finally giving a ceremonial feast. All of these are prerequisites by the Ngadha traditional standards for an individual to be regarded an 'accomplished' member of the community. Through her sufferings, Penu, the heroine, not only gains order for herself, but also for the hero, Vegu the orphan, and both of them become 'accomplished' members of the Bai community. The recognition of Penu's role and status is exemplified in the invocations of the Bai people in which they acknowledge their relationship with the Dhaga clan of Takatunga and Saraseddu because they are descendants of Penu who originally came from Takatunga. It is also worth mentioning that according to the Ngadha customary laws, claims of rights to inheritance are judged by tracing the genealogical line of the mother, called *logo ine* (*logo back/behind, hence support; ine mother*).

To conclude, a quote of Mr. Wezo is appropriate: "Our ancestors did not just go about telling legends; there is something they wanted to tell us about. They *made* the legend, and if we think it is good, let us continue making it!" (Me'a da della pu'u medo bhangho tolo punu nange, bodha ne'e go nekka, ne'e go zala. Kenna ngata da punu-na; ngaza nange da molo, siba dhano pennga-pennga tau nange kita kenna !)⁵

2.1.4. Conventions for the transcription and translation of the text

The transcription is just what I heard on the tape, that is, one sample performance by Mr. Wezo, without any editing or consultation with him. The transcription is largely phonemic; however, I also use a narrower phonetic transcription (a convention adopted especially for this study) to indicate intonation contours. The orthography adopted for the transcription of the text is a compromise between technical symbols of linguistics and a practical spelling system. The spelling of place names conforms to be adopted convention for this study which, in most cases, differs from the current spelling used in Ngadha (i.e. by the government of Ngada); person's names are spelled as they are currently spelled according to the standard orthography of the Indonesian language.

The translations of the text consist of: a morpheme-by-morpheme translation (i.e. interlinear translation) and a free translation. The translations are given on separate pages and both are separated from the Ngadha text for the purposes of making the Ngadha text stand out and be easier to follow. The morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and the free translation are arranged to match the Ngadha text line by line; the Ngadha text is written more or less clause by clause (according to my intuition as a speaker of Ngadha) and each clause is indented.⁶ The Ngadha text is also divided into sections and paragraphs. These measures are taken to allow easy reference, particularly, for the discussion of the macro-structures of the text in Chapter 4.

There are bound to be mistakes in the transcription which may affect the translation, especially concerning archaic words and expressions that I am not familiar with. It is also worth mentioning that the legend of Penu and Vegu (hence PV text) is put in writing for the first time in the original dissertation.

- (a) The phonemes and orthography are discussed in (3.2.) below.
- (b) Other signs used to mark some prosodic and grammatical features are:
- . A period indicates final falling intonation contour, most of the time followed by a break in tempo or measurable pause.
 - ./ A period plus slash indicates final rising intonation contour without break in tempo.
 - Two hyphens indicate measurable pause preceded by a somewhat falling or level intonation contour.
 - A single hyphen indicates measurable pause preceded by a somewhat rising intonation contour (it is a hyphen which is not associated with any word).
 - V- Hyphens enclosing a vowel indicate vowel lengthening.
 - C- Hyphens enclosing a consonant indicate consonant lengthening.
 - Three hyphens represent a dash which indicates parenthetical construction or a case in which a drastic change of topic is involved.
 - M-M A hyphen between morphemes indicates either compounding or cliticising.
 - Y A cedilla under a vowel indicates nasalisation.
 - ↓ A small question mark above a vowel indicates laryngealisation.

- , A comma indicates the end of a clause
- ; A semicolon indicates independent clauses joined or not joined by a conjunction.
- : A colon introduces a series or long quotation.
- ? A question mark indicates a question.
- ! An exclamation point indicates command or exclamation.
- () Remarks in the text given in parentheses are made by the listener.
- ... Underlined expressions in the text are borrowings/Indonesian expressions and are written in the standard orthography of Indonesian. However, there are instances of Indonesian words pronounced by the narrator according to Ngadha phonology:

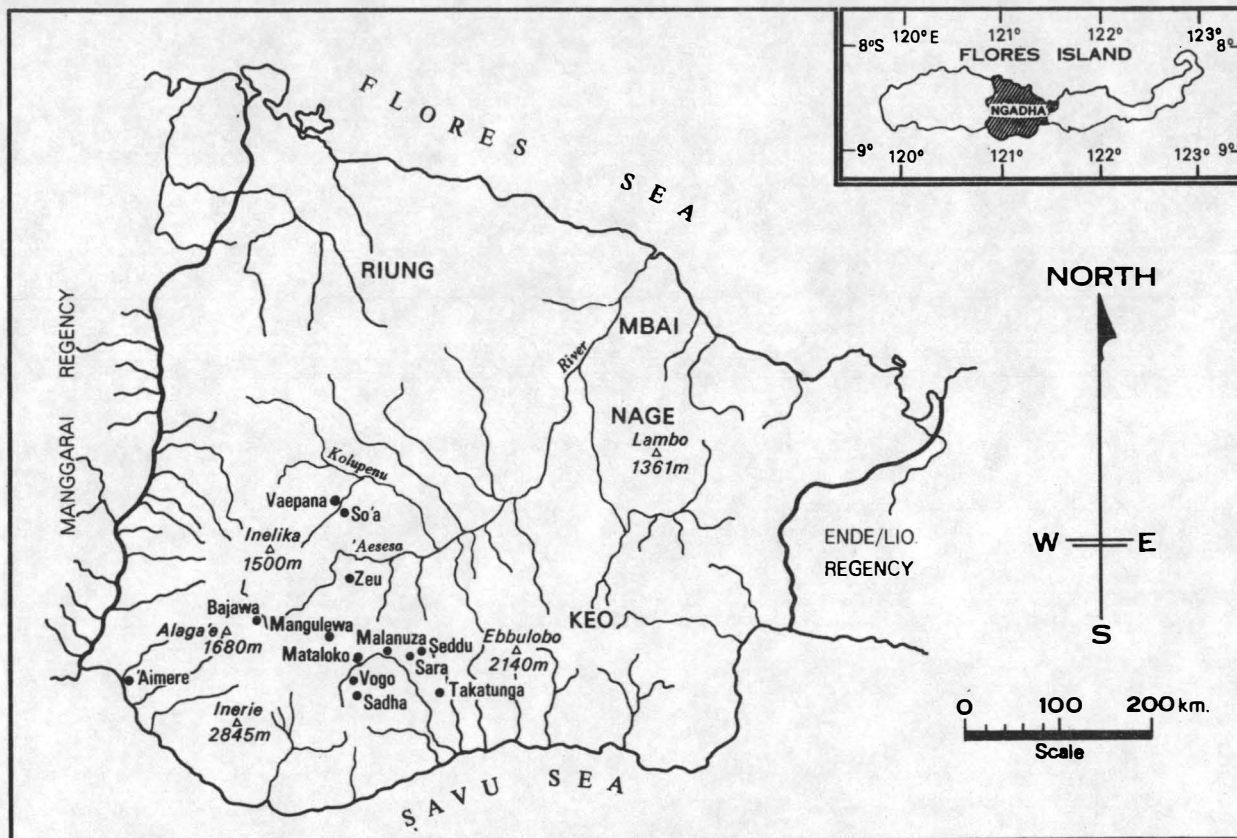
jadi	<i>happen/become/so</i>	pronounced [jadhi]
bibit	<i>seed</i>	pronounced [bibi]
kawin	<i>marry</i>	pronounced [kave]

These words are written the way they are pronounced to show how the narrator switched from Ngadha to Indonesian, conforming to Indonesian phonology or transforming them according to Ngadha phonology. This does not mean that the narrator has not mastered Indonesian; as a matter of fact, Mr. Wezo speaks very good Indonesian and has also learned a little Latin, Dutch, English and Japanese (see 2.1.1. above).

- ⌒ This sign under a word or group of words indicates increased tempo along with some heightening of pitch which brings about contraction or reduction.
- [This sign joining two lines of utterances indicates overlapping in speech by the narrator and the listener.
- = This sign is used in the English gloss in cases where the translation requires more than one word, including compounds (in English).
- .. Two dots mark false start or self-correction.
- < This sign indicates variants in meaning or pronunciation.
- () Gloss given in parentheses indicates figurative meaning or extended use of (a) certain word(s).
- Gloss written in capitals indicates the most common meaning of a certain word which may have several variants.
- A list of such glosses is given in 2.2.3. below.
- Grammatical words that are not translated are discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.4. on particles).

2.1.5. Illustrations

As a guide to the reader several illustrations are provided in the hope that they would help the reader follow the story particularly in cases where translation and description are not adequate. The illustrations consist of: a map, ten plates, and eleven figures.

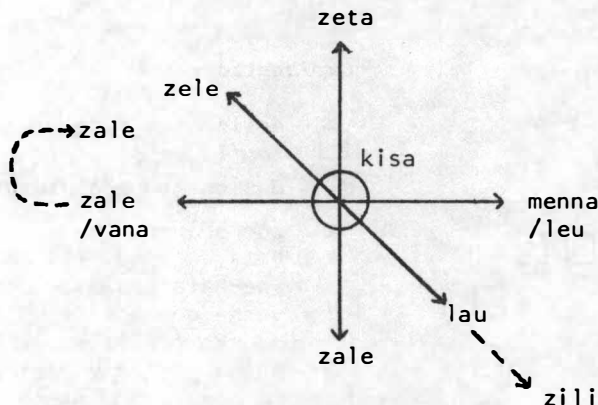


Map 1: Map of Ngadha⁷ and Flores Island (insert)

Note: Direction words in Ngadha at:

loc. 1	loc. 2	loc. 3	loc. 4
menna	lau	zele	zale
zele † lau	menna † zale	zale † menna	lau † zele
zale	zele	lau	menna

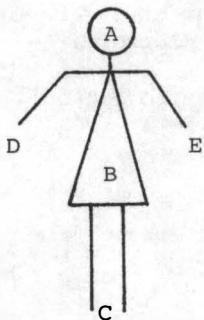
Figure 1: bhala-ola compass points (bhala circumference, whence the wind comes, ola earth, far) and direction words



Explanations:

1. zeta - zale are opposite points on a vertical axis; zeta *up*, zale *down/bottom*.
2. zele - lau are opposite points on a slant axis; zele *toward the mountain or inland*, and lau *seaward or downstream*; zili *down* is an opposite point from kisa *middle* and is best rendered as *further down*.
3. menna - zale are opposite points on a horizontal axis and are equivalent to left (leu) and right (vana), and the point of orientation is when one faces lau *seaward* or zale *down*; thus menna equals leu, and zale equals vana; however, vana and leu use the speaker as the point of orientation. As the broken arrows show, zale also designates *the other side* (normally of a mountain) and is the opposite of dia *here*, i.e. where the speaker is.
4. kisa *middle* or *mid point*.
5. The word for *side* is papa is fale; papa designates the sides with the object being described as the point of orientation, while fale uses the describer as the point of orientation.
6. The word for *around* is gili or bhala *motionless, stative*.

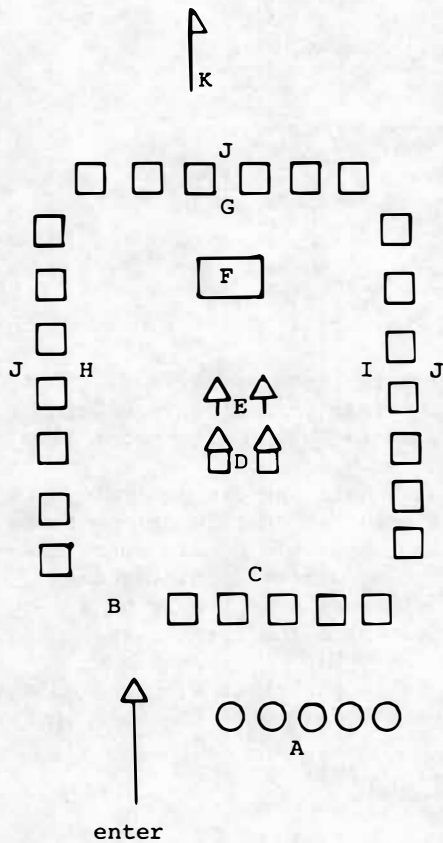
Figure 2: The direction words used to refer to a person



- A ulu *head*; the direction is zeta ulu.
 B vekki *body*; from A toward B is zale vekki, while from C toward B is zeta vekki.
 C va'i *leg/foot*; from A or B toward C is zale va'i.
 D lima vana *right hand* (lima hand).
 E lima leu *left hand*.

The word for *around the body* is gili vekki; no matter in what position the body is, the direction towards the head is always zeta, and towards the feet is always zale. ngia *face, place* also means *in front or front*; logo *back* also *behind*.

Figure 3: nua village; traditional village layout (top view)

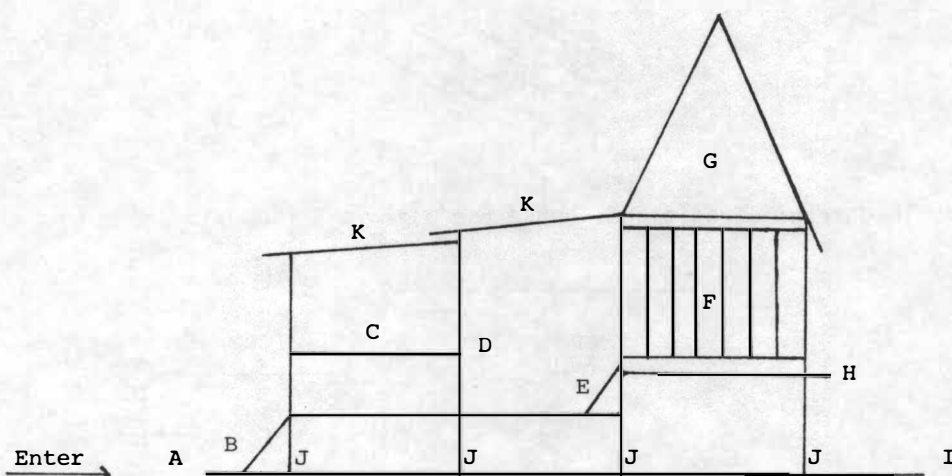
*Explanations:*

- designates sa'o traditional house (built on stilts)
 ○ designates boo granary
- A boo granary
 B bata entrance (to the village); vae-bata sea (vae water)
 C venna nua bottom of the village or eko tail (lau eko)
 D bhaga female ancestor house (built to honour and named after a female ancestor)
 E ngadhu male ancestor tree (built to honour and named after a male ancestor)
 F ture stone structure/platform
 G ulu head of the village (zele ulu)
 H padhi zale right-side row (when one faces B, the entrance)
 I padhi menna left-side row (menna is the opposite of zale)
 J logo sa'o back yard of a house; lego ngana pigsty (lego enclosure, ngana pig), kopo corral and lego open latrine are found in the back yard
 K volo hill/mountain

Notes:

1. The centre of the village is called kisa-nata (kisa middle, nata betel); public ceremonies (feast, dancing, public accusation, etc.) are done at this location with ture (F) as the elders' assembly platform.
2. The front yard of every house is called vevva.
3. The village is surrounded by thick bamboo groves (bhetto bamboo).

Figure 4: sa'o traditional house (side view)

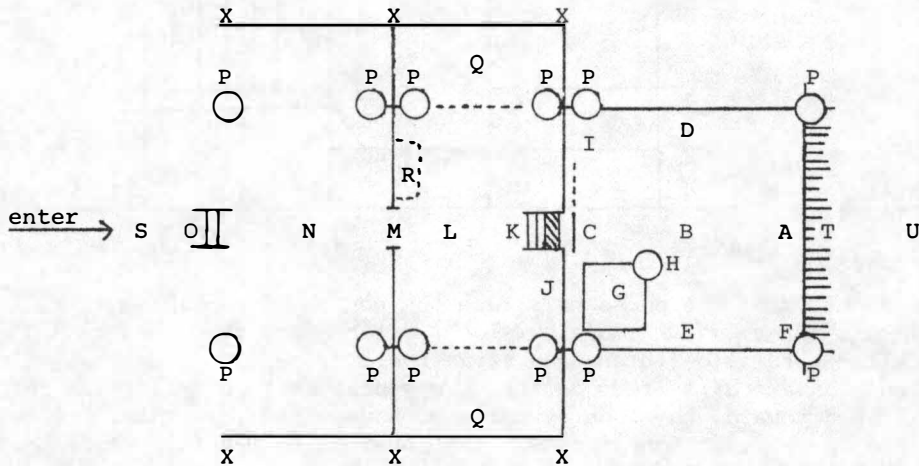
**Explanations:**

- A vevva *front yard*; the houses all face the centre of the village.
- B tangi mo'a *outer ladder* (mo'a *outside*); often stone steps are made at point B and called ture sa'o (ture *stone structure*).
- C teda mo'a *outer patio* (teda *patio*); C may have half or full walls on the sides but is open towards the front yard; some houses have two outer patios.
- D teda one *inner patio* (one *inside*); the inner patio has full walls on the sides and two half-walls along with an entrance without door which separate it from the outer patio.
- E tangi one *inside ladder* from the inner patio onto the house proper; there is a platform right in front of the entrance to the house proper called kava-pere (kava *cooking pan*, pere *shut*).
- F one *inside*; one is the house proper where the family lives, and inside it there is a fireplace called lapu; the house proper is square and has four full walls without a window or ceiling except a partial ceiling on top of the fireplace (lapu) called kae; each wall of the house proper is made of seven pieces of plank; there is a sliding door called penne which connects the house proper and the inner patio.
- G ghubu *thatch roof* that covers only the house proper; the thatch roof is made of bunches of tall grass called kerī (*Imperata cylindrica*) tied together on bamboo splits and secured on roof beams; ghubu is a four-sided roof.
- H leddha *beam*; the main house beams are made of wood, while the beams that cover the whole floors are of whole bamboo nodes; the protruding part of the beams on the sides of the house proper from a ledge which is called rodo sa'o.
- I logo sa'o *backyard* (logo *back* or *behind*)
- J tubo *house post*; the house posts are made of wood and are planted in the ground; there are twelve main posts and one post which supports kae (*partial ceiling*) called dekke kae (dekke *support*); dekke kae is planted in the ground and goes right to the roof.
- K lenga *bamboo roof*; lenga covers the inner and outer patios; lenga is made of half bamboo nodes.

Figure 5: Lenga roof



Figure 6: Traditional house (sa'o) layout (top view)

**Explanations:**

- A mata-raga (mata *eye*, *dead*; raga *deer*); A is the centre or head (ulu) of the whole house and the direction towards mata-raga is zelu ulu (from any point in the house); at this space the magic sword and lance as well as other valuables (such as golden ornaments) are kept; mata-raga is where the family elders sit in important meetings and where the deceased is placed as part of the burial rites.
- B one *the house proper* where the family lives and sleeps; people sleep on floor mats called te'e (made of woven pandanus leaves; ze'a *Pandanus utilis*).
- C penne *sliding door*; the door is often called kaka-ngai kaka *enclose, shut, help; ngai breath, rich*.
- D Using A as the point of orientation, D is papa zale *right side* (papa *side*) or papa vana (*vana right*).
- E is the opposite of D and is called papa menna or papa leu (*leu left*).
- F is the space where bamboo containers (tuku) are kept; the bamboo containers hold corn (thrashed corn), beans, rice (husked rice), seasoned meat strips, etc. (hae *corn*, hobho *beans*, dhea *husked rice*, rapa *seasoned meat strips*, kosu *unhusked rice*).
- G lapu *fireplace* where cooking is done; the direction from G to A is zili *down*.
- H dekke-kae *post* holds a partial ceiling (kae) which is located exactly above G and is as large as the fireplace; meat and firewood are kept on kae to dry.
- I roro is the space towards which the door slides to open; the direction toward I from A is zili *down*.
- J kava-pere is a small platform on top of the ladder (kava *cooking pan*, pere *shut*).

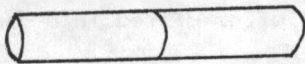
- K tangi-one *inside ladder* (tangi ladder; one *inside*)
- L teda-one *inner patio* (teda patio); guests are received at this space; the direction from L to B is zeta *up* (zeta one) and from B to L is zale *down* (zale teda).
- M is the entrance without a door; it is often called le'u *door/passage*.
- N teda-mo'a *outer patio* (mo'a *outside*).
- O tangi mo'a *outer ladder*; often stone steps are made which are called ture sa'o (ture *stone structure*).
- P tubo sa'o *house post* (tubo *post*); before a post is planted/used as a house post, it is called lekke; the circles designate the twelve main house posts and one dekke-kae (point H); the X's designate additional posts to hold the floors and/or the lenga roofs which cover the patios; beams called leddha are placed connecting the posts to hold the floors.
- Q gepi on the left (leu) and right (vana) sides of the inner patio are raised platforms often used for sleeping; the orientation for the direction papa leu *left side* (papa *side*) and papa vana *right side* is point A (mata-raga).
- R at this point a small raised platform is often built; it is called bheja.
- S vevva *front yard*.
- T rodo sa'o *house ledge* (rodo *ledge*).
- U logo sa'o *backyard* (logo *back, behind*).

Additional notes:

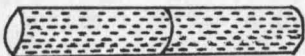
1. The walls, house posts, main beams of a sa'o ngaza (ngaza *name*), that is, a house built in honour of and named after an ancestor, are all made of wood; additional beams and floors are made of bamboo.
2. The floors are made of flattened bamboo nodes called naja. Figure 7 shows how a piece of naja is made.

Figure 7: Illustration of how flattened bamboo nodes, *naja*, are made

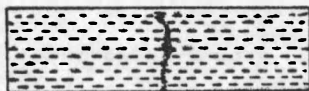
Step 1: Take a whole piece of bamboo, of two or three nodes.



Step 2: Using the tip of a machete, the bamboo node is slightly cut horizontally, all over but at different points; the cuts should be deep enough to later flatten the node but not split it.



Step 3: The final step is to cut the node from top to bottom on just one side and flatten it to make a piece of *naja*.



Additional note: The classifier for a bamboo node is *bhore*, thus *bhetto sa-bhore* (*bhetto bamboo*); the classifier for a flattened bamboo node is *nolo*, thus *naja sa-nolo*.

Figure 8: *topo machete*; a machete with a sheath to match is called *badi*; the sheath is called *dhupa*; the handle of the machete is made of wood.

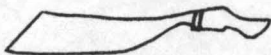


Figure 9: *su'a garden-knife* (*used for weeding*); the handle of a garden-knife is made of bamboo split and is about three feet long.

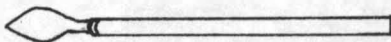
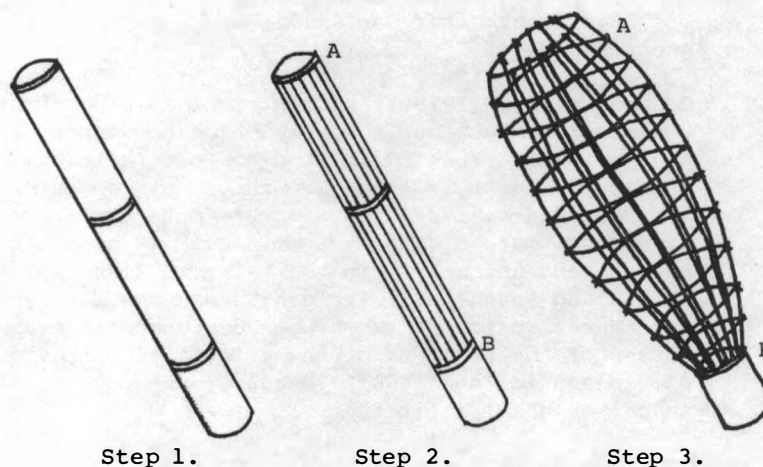


Figure 10: *sosa fish-trap* - illustration of how is made



Explanation:

- Step 1. Take a piece of whole bamboo of two or three nodes (here two and a half nodes); one node of bamboo is called *sa-alu* (*sa-one, alu node*).
- Step 2. Split the bamboo node from point A to point B only, and make sure that the splits hold at the node of point B.
- Step 3. Separate the splits but do not break them. Use other splits to weave and secure by tying them. The result has to look like a badminton birdie. The weaving has to be tight enough to hold the catch inside but allow the water to flow through.

Additional explanations:

1. The fish-trap is installed at the points in the river where there are small falls or rapids, called *lasu vae* (*lasu place where water falls or flows, also male genitals; vae water*). Leaves and grass are used to make water flow into the fish-trap; the fish-trap is normally installed in the afternoon, left overnight at the river and checked in the morning.
2. The top of the fish trap is called *vivi lip* (point A) and the direction toward it is *zeta up* (no matter in what position); the bottom is called *venna* (point B) and the direction toward it is *zale down*.
3. At the Bai (Mbai) area people are known to make large fish-traps, often as long as two to three meters (about six to nine feet) in length, as claimed by the narrator, Mr. Wezo.
4. There are several kinds of bamboo in Ngadha. For house building, containers, and other implements normally the so-called 'giant bamboo' (*Dendrocalamus giganteus*) is used.

Plate 1: Photograph taken from Arndt (1932)
 Die Megalithenkultur der Nad'a;
Anthropos XXVII.

Bajava village (1928?); on the right is a Western-type house called baru built by the Dutch government for the king of Ngadha; behind it is a row of traditional houses (sa'o); in the foreground are three male ancestor trees (ngadhu) and on its left is a ture mata-ade (ture *stone structure*, mata *die*, ade *normal death*, i.e. not great nor violent/untimely); in the background are tall bamboo groves and Ngadha hill (volo Ngadha); the little structures on top of two houses designate them as the houses of the founders of the village, and they are called ana ie (ana *child*, ie *call* (onomatopoeic) also *taboo*) or ana ire (ire *taboo*).

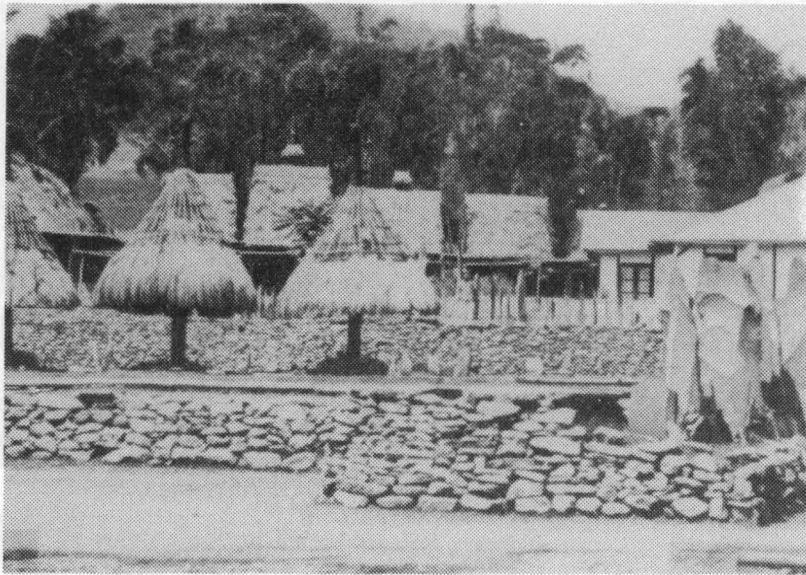


Plate 2: Photograph taken from Arndt (1932)
Die Megalithenkultur der Nad'a;
Anthropos XXVII.

Toda Village (1928?)



Plate 3: Photograph taken from Arndt (1932)
 Die Megalithenkultur der Nad'a;
Anthropos XXVII.

The entrance to the house proper (*penne door*, one *house proper* or *inside*); the picture shows *tangi-one inside ladder* (connecting the inner patio and the house proper); on top of the ladder is *kava-pere platform*, the sculptured board on the door is *kata-bevva threshold* (*kata* *pheasant*, *wild chicken*; *bevva* *break*, *surge* (of waves)); on the right is a bamboo container to hold water (*toke*) and a roll of mat (*te'e*) made of *Pandanus utilis* leaves (*ze'a*).

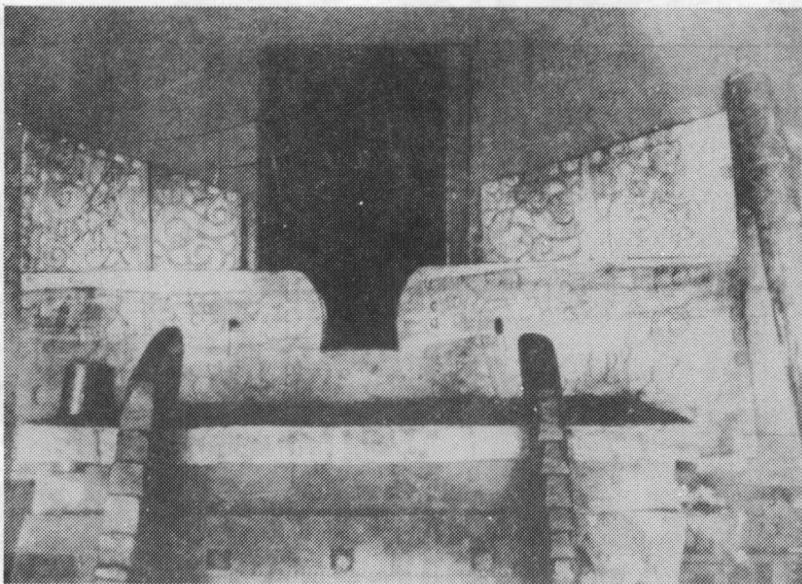


Plate 4: Photograph taken from Arndt (1932)
Die Megalithenkultur der Nad'a;
Anthropos XXVII.

The picture shows the half walls which separate the outer patio and the inner patio; on the left side (in the inner patio) are the drums and gongs; in the foreground are two women's bags, called bere (of woven *Pandanus* leaves); above the half walls are pig-jaws kept as a reminder of how many pigs were killed for feasts and often marked as to who brought the pigs so that one day they could be repaid.

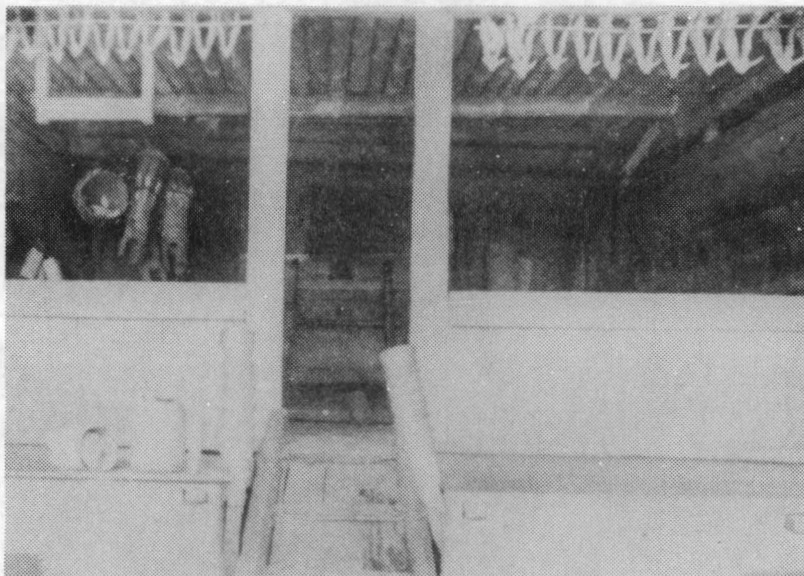


Figure 11: Instruments of the goo-laba ensemble. The instruments consist of five bronze gongs (goo) and three skin drums (laba). The goo-laba ensemble is discussed in Appendix II.

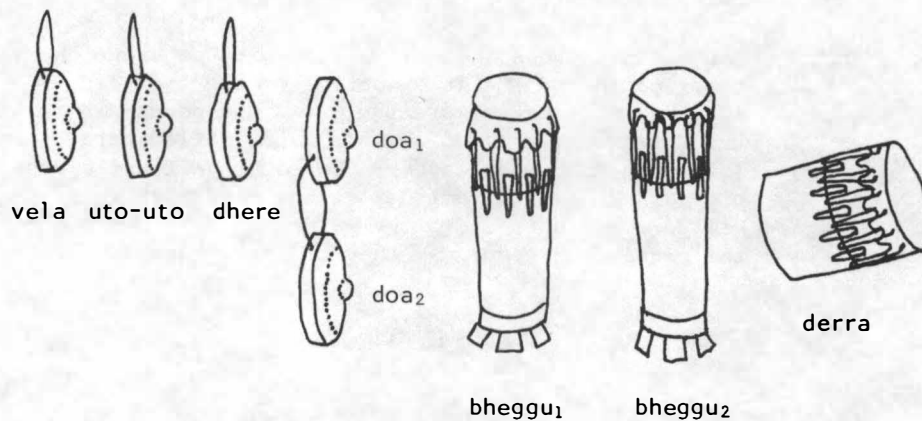


Plate 5: Ngadha-land. In the background is the volcanic Inerie, also known as Jaramasi mountain (*ine mother*, thus '*Mother Rie*'; *jara horse*, thus '*Masi Horse Mountain*')



Plate 6: Ngadha women in festive traditional dress.

The traditional dress is worn for dancing (ja'i) in ceremonial feasts. Note that the hair bun (mote) is made bigger using a gourd called kobho, and the large bracelets are made of elephant tusk (ivory). When Penu and Vegu went forth to dance, as mentioned in the legend, Penu was supposed to have been dressed as shown in this picture.



Plate 7: A Ngadha man in festive traditional dress.

Photograph taken from Arndt (1931)
Die Religion der Nad'a;
Anthropos XXVI.

The man wears a headdress (boku), a blanket wrapped around the body (lu'e), and a sarong (sapu); in his right hand is a magical sword (sau), in his left hand is a lance (gala); around his neck is a war necklace made of sea-shells. To his right is a shield (gili). When Penu and Vegu went forth to dance, as mentioned in the legend, Vegu was supposed to have been dressed as shown in this picture.



Plates 8 and 9: A Ngadha woman and man in everyday dress.

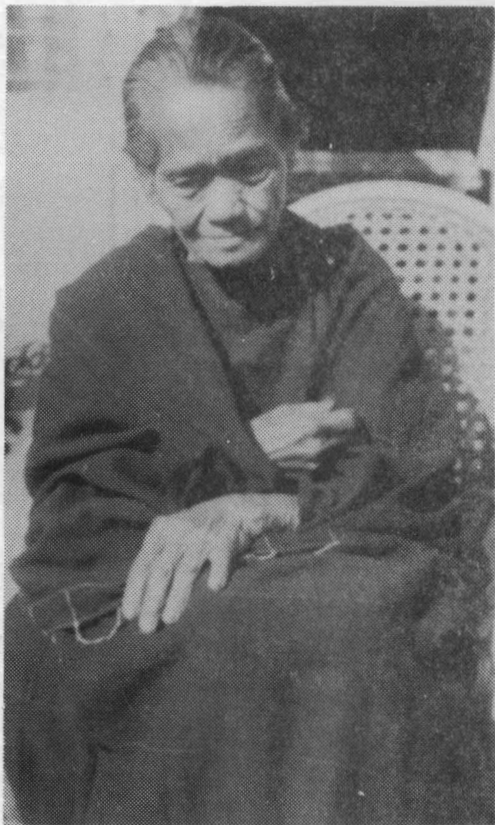


Plate 10: Dancing in a village New Year celebration (rebba).
In the background are new house structures called baru.



2.2. The text

Nange Penu ne'e Vegu ana-halo

Section I

Expository Paragraph 1

1. Ne'e pu'u medo vali emma,
kenna-da -- papa tana go fai --;
tentu ma'a gee nua emma dapa-gha dhano,
tana fai pu'u medo./
2. Go ine-vetta dia-na bodha heti -,
go dolu ine-emma da feddhi,
dolu emma-nara da feddhi.
3. Ngaza go dolu ine-emma -- da -- feddhi --,
fine-ga'e kenna mu bau -,
da le gape-nea laki.
4. Gape :
me lii kami dia bha'u raka -,
dhomi go punu-pede.
5. Gape :
da le pojo-nea laki,
naji,
"Kau bodha e'e ne'e da hoga kenna-na !
6. Kenna pu'u da molo mata kami dia-na --,
pave ate kami dia-na."
7. (Mm.)

Section II

Narrative Paragraph 1

8. Sa-dekka - ne-e -- Penu emma.
9. Ne Penu kenna pu'u lau-mai Takatunga./
10. Kazi - ma' da emma-nara pera gazi,
naji,
kazi bodha vi-i - ne'e -- da hoga kenna-na.
11. Nga ne'e da hoga kenna -,
kazi Penu da bau.
12. Nga bau -
dhano da .. ma' da emma-nara kenna-na mu -- pusi-duki,
peddhe-renne moe kenna,
naji,
"Kau bodha e'e ne'e da hoga kenna !"/
13. Ngata mu bau.
14. Ngata naji,
"Molo;
ngaza miu me'a emma-nara ja'o ledhe pusi-duki,
ledhe peddhe-renne -,
vi bejja gezzi ate miu,
ja'o dia nga la'a roba-ngaba."

Narrative Paragraph 2

15. Ngata to la'a roba-ngaba emma.
16. Pu'u lau-mai Takatunga kenna-na - ngata dia-dia gheddi,
dia-dia gheddi -,
pejja lau-mai Saraseddu./
17. Saraseddu Saraseddu .. kenna menna-menna pelli,
menna-menna pelli -,
dhuu dhano pejja lau-mai Zeu --,
pee menna So'a./
18. Pu'u So'a kenna dha-a-no rai-roma bhola,
pejja menna -,
dhuu dhano pejja menna go lekko Kolupenu emma.

Narrative Paragraph 3

19. Nga pejja menna Kolupenu -,
ngata tetto - dhekke me zeta tolo kaju./
20. Gote da nara kenna naji bhee vado,
naji,
"Ne ! Vi bejja gezzi ate miu ma'e nara ja'o-na,
miu vi ngedho gezzi -,
naji,
ja'o dia da roba-ngaba tu-tu'u."
21. Dhekke me zeta tolo kaju emma -,
levva vivi tivu meze,
ngata so kolu bekki vekki pee zale.

Narrative Paragraph 4

22. Zale go tivu meze.
23. Zale one tivu meze emma -,
kenna ngata to -- bale tau go ika meze.

Narrative Paragraph 5

24. Ma'e da emma-nara kenna vi dhoru pee zale tivu -,
a pee zale tivu kenna-na,
ngedho-gha go apa -;
dhomi bua ma ngedho-gha pekka go ika meze./
25. Naji,
"O ! Vetta kita Penu dia mata-gha;
ga ika dia da bhella."

Narrative Paragraph 6

26. Masa hoga kenna to vado emma -- ma'a da nara.
27. Nga vado pee lau-mai Takatunga,
siba keo-rado.
28. Keo-rado moi -,
naji,
dia da ine-vetta da mata-gha-na.

Section III

Narrative Paragraph 1

29. Lau go Bai emma --,
lau -- ne'e Vegu ana-halo.

Expository Paragraph 2

30. A Vegu ana-halo kenna-na ---
da ana-halo pu'u medo;
lii miu me'a emma dia bha'i-nea-gha raka,
go ana-halo pu'u medo emma./
31. Go ana-halo pu'u medo-na,
kami dia da raka,
da nekkō dia-na :
nekkō dhomi mu go sada kenna emma.
32. Rivu nga ne'e ngo'e padhi zale-e,
dhano bhaghi laki kenna :
ghoka sa-puju -,
bhaghi hui ---
lomo meze da toko ---
ba ti'i laki sa-toko toko-zua.
33. Ne'e ngo'e-e lau eko --,
nga ne'e ngo'e padhi menna,
ne'e ngo'e zelee ulu,
dhano moe kenna.

Narrative Paragraph 3

34. Emma,
Penu kenna-na to'o sa-robha --,
ba -- vozo pee lau sa-soa ;
to'o sa-kobe,
ba vozo pee lau sa-soa.

Expository Paragraph 4

35. Meo Vegu kenna-na ---
lau Bai,
go muzi hoga ngaza go vula-lezza-na emma,
kenna ngata ledhe pe'i go sosa./
36. Da nana sosa me'a meze-meze moe dia-na./ (show by gestures)
37. Emma ke'e dhangā tei me'a sosa :
me'a zii Java ai,
me'a vi dia ai ?/
38. Kenna go sosa me'a meze-meze,
vi pe'i levva lasu-vae./
39. Ngaza ma'e go ika gho go elo nga lole -,
kenna vi tau negge --
vi-i -- gea kobe.

Narrative Paragraph 5

40. L-laki kenna devve da buu ledhe go pengo emma.

Procedural Paragraph 6

41. Isi-kita ngaza da pe'i go sosa moe kenna :
go vunu revo da le lipi moe dia-na, (show by gestures)
 bodha kago vana masa-masa -,
 lipi go vae,
 vi lole masa pee zae one-na./
42. Kenna go ika gho go elo gho,
 vi ngee lole zale one sosa kenna-na.
43. Ngaza go vunu dhano da le lipi,
 dee pu'u da le suda-bhado -,
ele-so'o-gote elo kenna -- levva vivi-gha sosa,
 moe dia-na, (show by gestures)
 ngata ngee ngeddhu vado emma.

Narrative Paragraph 7

44. Pu'u ngi'i da moe kenna,
jadhi -,
 deva-kela ke'e mu 'ea ngata ---
 go -- mosa-laki Vegu ana-halo kenna-na -,
 sa-robha-robha vi la'a vaga sosa :
 dhano bua go kojo ne'e go kuza -;
 sa-robha-robha ba vaga :
 nga la'a vaga sosa,
 dhano bua go kojo ne'e go kuza./
45. Pu'u naji,
 go ana-halo dia da-da.. -- da peggi busa sosa-na emma.
46. Moe me'a da mosa-laki kenna,
 ngata dhanga be'o peggi sosa,
 ngata -- mu'a go elo,
 mu'a go ika me'a meze-meze.

Section IV

Narrative Paragraph 1

47. Zale one hiva zua emma --,
 ne Penu kenna devve-na da bale go ika meze-na,
 ngata siba mu gherra pee lau-na.
48. Gherra pee lau,
 mu -- gherra,
 me lo-o-o-le mema sosa go-go -- Vegu ana-halo kenna-na.

49. Vi lole sosa go Vegu ana-halo ---
 to'o-robha-ze'e-na,
 kazi vi ngedho ---
 ke'e moe pu'u lau-mai go-go -- baru Amatus-na ---
 tempat ketinggian kenna ---
kenna da ngedho pee lau kantor camat,
 moe kenna-na ---
 pu'u lekko lau Bai ---
 vi ngedho pee lau-na go-go ---
 levva sosa kazi kenna,
 go vae da le siri-siti.
50. Ngaza vae siri-siti,
 zae-mai da bodha go bekku da sekke,
atau da ne'e-gha pekka go isi zale one-na.
51. Kazi mu ngau-ngere-noa,
 naji,
 'E! Moe-ne'e-ga'e ika mu lole-e to vai go-go .. sosa ja'o,
 to elo messi lole to gazi.
52. Ja'o dia bua sa-hiva-hiva-a -- sa-lezza-lexxa mai pee dia :
 dhano bua ngee kuza - kojo./
53. Moe-ne'e-ga'e -- emma-deva mu vua messi to gazi ne'e nga'o.'

Narrative Paragraph 2

54. Pejja pee lau emma,
 kazi ngedho da roka sa-keddhi,
 ko'e leva ngazo-ngettu-na,
 zeta vavo sosa-na.
55. To-o-to mu leva dia-na, (show by gestures)
 zale moi-gha pekka one sosa-na.
56. Kazi vi ghella-ghae ghella-ghae,
 vi-vi .. -- vi mu vaga sosa ;
 mizo ma'a da mosa-laki eta-mai vavo kenna,
 mosa-emma --,
 me' mosa-ka'e kenna vavo,
 tuku rebu go ika kazi.
57. Kazi dho'o-dho'o,
 siba -- vala vado ;
 dho'o-dho'o,
 siba vala vado.

Narrative Paragraph 3

58. Na-a-pa me'a da mosa kenna mu-u ..
 vado moi-gha pekka-na emma,
 kazi gezze me sa'a.
59. Vake sosa kazi,
 to sa'a./

60. Sa'a-sa'a -- ke'e vo'o setengah kilo,
 siba mezza --,
 date --;
 sa'a-sa'a vo'e setengah kilo,
 mezza,
 date --;
 dhoo dhano pejja pee zee nua kazi-na emma./

Expository Paragraph 4

61. Nua da dada.
 62. Nua ke'e 'ano moe dia ne'e pee zeta Manguleva,
 da mua kita vo'e noa lole vunga pu'u dia-mai emma.
 63. Pejja pee zee nua ;
 veke go sa'o da rabi-sangi emma.

Narrative Paragraph 5

64. Vi mezza sa-lesa-lesa --,
 ngedho ika kazi kenna ---
 li'e-mata vo'e nennga ghello-ghello ---
 vo'e bha'u mata ;
 mezza sa-lesa-lesa,
 ngedho ika kazi kenna,
 vo'e ko'e mata./

Narrative Paragraph 6

65. Epo nga pejja zee one sa'o -,
 kazi bua rangi-rangi api ---
 dia ne'e beppu-della pu'u medo naji -,
 "Vejo-vejo tuku-leko,
 mara bhado-bero -;
 pana-pana kava,
 mona ego apa."/
66. Go ana-halo da moe kenna-na emma.
 67. (M'm.)
 68. Rangi-rangi api,
 to pana-pana kava./
69. Kazi mu visi-nea da sosa kazi vo'o zale buu-na,
 vi ala go kojo kuza zae venna kenna devve-na-na -,
 vi tau mekku ne'e me'a go uta Kigo, ne'e me'a go Fo'i-fe'e -,
 me'a go uta -- Paku, uta Rori ---
 pu'u menna lekko devve-na kazi da ketti -,
 vi tau negge gea lezza kenna-na emma.
70. Nga nasu go kojo kuza kenna,
 nga moi -,
 kazi vi ngedho-ngedho go ika,
 dhano vo'o muzi.
71. Vo'o muzi --,
 kazi bha'i vela./

72. Bua letu-nea masa ne'e me'a go tuku-tuku kazi,
tuku da ngesa kenna -,
sosa kenna pia zae one,
lubhu ne'e hete ze'e,
kazi to ba dua.

Expository Paragraph 7

73. A dua pee lau uma kazi kenna devve-na,
go uma da ana-halo vali emma -,
begitulah.
74. Da naji,
''0-o ! O uma puu,
nga keru vado.''
75. Moe o .. ma'a da seu da bu'e-hoga pu'u medo,
naji,
''0 ! Kau ma'e rejo nga'o,
ma'e rejo nga'o ;
uma ja'o puu,
nga keru vado.''/
76. Kenna go ana-halo;
uma laki dhano meze go keru-na./

Narrative Paragraph 8

77. Sekka-sekka keru kenna,
vado pee zeke emma -;
yang belum pernah terjadi.
78. Vi la'a ngedho-ngedho pee zeke kenna-na -:
go podo sa'li'e dia,
go ma-a-ki da -- peso maza-gha pekka --;
podo sa-li'e vai,
dia go hui-i -- kogha,
da vo'e ngetta --;
zae-mai ba ringu-bitu emma.
79. Dia veke ne'e go ana-halo dia,
naji,
''0 kau ! Maki sei dia da peddhe,
dia hui sei dia da nasu,
na'a nga'o ?''
80. Ngedho-ngedho-ngedho-ngedho-ngedho gili-lilo -,
mona -- mona sabu sei.
81. Vi ngedho ika kenna,
'ano vo'e muzi emma.
82. Magha-magha-magha-ma-magha ---
ke'e 'ano moe pu'u devve-na kita ana-ame dia,
da seppa uta moi dhuu dia./
83. Najj,
''E'e-ke'e ;
ja'o so'o nga mata --,
'ano pennga mata ne'e me' ine-emma ja'o.''/

84. Ko'e mu soko go maki kenna emma,
gajo me maki kenna,
pia vai ngemme,
kazi to mu kaa - ne'e hui kenna./
85. Kaa-kaa nga moli -,
naji,
vi soko vali,
'ano dia ro' .. -- zenng'e bo'o-nea-gha-na -;
jadhi ..,
"Molo-gha gazi,
di sabu na'a napa robha."
86. Kaa moli,
vi nade,
kazi dhano ngedho ika kenna-na,
vo'e muzi dongo-pau ;
siba 'ano mu nade.

Narrative Paragraph 9

87. To'o-robha-ze'e pu'u manu-kako,
ngedho maki kenna,
da resi,
ne'e hui siba bana vado vai./
88. Bana-bana,
siba nga dua pee lau uma.

Narrative Paragraph 10

89. Vi vado vai ola-maru pee zele,
nuka pu'u lau uma-na,
kenna vado pee zee,
ngedho bha'i-gha pekka go hui kogha -,
ngedho-gha pekka vai go rapa-kogha emma.
90. Go rapa-kogha da mami-gha,
dhano maki kenna peddhe olo mami.
91. Dhano magha-magha-magha,
naji,
"E'e-ke'e ;
so'o ja'o nga mata,
mu mata."/
92. 'Ano ko'e mu-u gajo me maki kenna - ne'e rapa-kogha kenna,
siba ko'e mu-u kaa./
93. Kaa-kaa nga bo'o,
kenna roa da resi-na,
siba na .. na'a napa robha-ze'e.

Narrative Paragraph 11

94. Papa geu bho kenna -- go hui kenna-na emma :
 sa-lezza tadho siba go hui elo,
 sa-lezza tadho siba vai go ika --
 e .. ika da vo'e ngetta -,
 sa-lezza tadho siba vai go hui kaba.
95. Dhano papa geu-gajo bho ngata kenna gee lezza, gee lezza emma./

Section V

Narrative Paragraph 1

96. Repo sa-lezza,
 naji,
 kaji vula tellu-gha-na -,
 magha-magha-magha-ma-magha,
 naji,
 'Ja'o dia vi le moe-dee dia ?
97. Mu ja'o mu vado ola-maru,
 sei tekke peddhe,
 ti'i nga'o dia -;
 mu ledhe peddhe,
 da modhe kena.
98. Ja'o dia vi le moe-dee ?'/

Narrative Paragraph 2

99. Repo sa-lezza kenna,
 kazi to mu-u dua./
100. Dua moe dia ne'e lau kantor camat -,
 kazi to vado.
101. Vado-vado,
 to dhekke va'u go rodo-sa'o emma.

Expository Paragraph 3

102. Rodo-sa'o ---
 moe isi-kita pu'u medo ---
 moe dia da ngia --- (show by gestures)
 ngaza ngia male zeke ---
 da ne'e joo ne'e go leddha kenna ;
 ne'e -- ne'e lau logo,
 go leddha da daso./

Narrative Paragraph 4

103. Siba dhekke ;
 dhekke,
 vi ghebbhe kenna zeta go rodo-sa'o-na.
104. Kazi vi ngedho --,
 ngedho zale-mai one kenna-na :
 da tebbhi-sida pau go dhea zae-mai,
 da bu'e-bila loo-pave emma.

Procedural Paragraph 5

105. Tebbhi-tebbhi dhea kenna,
ghale-ghale moli,
siba -- zobhe dhea kenna pee zii podo./
106. Zii-mai vae da olo foso-gha.
107. Zobhe dhea moli -,
siba vaga vai go-go -- rapa kaba,
siba mu kaje.
108. Kaje-kaje mili,
ba nasu.

Narrative Paragraph 6

109. Nasu-nasu nga moli -,
kazi naji,
vi vado pee zeke one go-go -- one sosa-na emma --,
dia-mai meo -- mosa-laki Vegu ana-halo kenna roa -,
to meke --,
"Ehhe-e ! Kau nava kenna-na !
110. Kau mu gee lezza, gee lezza,
ja'o magha,
naji,
"Sei ai ?"
111. O-o ! Emma --,
ana-ngata kenna mu-u -- boka ;
bo-o-ka dhano,
to mata dhano-na ;
ne Penu kenna.

Narrative Paragraph 7

112. Kazi dhekke-dhekke pee zeta kenna o ..
pee vi zeta one ngedho,
naji,
"Ei kau !
Ana-ngata !
113. Ja'o vi le moe-dee ?
114. Ana-ngata dia da bu'e-bila loo-pave./
115. Ja'o dia ke'e nga mange vado ?"/
116. Vi ngedho go ika pee zee sosa kenna-na,
ko'e ma da hova kena-na.
117. Magha-magha-magha-ma-magha-magha-magha -;
medo emma.
118. Medo-na,
ke'e 'ano moe no,
moe ngia naji,
o .. dua-tiga jam ke'e-na./

119. Ngata to magha-ma-magha moe kenna,
 naji,
 "E-e -- e'e-ke'e ;
 so'o kazi nga mata,
 mu e'e-ke'e !"

Procedural Paragraph 8

120. Ngata vaga ma' go hova ika kenna-na emma --,
so ngae.
121. Ngae-ngae pee zii api -,
 dhii me ne'e vae bennu toza e' ---
 toza kenna go ngemme meze-na emma.
122. Dhii ne'e vae bennu toza,
 da meze baskom dia-na -; (show by pointing at a large wash-basin near
 the speaker)
 siba nga rettu-nea go hova ika kenna devve-na,
 kazi da ngae mutu-mutu./
123. Re-e-ttu gejjju-gejjju,
 reso gejjju-gejjju,
 siba pia gha .. ghio-ghao zae one vae.
124. Dhoo dhano go vae kenna vi bennu toza kenna,
 da fi-i-ki,
 da mu go ika meze-na emma --;
 le fiki-nea-na./
125. Siba ala-si kenna,
 mu koma masa pu'u zeta ulu dia-na emma ; (show by gestures)
 masa -- koma masa kenna gili vekki./

Narrative (dramatic) Paragraph 9

126. Nga pejja zale va'i-na,
 ana-ngata kenna to mega vado.
127. Mega,
 to muzi vado.
128. Najj,
 "E kau ! Kau bha'i modhe --;
 kau messi zekke-dhue peme nga'o-na !"
129. "No,
 peme gau da moe-dee ?
130. Kau ghe' da bha'i olo punu."
131. "E'e ! Kau bha'i modhe --;
 kau messi nga moe kenna-na,
 kau messi olo punu-pii nga'o./
132. E'e ! Kau bha'i modhe ;
 kau da olo .. olo mese nga'o."

133. Naji,
 "E'e ! Ja'o messi - olo be'o,
 pu'u naji,
 kau -- olo punu nga'o -,
 kenna ja'o vi-vi -- ma'e peme gau-na.
134. Uru ja'o vi nuka sa-maru-maru,
 dia maki olo mami,
 hui olo mami -;
 nuka sa-maru-maru,
 maki olo mami,
 hu .. o .. hui olo mami./
135. Kau messi nga bha'i tei ngia,
 taka zenge-pii,
 da sezzu,
 naji,
 "A ! -- Kau tuku naji,
 "Ata" -;
 dia mai ne'e nga'o,
 ja'o tekke peddhe-teki,
 ti'i gau."
136. Kenna moe-pii kenna,
 ja'o vi be'o.
137. Dia bha'i ;
 kau bua peddhe,
 vai kau ba zoko-nea vado tebbo-vekki kau,
 zoko-nea loo kau.
138. Di-na ja'o vi olo da peme gau-na."
139. Naji,
 "E'e molo -;
 lozi kau ma'e tolo punu --,
 zekke-dhue tolo punu rivu !
140. Di-na kau be'o-gha pekka moe di-na -,
 gee lezza kau dheggha dua-nuka --,
 moe gee lezza-na !
141. Ma'e-dhue tolo mm ..
 zekke-dhue tolo punu rivu !
142. Å ! Robha-ze'e-na - kau -- la'a dua pee lau -;
 sa-ngai kobe di-na kau za-a-ba topo,
 tekka modhe-modhe ! /
143. Kau dua lau-na,
 tora masa-masa me'a go kaju-tebe aze-una,
 lau gili uma-na !
144. Kenna raba naji,
 uma kita via bhea."
145. Naji,
 "Molo !"

Section VI

Narrative Paragraph 1

146. To'o-robha-ze'e emma,
kazi vi la'a kete masa me'a go kala meze kenna./
147. Kala meze isi-kita pu'u medo naji,
go kaju-tebe aze-una-na,
hutan lebat emma.
148. Kenna naji,
kaju-tebe aze-una-na.
149. Kaju ma'a kaka tellu ma'a kaka vutu,
kenna bua ngai kazi Vegu ana-halo kenna devve-na-na,
ma-a-ra 'eo-guka.
150. Mara 'eo-guka emma ;
lezza kenna boata ..
bua -- kazi ngoo sa-tebbo-vekki kazi sa-mori-na -,
naji,
mu ngee sama ke'e go uma tua lau-mai Malanuz,
da lima puluh hektoare-na emma --;
mumu ngee same meze moe kenna.
151. Kenna menurut go nange,
ngata voe da punu-na.
152. Pu'u kenna emma --,
kazi vi nuka pee zele -,
to punu,
naji,
"0 ! - Lau roa-na,
bua nga'o me'a da-da .. -- da rama-a,
da ke'a ma'a kaju,
pogo ma'a kaju lau-na -,
ngi'i-merre lau mu gagi-gata koe sa-meze-meze ;
mu-u bennga-joa koe sa-meze-meze."
153. Najj,
"Kenna-na ! Dhuu-venngi-zua kau la'a tungi !"
154. "Hou ! Dhuu-venngi-zua ja'o la'a tungi,
ba 'ano ngee mutu gho bha'i ?"
155. Najj,
"Da mu-u-ta ngata.
156. Dhuu-venngi-zua kau ba la'a tungi-si !"

Narrative Paragraph 2

157. Dhuu-venngi-zua emma -- laki siba mu la'a tungi./
158. Vi, tungi pee kenna,
naji,
a-a-a-e mutu mu le kegga gherra-na --:
pu'u dhiri pee dhiri,
resi ko'e ma go avu di,
da ngere bhara-na./

159. Siba gote kaju kenna devve-na,
 ma'a kaka tellu-vutu e',
 na-a ..,
 resi ko'e ma go avu kena-kena,
 da ngere bhara --;
 mu-u-u-tu moli-moli,
bha'-dhuu sepe nopo.
160. To vado,
 naji,
 '0-o e'e ;
 kaju lau gote mu-u ma'a kaka tellu kaka vutu -,
 lau mu mu-u-tu moli-moli ;
 gote me'a go koba-koba lau-mai :
 koba-leke, ma'a go koba-koba go-go .. kaju,
 mu mu-u-tu moli --;
 mu ko'e ma go avu,
 ngere bhara."
161. Naji,
 "Kenna-na ! Dhuu-venngi-zua kau la'a tuza go li'e-ngemme !"
162. "Vā-ā loja-dhoa --;
 kau mu .. rivu la'a tuza hae mu-u,
 lau-mai sei vi la'a tuza go i'e-ngemme ?"
163. "Ma'e ! -;
 bodha la'a tuza go li'e-ngemme !"

Narrative Paragraph 3

164. Dhuu-venngi-zua laki siba moe duu-jere emma.
165. Go bibi-ngemme kenna ---
 neo bu'e-bila loo-pave ne Penu kenna devve-anna,
 da olo-o -- [olo pia ngata vi kenna-na.
166. [(Olo pia.)
167. Ko'e mu ala me li'e ngemme kenna,
 laki siba 'ano mu la'a tuza emma.
168. Tu-u-za dhano bua gazi sa-mori kenna-na ---
 uma meze kenna ---
 dheggha mu ngee tuza moi ngata-na.
169. Vado pee zele,
naji,
 "0-o ! Ja'o bua nga'o me'a,
 ja'o mu ngee tuza moi-na ;
 mu ghemmi tuza moi-na."
170. Naji,
 "Bha'i apa-apa --;
 kenna dhuu-venngi-zua kau la'a-si lasa !"

Narrative Paragraph 4

171. Dhuu-venngi-zua vi la'a lasa pee lau emma,
 te-e-bbu moli-moli --;
 mu bha-dhuu sepe sa-nava,
 da naji-i --,
 mettu da kaa-a gho -,
atau ma'a barangkali go kolo da gare -;
 mu bha'i-bholo.
172. Te-ebbu pu'u dhiri pee dhiri,
 mu-u ledhe da tebbu vunu nguza kena-na./
173. Vado - vado,
 punu pee zelee,
naji,
 "O-o ! Lau da tebbu,
 mu -- vu-u-nu mara nguza-vezo --;
 mu da melle."
174. Naji,
 "Molo-gha --;
 dhuu-venngi-zua-na -- kau la'a vai ngaa !"

Narrative Paragraph 5

175. Dhuu-venngi-zua vi la'a ngaa pee lau emma --,
 ngedho lau,
 go lobo mara moe ana-gala-na./
176. Lau lobo papa tuki moli-gha pekka,
 da pu'u nava pee nava-na ;
 lobo papa tuki moli-gha pekka.
177. ² O -- vado pee zelee,
naji,
 "O ! Lau mu lobo papa tuki moli-ghaa pekka;
 lobo ngemme lau mara moe ana-gala."
178. Naji,
 "Kenna-na! Kenna kau vi tei-na !
179. Dhuu-venngi-zua kau la'a-si lasa vali uma pee lau !"

Narrative Paragraph 6

180. Dhuu-venngi-zua la'a lasa pee lau ---
 a-a ie ! emma,
 ngedho,
naji,
 mu go li'e-ngemme kenna mu da he-e-e-ke moli-moli-na.
181. Ledhe go li'e mara moe go ---
 di .. dia ne'e isi-kita dhanga nabhe,
naji,
 "O ! Mote lege,
 moe tavu tere."

182. Mu da li'e heke moli-moli :
 ma'a da ngemme meze-meze,
 ngemme keddhi-keddhi,
 ghio-ghao vi kenna-na -;
 benn-n-u-bennu uma./
183. Naji,
 da vunu pota moli ;
 ledhe bua go-go .. ngemme kena-kena.
184. Vado-vado,
 naji,
 '0 ! Lau ma-a-sa vunu-vunu lau-na mu pota moi ;
 dhomi bua tei da li'e kena-kena,
 me'a go li'e-ngemme kena-kena."
185. Naji,
 "Kenna-na ! -- Dhoo-venngi-zua - kau la'a vai ngaa pee lau !"
186. Dhano ledhe go venngi-zua dongo-pau-na emma.

Narrative Paragraph 7

187. Dhoo-venngi-zua vi la'a ngaa pee lau-na emma --,
 masa go ngemme kenna pota moi,
 bua go ule kena-kena.
188. Vado,
 naji,
 '0-o kau loja-dhoa --;
 ngemme lau da mu-u mara heki-pezzo --;
 lau mu-u go ule kaa moli-moli,
 ule seppa moli-moli,
 go tegge da seppa."
189. Naji,
 "Bha'i apa-apa ! Kenna dhoo-venngi .. --
 dhoo-venngi-zua-na -- kau la'a ngaa vali !"

Narrative Paragraph 8

190. Naji,
 "Di-na-na,
 dhoo-venngi-zua ---
 moe keze dhoo-venngi-zua,
 kau la'a ngaa-na -,
 di-na kau begge-si -- ze-le-ulu -,
 punu sai lau eko -,
 naji : (chanting)
 '0-o ! Zele ulu-u --:
 masa tubo sa'o da ze'e-na e-e,
 miu voa-si ! --;
 o-o ! Lau-eko-o --:
 masa tubo teda da ze'e-na e-e,
 miu voa-sei --;
 miu gelu-si,
 masa me'a lenga da ze'e --,
 gelu-si,
 masa me'a keru da ze'e --,
 ma'a go tubo boo miu gee logo sa'o,
 dhano moe kenna !'"

191. Dia emma ;
 rivu gee go-go .. -- gee tolo teda kenna,
 mara benga-jea,
 ma'a da mosa-ngai sa-vegga rumu .. m .. mumu-rupa e' ;
 bhisi laki kenna,
pu'u naji,
 "A ! Loo ana da jongo-jere,
 da dhanga kaa la'e kima kita,
 da tau-ti'i-na -;
 mu ngee begge ngata gita,
 naji,
 "No-o ! Voa-si tubo -,
 tau-si teda,
 gelu-si lenga" -;
 'ai ! Kau dia ka ke'e -- kaa .. kaa meze ke'e,
k .. tau buku meze ke'e ?"
192. Rivu mara dhemi-ami-na emma.
193. Dhemmi-nea laki kenna
 naji,
 "Dia da jongo-jere,
 mu ngee begge gita -:
 vi ngee voa go tubo sa'o,
 vi ngee gelu go lenga,
 vi gelu ma'a go keru ;
 kazi ke'e nennga tau buku meze,
 vi nennga kaa meze ke'e ?"
194. Punu-punu ne Penu kenna,
naji,
 "O ! Rivu dia mara dhemmi-ami./
195. Rivu ke'e bha'i dhepo --
 ja'o da begge."/
196. Naji,
 "Molo-gha gazi ;
 kazi nga bha'i dhepo -,
 lozi kau da begge-e.
197. Di-na,
 dhuu-venngi-zua kau siba la'a ngaa !"

Narrative Paragraph 9

198. Emma,
 vi la'a ngaa pee lau kenna-na,
 masa go ule kenna-na - bha'i moli tei./
199. Pota-nea masa ule kenna-na ;
 bb .. -- bhale-nea moi-gha pekka tau go kaba --:
 da kodhe siba pia me'a --,
 da mosa siba ghee me'a,
ledhe da mettu dhano mu ghee me'a ;
 zale-mai da bile-jekka siba ghee me'a,
 zae-mai me'a da moka,
 me'a da sivo-lima siba ghee me'a emma.

200. Nga ne'le kita-ata,
ma'a ho'o-feo ngata kenna-na bennu uma kenna devve-na,
vi jaga go-go .. --
vi poja go kaba kenna-na.
201. Kazi siba olo nuka pee zele -,
naji,
'O ! Masa go ule lau mu pota moi-moi-na./
202. Lau-mai ve-e go zeggu kaba,
lau-mai mu ngere tiga --:
da kodhe siba pia me'a,
da mosa siba pia me'a --,
ma'e lau-mai da mettu,
da bile-jekka --,
da moka-haki,
si-i-ba papa duge me'a ngata vi kenna."
203. Naji,
"E'e ! Kenna go gita-na."
204. "E'e go gita -,
vai ba dia kita vi pia vai apa ?"
205. Naji,
"Da nga ngata --;
dhuu-venngi-zua kau la'a vai ngaa !"

Narrative Paragraph 10

206. Dhuu-venngi-zua emma,
vi la'a ngaa,
sabu lau-mai para-kisa zala,
kenna ma'a ho'o-feo kenna da ie kaba pee dia-na.
207. Kazi vi vado pee zele nua-na emma --,
zele-mai ngedho-si :
sa'o kazi so tau-gha sa'o muzi -,
kopo kaba zele loggo sa'o kazi kenna ba gege-songa -,
go boo vai,
boo sa-meze-meze -,
eta go vea-loda-na vi bennu sa'o emma.
208. Naji,
"Di-na-na -,
lezza devve-na kita nga dhoro ja'i-na."

Narrative Paragraph 11

209. Nuka-si da ho'o-feo kenna pu'u lau-mai,
bennu nua emma ;
sa-vegga da dheo goo-laba --,
dhapi ma'a kaba dia 'ano,
sa-vegga lii vo'e zale nua kenna./
210. Rivu da -- dhepo-pii ana-halo kenna emma -,
go kaba nga mebe sa'o-na,
siba bha'i boka.

211. Sa-vegha da bha'i dhepo ana-halo kenna-na emma,
sa'o kenna da .. kaba da bua mebe noa-noa,
ma-a-ra buru-bara da boka.

Narrative Paragraph 12

212. Na hoga kenna tau-zua zele ---
meo Vegu ana-halo kenna pee zele ---
da fai siba ngara pebbhi-vekki.
213. Naji,
"Di-na kita nga pebbhi-vekki,
nga dhoro ja'i ;
kenna me'a ho'o-feo kita lii-gha ne'e goo-laba kenna."
214. Kenna me'a ho'o-feo kenna siba nga lii ne'e goo-laba emma ;
kazi pebbhi-vekki,
dhoro ja'i./
215. Nga ja'i kenna,
moe ke'e kita dia vi naji,
go 'pesta kave' ke'e-na./
216. Kenna hoga siba nga papa dhekke dhuu bupu-mata emma.

Section VII

Expository Paragraph 1

217. Kenna naji,
"Kaba ngata go Vegu" ---
lau-mai da Bai mara kaba voso-na ---
kenna naji,
"Kaba ngata go Vegu ne'e ana-halo-na,
Vegu ne'e Penu kenna devve-na-na."

Narrative Paragraph 2

218. Resi dhomi bua da eko .. sa-eko kenna,
da mosa,
da kodhe meze-na emma,
da repo-repo-na,
vi lole nua kenna-na,
mu lole talo -;
lau-mai siba bale-nea vatu.
219. Vi lole pee zee bata nua-na ---
go zeggu dia ke'e da bai leva-na ---
vi lole kenna ---
da .. go bata nua piro kata-na ---
kenna siba bale-nea vatu.
220. Lau-mai siba punu,
naji,
"0 ! Kaba dia kaba go Vegu - ana-halo - ne'e go Penu."

Narrative Paragraph 3

221. Sa-vegha kenna siba la'a tugi zee one kopo -;
sa-vegha kenna siba toa./
222. Naji,
'Toa kai .. kaba kenna ---
toa -- da ledhe da kodhe-na eko bulu-zua -,
ne'e da mosa eko bulu-zua ;
siba nga ghoko-bhaghi,
ti'i rivu kenna devve-na-na."

Expository Paragraph 4

223. Kenna siba nga dhuu di-na naji,
kaba lau-mai da voso lau Bai-na -,
kenna pu'u kaba ngata go Vegu ana-halo - ne'e go-go .. --
Penu kenna-na.
224. Menna Kolupenu siba tame Kolupenu-Kolupenu-na,
pu'u kelu .. "kolu" Penu pu'u tevve kenna-na emma.
225. (mm.)
226. Di-na go nange - Vegu ana-halo - ne'e -- ne'e ne Penu-na.

Section VIII A

Expository Paragraph 1

227. Kenna go-go -- nange hoga lau-mai Bai./
228. Kenna mali ja'o punu ne'e hoga lau,
hoga lau naji,
"E bha'i ! Dia kau dia mu ana da mu .. mu guku ;
kau mu dhujū,
ngee puru."
229. Ja'o naji,
"Tu'u ;
ja'o da -- zenngē emma ja'o,
dhanga punu nange./
230. Ja'o magha,
naji,
nange ja'o nga sala,
kenna napa miu da Bai o ..
gezze me viu vado vai,
tau nettu.
231. Ngaza nange da molo,
siba 'ano tau,
pennga-pennga tau nange kita kenna !"

Section VIII B

Expository Paragraph 1

232. Kenna lau ngaza nga vula tau buku kenna devve-na-na --,
 lau da saa-ngaza moe dia-na --: (chanting)
 'nga'o beddhu pu'u Saraseddu,
 tuga ne'e su'a 'ura tellu --:
 sa-vunga nga'o kemma 'uma,
 sa-vunga nga'o kaza tua,
 sa-vunga nga'o noo nua --;
 nga'o pu'u kenna
 venngi 'api so'o lila bekki --;
 nga'o dua pu'u Takatunga,
 tuga ne'e su'a 'ura zua --;
 sa-vunga nga'o kemma 'uma,
 sa-vunga nga'o kaza tua.''
233. Kenna save vado vai ne'e pata da-da .. Dhaga kenna devve-na -,
 benno naji, (chanting)
 'Nga'o hoga Dhaga ;
 nga'o kage vaja --:
 zeta tolo nga'o dhanga ghogho,
 zale tana nga'o dhanga ta'a ;
 laba !''

Expository Paragraph 2

234. Kenna hoga lau da dhange save pata ;
 da Sese da bodha .. bodha saa ghe'e pulu dia-na.
235. (M'm.)
236. Sebab mereka go-go .. keturunan ne Penu kenna devve-na,
 da pu'u dia Takatunga emma.
237. Kenna ledhe s.. ledhe saa-gha pu'u dia-na.

2.2.1. The morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the text
Legend¹ Penu² WITH Vegu³ child-orphan

1. *EXIST⁴ FROM long=ago AGAIN FATHER,*
that⁵ - da -- SIDE>RECIPROCAL ask go FEMALE⁶ --,
of=course ALL=INDEF.N count (each)⁷ village FATHER find-ALREADY ALSO,
ask FEMALE FROM long=ago./
2. *go mother-sister (Fsi)⁸ this⁹-na must¹⁰ listen¹¹ -,*
go fishhook (choice of spouse)¹² mother-father (parents) da cast¹³,
fishhook (choice of spouse) father-brother (MBr)¹⁴ da cast.
3. *IF¹⁵ go fishhook mother-father -- da -- cast --,*
aunt-divine (HONORIFIC)¹⁶ that mu refuse -,
da le put=in-stocks¹⁷-away¹⁸ SHE=PITY.
4. *put=in-stocks :*
TRUE¹⁹ generation²⁰ WE=EXCL this NOT overlap²¹ -,
only go tell-compare²².

5. *put=in=stocks :*
da le tie=in=bunches-away SHE=PITY,
SAY,
"YOU=CL must yes²³ WITH²⁴ da young=man²⁵ that-na !
6. *that BASE da good right eye²⁶ WE=EXCL this-na --,*
perfect liver²⁷ WE=EXCL this-na."
7. *(uh-huh.)*
8. *one²⁸-CLASS.ACT²⁹-EXIST>MISS³⁰ Penu FATHER.*
9. *MISS Penu that FROM SEAWARD-COME³¹ Takatunga³²./*
10. *SHE - ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother (MBR) teach=by=showing³³ HER,*
SAY,
SHE must vi - WITH -- da young=man that-na.
11. *nga WITH da young=man that -,*
SHE Penu da refuse.
12. *nga refuse -,*
ALSO da .. ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother that-na mu --
fill-push=down³⁴,
cook-push=to=fill³⁵ like³⁶ that,
SAY,
"YOU=CL must yes WITH da young=man that !"/
13. *SHE³⁷ mu refuse.*
14. *SHE SAY,*
"good ;
IF YOU=DI ALL=INDEF.N father-brother I³⁸ ALL=IDS.PL fill-push=down,
ALL=DIS.PL cook-push=to=fill -,
vi be=satisfied liver YOU=DI,
I this nga go fall-ravine³⁹."
15. *SHE THEN go fall-ravine FATHER.*
16. *FROM SEAWARD-COME Takatunga that-na -SHE this-this ascend,*
this-this ascend,
arrive SEAWARD-COME Saraseddu⁴⁰./
17. *Saraseddu Saraseddu .. that LEFT-LEFT be=on=the=road,*
LEFT-LEFT be=on=the=road -,
UNTIL ALSO arrive SEAWARD-COME Zeu --,
AS=FAR=AS LEFT So 'a./
18. *FROM So'a that ALSO go=on=well=arranged ON=AND=ON,*
arrive LEFT -,
UNTIL ALSO arrive LEFT go river Kolupenu⁴¹ FATHER.
19. *nga arrive LEFT Kolupenu -,*
SHE THEN - climb⁴² TRUE UP on=top wood⁴³./
20. *though da brother⁴⁴ that SAY call return,*
SAY,
"INTERJ : vi be=satisfied THEN liver YOU=DI ALL=INDEF.N brother I-na,
YOU=DI vi look THEN -,
SAY,
I this da fall-ravine true-true⁴⁵."

21. *climb TRUE UP on=top wood FATHER -,
at brink⁴⁶ pond big,
SHE THEN plunge⁴⁷ REFLEXIVE (by herself) body⁴⁸ AS=FAR=AS DOWN*
22. *DOWN go pond big.*
23. *DOWN inside pond big FATHER -,
that SHE THEN -- transform make⁴⁹ go fish big.*
24. *ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother that vi descend AS=FAR=AS DOWN pond -,
INTERJ AS=FAR=AS DOWN pond that-na,
look-ALREADY go what -;
only ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL TRUE look-ALREADY CLASS.ACT⁵⁰ go fish big./*
25. *SAY,
"INTERJ ! sister WE=INCL Penu this die-ALREADY ;
go fish this da swallow."*
26. *ALL THEY that THEN return FATHER -- ALL=INDEF.N da brother.*
27. *nga return AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD COME Takatunga,
THEN sever-throw⁵¹.*
28. *sever-throw finish -,
SAY,
this da mother-sister da die-ALREADY-na.*
29. *SEAWARD go Bat⁵² FATHER --,
SEAWARD -- EXIST Vegu child-orphan.*
30. *INTERJ Vegu child-orphan that-na ---
da child-orphan FROM long=ago ;
generation YOU=DI ALL=INDEF.N FATHER this NOT-anymore-ALREADY overlap,
go child-orphan FROM long=ago FATHER./*
31. *go child-orphan FROM long=ago-na,
WE=EXCL this da overlap,
da wear this-na :
wear only mu go loincloth bare FATHER.*
32. *PEOPLE⁵³ nga WITH quest⁵⁴ row=of=houses RIGHT,
ALSO distribute⁵⁵ HE=PITY that :
scoop=using=one 's=hands⁵⁶ one-pinch -,
distribute meat ---
squeeze big⁵⁷ da bone⁵⁸ ---
THEN give HE=PITY one-bone bone-two.*
33. *WITH quest SEAWARD tail=of=the=village⁵⁹ --,
nga WITH quest row=of=houses LEFT,
WITH quest UPHILL head=of=the=village⁶⁰,
ALSO like that.*
34. *FATHER,
Penu that-na get=up one-morning⁶¹ --,
THEN -- jump AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD one-waterfall ;
get=up one-night ,
THEN jump AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD one-waterfall.*

35. MISTER *Vegu that-na ---*
SEAWARD Bai,
 go *be=alive livelihood THEY IF go month-day⁶³-na FATHER,*
that THEY ALL=DIS.PL lean (install) go fishtrap⁶⁴./
36. *da weave⁶⁵ fishtrap ALL=INDEF.N big-big like this-na./*
37. FATHER *perhaps used=to see ALL=INDEF.N fishtrap :*
 ALL=INDEF.N *DOWN (over) Java=island maybe,*
 ALL=INDEF.N *at this maybe ?/*
38. *that go fishtrap ALL=INDEF.N big-big,*
vi lean install at male=genitals-water⁶⁶./
39. *IF ALL=INDEF.N go fish or go eel nga enter -,*
that vi make MOMENTARY=ASP.M⁶⁷ --
vi -- make=do⁶⁸ night.
40. HE=PITY *that AFOREMENTIONED da blind⁶⁹ ALL=DIS.PL go dumb FATHER.*
41. *people-WE=INCL⁷⁰ IF da lean go fishtrap like that :*
 go *leaf grass da le line like this-na,*
must⁷¹ turn⁷² right⁷³ ALL-ALL -,
line go water,
vi enter ALL AS=FAR=AS DOWN inside-na./
42. *that go fish or go eel or>Q.TAG,*
vi be=able⁷⁴ enter DOWN inside fishtrap that-na.
43. *IF go leaf ALSO da le line,*
where at BASE da le shove-up=side=down -,
even-perhaps-though eel that -- brink-ALREADY fishtrap,
like this-na,
HE be=able withdraw return FATHER.
44. BASE *reason⁷⁵ da like that,*
happen⁷⁶ -,
god-multi=coloured⁷⁷ perhaps mu cry=as=a=baby HE ---
 go -- *male=beast⁷⁸-male⁷⁹ (HONORIFIC) Vegu child-orphan that-na -,*
one-morning-morning vi go lift fishtrap :
 ALSO ALL+CONTRAST.COLL.PL *go crab WITH go shrimp -;*
one-morning-morning THEN lift :
nga go lift fishtrap,
 ALSO ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL *go crab WITH go shrimp./*
45. BASE *SAY,*
 go *child-orphan this da-da .. -- da install ignorant fishtrap-na FATHER.*
46. *like ALL=INDEF.N da male=beast-male (HONORIFIC) that,*
HE used=to know install fishtrap,
HE -- find⁸⁰ go eel,
find go fish ALL=INDEF.N big-big.
47. *DOWN inside year two FATHER --,*
 MISS *Penu that AFOREMENTIONED-na da transform go fish big-na,*
 SHE THEN *mu go=straight AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD-na.*
48. *go=straight AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD,*
 mu -- *go=straight,*
 me *enter TRUE fishtrap go-go -- Vegu child-orphan that-na.*

49. vi enter fishtrap go Vegu child-orphan ---
 get=up-morning-PARTICIPLE⁸¹-na,
 HE vi look ---
 perhaps like FROM SEAWARD-COME go-go -- house⁸² Amatus-na ---
 place elevation that ---
 that da look AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD office District=Chief,
 like that-na,
 FROM river SEAWARD Bai ---
 vi look AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD-na go-go ...--
 at fishtrap HE that,
 go water da le bubbling-foaming (onomatopoeic).
50. IF water bubbling-forming,
 DOWN-COME da must⁸³ go trash da choke,
 or da WITH-ALREADY CLASS.TIME content (catch) DOWN inside-na.
51. HE mu whisper-VERY-easy⁸⁴,
 SAY,
 "INTERJ ! like-WITH-divine⁸⁵ fish mu enter THEN in⁸⁶ go-go ..
 fishtrap I,
 THEN eel IF=ONLY enter THEN HIM> PREFER.M .
52. I this ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL one-year-year -- one-day-day come
 AS=FAR=AS this :
 ALSO ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL catch⁸⁷ shrimp - crab./
53. like-WITH-divine -- father-god mu carry=a=baby (load) IF=ONLY THEN
 HIM>PREFER.M WITH ME.
54. arrive AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD FATHER,
 HE LOOK da tail=of=fish (fin) one-small (a little/a small portion)⁸⁸,
 REMAIN long nod-short (tassel)⁸⁹-na,
 UP above fishtrap-na.
55. ALL (the whole) mu long this-na,
 DOWN finish-ALREADY-CLASS.ACT inside fishtrap-na.
56. HE vi glance-gawk,
 vi-vi .. -- vi mu lift fishtrap ;
 be=afraid ALL=INDEF.N da male=beast-male (HONORIFIC) UP-COME above
 upstream that,
 male=beast-FATHER (HONORIFIC) --,
 ALL=INDEF.N male=beast-older=sibling⁹⁰ (HONORIFIC) that above
 downstream,
 lest rob (take away) go fish HE.
57. HE push=upward-push=upward,
 THEN lay=horizontal return ;
 push=upward-push=upward,
 THEN lay=horizontal return.
58. wait=until ALL=INDEF.N da male=beast-male (HONORIFIC) that mu ..
 return finish-ALREADY CLASS.ACT-na FATHER,
 HE THEN me carry=on=the=shoulder.
59. lift=to=make=stand=upright fishtrap HE,
 THEN carry=on=the=shoulder.

60. *carry=on=the=shoulder-carry=on=the=shoulder -- perhaps STILL one=half kilometer,*
THEN rest --,
heavy --;
carry=on=the=shoulder-carry=on=the=shoulder STILL one=half kilometer,
rest,
heavy --;
UNTIL ALSO arrive AS=FAR=AS UPHILL village HE-na FATHER./
61. *village da far.*
62. *village perhaps ALSO like this WITH AS=FAR=AS UP Manguleva⁹¹,*
da village WE=INCL STILL just enter first⁹² FROM THIS-COME FATHER.
63. *arrive AS=FAR=AS UPHILL village ;*
PARTICIPLE go house⁹³ da be=torn-ugly⁹⁴ FATHER.
64. *vi rest one-landmark-landmark⁹⁵--,*
look fish HE that ---
fruit⁹⁶-eye STILL nennga stare-stare⁹⁷ ---
STILL NOT die ;
rest one-landmark-landmark,
look fish HE that,
STILL NOT=YET die./
65. *last nga arrive UPHILL inside house -,*
HE ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL start=a=fire=by=blowing fire ---
this WITH old-adult⁹⁸ (HONORIFIC) FROM long=ago SAY -,
"shake-shake bamboo=container=for=holding=grain-bamboo=container=
for=holding=liquid⁹⁹,
put=on=the=fire-put=on=the=fire frying=pan,
NOT fry>parch what."/
66. *go child-orphan da like that-na FATHER.*
67. *(uh-huh.)*
68. *start=a=fire=by=blowing-start=a=fire=by=blowing,*
THEN put=on=the=fire-put=on=the=fire frying=pan./
69. *HE mu tear-up da fishtrap HE at¹⁰⁰ DOWN tip-na,*
vi take go crab shrimp DOWN bottom that AFOREMENTIONED-na-na -,
vi make soft¹⁰¹ WITH ALL=INDEF.N go edible=leaf southistle (Sonchus
oleraceus), WITH ALL=INDEF.N go wild=lettuce (Lactu) -, ALL=INDEF.N
go edible=leaf -- fern (Athyrum filix-femina), edible-leaf soy ---
FROM LEFT river just=now>AFOREMENTIONED¹⁰²-na HE da pick=leaf -,
vi make MOMENTARY=ASP.M make=do day that-na FATHER.
70. *nga simmer go crab shrimp that,*
nga finish -,
HE vi look-look go fish,
ALSO STILL be=alive.
71. *STILL be=alive --,*
HE NOT kill¹⁰³./

72. ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL *hold=down-away ALL WITH ALL=INDEF.N go bamboo=container=for=holding=grain-bamboo=container=for=holding grain HE, bamboo=container=for=holding=grain da ugly that -, fishtrap that put DOWN inside, cover WITH rag old=and=ugly, HE THEN THEN go=to=work=in=the=garden*¹⁰⁴.
73. INTERJ *go=to=work=in=the=garden AS=FAR=AS DOWN garden HE that AFOREMENTIONED-na, go garden da child-orphan AGAIN FATHER -, such*¹⁰⁵.
74. da SAY,
"INTERJ ! INTERJ *garden tall=grass*¹⁰⁶,
*nga weed (Imperata cylindrica)*¹⁰⁷ *return*¹⁰⁸."
75. *like FS .. ALL=INDEF.N da sing*¹⁰⁹ *da young=woman-young=man FROM long=ago, SAY, "INTERJ ! YOU=CL DO=NOT (vetative) leave ME, DO=NOT (vetative) leave ME ; garden I tall=grass, nga weed (Imperate cylindrica) return."/*
76. *that go child=orphan ; garden HE=PITY ALSO big*⁵⁷ *go weed (Imperata cylindrica)-na./*
77. *weed=using=garden=knife-weed=using-garden=knife weed (Imperate cylindrica) that, return AS FAR AS UPHILL FATHER -; RELATIVISER not=yet ever happen.*
78. vi *go look-look AS=FAR=AS UPHILL that-na -; go steamed=rice da -- set=on=embers dry-ALREADY CLASS.TIME --; clay=cooking=pot one-class.GLOB.O again, this go meat -- deer, da STILL raw>fresh --; DOWN-COME THEN fragrant-wasp=sting FATHER.*
79. *this PARTICIPLE EXIST go child-orphan this, SAY, "INTERJ YOU=CL*¹¹⁰ *! steamed=rice who this da cook, this meat who this da simmer, keep=for*¹¹¹ *ME ?"*
80. *look-look-look-look-look circle*¹¹² *-AROUND -, NOT -- NOT meet who.*
81. vi *look fish that, ALSO STILL be=alive FATHER.*
82. *think-think-think-think-think --- perhaps ALSO like FROM just=now-na WE=INCL child-father this, da graze*¹¹⁴ *edible=leaf*¹¹⁵ *finish UNTIL this./*
83. SAY,
*"yes-perhaps*¹¹⁶ *; I even nga die --, ALSO together die WITH ALL=INDEF.N mother-father I."/*

84. REMAIN mu scoop go steamed=rice that FATHER,
 dip true steamed=rice that,
 put in gourd=plate¹¹⁷,
 HE THEN mu eat¹¹⁸ - WITH meat that./
85. eat-eat nga finish -,
 SAY,
 vi scoop AGAIN,
 ALSO this FS ..-- hear be=full=after=eating-up-ALREADY-na -;
 happen>so ..,
 "good-ALREADY THEN,
 this CONT.ASP.M keep=for wait=until morning."
86. eat finish,
 vi sleep,
 HE ALSO look fish that-na,
 STILL be=alive stay-PROG.ASP.M ;
 THEN ALSO mu sleep.
87. get=up-morning-PARTICIPLE FROM chicken-crow¹¹⁹,
 look¹²⁰ steamed=rice that,
 da leftover>remainder,
 WITH meat THEN warm¹²¹ return AGAIN./
88. warm-warm,
 THEN nga go=to=work=in=the=garden AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD
89. vi return AGAIN earth¹²²-evening¹²³ AS=FAR=AS UPHILL,
 return to the village¹²⁴ FROM SEAWARD garden-na,
 that return AS=FAR=AS UPHILL,
 look NOT-ALREADY CLASS.ACT go meat deer -,
 look-ALREADY CLASS.ACT but¹²⁵ go seasoned=meat=strip-deer FATHER.
90. go seasoned=meat=strip-deer da cooked¹²⁶-ALREADY,
 ALSO steamed=rice that cook PREVIOUSLY cooked.
91. ALSO think-think-think,
 SAY,
 "yes-perhaps ;
 even I nga die,
 mu die."/
92. ALSO REMAIN mu dip TRUE steamed=rice that - WITH seasoned=meat=strip that,
 THEN REMAIN eat./
93. eat-eat nga be=full=after=eating,
 that flame¹²⁷>AFOREMENTIONED da leftover>remainder-na,
 THEN FS .. keep=for wait=until morning-PARTICIPLE.
94. SIDE exchange ON=AND=ON that -- go meat that-na FATHER :
 one-day come¹²⁸ THEN go meat eel,
 one-day come THEN but fish --
 FS .. fish da STILL raw fresh -,
 one-day come THEN but go meat water=buffalo.
95. ALSO SIDE exchange-dip ON=AND=ON HE that count (each) day, count (each)
 day FATHER./

96. *last one-day,*
SAY,
HE month three-ALREADY-na -,
think-think-think-think-think,
SAY,
"I this vi le LIKE-WHERE (how)¹²⁹ this ?
97. *mu I mu return earth-evening,*
who support cook,
give ME this -;
mu ALL=DIS.PL cook,
da good bare.
98. *I this vi le LIKE-WHERE (how) ?"*
99. *last one-day that,*
HE THEN mu go=to=work=in=the=garden./
100. *go=to=work=in=the=garden like this WITH SEAWARD office District=Chief -,*
HE THEN return.
101. *return=return,*
THEN climb at go ledge-house¹³⁰ FATHER.
102. *ledge-house ---*
like people-WE=INCL FROM long=ago ---
like this da face>front¹³¹ toward UPHILL ---
da WITH protrude WITH go beam that ;
WITH -- WITH SEAWARD back>behind,
go beam da stick=out./
103. *THEN climb ;*
climb,
vi hide that UP go ledge-house-na.
104. *HE vi look --,*
look DOWN-COME inside that-na :
da winnow-sort=unhulled=rice=and=wash PROG.ASP.M go hulled=rice
DOWN-COME,
da young=woman-beautiful>clean appearance-perfect FATHER.
105. *winnow-winnow hulled=rice that,*
sort-sort finish,
THEN -- pour hulled=rice that AS=FAR=AS DOWN¹³² clay=ccoking=pot./
106. *DOWN-COME water da PREVIOUSLY boiling=noisily-ALREADY.*
107. *pour hulled=rice finish -,*
THEN lift but go-go -- seasoned=meat=strip water=buffalo,
THEN mu slice.
108. *slice-slice finish,*
THEN simmer.
109. *simmer-simmer nga finish -,*
SHE SAY,
vi return AS=FAR=AS UPHILL inside go-go -- inside fishtrap-na FATHER --,
this-COME HITHER -- male=beast-male (HONORIFIC) Vegu child-orphan
that AFOREMENTIONED -,
THEN cough --,
"INTERJ ! YOU=CL soul>captive¹³³ that-na !

110. YOU=CL mu count (each) day, count (each) day,
I think,
SAY,
"who maybe ?""
111. INTERJ : FATHER --,
CHILD-SHE=DI¹³⁴ that mu -- collapse ;
collapse ALSO,
THEN die ALSO-na ;
MISS Penu that.
112. HE climb-climb AS=FAR=AS that FS ..
AS=FAR=AS vi UP inside look,
SAY,
"INTERJ YOU=CL¹³⁵ :
CHILD-SHE=DI :
113. I vi le LIKE-WHERE (how) ?
114. CHILD-SHE=DI this da young=woman-beautiful appearance-perfect./
115. I this perhaps nga hungry return ?"/
116. vi look go fish AS=FAR=AS UPHILL fishtrap that-
remain ALL=INDEF.N da scale bare-na.
117. think-think-think-think-think-think-think - ;
long=time FATHER.
118. long=time-na,
perhaps ALSO like INTERJ SAY¹³⁶,
like place SAY,
FS .. two-three hour perhaps-na./
119. HE THEN think-think-think like that,
SAY,
"yes -- yes-perhaps¹¹⁶ ;
even SHE nga die,
mu yes-perhaps !"
120. HE lift ALL=INDEF.N go scale fish that-na FATHER --,
THEN parch¹³⁷.
121. parch-parch AS=FAR=AS DOWN fire -,
pour=liquid TRUE WITH water full large=gourd=container¹³⁸ INTERJ ---
toza that go gourd big-na FATHER.
122. pour=liquid WITH water full large=gourd=container,
da big wash=basin this-na - ;
THEN nga pound-up go scale fish that AFOREMENTIONED-na,
HE da parch burned>charred-burned./
123. pound be=pulverised-be=pulverised,
grind be=pulverised-be=pulverised,
THEN PUT FS .. mix-mix DOWN inside water.
124. UNTIL ALSO go water that vi full large=gourd=container that, da murky,
da mu go fish big-na FATHER -- ;
le murky-up-na./

125. *THEN take-THEN that,*
mu smear ALL FROM UP head this-na FATHER ;
ALL -- smear ALL that circle body./
126. *nga arrive DOWN foot>leg¹³⁹-na,*
CHILD-SHE=DI that THEN regain=consciousness return.
127. *regain=consciousness,*
THEN be=alive return./
128. *SAY,*
"INTERJ YOU=CL : YOU=CL NOT good --;
YOU=CL IF=ONLY DO=NOT-YET spy=and=startle ME-na !"
129. *"INTERJ SAY,*
spy=and=startle YOU=CL.O da LIKE-WHERE (why)¹⁴⁰ ?
130. *YOU=CL THEN da NOT PREVIOUSLY tell."*
131. *"yes ! YOU=CL NOT GOOD --;*
YOU=CL IF=ONLY nga like that-na,
YOU=CL IF=ONLY PREVIOUSLY tell-along¹⁴¹ ME./
132. *yes ! YOU=CL NOT good ;*
YOU=CL da PREVIOUSLY .. PREVIOUSLY greet ME."
133. *SAY,*
"yes ! I IF=ONLY - PREVIOUSLY know,
BASE SAY,
YOU=CL -- PREVIOUSLY tell ME -,
that I vi-vi -- DO=NOT (vetative) spy=and=startle YOU=CL.O-na.
134. *reason I vi return=to=the=village one-evening-evening,*
this steamed=rice PREVIOUSLY cooked,
meat PREVIOUSLY cooked -;
return=to=the=village one-evening-evening,
steamed=rice PREVIOUSLY cooked,
FS .. FS .. meat PREVIOUSLY cooked./
135. *YOU=CL IF=ONLY nga NOT see face,*
IF=ONLY hear-out,
da speak,
SAY,
"INTERJ ! -- YOU=CL lest SAY,
"human=being (unknown=person)¹⁴² -;
this-COME EXIST ME,
I support cook-lift,
give YOU=CL.O."
136. *that like-along that,*
I vi know.
137. *this NOT ;*
YOU=CL ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL cook,
but YOU=CL THEN hide-away return body-body¹⁴³ YOU=CL,
hide-away appearance YOU=CL.
138. *this-na I vi PREVIOUSLY da spy=and=startle YOU=CL.O-na."*

139. SAY,
 "yes good -;
 provided YOU=CL DO=NOT inconsiderately tell --,
 DO=NOT-YET inconsiderately tell people !
140. this-na YOU=CL know-ALREADY CLASS.ACT like this-na - ,
 count (each) day YOU=CL just¹⁴⁴ go=to=work=in=the=garden-return=to=the=
 village --,
 like count (each) day-na !
141. DO=NOT-YET inconsiderately FS ..
 DO=NOT-YET inconsiderately tell people !
142. INTERJ ! morning-PARTICIPLE (tomorrow)-na - YOU=CL -- go
 go=to=work=in=the=garden AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD -;
 one-breath¹⁴⁵ (later) night this-na YOU=CL sharpen machete¹⁴⁶ ,
 sharp¹⁴⁷ good-good !/
143. YOU go=to=work=in=the=garden AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD-na ,
 cut=with=the=machete=as=high=as=one 's=head ALL-ALL ALL=INDEF.N go
 wood-cloud (tall trees) rope (vine)-liana,
 SEAWARD circle (around) garden-na !
144. that in=order=that¹⁴⁸ SAY,
 garden WE=INCL vi spacious."
145. SAY,
 "good !"
146. get=up-morning-PARTICIPLE (the next morning) FATHER,
 HE vi go cut=with=the=machete=as=high=as=one 's=knees ALL
 ALL=INDEF.N go forest big that./
147. forest big people-WE=INCL FROM long=ago SAY,
 go wood-cloud (tall trees) rope (vine)-liana- ,
 forest dense FATHER.
148. that SAY,
 wood-cloud rope-liana-na.
149. wood ALL=INDEF.N armspan three ALL=INDEF.N armspan four,
 that ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL (just) breath (strength) HE Vegu
 child-orphan that AFOREMENTIONED-na-na - ,
 UNORDERED=PL.A noise (onomatopoeic)-fall=with=echo.
150. UNORDERED=PL.A noise (onomatopoeic)-fall=with=echo FATHER ;
 day that FS ..
 ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL (just) -- HE work one-body-body HE one-CLASS.HUMAN
 (person)-na - ,
 SAY,
 mu be=able same perhaps go garden sir (missionary)¹⁴⁹ SEAWARD-COME
 Malanuz¹⁵⁰ ,
 da five ten hectare-na FATHER --;
 mu be=able same big like that.
151. that following go legend,
 HE clan>friend¹⁵¹ da tell-na.

152. FROM *that FATHER --,*
HE vi return=to=the=village AS=FAR=AS UPHILL -,
 THEN *tell,*
 SAY,
 "INTERJ ! SEAWARD *just=now-na,*
 ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL ME *alone da-da .. -- da clean=garden=*
before=planting,
da cut=bushes=to=make=clearing ALL=INDEF.N wood,
cut=at=the=base ALL=INDEF.N wood SEAWARD-na -,
tooth-weed (garden clearing)¹⁵² SEAWARD mu open=open=wide
unexpected¹⁵³ one-big-big ;
mu hollow-open>free unexpected one-big-big."
153. SAY,
 "that-na ! UNTIL-night>when-two (the day after tomorrow)¹⁵⁴
 YOU=CL go burn !"
154. INTERJ ! UNTIL-night-two I go burn,
 THEN ALSO be=able be=burned or NOT ?"
155. SAY,
 "da be=burned HE¹⁵⁵."
156. UNTIL-night-two YOU=CL THEN go burn-THEN !"
157. UNTIL-night-two FATHER -- HE=PITY THEN mu go burn./
158. vi burn AS=FAR=AS that,
 SAY,
 INTERJ be=burned mu le dry=firewood straight-na --:
 FROM edge AS=FAR=AS edge,
 remainder REMAIN ALL=INDEF.N go ash this,
 da VERY white-na./
159. THEN though wood that AFOREMENTIONED- ,
 ALL=INDEF.N armspan three-four INTERJ,
 SAY FS ..,
 remainder REMAIN ALL=INDEF.N go ash bare-bare,
 da VERY white --;
 be=burned finish-finish,
 NOT-EVEN¹⁵⁶ overlook stump.
160. THEN return,
 SAY,
 "INTERJ yes ;
 wood SEAWARD though mu ALL=INDEF.N armspan three armspan four -,
 SEAWARD mu be=burned finish-finish ;
 though ALL=INDEF.N go vine-vine SEAWARD-COME :
 vine-gizzard¹⁵⁷ ALL=INDEF.N go vine-vine go-go .. wood
 (aerial root)¹⁵⁸ ,
 mu be=burned finish --;
 mu REMAIN ALL=INDEF.N go ash,
 VERY white."
161. SAY,
 "that-na ! UNTIL-night-two YOU=CL go plant go seed-gourd¹⁵⁹ !"

162. INTERJ *waste-bring=out (wasteful)*¹⁶⁰ --;
 YOU=CL mu .. *people go plant maize mu,*
 SEAWARD-COME *who vi go plant go seed-gourd ?"*
163. "DO-NOT (vetative) ! - ;
must go plant go seed-gourd !"
164. UNTIL-night-two HE=PITY THEN *like obedient-flat=ground (poor)*¹⁶¹ FATHER.
 165. *go seed-gourd that ---*
 MISS *young=woman-beautiful appearance-perfect* MISS *Penu that*
 AFOREMENTIONED-na,
 da PREVIOUSLY -- [PREVIOUSLY *put SHE>THEY*¹⁶² *at that-* .
 (PREVIOUSLY *put.*)
166. [PREVIOUSLY *put.*)
167. REMAIN mu *take TRUE seed-gourd that,*
 HE=PITY THEN ALSO mu *go plant FATHER.*
168. *plant ALSO ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL HIM one-CLASS.HUMAN that-na ---*
garden big that ---
*just*¹⁴⁴ mu *be=able plant finish HE-na.*
169. *return AS=FAR=AS UPHILL,*
 SAY,
 "INTERJ ! *I ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL ME alone,*
I mu be=able plant finish-na ;
mu intact (all done) plant finish-na."
170. SAY,
 "NOT *what-what*¹⁶³ -- ;
that UNTIL-night-two YOU=CL go-THEN inspect !"
171. UNTIL-night-two *vi go inspect AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD FATHER,*
germinate finish-finish -- ;
 mu NOT-EVEN *overlook one-plant=hole,*
 da SAY --,
*ant*¹⁶⁴ da *eat or>Q-TAG - ,*
 or ALL=INDEF.N *perhaps go wild=dove da scratch - ;*
 mu NOT-ON=AND=ON (*not at all*)¹⁶⁵.
172. *germinate FROM edge AS=FAR=AS edge,*
 mu ALL=DIS.PL da *germinate leaf young=green*¹⁶⁶=*leaf bare-na./*
173. *return - return,*
tell AS=FAR=AS UPHILL,
 SAY,
 "INTERJ ! *SEAWARD da germinate,*
 mu -- *leaf unordered=PL.A young=green=leaf-shake -- ;*
 mu da *successful."*
174. SAY,
 "good-ALREADY -- ;
 UNTIL-night-two-na -- *YOU=CL go AGAIN visit !"*
175. UNTIL-night-two *vi go visit AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD FATHER -- ,*
look SEAWARD,
 go shoot UNORDERED=PL.A *like child-lance (tip of a lance)-na./*

176. SEAWARD shoot SIDE entwine finish-ALREADY CLASS.ACT,
da FROM plant=hole AS=FAR=AS plant=hole-na ;
shoot SIDE entwine finish-ALREADY CLASS.ACT.
177. INTERJ -- return AS=FAR=AS UPHILL,
SAY,
"INTERJ ! SEAWARD mu shoot SIDE entwine finish-ALREADY CLASS.ACT ;
shoot gourd SEAWARD UNORDERED=PL.A like child-lance."
178. SAY,
"that-na ! that YOU=CL vi see-na !
179. UNTIL-night-two YOU=CL go-THEN inspect AGAIN garden AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD !"
180. UNTIL-night-two go inspect AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD ---
INTERJ ! FATHER,
look,
SAY,
mu go fruit-gourd that mu da round=and=well=formed finish-finish-na.
181. ALL=DIS.PL go fruit UNORDERED=PL.A like go ---
FS .. this EXIST people-WE=INCL used=to narrate¹⁶⁷,
SAY,
"INTERJ ! hair=bun coil,
like gourd¹⁶⁸ set=on=the=ground."¹⁶⁹
182. mu da fruit round=and=well=formed finish-finish :
ALL=INDEF.N da gourd big-big,
gourd small-small,
mix-mix at that-na -;
full-full garden./
183. SAY,
da leaf disappear finish ;
ALL=DIS.PL ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL go-go .. gourd bare-bare.
184. return-return,
SAY,
"INTERJ ! SEAWARD ALL leaf-leaf SEAWARD-na mu disappear finish ;
only ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL see da fruit bare-bare,
ALL=INDEF.N go fruit-gourd bare-bare."
185. SAY,
"that-na ! -- UNTIL-night-two - YOU=CL go AGAIN visit AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD !"
186. ALSO ALL=DIS.PL go night-two (every other day) stay-PROG.ASP.M-na FATHER.
187. UNTIL-night-two vi go visit AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD- FATHER --,
ALL go gourd that disappear finish,
ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL go worm bare-bare.
188. return,
SAY,
"INTERJ YOU=CL¹³⁵ waste-bring=out¹⁶⁰ --;
gourd SEAWARD da mu UNORDERED=PL.A shrink-smooth (be destroyed)¹⁷⁰ --;
SEAWARD mu go worm eat finish-finish,
worm graze (eat leaf)¹¹⁴ finish-finish,
go maggot da graze."

189. SAY,
 "NOT what-what !¹⁶³ that UNTIL-night .. --
 UNTIL-night-two-na -- YOU=CL go visit AGAIN !"
190. SAY,
 "this-na-na,
 UNTIL-night-two ---
 like (while)¹⁷¹ wait UNTIL-night-two,
 YOU=CL go visit-na -,
 this-na YOU=CL order-THEN -- UPHILL-head=of=the=village⁶⁰ -,
 tell reach (as far as)¹⁷² SEAWARD-tail=of=the=village⁵⁹ -,
 SAY :
 "INTERJ ! UPHILL-head=of=the=village --:
 ALL post¹⁷³ house da old=and=rotten-na INTERJ,
 YOU=DI replace¹⁷⁴-THEN ! --;
 INTERJ ! SEAWARD-tail=of=the=village --:
 ALL post patio¹⁷⁵ da old=and=rotten-na INTERJ,
 YOU=DI replace-THEN --;
 YOU=DI change-THEN,
 ALL ALL=INDEF.N bamboo=roof¹⁷⁶ old=and=rotten --,
 change-THEN,
 ALL ALL=INDEF.N Imperata cylindrica (thatch roof)¹⁷⁷
 da old=and=rotten --,
 ALL=INDEF.N go post granary¹⁷⁸ YOU=DI count (each)
 behind house,
 ALSO like that !""
191. this FATHER ;
 people count (each) go-go .. -- count on=top patio that,
 UNORDERED=PL.A sit=back-relax¹⁷⁹,
 ALL=INDEF.N male=beast-rich (HONORIFIC) one-half¹⁸⁰ FS .. FS ..
 mouth¹⁸¹-cover¹⁸² INTERJ;
 protrude=one's=lips=in=scorn HE=PITY that,
 BASE SAY,
 "INTERJ ! appearance child (very)¹⁸³ da poor-flat=ground¹⁶¹,
 da used=to eat leftover hand¹⁸⁴ WE=INCL¹⁸⁵,
 da make-give¹⁸⁶-na -;
 mu be=able order HE US=INCL,
 SAY,
 "INTERJ ! replace-THEN post -,
 make-THEN patio,
 change-THEN bamboo=roof" -;
 Q=TAG ! YOU=CL this da perhaps -- eat ..
 eat big¹⁸⁷ perhaps,
 FS .. make ceremonial=feast¹⁸⁸ big perhaps ?"
192. people UNORDERED=PL.A scorn-insult-na FATHER.
193. scorn-down HE=PITY that,
 SAY,
 "this da poor-flat=ground,
 mu be=able order US=INCL -:
 vi be=able replace go post house,
 vi be=able change go bamboo=roof,
 vi change ALL=INDEF.N go thatch=roof (Imperata cylindrica);
 HE perhaps nennga make ceremonial=feast big,
 vi nennga eat big perhaps ?"

194. *people UNORDERED=PL.A scorn-insult-na FATHER.*
 SAY,
 "INTERJ ! *people this UNORDERED=PL.A scorn-insult./*
195. *people perhaps NOT follow (comply)¹⁸⁹ --*
I da order."/
196. SAY,
 "good-ALREADY HIM PREFER.M ;
 HE nga NOT follow -,
 provided (so long as) YOU=CL da order.
197. *this-na,*
 UNTIL-night-two-YOU=CL THEN go visit !"
198. FATHER,
 vi go visit AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD that-na,
 ALL go worm that-na - NOT finish see./
199. *disappear-away ALL worm that-na ;*
 FS .. -- transform-away finish-ALREADY CLASS.ACT make go
 water=buffalo¹⁹⁰ --:
 da ox THEN put alone --,
 da bull THEN gather alone,
 ALL=DIS.PL da cow ALSO mu gather alone ;
 DOWN-COME¹⁹¹ da with=cubit=length=horn-half=ripe¹⁹² THEN
 gather alone,
 DOWN-COME ALL=INDEF.N da young=cow,
 ALL=INDEF.N da with=horn=the=length=of=the=hand=plus=its=
 width THEN gather alone FATHER.
200. nga WITH WE=INCL-human=being¹⁹³,
 ALL=INDEF.N slave-subjugated¹⁹⁴ HE that-na full garden that
 AFOREMENTIONED-na,
 vi guard go-go .. --
 vi tend go water=buffalo that-na.
201. HE THEN PREVIOUSLY return=to=the=village AS=FAR=AS UPHILL -,
 SAY,
 "INTERJ ! ALL go worm SEAWARD mu disappear finish-finish-na./
202. SEAWARD-COME but go horn water=buffalo,
 SEAWARD-COME mu VERY abundant --:
 da ox THEN put alone,
 da bull THEN put alone --,
 ALL=INDEF.N SEAWARD-COME da cow,
 da with=cubit=length=horn-half=ripe --,
 da young=cow-young=bull,
 THEN SIDE stand alone HE at¹⁹⁵ that."
203. SAY,
 "yes ! that go US=INCL-na."
204. "yes go US=INCL -,
 but THEN this WE=INCL vi put in what ?"
205. SAY,
 "da easy HE --;
 UNTIL-night-two YOU=CL go AGAIN visit !"

206. UNTIL-night-two FATHER,
 go visit,
 meet SEAWARD-COME at-middle trail (road),
 that ALL=INDEF.N salve-subjugated that da drive=by=shouting
 water=buffalo AS=FAR=AS this-na.
207. HE vi return AS=FAR=AS UPHILL village- FATHER --,
 UPHILL-COME look-THEN :
 house HE THEN make-ALREADY house new¹⁹⁶ -,
 corral water=buffalo UPHILL BEHIND house HE that THEN open-hollow -,
 go granary AGAIN,
 granary one-big-big -,
 UP go gold-golden=ornament¹⁹⁷-na vi full house FATHER.
208. SAY,
 "this-na-na -,
 day just=now>AFOREMENTIONED¹⁹⁸-na WE=INCL nga descend dance¹⁹⁹-na."
209. return=to=the=village-THEN da salve-subjugated that FROM SEAWARD-COME,
 full village FATHER ;
 one-half da hold bronze=gong-skin=drum²⁰⁰ --,
 along ALL=INDEF.N water=buffalo this ALSO,
 one-half sound (stampede) at RIGHT (row of houses) village that./
210. people da -- follow-along child-orphan that FATHER -,
 go water=buffalo nga brush (push slightly) house-na,
 THEN NOT collapse.
211. one-half da NOT follow child-orphan that-na FATHER,
 house that da .. water=buffalo da ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL brush easy-easy,
 UNORDERED=PL.A fall=noisily-fall=noisily (onomatopoeic) da collapse.
212. na THEY that make-two²⁰¹ UPHILL ---
 MISTER Vegu child-orphan that AS=FAR=AS UPHILL ---
 da female (wife) THEN REFLEXIVE²⁰² arrange-body (get dressed)²⁰³.
213. SAY,
 "this-na WE=INCL nga arrange-body (get dressed)
 nga descend dance ;
 that ALL=INDEF.N slave-subjugated WE=INCL sound-ALREADY WITH
 bronze=gong-skin=drum that."
214. that ALL.INDEF.N slave-subjugated that THEN nga sound WITH bronze=gong-
 skin=drum FATHER ;
 HE arrange-body (get dressed),
 descend dance./
215. nga dance that,
 like perhaps WE=INCL this vi SAY,
 go feast wedding perhaps-na.
216. that THEY THEN nga RECIPROCAL (SIDE) climb²⁰⁴ UNTIL old-die²⁰⁵ FATHER.
217. that SAY,
 "water=buffalo HE go Vegu" ---
 SEAWARD-COME da Bai²⁰⁶ UNORDERED=PL.A water=buffalo many -na ---
 that SAY,
 "water=buffalo HE go Vegu WITH EXIST child-orphan-na,
 Vegu WITH Penu that AFOREMENTIONED-na-na."

218. *remainder only ALL=CONTRAST.COLL.PL da tail FS .. one-CLASS.ANIMAL that, da bull,*
da ox big-na FATHER,
da last-last-na,
vi enter village that-na,
mu enter unable -;
SEAWARD-COME THEN transform-away stone.
219. *vi enter AS=FAR=AS UPHILL entrance (boundary)²⁰⁷ village-na ---*
go horn this perhaps da too (excessive) long-na ---
vi enter that ---
da FS .. go entrance village narrow excessive-na ---
that THEN transform-away stone.
220. *SEAWARD-COME THEN tell,*
SAY,
"INTERJ ! water=buffalo this water=buffalo go Vegu -
child-orphan go Penu.
221. *one-half¹⁸⁰ that THEN go drive=into UPHILL inside corral -;*
one-half that THEN kill¹⁰³./
222. *SAY,*
"kill FS .. water=buffalo that ---
kill -- da ALL=DIS.PL da ox-na CLASS.ANIMAL ten-two -,
WITH da bull CLASS.ANIMAL ten-two ;
THEN nga scoop=using=one's=hand-distribute ,
give people that AFOREMENTIONED-na-na."
223. *that THEN nga UNTIL this-na SAY,*
water=buffalo SEAWARD-COME da many SEAWARD Bai-na -,
that FROM water=buffalo HE go Vegu child-orphan - WITH go-go .. --
Penu that-na.
224. *LEFT Kolupenu THEN give=name²⁰⁸ Kolupenu-Kolupenu-na,*
FROM FS .. plunge Penu FROM time²⁰⁹ that-na FATHER.
225. *(uh-huh.)*
226. *this-na go legend - Vegu child-orphan - WITH -- WITH MISS Penu-na.*
227. *that go-go -- legend THEY SEAWARD-COME Bai./*
228. *that IF I tell WITH THEY SEAWARD,*
THEY SEAWARD SAY,
"INTERJ NOT²¹⁰ ! this YOU=CL this mu VERY da mu .. mu diligent ;
YOU=CL mu follow=the=steps (search)²¹¹,
be=able find."
229. *I SAY,*
"true ;
I da -- hear FATHER I,
used=to tell legend./
230. *I think,*
SAY,
legend I nga wrong,
that wait=until YOU=DI da Bai FS ..
THEN TRUE straighten return AGAIN,
make exact=aim (straight).

231. *IF legend da good,
THEN ALSO make,
together-together make legend WE=INCL that !*
232. *that SEAWARD IF (when) nga month make ceremonial=feast¹⁸⁸ that
AFOREMENTIONED-na-na --,
SEAWARD da invoke-name²¹² like this-na --:
"ME²¹³ migrate FROM Saraseddu,
suffice WITH garden-knife²¹⁴ blood-vessel (CLASS.METAL=TOOL)²¹⁵
three --;
one-CLASS.METAL=TOOL²¹⁶ ME work garden,
one-CLASS.METAL=TOOL ME tap palm=wine (arenga pinnata)²¹⁷,
one-CLASS.METAL=TOOL ME guard village --;
ME FROM that,
when>night fire perhaps²¹⁸ shine REFLEXIVE (by itself) --;
ME go=to=work=in=the=garden FROM Takatunga,
suffice WITH garden=knife blood=vessel (CLASS.METAL=TOOL) two --;
one-CLASS.METAL=TOOL ME work garden,
one-CLASS.METAL=TOOL ME tap palm=wine (Arenga pinnata)."*
233. *that rhyme return AGAIN WITH invocation²¹⁹ da-da .. Dhaga²²⁰ that
AFOREMENTIONED-na -,
THEN²²¹ SAY,
"ME young=man Dhaga ;
ME jaw strong=as=steel --;
UP on=top ME used=to bark,
DOWN ground ME used=to bay ;
drum²²² !"*
234. *that THEY SEAWARD da used=to rhyme invocation ;
da Sese²²³ da must .. must invoke THEN (thereupon)²²⁴ FROM this-na.*
235. *(uh-huh.)*
236. *because THEY go-go .. descendant²²⁵ MISS Penu that AFOREMENTIONED-na,
da FROM this Takatunga FATHER.*
237. *that ALL=DIS.PL FS .. ALL=DIS.PL invoke-ALREADY FROM this-na.*

2.2.2. The free translation of the text *The legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan*

1. *Long ago, there used to be also, son,
that (other) proposing practice;
of course in all those (other) villages you also obtained
(information on) traditional proposing.*
2. *A girl was supposed to accept
the spouse that the parents chose,
that the uncles chose.*
3. *If the spouse that the parents chose,
should be refused by the girl,
they would put her away in stocks.*

4. *Putting in stocks:*
actually my own generation didn't witness it,
only reports of it.
5. *Putting in stocks:*
that was by tying her up,
saying,
"You must agree to marry that young man!"
6. *That is because to our eyes this is good,*
in our hearts this is right."
7. *(Uh-huh.)*
8. *Once there was a girl (named) Penu, son.*
9. *The girl Penu was from down at nearby Takatunga.*
10. *She, all the uncles told her*
that
she must marry a certain young man.
11. *As to marrying that young man,*
she, Penu, refused.
12. *Though she refused,*
still all of her uncles kept pressing,
insisting like that,
saying,
"You must agree to marry that young man!"
13. *She kept refusing.*
14. *She said,*
"Fine;
if you, my uncles, keep pressing,
keep insisting,
to satisfy your desires,
I will go cast myself into a ravine (commit suicide)."
15. *She then went to cast herself into a ravine, son.*
16. *From down at nearby Takatunga she came up this way,*
and coming up,
arrived downhill there at nearby Saraseddu.
17. *Saraseddu, (from) Saraseddu she kept heading to the left (as one faces*
downstream),
heading to the left,
until she also arrived down there at nearby Zeu,
and on to the left to So'a.
18. *From So'a there, she also kept going on,*
going to the left,
until she also arrived to the left at the Kolupenu river, son.

19. Upon arriving at Kolupenu thereto the left,
she then climbed up in a tree.
20. Though the "brothers" called her to return home,
she said,
"Well! To satisfy your desires, my "brothers",
you will witness then,
that
here I am really casting myself down the ravine."
21. Climbing up in the tree, son,
which was at the brink of a large pond,
she then threw herself down.
22. Down there was a large pond.
23. Down inside the pond, son,
there she then transformed (herself) into a large fish.
24. When her uncles there went down to the pond,
well, down at the pond there
what did they see;
all they saw was a large fish.
25. They said,
"Oh! Our sister Penu here is dead already;
the fish here swallowed her."
26. All of them then returned home, son, her "brothers".
27. When they got back down at nearby Takatunga,
a death ceremony was performed.
28. After the death ceremony was performed,
they said that
this was (to mark that) their "sister" had died (a violent death).
29. Down in Bai, son,
down there, there lived an orphan (named) Vegu.
30. Well, that orphan Vegu --
an orphan as it used to be;
your generation, you now, do not see it anymore,
an orphan as it used to be, son.
31. An orphan as it used to be,
as we here witnessed it,
what he wore was this:
he wore just a plain loincloth, son.
32. When people had guests on the right row (of houses in a village),
they only distributed to him:
just a pinch of food (rice),
distributing meat --
they would choose only bony pieces
and give him one or two.

33. *When there were guests down at the tail (bottom of the village),
or guests on the left row (of houses),
or guests up at the head (of the village),
he was treated likewise.*
34. *Son,
Penu (the fish) got up each morning,
and plunged down a waterfall;
she got up each night,
and plunged down a waterfall.*
35. *Meanwhile Vegu --
down in Bai,
their livelihood in the dry season, son,
is fishing with fishtraps.*
36. *They weave fishtraps about this big. (show by gestures)*
37. *Maybe you have seen fishtraps
either over there on Java island
or here (in Ngadha) ?*
38. *Those large fishtraps
are to be installed in the rapids.*
39. *If fish or eels enter,
that would make
a night's meal.*
40. *He, the aforementioned, was bumbling and stupid, son.*
41. *When our people install fishtraps like that:
grassleaves line them like this, (show by gestures)
they must all be turned to the right (be arranged counter-clockwise)
to make the water
all go down inside.*
42. *That way, fish or eels
can enter down inside the fishtrap.*
43. *If the leaves that line it
are set in upside down,
even though an eel might be at the brink of the fishtrap
like this, (show by gestures)
it can withdraw back, son.*
44. *For that reason,
it happened that
perhaps the multi-coloured god had cried (a sign of bad luck),
so Mr. Vegu the orphan
every morning went to check the fishtrap:
only crabs and shrimp;
every morning he checked,
when he went to check the fishtrap:
only crabs and shrimp.*

45. *The reason was
an orphan did not know how to install a fishtrap, son.*
46. *As for the other men there,
who knew how to install fishtraps,
they caught large eels
and large fish.*
47. *Two years later, son,
Penu who had changed into a big fish, as mentioned earlier,
she was swimming straight downstream.*
48. *Going straight downstream,
she went straight
right into the fishtrap of Vegu the orphan.*
49. *Entering the fishtrap of Vegu the orphan --
the next morning
he looked --
just like from down at Amatus's house --
there on that raised place --
(from there) one looks down towards the District Chief's office --
(Vegu's village was about that distance) from the river down in
Bai --
looking downstream --
at his fishtrap there,
the water was bubbling and foaming.*
50. *If the water bubbles and foams,
(then) down there, there must be some trash that got stuck
or there is a catch already down inside.*
51. *He prayed for good luck
and said,
"Oh! Hopefully, some fish has entered my fishtrap,
(or) some eel might have entered it.*
52. *I come here all year long, each day,
and all I catch is shrimp and crabs.*
53. *Hopefully, God the Father has pity on me."*
54. *When he got down to the river, son,
he saw a small portion of a (fish's) tail,
about as long as a tassel,
up above the fishtrap.*
55. *All of it, about this long, (show by gestures)
was already down inside the fishtrap.*
56. *He gawked a while,
before lifting the fishtrap;
he was afraid the people upstream there,
the people of the older generation,
or those older than he was, upstream,
might take his fish away.*

57. *He lifted it up,
and let it back;
lifted it up,
and let it back.*
58. *He waited until all those people
had all gone home, son,
and then he carried it on his shoulder.*
59. *He lifted his fishtrap
and carried it on his shoulder.*
60. *He carried it for half a kilometer,
then rested,
because it was heavy;
he carried it for half a kilometer,
rested,
because it was heavy;
(he did this) until he got back up to his village, son.*
61. *The village was far (from the river).*
62. *The village was perhaps (as far as from) here up to Manguleva,
that is, (at the point of) the village where we first enter it from
this way, son.*
63. *He arrived up in the village;
his house was dilapidated, son.*
64. *Whenever he stopped at some landmark (stopping place),
he saw his fish --
its eyes were still staring --
it had not died yet;
as he rested at a landmark,
he saw his fish
had yet to die.*
65. *At last he arrived in his house,
he started the fire (by blowing it) --
as the ancestors used to say,
"One shakes the bamboo containers,
they fall topsy-turvy;
one sets the cooking pan (on the fire)
but there is nothing to parch or fry."*
66. *That is how an orphan's life was, son.*
67. *(Uh-huh.)*
68. *He started the fire
and set the cooking pan on it.*

69. *He then tore open his fishtrap down at the tip
to take out the crabs and shrimp down at its bottom, as mentioned
earlier,
to fix them with southistle, with wild lettuce, edible fern, and
soy leaves --
which he has just picked over by the river
to make his meal for the day, son.*
70. *Simmering the crabs and shrimp,
having finished,
he saw the fish,
that it was still alive.*
71. *(Because) it was still alive,
he didn't kill it.*
72. *All he did was hold it down using his bamboo containers,
the ugly bamboo containers, there,
putting the fishtrap down underneath,
covered (it) with old rags,
he then went to work (in the garden).*
73. *Well, he went down to work in his garden, as I said;
being no more than the garden of an orphan, son,
that's the way it was (miserable).*
74. *They used to say,
"Oh! The garden is tall with grass,
it will go back to weeds (Imperata cylindrica)."*
75. *Like the young people used to sing,
saying,
"Oh! Don't leave me,
don't leave me'
my garden is tall with grass,
it will go back to weeds."*
76. *Such was an orphan;
his garden was full of weeds.*
77. *Weeding out the weeds,
he went back up to home, son,
and (he found) something that had never happened (to him) before.*
78. *As he went looking up there (toward the fireplace inside the house):
he was a cooking pot
with rice already steamed;
and another cooking pot
with venison
still fresh;
and down (to him) came the fragrances, son.*
79. *Being an orphan,
he said,
"Oh my! Whose rice is this steaming,
whose meat is this simmering
for me?"*

80. *He looked and looked all around
but saw no-one.*
81. *When he looked at the fish
it was still alive, son.*
82. *He thought and thought
about as long as from when we two, son and father (listener and speaker),
finished eating our humble fare up to now.*
83. *He said,
"Be that as it may,
even though I die,
then I'll die with my parents."*
84. *Then he just scooped the rice, son,
he dipped out the rice,
put it on a gourd plate,
and then he ate it along with the meat.*
85. *When he finished eating,
they say,
as he was about to scoop some more,
he felt full already;
so:
"Fine then,
this (the leftovers) will keep until morning."*
86. *Finished eating,
as he was about to go to sleep,
he again saw the fish,
that it was still alive;
then he just went to sleep.*
87. *The next morning he got up at the cock's crow,
he took the steamed rice,
which was left over,
along with the meat, then heated them again.*
88. *After heating (the food, and eating it),
he then went to work down in his garden.*
89. *Going back up in the evening,
back to the village from down at the garden,
he went back up,
and he saw not venison,
(but this time) he saw seasoned strips of venison, son.*
90. *The seasoned venison strips were already cooked,
and the rice was already steamed and ready.*
91. *Again he thought and thought,
and he said,
"Be that as it may;
even though I die,
then let me die."*
92. *Then he just dipped out the rice and the seasoned venison strips
and then just ate them.*

93. *He ate until he was full
and the leftovers were as before
stored until morning.*
94. *And the meat kept changing, son:
one day it was eel meat,
one day it was fish,
fresh fish,
one day it was water buffalo meat.*
95. *And it kept changing from day to day, son.*
96. *At last one day,
they say,
after three months had lapsed,
he thought and thought,
and said,
"What shall I do now?"*
97. *Each time I get home in the evening,
who helps cook,
giving it to me;
cooking
all the delicious food?*
98. *What shall I do now?*
99. *At last one day,
he went off to work (as usual).*
100. *He went about as far as from here down to the District Chief's office,
then he came back.*
101. *Upon coming back,
he then climbed onto the ledge of the house, son.*
102. *The ledge of the house --
of the kind our people used to have --
if the front is like this -- (show by gestures)
if the front is on the uphill side,
there are protruding beams there;
and there are in the back, on the downhill side
beams that stick out.*
103. *He then climbed up,
climbed up
to hide there up on the ledge of the house.*
104. *He looked --
looked down inside there;
down inside, winnowing and sorting rice
was a beautiful young woman of perfect form, son.*

105. *Winnowing the rice
and sorting it (picking out the unhulled rice) done,
then she poured the hulled rice down into the cooking pot.*
106. *Down there water was already boiling noisily.*
107. *When she finished pouring the hulled rice (into the cooking pot),
she took seasoned strips of water buffalo meat
and cut them up.*
108. *Finished cutting them,
she then simmered (them).*
109. *When the simmering was done,
they say, she was about
to go back up inside -- inside the fishtrap, son;
nearby, Mr. Vegu the orphan, as I have said,
then coughed,
"Ha! So there you are!"*
110. *So you (are the one who was here) day after day;
I thought,
saying (to myself),
"Who might that be ?"*
111. *Well, son,
the poor girl just collapsed,
just collapsed
and then died too;
it was Penu.*
112. *He (Vegu) climbed up there,
and up in there he saw her
and said,
"Oh, my!
The poor girl!"*
113. *What shall I do now ?*
114. *The girl is a beautiful young woman and of perfect form.*
115. *Now I will perhaps go hungry again ?"*
116. *Checking on the fish there in the fishtrap,
there remained only its scales.*
117. *He thought and thought
a long time, son.*
118. *A long time,
maybe about
as long as say,
two or three hours perhaps.*
119. *He thought and thought like that,
and he said,
"Yes, be that as it may;
even though she may die,
be that as it may."*

120. *He took all of the fish's scales there, son,
and then parched them (on the fire).*
121. *He parched the scales down on the fire,
then poured water to fill a toza , you know,
a toza is a large gourd container, son.*
122. *He poured water to fill the toza,
which was as big as this wash basin (show by pointing at a wash basin
near the speaker);
and then he pounded out the fish's scales, as I said,
which he had parched well.*
123. *He pounded and pulverised,
ground and pulverised (show by gestures),
and then he mixed them with the water.*
124. *The result was that the water filling the toza was murky,
because the fish was large, son;
it became all murky.*
125. *Then he took it
and smeared it all (starting) from up at her head, son
(show by gestures);
all - he smeared the whole body.*
126. *When he got down to her feet,
the poor girl regained consciousness.*
127. *She regained consciousness
and came back to life.*
128. *She said,
"Well! You're no good'
if only you hadn't spied on me and startled me yet."*
129. *"Well,
why shouldn't I spy on you ?*
130. *You hadn't told me not to."*
131. *"Yes, you're no good'
if you were going to do that,
you should have let me know.*
132. *Yes, you're no good'
you just greeted me (before I was ready)."*
133. *He said,
"Yes, if only I had known
that is, say,
you had told me,
then I wouldn't have spied on you and startled you.*
134. *The reason was that every time I get home in the evening,
here the rice is already cooked,
the meat is already cooked;
every time I get home in the evening,
the rice is already cooked,
the meat is already cooked.*

135. *If you had not wanted your face seen,
you should have signalled,
or said something,
such as,
"Well, lest you think and say
"It's an unknown person";
it's me here (the fish),
I do the cooking
for you."*
136. *If only you had done that
to let me know.*
137. *But it was not like that;
you just cooked
but then you hid yourself away;
you hid your identity.*
138. *This is why I just now spied on you and startled you."*
139. *She said,
"Yes, fine;
provided you don't go about telling,
don't just go about telling the people (of the village about me) yet!"*
140. *Now that you already know (about me) like this,
every day you just go to work and return to the village as (you do)
every day.*
141. *Just don't go about telling,
don't go about telling the people (about me) yet!*
142. *So! Tomorrow you go down to work in the garden,
but later tonight you sharpen your machete,
good and sharp !*
143. *You go down to work in the garden
and fell all the tall trees and the lianas
down around the garden!*
144. *That is so that
our garden will be spacious.*
145. *He said,
"Fine! (I'll do as you have told me.)"*
146. *The next morning, son,
he went forth to fell all the big trees there.*
147. *Our people used to call a dense forest
a "vine-rooted cloud-high wood",
(and it means) a really dense forest, son.*
148. *They called it
a "vine-rooted cloud-high wood".*
149. *The trees were of three armspans or four armspans,
even though Vegu the orphan worked all by himself, as mentioned earlier,
they fell with loud noises and echos.*

150. *They fell with loud noises and echos, son;
that day,
although he worked all by himself,
they say,
he managed (to open a clearing) about the same as the mission
plantation down at nearby Malanuza,
which is fifty hectares, son;
he managed (to open a clearing) as large as that.*
151. *That was in accordance with the legend
that people used to tell.*
152. *From there, son,
he went back up to the village,
and reported,
saying,
"Well, down there just now,
all by myself, clearing the garden
and felling the trees,
cutting the trees down there,
the garden clearing has really been widened;
it was very large indeed."*
153. *She said,
"So! The day after tomorrow go and burn (the trees)!"*
154. *"Oh! The day after tomorrow when I go to burn,
will they also burn or not ?"*
155. *She said,
"Of course they will burn.*
156. *The day after tomorrow just go and burn !"*
157. *Two days later, son, he went to burn.*
158. *When he burned there,
they say,
WOW, they burned as if they were dry firewood:
from edge to edge (of the clearing),
and what was left was just ash,
which was utterly white.*
159. *Even the big trees mentioned earlier,
which were three or four armspans around,
they say that
what was left of them as just ash,
which was utterly white;
they all burned up,
and not even the stumps were left.*

160. *Then he returned home
and said,
"oh yes;
the trees down there though they were three armspans or four
armspans around,
down there they all burned up,
even the lianas down there:
the gizzard-vines, all the aerial roots of the trees,
they all burned up;
all that's left is ash,
utterly white."*
161. *She said,
"So! The day after tomorrow go plant gourd seeds!"*
162. *"But how wasteful;
you know everybody plants maize,
and who is going to plant gourds down there ?"*
163. *"No;
you must go and plant gourd seeds!"*
164. *Two days later he just followed the order like a poor boy, son.*
165. *The gourd seeds --
the beautiful young woman with the perfect form, Penu, as mentioned
before --
[had previously placed them there.*
166. *[Had previously placed them.)*
167. *He just took all the gourd seeds there
and went and planted them, son.*
168. *He planted all by himself
that huge garden,
he managed to finish planting (the whole garden).*
169. *Upon going back up,
he said,
"Well, I was all by myself,
I managed to finish planting (the whole garden);
the planting is all done."*
170. *She said,
"That's fine;
the day after tomorrow go inspect the garden !"*
171. *Two days later when he went down to inspect the garden, son,
(the seeds) had all germinated;
not even one hole was without (young shoots),
such as say,
eaten by ants
or perhaps scratched by wild doves;
not at all.*
172. *They all germinated from edge to edge,
and it all came up green leaves.*

173. He went back
up to report,
saying,
"Oh! Down there they germinated
and the leaves are all green and shaking in the wind;
it is really a success."
174. She said,
"That's fine;
the day after tomorrow go visit it again !"
175. Two days later he went down to visit it, son,
and he saw down there,
the sprouts looking like lance tips.
176. Down there the sprouts had intertwined
from planthole to planthole;
all of them had grown intertwined.
177. Well, he went back up
and said,
"My! Down there the shoots have all intertwined;
the gourd shoots down there look like lance tips."
178. She said,
"So! That's for you to see.
179. The day after tomorrow go back down to inspect the garden again!"
180. Two days later he went down to inspect it and --
WOW! -- son,
he saw,
they say,
the gourd fruits there were all round and well-formed.
181. All the gourd fruits were as
our people used to narrate,
saying,
"Oh! (A girl with) a hair bun coil
like a gourd sitting (on the ground)."
182. The fruits were all round:
the gourds were big
and the gourds were small,
all mixed up there;
and they filled the garden.
183. They say that
the leaves were all gone;
all that was left was just gourds.
184. He returned home
and said,
"Oh! Down there all the leaves have disappeared;
only the fruits remain to be seen,
just the gourd fruits."

185. *She said,
"So! The day after tomorrow go down and visit the garden again!"*
186. *Every second day he kept visiting down there, son.*
187. *Two days later when he went to visit down there, son,
all those gourds had disappeared,
and it was all just worms.*
188. *He went home
and said,
"Oh my, how wasteful;
the gourds down there have all been destroyed;
down there the worms have eaten them all,
the worms have eaten all (the leaves),
the maggots ate (the leaves).*
189. *She said,
"That's nothing! The day after ..
the day after tomorrow go and visit it again!"*
190. *She said,
"now,
the day after tomorrow --
while waiting for the day after tomorrow
when you go and visit (the garden),
now you must order everyone from up at the head (of the village),
telling everyone down to the tail (of the village),
saying: (chanting)
"O people up at the head:
all the old rotten houseposts,
you must replace them;
o people down at the tail:
all the old rotten patio posts,
you must replace them;
you must change
all the old rotten bamboo roofs,
change
all the old rotten thatch roofs,
all of your granary posts behind every house
must be dealt with likewise !"*
191. *Now son,
all the people there on the patios
sitting around relaxing,
some of the rich people covered their mouths in scorn;
they stuck their lips out to scorn him
and said,
"Ah! A mere pauper
who used to eat leftovers from our hands,
from us who give feasts;
can he order us
saying,
"O replace the posts,
build new patios,
change the bamboo roofs!"
well, are you going to have a dinner ... have
a big dinner
and give a ceremonial feast?!"*

192. *The people all scorned and insulted him, son.*
193. *They scorned him there
and said,
"Is this mere pauper
able to order us
to replace the houseposts,
to replace the bamboo roofs,
to change the thatch roofs;
is he perhaps going to give a ceremonial feast
and have a big dinner maybe?"*
194. *He reported to Penu
and said,
"Oh! These people scorned and insulted me.*
195. *Perhaps the people will not comply with
what I ordered them to do."*
196. *She said,
"Fine with them;
they will not comply,
but so long as you have ordered them.*
197. *Now,
the day after tomorrow go visit (the garden) !"*
198. *Son,
when he went to visit it down there,
all those worms were nowhere to be seen.*
199. *All of the worms had disappeared;
they had all been transformed into water buffalos:
the oxen were in a group,
the bulls formed a group,
all the cows also formed a group;
the young bulls of lower age, with cubit-length horns, formed
a group,
all the young cows of lower age,
and those with horns the length of the hand plus its width
formed a group, son.*
200. *And there were people,
all the slaves there filling the earlier mentioned garden
to watch
and to tend the cattle.*
201. *He then went back up to the village earlier than usual,
and said,
"Well! All of the worms down there have disappeared.*
202. *Down there it's just water buffalo horns,
down there are a lot of them:
the oxen are in a group,
the bulls are in a group,
all the cows down there,
young bulls with cubit-length horns,
and calves and heifers
are all standing in their own groups there."*

203. *She said,*
"Yes! They are ours."
204. *"Yes ours,*
but now where are we to put them?"
205. *She said,*
"That's easy;
the day after tomorrow go visit (the garden) again!"
206. *Two days later, son,*
he went to visit it,
and half way down they met on the road,
there the slaves were driving the cattle this way.
207. *When he came back up to the village, son,*
he saw up there:
that his house had been transformed into a new house
and that there was a large water buffalo corral up behind his house,
and also there was a granary,
a very large granary,
and up there gold ornaments filled the house, son.
208. *She said,*
"Now,
later today the two of us will go forth and dance."
209. *Then the slaves from down there entered the village,*
filling the village, son;
some were playing the goo-laba ensemble (gongs and drums),
while others were driving the cattle,
some of which were stampeding from the right side of the village.
210. *The people who complied with the orphan's command, son,*
when the cattle brushed their houses,
(the houses) did not collapse.
211. *Those who did not comply with the orphan's command, son,*
when their houses were even slightly brushed by the cattle,
(the houses) collapsed this way and that with great noise.
212. *Then the two of them up there --*
Vegu the orphan arrived up there --
his wife then got dressed and dressed him herself.
213. *She said,*
"Now we will get dressed
and go forth to dance;
our slaves there have already sounded the goo-laba ensemble."
214. *The slaves there then sounded the goo-laba ensemble, son;*
they got dressed
and went forth to dance.
215. *That dancing*
was probably like what we now call
a "wedding feast" perhaps.

216. *Then they got married (and lived together) until old age and death, son.*
217. *They say,*
"Those were Vegu's water buffalos" --
down there the Bai people have lots of cattle --
they say,
"The cattle belonged to Vegu who was an orphan,
to Vegu and Penu as has been said."
218. *There remained only one water buffalo,*
a bull,
a big ox, son,
which was the very last
to enter the village there,
and it was unable to enter;
down there it then turned to stone.
219. *As it was about to go up through the village entrance --*
perhaps its horns were too long --
as it was about to enter --
the village entrance was too narrow --
and there it turned to stone.
220. *Down there they tell it,*
saying,
"Well! This water buffalo (the stone) was the water buffalo of Vegu
the orphan and Penu."
221. *Half (of the cattle) were then driven up inside the corral*
and some were killed (for the feast).
222. *They say,*
"The water buffalos that were killed --
killed were twenty oxen
and twenty bulls;
and (the meat and food) were then distributed
to the people mentioned earlier (the slaves and the people
of the village)."
223. *It happens that until now they say that*
that great number of water buffalos in Bai,
they are from the water buffalos of Vegu the orphan and Penu.
224. *The Kolupenu river over to the left was named Kolupenu, Kolupenu,*
after Penu's plunge (kolu) (her suicide) at that time, son.
225. *(Uh-huh.)*
226. *This is the legend of Vegu the orphan and Penu.*
227. *That is the legend of the people down at Bai.*
228. *When I told the legend to the people down there,*
the people down there said,
"Well, really! You are indeed very diligent;
you succeeded in finding and preserving (the legend)."

229. I said,
 "True;
 I used to listen to my father
 who used to tell legends.
230. I thought
 that
 if my legend was wrong,
 then you the Bai people
 should straighten it back again
 and make it right.
231. If the legend is good,
 then let us make it,
 together we'll make our legend."
232. Down there (in Bai) during the ceremonial feast season I mentioned before,
 down there they cite this invocation: (chanting)
 "I come from Saraseddu,
 complete with three kinds of garden knives:
 one for me to work the garden,
 one for me to tap palm wine,
 one for me to guard the village;
 I come from there,
 when at night fire shines by itself;
 I come to work from Takatunga,
 complete with two kinds of garden knives:
 one for me to work the garden,
 one for me to tap palm wine."
233. That is then continued to rhyme with the invocation of the Dhaga clan
 (of Takatunga and Saraseddu) as I mentioned before,
 and they say, (chanting)
 "I am a young man of the Dhaga clan;
 my jaw is strong as steel:
 when I am up on top I bark,
 when I am down on the ground I bay;
 sound the goo-laba ensemble!"
234. That is what those people down there are used to citing in their
 invocations;
 the Sese clan (of the Bai area) has to invoke (the names of people
 and places) from around here.
235. (Uh-huh.)
236. The reason is that they are descendants of the aforementioned Penu,
 who was from Takatunga, son.
237. That is why they invoke (the names of people and places) around here.

2.2.3. Notes on glosses written in capitals (2.2.1.)

For easy reference the glosses are listed alphabetically:

- AFOREMENTIONED** - devve and roa (see 3.4.(h)); there is one instance of devve meaning *later* (see sentence 204).
- AGAIN** - vali/vai (see 3.4.(i) and 3.5.3.4.2.(f)); vali may also translate as *also, more*, or by extension *add/additional*. It is comparable to Indonesian lagi.
- ALL** - masa; it is a neutral collective plural marker (see 3.5.1.3. and 3.5.3.3.).
- ALL=CONTRASTIVE COLLECTIVE PLURAL** - bula/bua; when it modifies a noun it is best rendered as *all*, but when it modifies a verb it acts more like a qualifier and is best rendered as *just*.
- ALL=DISTRIBUTIVE PLURAL** - ledhe; it may be rendered as *every*.
- ALL=INDEFINITE NUMBER** - me'a/ma'a/ma'e/me'/ma' designates unspecified plural number; when it modifies a singular individual, it functions to give reference, i.e. pluralis majestatis since plurality marks massiveness and also diffuseness.
- ALREADY** - gha; it is a perfect aspect marker (see 3.5.3.4.2.(a)).
- ALSO** - dhano/'ano (see 3.4.(i) and 3.5.3.4.2.(f)); it may mean *continue to be* in that the observer perceives an individual as unchanged through time.
- AROUND** - lio; it is related to liko (see 3.5.4.1.(a)).
- AS=FAR=AS** - pee; it is an allative particle marking the point at which motion ends. Its cognate in Indonesian is sampai *arrive/reach*. Pee may be interpreted as a verbal preposition; in other contexts pee (a full verb) means *touch/stroke*.
- BASE** - pu'u; pu'u is also translated as *from, reason*. The word also means *the base of a tree* or *tree* and as a verbal preposition it means *come from*.
- CLASSIFIER ACTION** - dekka and pekka indicate countable time units; they may also be labelled verbal classifiers.
- CLASSIFIER ANIMAL** - eko; literally, it means *'tail'*.
- CLASSIFIER GLOBULAR OBJECT** - li'e; literally, it means *fruit* or *seed*.
- CLASSIFIER HUMAN** - mori; it also means *owner* or *crocodile*. The classifier is also used to refer to god(s)/goddess(es), ghost, and devil.
- CLASSIFIER METAL TOOLS** - 'ura and vunga; 'ura literally means *blood vessel* which is associated with strength, while vunga literally means *first* (ordinal numeral). Note that Ngadha uses vunga, while the Nagekeo dialect uses 'ura which in Ngadha is pronounced ura. Sentence (232) is in the Nagekeo or Nage dialect spoken in the Bai area. For discussion of classifiers see (3.5.1.4.).
- COME** - mai; literally it means *come* but in combination form with direction words it means *near/nearby*. Its cognate in Indonesian is mari *come here* (to where the speaker is).

- DOWN** - zale or zili; (see Figure 1 and 3.5.4.1.(e)); zili may be rendered as *further down* (on a slant axis) or *over (a body of water)*. For directions inside the house see Figure 6.
- EXIST** - ne'e; as a full verb ne'e means *exist/be/have(possess)* and as a conjunction it means *and*, while as a preposition ne'e triggers the oblique case (see pronouns proper 3.5.1.6.(b)); certain verbs require ne'e as a buffer between the verbs and the objects (to which the action is directed) such as: 'give, hope, go, pour (liquid)', etc.; however, an adequate explanation has yet to be provided.
- FATHER** - emma; the term is problematic in that we may interpret it as basically meaning *father* (designating kinship relationship) and extended to mean *sir* (deferential), *son* (intimate), or *you* (a pronoun); another way of looking at the term is that it basically functions as an honorific used to assign deference mainly to members of one's ascending generation (father, uncle, grandfather, etc.) and by extension to any individual who deserves deference. The speculation is based partly on the ethnographic fact that often the mother's brothers have more 'rights' in the upbringing of a child, including choosing a spouse (as exemplified by the PV text) for the child when he/she grows up; the case is most obvious in di'isa'o *matrilocal type marriage* (di'i stay, sa'o house). Di'i sa'o marriage is the most common in Ngadha and the 'in-coming' man is called *rajo dhekke relative by marriage* (rajo boat, dhekke ascend). The other marriage type is *pasa shoot/buy* in which the groom's party pays a bride price and takes the woman into the groom's family's house. This, however, is very rare. The word emma is mostly used throughout the text as a direct term of address to refer to the listener; there is only one instance of it meaning *biological father* (see sentence 229). Emma has a variant ame (see sentence 82) and is related to pame *uncle* (both mother's brother and father's brother).
- FATHER'S SISTER** - ine-vetta (ine mother, vetta sister); the term is used in the PV text as an honorific to refer to girls/women in general.
- FEMALE** - fai; it also means *wife* (see sentence 212). Fai designates only human females.
- FROM** - pu'u (see BASE).
- HE=PITY** - laki (see pronouns proper 3.5.1.6.(a)); laki also means *male* but only in the combination form *mosa-laki* (honorific title). Laki may also be used to a woman; its cognate in Indonesian is the word laki-laki/lelaki/kelaki *male person*.
- HER** - gazi; it is the oblique case of the pronoun kazi 'third person non-thematic pronoun' (see 3.5.1.6.(a)).
- HONORIFIC**: the term is used to refer to markers of deference (see 3.5.1.6.(b)).
- I** - ja'o 'first person pronoun'; note that nga'o in sentences (232-233) may be better translated as *I* because in the Nagekeo dialect it is a neutral case (not oblique as in the dialect spoken by the narrator).
- IF** - mali and ngaza; mali is a neutral condition marker, while ngaza is thematic by virtue of the fact that it contains the thematic marker nga. Ngaza also means *during/when* or in other contexts *name* (such as in sentence (232); saa-ngaza *invoke the name of*).

IF=ONLY - *messi* and *taka*; the expressions mark unfulfilled wishes. (See 3.3.2.2.(a).)

INTERJECTION: the expressions are difficult to translate. They are:

- A - attention getting or indicating that the speaker wants to keep the floor in the discussion.
- A *ie* - surprise and showing disbelief (like 'my goodness.. (?)').
- Ae - the same as A.
- Bha'i - (lit. *not*), used also to show affirmation and often to claim one's turn at talking.
- Ei - expressing pity.
- E *kau* - the same as Ei; *kau* literally means *you (close)*. *Kau* by itself is also used as an interjection and renders as *My!* (exclamation).
- No/*ne* - normally functions as a linker between the quotative/reportive modal *naji* and the quotation; it may be a reduced form of *naji* (?).
- O - the same as a *ie*.

Note that the interjections are used by the narrator to create vividness and, to an extent, suspense.

LIKE-WHERE - *moe-dee* (*moe like, dee where*); the compound renders as *how*.

LEFT - *menna* (see direction words 3.5.4.1.(e) and Figure 1).

ME - *nga'o*; this is the oblique case of the first person pronoun *ja'o* (also see 'I' above).

MOTHER'S BROTHER - *emma-nara* (*emma father, nara brother*) (see 3.5.1.6.(b)).

MISS - *ne/neo* (see 3.5.1.6.(b)).

MISTER - *me/meo* (see 3.5.1.6.(b)).

MOMENTARY ASPECT MARKER - *negge*; (literally it means *be surprised/startled* (see 3.5.3.4.2.(g))).

NOT - *bha'i/bha'u* and *mona* (see negation 3.3.1.4.); also see the vetatives *DO=NOT* (*ma'e*), *DO=NOT-YET* (*ma'e-dhue* and *zekke-dhue*) and *NOT-EVEN* (*bha'i/bha'-dhue*) in (3.3.1.4.). *Dhue* by itself renders as *yet* (projecting to future action or result).

ON=AND=ON - *bholo* (see 3.5.3.3.).

PARTICIPLE - *veke*, *ze'e* and *ngi'i* (see 3.3.2.2.(b)). In other contexts *veke* means *throw (a long object)*, *ze'e* means *bad* and *old and rotten*, while *ngi'i* means *tooth*.

PREFERENCE MARKER - *gezzi* (see 3.3.1.3. and 3.3.1.4.).

PREVIOUSLY - *olo* (see 3.5.3.4.2.(b)); *olo* in other contexts means *long ago*, *go ahead (of others)*, or *old and worn out things*.

PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER - *pau* (see 3.5.3.4.2.(c)); *pau* (a homophone) means *mango*.

QUESTION TAG - *gho* (see 3.3.1.2.); *gho* in other contexts means *or* (see 3.3.2.1.(a)).

- RECIPROCAL MARKER - papa (see 3.5.4.2.(h)); papa also means *side* and thus is related to the idea of reciprocity.
- REFLEXIVE - bekki and ngara (see 3.5.1.6.(b) and 3.4.(d)); ngara is thematic because it contains nga (?). Bekki is related to the word vekki *body/self*.
- RELATIVISER - yang; this is an Indonesia expression which can be parsed into ia 'third person pronoun' + ng 'a ligature (?)'.
- REMAIN - ko'e; when it modifies an NP, ko'e functions as a quantifier meaning *some portion is left behind*, but when it modifies a VP ko'e acts as a qualifier and is best rendered as *just*.
- RIGHT - zale (see direction words 3.5.4.1.(e) and Figure 1); note that the word vana also translates as *right* (but the point of orientation is the speaker). For directions in the village see Figure 3.
- SAY - naji (see quotative clauses 3.3.2.2.(f)); naji as a full verb means *reprimand*.
- SEAWARD - lau (see direction words 3.5.4.1.(e) and Figure 1); lau may also be rendered as *downhill* or *downstream*.
- SHE=PITY - laki and ana-ngata (see 3.5.1.6.(a)); ana-ngata literally means *somebody's child* (ana *child*, ngata 'third person thematic pronoun').
- SIDE - papa (see RECIPROCAL ABOVE).
- STILL - vo'e/vo'o (see continuative aspect 3.5.3.4.2.(f)).
- THEN - so, tetto/to, siba/ba/si, no'o/nosa, gezze/gezzi, and ghe'e (see sequential connectives 3.3.2.1.(b) and 3.6.(a)).
- THEY - hoga and ngata (see 3.5.1.6.(a)); hoga also means *young man*.
- TRUE - mema/me/ma; this marks contrast and emphasis. The cognate word in Indonesian is memang *really, indeed*.
- UNORDERED=PLURAL ACTION - mara (see 3.5.3.3.); in other contexts mara designates resulting change of state or condition (as in *one falls and skins a knee* mara tekka; tekka *cut/wound*).
- UNTIL - dhuu (see 3.5.4.1.(c)); dhuu is an allative particle like pee (see AS=FAR=AS above).
- UP - zeta (see 3.5.4.1.(e) and Figure 1).
- UPHILL - zele (see 3.5.4.1.(e) and Figure 1); for directions inside the house, see Figure 6.
- US=INCLUSIVE - gita (see 3.5.1.6.(a)); it is the oblique case of the pronoun kita.
- VERY - ngere and ana (see 3.5.2.3.); in other contexts ngere means *to verbally drive a person away* (homophone), while ana means *child* (homophone).
- WE=EXCLUSIVE - kami (see 3.5.1.6.(a)).
- WE=INCLUSIVE - kita (see 3.5.1.6.(a)).
- WITH - ne'e (see EXIST above).

YOU=CLOSE - kau (see 3.5.1.6.(a)); note that the pronoun kau may be used to refer to an older or respected person but it must be combined with a kinship term such as emma *father*, ine/uge *mother*, etc. Ine and uge are dialect variations of the word *mother*.

YOU=CLOSE OBLIQUE - gau (see 3.5.1.6.(a)).

YOU=DISTANT - miu (see 3.5.1.6.(a)); miu indicates distance and respect as opposed to *you (close)* kau which is used only among peers.

2.2.4. Footnotes to the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the text

1. The term nange is also a kinship term referring to the fourth ascending generation of EGO; and in this sense the text is a story or a history about one's ancestor(s). The kinship terms of ascending and descending generation of EGO are: nange, (ebbu-)nusi, ebbu, ine-emma (*mother-father*), EGO, ana, ana(-ebbu), nusi, tepo, teo.
2. The word penu means *hung around the neck* (as a necklace).
3. The word vegu means *to uproot*.
4. Ne'e here means *exist*; it renders the sentence as existential.
5. Kenna means *that/there/then* and it also functions as a marker of definiteness.
6. Tana go fai or tana fai is a collocation meaning *proposing* (i.e. ask for a girl's hand).
7. The word gee literally means *to count* and is extendedly used as a quantifier meaning *each*.
8. Ine-vetta *aunt* (i.e. father's sister) has a moral and obligational right to take part in the upbringing of a child and to adopt it in case of the death of the child's parents. The cover term for both father's and mother's sister is pine or pine-ine (*ine mother*).
9. Dia means *this/here/now*.
10. Bodha *must* is used here to indicate obligation (on the part of the girl to accept the spouse chosen by her parents and uncles).
11. Heti/seti *listen* implies obligation to listen (to what parents, uncles, aunts, grandparents, etc. have to say); the neutral word for *listen* is denge, while *to hear* is zennge. The cognate word in Indonesian is dengar.
12. Dolu *fishhook* is used figuratively to mean *choice of spouse*. It is to be noted that arranged-marriage practices applied to both girls and boys, but it was much stricter with girls; this is perhaps due to the matrilineal type marriage practiced by the Ngadha people. Cases of child betrothal are also said to occur.
13. Feddhi literally means *to snap one's fingers*.
14. Emma-nara *uncle* (i.e. mother's brother) has the same rights over a child as ine-vetta (see footnote 8 above). However, due to matrilineal marriage, the mother's brothers play a more active role in the upbringing of the child, and later in choosing a spouse for him/her, discussing bride prices and making wedding arrangements; parents usually stay in the background (see Arndt 1954: Part I, Chapter I). The cover term for both mother's and father's brother is pame or emma-pame.

15. Ngaza *if* also means *during/when* or *name* in other contexts.
16. Fine-ga'e *divine aunt* (fine/pine *aunt*, ga'e *higher caste* or *god*) is used here as an honorific to refer to a girl; normally it is used to refer to older or marriageable women. Ga'e is a term used in the caste system; the terms are: ga'e meze *higher caste* (meze *big*), ga'e kisa *middle caste* (kisa *middle*) and azi-ana *lower caste* (azi *younger sibling*, ana *child*); the three categories are decided by birth and are not related to any religious beliefs. There is a fourth term ho'o, ho'o roro or ho'o feo *slave* which is used to refer to captives of war. For more information on the caste system, see Appendix I and Arndt (1954: Part I, Chapter IV). The term ga'e is perhaps related to ka'e *older sibling* and ame-ka'e an honorific used to refer to older or marriageable men (ame *father*).
17. Until recently putting people in stocks was done but only to secure dangerous mentally sick persons.
18. Nea is a multiword formator (see 3.5.3.2.(b)).
19. Mema (see 2.2.3. under *TRUE*).
20. Lii is used here to mean *generation*, in other contexts it means *sound*. There is no word for 'age' in Ngadha; instead one asks about a person's contemporaries and the term used is nusu sama (nusu *contemporary*, sama *same*). Another word for generation is pii which is often used as a classifier in counting human generations.
21. Raka means *overlap* or *coincide* (normally of finding or meeting another person by chance).
22. Punu-pede is a collocation meaning *reports*.
23. E'e *to say yes* has an extended meaning *to agree*.
24. Ne'e here means *be with* and by extension means *to marry*; the term for *marry* is dhekke (lit. *ascend*) thus dhekke-fai (for a man; fai *female/wife*) and dhekke-haki (for a woman; haki *male/husband*). A wedding is symbolised by a formal invitation to the groom or bride to enter and sit in the house proper (see Figures 4 and 6), that is ascending into the house proper, as part of the traditional wedding ceremony called zezza (lit. *to feed*).
25. Hoga may mean *they* in other contexts.
26. In other contexts the word mata means *die/dead/death*.
27. To the Ngadha culture and many Indonesian cultures, emotions are rooted in the liver (ate) hence the expressions: lisu ate *regret*, mora ate *affection*, ate faa *patient and understanding*, etc.
28. Sa- *one* is a bound form; it acts like an indefinite article (?).
29. Dekka is an action classifier or verbal classifier (see 3.5.1.4.).
30. Ne-e may be interpreted in two ways: a variant of ne'e *exist* thus renders the sentence as existential, or a variant of ne *intimate title for woman* thus identifying the character as being a woman.
31. See (2.2.3.) under *COME*, and Figure 1.
32. See Map 1; it's likely that Takatunga is the name of two villages Taka and Tunga founded by a clan or a clan and a subclan. Currently there is a village called Takatunga comprising several hamlets (taka *axe*, tunga *a kind of citrus*).

33. Pera means *to show or teach by way of showing*.
34. Pusi-duki here means *to insist*.
35. Peddhe-renne here means *to insist/force*.
36. Moe *like* implies comparison (see 3.5.2.3.).
37. Ngata is a thematic pronoun (third person); the word can be parsed into nga 'thematic marker' and ata *human being* or 'third person indefinite pronoun' (see 3.4. and 3.5.1.6.(a)).
38. Emma-nara ja'o is a possessive construction (see 3.5.1.7.).
39. Roba-ngaba is a collocation meaning *to commit suicide*.
40. See Map 1; the place name (like Takatunga) is a binomial (sara *keep on*, seddu *germinate/grow*).
41. See Map 1; the river Kolupenu is (according to the legend) the place where Penu plunged (kolu *plunge*).
42. Dhekke also means *to climb a tree or a ladder*.
43. Kaju here means *tree*; in other contexts it may mean *firewood*.
44. Nara *brother* in this sentence is perhaps a slip of the tongue by the narrator since he has not been identified. In the previous sentences the narrator talked about emma-nara *uncle(s)* not nara.
45. Tu-tu'u is a reduplication of tu'u *true*; in other contexts tu'u means *ripe* (as maize or rice in the field).
46. Vivi literally means *mouthful*; its cognate in Indonesian is bibir *lip*. Vivi also means *utterance* and is used as a classifier for speech.
47. Kolu *plunge* (see footnote 41 above).
48. Vekki *body/self* (see 2.2.3. under REFLEXIVE).
49. Tau literally means *make/do*, but here it is used as an auxiliary (?).
50. Pekka is an action classifier which occurs only with the numerals two and up (see 3.5.1.4.).
51. Keo-rado is a death ceremony performed in cases of violent death for the purposes of releasing the soul of the dead person and letting it rest in peace. In the Ngadha tradition there are four kinds of death: mata ga'e (mata *die*, ga'e *god/high caste*) which is the death of an 'accomplished' person (sadhō lit. *to reach the top of a mountain*) usually old and successful persons (by the Ngadha standards); mata golo (golo *die a violent and untimely death*) for which a special burial rite called keo-rado has to be performed; mata ade is an ordinary death (ade *hanging*); and mata suni *die young* either in childhood or adolescent years (suni *wither*). The Ngadha people buried their dead in the village except when a person died a violent death (mata golo) or of contagious disease. Only a person who died a mata-ga'e could be buried in a coffin (called bhaa-raka; bhaa *plate*, raka ?) and could be honoured by a male ancestor tree (ngadhu) or a female ancestor house (bhaga) being built for and named after them; for a person of high caste who died a mata-ade a stone structure called ture mata-ade was built (see Figure 3, Plates 1 and 2, and also see Arndt 1932: Anthropos Vol.27).

52. *Bai* or *Mbai* is an area in which the Nagekeo dialect is spoken (see Map 1); *Bai/Mbai* is famous for its livestock (water buffalo, sheep, goats and horses) and its beautiful woven sarongs known as *lipa Bai* (*lipa sarong*).
53. *Rivu* also means *thousand* (see 3.5.1.3.(b) and 3.5.1.6.(a)).
54. *Ngo'e* is used as a third person pronoun by the Bolonga dialect (see 3.5.1.6.(a)).
55. *Bhaghi* or *ghoko-bhaghi* normally refers to distribution of food in a ceremonial feast.
56. *Ghoko* (see footnote 55).
57. *Meze* is used here meaning *more bones than meat*.
58. *Toko* also occurs as a classifier for longish cylindrical objects and translates as *stick*.
59. See Figure 3.
60. See Figure 3.
61. The term *robha* may be used to refer to a one-day period (see Appendix I).
62. The term *kobe* may be used to refer to a one-day period (see Appendix I).
63. *Vula-lezza* is a collocation meaning the *dry season* (see Appendix I).
64. See Figure 10.
65. *Nana* is used only for weaving objects made of bamboo splits, *Pandanus utilis* leaves, or palm leaves.
66. *Lasu-vae* is a collocation meaning *rapids* or *small falls*.
67. See (2.2.3.) under MOMENTARY ASPECT MARKER.
68. *Gea* literally means *finish*; it is perhaps related to the *Sika* (a language of Flores) word *gea* meaning *to eat* (?).
69. *Buu* also means *drunk* or *bumbling*. Note that *Vegu* the orphan does not know how to install a fishtrap because he has no-one to teach him. Learning in an oral culture is done by direct observation and by doing (also see sentence 45 in which *Vegu's* ignorance is again mentioned).
70. See 3.5.1.6.(a).
71. *Bodha must* here indicates procedure.
72. *Kago* literally means *to drive a flock of sheep*.
73. *Kago vana* means *counter clockwise*.
74. *Ngee* in other contexts means *to make a catch or kill a prey in hunting*.
75. *Ngi'i* may be rendered as *reason* or in other contexts *tooth*.
76. The Indonesian word *jadi* means *happen/become*, also *so* (conjunction). The expression is used here to mean *so* designating that what follows is a kind of summary.
77. *Kela* also means *spotted/patchy* (in colour); the expression *deva-kela* perhaps describes god (of the upper world) as multifaceted (also see Appendix I).

78. Mosa means *bull* and the term mosa-laki perhaps derives from *stud* as a metaphor meaning the generator of wisdom (?); see 3.5.1.6.(a).
79. Laki occurs as a pronoun (see 3.5.1.6.(a)).
80. Mu'a means *to find by chance*.
81. See (2.2.3. under PARTICIPLE).
82. Baru *house* is a new house structure; it has a dirt floor, windows, and at least two doors. The old/traditional house structure has no windows, only one door, and the house is built on stilts. See Plate 10 for baru and Figure 4 for a sa'o structure. The Indonesian word baru means *new*; (it is probably a calque (?)).
83. Bodha *must* here indicates inference.
84. Ngau-ngere-noa is a collocation meaning *hoping* or *praying* (for good luck).
85. Mo'e-ne'e-ga'e or its variant mona-ga'e is a collocation meaning *hopefully* or *it might be the case* (inferential).
86. Vai *in* implies the use of an instrument or indicates a three-dimensional space.
87. See footnote 74.
88. Sa-keddhi is used here as a quantifier.
89. Ngazo-ngettu is a compound word meaning *tassel*, that is, the ornament tied to a magical sword (see Plate 7).
90. Mosa-ka'e is used as an honorific (see 3.5.1.6.(b)).
91. See Map 1; the place name Manguleva consists of mangu *mast* (of a sail boat) and leva *long* or *tall*.
92. Vunga also means 'classifier for metal tools' in other contexts.
93. See footnote 82, Figures 4 and 6, and Plates 1 and 2.
94. Rabi-sangi is a collocation meaning *dilapidated*; sangi perhaps functions to build meter and rhyming.
95. Landmarks are normally trees, stones or shaded places where people stop to rest.
96. Li'e is a 'classifier for globular objects' (see 3.5.1.4.).
97. Ghello by itself does not have a meaning; the expression nengga ghello-ghello has to be taken as a collocation.
98. Beppu-della is used as an honorific (see 3.5.1.6.(b)).
99. Tuku is a bamboo container with a lid. The whole quoted expression is taken from an orphan song called Seu ana-halo (seu *song*); see Appendix III for a brief discussion of a traditional Ngadha song.
100. Vo'o/vo'e is a preposition.
101. Tau mekku is a collocation meaning *mix*, that is, to add more protein to the vegetables (or leaves).
102. See 3.4.(h).

103. Vela is a term for *homicide*. The words for killing animals for food are: vela or toa - *kill a water buffalo* (by cutting its throat with a machete); vella - *kill a pig* (by cutting it on the head with a machete; the cut has to be lateral with the body); dhuku - *kill a pig* (by thrusting a knife into its throat); luga - *kill a horse or dog* (by clubbing it on the head); moe or ngae - *kill a chicken* (by cutting its throat) and burn the feathers; zozze - *kill a goat or sheep* (by cutting its throat). Note that the term for homicide is the same as for killing a water buffalo which is a totem animal and killed only for ceremonial feasts as a sacrificial animal.
104. Dua exclusively means *go to work in the garden*; it is often coupled with the verb nuka *returning home to the village*.
105. The Indonesian word begitulah means *that is the way it is*; the narrator is referring to a shared knowledge of the miserable condition of an orphan's garden because he has no-one to help him.
106. Puu in other contexts means *meet somebody on the road*.
107. Keri is a type of grass that has special ceremonial value to the Ngadha people: the roof over the house proper, of a male ancestor tree, and of a female ancestor house must be made of kerī. There are legends and stories about it which tell that seeds of kerī were brought by the ancestors and cultivated for making roofs (see Plates 1 and 2).
108. Vado literally means *return home*; it also means *repay* in other contexts.
109. See Appendix III.
110. The word kau may occur as an interjection (see 2.2.3. under INTERJECTION).
111. Na'a in other contexts means *beget*; in litigations concerning claims of inheritance one may be asked Kau na'a sei *Who do you keep* or *Who keeps you* (sei *who*, kau *you-close*). The idea is one of reciprocity, that is, an ancestor beget and left some inheritance and the heir has the duty to remember and whenever possible build an ancestor tree or house in his/her honour.
112. Gili also means *shield* (see Plate 7).
113. The term describes the intimate relationship between the narrator and the listener/interviewer.
114. Seppa is normally used for animals; the expression is used to indicate self-lowering in that the speaker expresses that the food he is offering is not worthy of the honour he has for the guest to dine in his house. The verbs used to refer to eating are: kaa - *eat cooked (boiled, steamed or simmered) foods* such as rice, meat, etc. or ripe fruit (banana, mango, etc.); kaa implies *eating soft foods*; kegge - *eat hard foods* such as parched maize (niblets or on the cob), green/unripe fruit, or cookies; seppa - *eat vegetables* (cooked or raw); also *to graze* (for animals); nalo - *eat cooked foods along with palm-wine drink*; meghe - *eat distributed foods in a ceremonial feast*.
115. Uta means *edible leaves* (raw or cooked).
116. E'e-ke'e *be as it may* implies that the speaker accepts whatever happens to him.
117. A gourd plate is made of half of a gourd fruit about as large as an ordinary plate.

118. See footnote 114 above.
119. See Appendix I for stages of the day.
120. Ngedho is used here to mean *take*.
121. Bana here means *to heat*. The cognate word in Indonesian is *panas hot*.
122. Ola in other contexts means *far* or *horizon* (thus rendered as *earth*).
123. See Appendix I for stages of the day.
124. See footnote 104.
125. Vai means *but* (it is a homophone of *vai in*, or *vai/vali again*).
126. Mami means *cooked and ready to serve*.
127. Roa here means *recent past*; the metaphor is the flash of a flame (also see 3.4.(h)).
128. Tadho *come* uses the point of orientation of the person or object that moves toward the speaker as opposed to *mai come* which uses the point of orientation of the observer toward which a person or an object moves. Tadho is more polite than *mai* because it uses the orientation of the visitor.
129. Moe-dee is an expression meaning *how* (see 3.3.1.2.).
130. See Figures 4 and 6.
131. Ngia *face/front* is by extension used to mean *place*, that is, the location in front of the speaker.
132. See Figure 6 for directions inside the house proper.
133. Nava also means *plant hole* and it is related to the idea *soul* in that it is the place where a plant grows and gets nourishment from.
134. See 3.5.1.6.(a).
135. Kau is used here as an interjection (see 2.2.3. under INTERJECTION).
136. Naji here perhaps marks indeterminacy or guess (?).
137. See footnote 103 above.
138. Toza is a large gourd container about as big as a washbasin.
139. Va'i may mean *leg* or *foot*; by extension it is used as an action classifier (see 3.5.1.4.).
140. Da moe-dee means *why*; see footnote 129 above.
141. Pii is a multiword formator (see 3.5.3.2.(b)).
142. See 3.5.1.6.(a).
143. See 3.5.1.6.(a); both *tebbo* and *vekki* mean *body*. *Tebbo* refers to the physical entity, while *vekki* refers to the concept of self.
144. Dheggha in other contexts means *remember*.
145. Ngai literally means *breath* thus *sa-ngai* refers to a brief period of time to come. Ngai also means *strength* and *rich*; the metaphor is perhaps taken from breath meaning life (?).
146. See Figure 8.

147. Tekka also means *wound* or *cut* in other contexts.
148. Raba is related to rebba *village New Year celebration* (as claimed by some of my older informants) due to the fact that it also means *come in order to meet* (family reunion).
149. Tuan (pronounced [tua]) was used only to address missionaries and foreigners. It is a Malay term of address meaning *gentleman* or *sir*.
150. Malanuza consists of mala *plains* and nuza/nguza *green* (see Map 1).
151. Voe literally means *to bind* and by extension is used to mean *clan* and *friend* (also see 3.5.1.6.(a)).
152. Ngi'i-merre is a collocation meaning *garden clearing*.
153. Kole/koe here indicates unexpectedness and surprise.
154. Dhuu-venngi-zua is a compound word.
155. Ngata may refer to the felled trees or used as an emphatic marker.
156. Bha'dhuu/bha'i-dhuu means *not at all* (see 3.3.1.4.).
157. Leke is a pod vine with red, hard peas about as large as the gizzard of a chicken.
158. Koba go kaju is here used to mean *aerial roots*.
159. Li'e-ngemme here means *gourd seed*; it may also mean *gourd fruit* in other contexts.
160. Dhoa may be interpreted as a nonsense counterpart functioning to build meter and rhyme.
161. Jere is here used to refer to a person without social status.
162. Ngata may refer to the gourd seeds or to Penu.
163. Bha'i apa-apa is perhaps a calque of Indonesian tidak apa-apa *nothing/it doesn't matter/never mind* (tidak *not*, apa *what*). The normal Ngadha expression in such a case is molo-gha *that's fine* (molo *good*, gha *already*).
164. Mettu in other contexts means *cow* (adult female beast).
165. See (3.5.3.3.) for bholo.
166. See footnote 150 above.
167. Nabhe *narrate* is normally used to mean *proverb*.
168. A small gourd used for a hair bun is called kobho; see Plate 6.
169. The whole quoted expression means *a beautiful girl*; see Plate 6.
170. Pezzo is perhaps a nonsense counterpart used to build meter and rhyme.
171. The word moe is here used to mean *while*.
172. See 3.5.4.1.(f) for sai; sai is an allative particle (like pee and dhuu) marking the point at which motion ends.
173. Tubo is a house post; before being used as a house post, the same piece of wood is called lekke. (See Figure 4.)
174. Voa in other contexts means *to fly*.
175. See Figures 4 and 6 and Plate 4.

176. See Figure 5.
177. See footnote 107.
178. Granaries are built on stilts, outside the village (see Figure 3).
179. Jea does not have a meaning by itself and is perhaps a nonsense counter-part used to build meter and rhyme.
180. See 3.5.1.3.(a).
181. Mumu literally means *snout* (of an animal). It is perhaps a cognate of the Indonesian word mulut *mouth*.
182. Rupa literally means *to wrap* (in banana or bamboo leaves).
183. See 3.5.1.6.(b).
184. Lima is used figuratively to mean *generosity* (the giving hands).
185. We-inclusive here does not include the addressee (Vegu).
186. The expression means *feast givers*.
187. Kaa meze is a collocation meaning *a big dinner/feast*.
188. Buku is a ceremonial feast; literally it means *bamboo node separating two hollows*. The nodes mark growth and the metaphor is used to indicate stages in a man's life marked by the ceremonial feasts he is able to give to the village. Important ceremonial feasts are: kaa sa'o (kaa *eat*, sa'o *house*) to mark the completion of a traditional house built in honour and named after an ancestor, and hence called sa'o ngaza (ngaza *name*); kaa ngadhu (ngadhu *male ancestor tree*) or kaa ghaga (bhaga *female ancestor house*); nekku is a feast given to commemorate the death of an 'accomplished' person (sadho); moni uma (moni *watch* also *show*, uma *garden*) to mark success in agriculture.
189. Dhepo also means *to follow from behind*.
190. Water buffalo are totem and sacrificial animals to the Ngadha people (see Arndt 1954: Part II, Chapter III).
191. Lau-mai is used pronominally.
192. See Arndt (1963: Chapter V) for discussion of age, size, and value of water buffalos.
193. Note that the worms were transformed into water buffalos and human beings (slaves).
194. Ho'o-feo *slave*; they were mostly war captives. There are reports of slave trading, but my own research findings show that the trading resulted from the redeeming of the captives by their relatives.
195. Vi here is a preposition and not an irrealis marker.
196. Muzi in other contexts means *alive/live/livelihood*.
197. Gold ornaments are mostly in the form of long and large chains (loda) and large earrings (bela) and owned by the whole (extended) family. The completion of making a gold ornament (kezzu loda; kezzu *melt, make strings and weave*) is marked by giving a feast and making sculptures on certain parts of the house (see Plate 3).

198. lezza devve is used here to mean *later today*.
199. The traditional ceremonial dance is accompanied by the goo-laba ensemble.
200. See Figure 11 and Appendix II.
201. Tau-zua means *couple* (that is, husband and wife).
202. See 3.5.1.6.(a).
203. See Plates 6 and 7 for the traditional festive dresses.
204. See footnote 24 above.
205. Dhuu bupu-mata may be translated as *ever after*.
206. See Map 1; the word Bai or Mbai refers to the same place name and people.
207. See Figure 3.
208. Tame means *to give a name to a baby or a place*; normally it refers to giving a name to a human being.
209. Tevve is related to devve *aforementioned* (narrative pointer).
210. See 2.2.3. under INTERJECTION.
211. The expression is proverbial in that it refers to the importance of finding the ancestors' words of wisdom.
212. The invocation is a kind of prayer in which one acknowledges the greatness of one's ancestors without whom one cannot possibly be. The invocations are timeless (a-temporal) since the Ngadha people believe that when one recites it, he "is the ancestor". This is in line with the traditional saying which reads: "Ancestors live forever in what they said."
213. Nga'o in the Nagekeo dialect spoken in Bai/Mbai is not in the oblique case, but I translate it following the dialect spoken by the narrator.
214. Su'a *garden knife* and bhoka *small gourd container* are symbols of prosperity and family unity. Whenever a family moved away and built its own traditional house, they were given two su'a and two bhoka (in which some maize, rice and bean seeds were placed). The symbolism of the ritual is to give the leaving members some means to sustain life, i.e. gardening needs.
215. See 2.2.3. under CLASSIFIER.
216. See 2.2.3. under CLASSIFIER.
217. Palm wine is a symbol of prosperity and considered equivalent to mother's milk. The *Arenga pinnata* sap looks like milk and can be fermented to make palm wine or boiled to make brown sugar.
218. The word so'o is perhaps used here to mark emphasis rather than doubt. Note, too, that the fire referred to in the sentence is the volcanic mountain Ebbulobo on whose lower slope Takatunga and Saraseddu are located (see Map 1).
219. Pata literally means *utterance*.

220. The word dhaga means *entwine* or *bridging*.
221. The word benno consists of ba (sequential connective) + no'o (also a sequential connective); see 3.3.2.1.(b).
222. Laba is a signal for the musicians to sound the goo-laba ensemble. See Appendix II for the discussion of the goo-laba ensemble.
223. Sese means *yellow*; the 'aesesa ('ae/vae *water*, sesa/sese *yellow*) river in Bai (see Map 1) was probably named after the Sese clan.
224. See 3.3.2.1.(b).
225. The Indonesian word keturunan means *descendant*; the base word is turun *descend*.

NOTES

1. The hierarchy of the Government of Indonesia is:

1. The Central Government (Pemerintah Pusat)
2. The Province (Propinsi)
3. The Regency (Kabupaten)
4. The District (Kecamatan)
5. The Village (Desa)

From the District level down, offices may vary according to urban or rural systems. Note that a desa comprises several hamlets.

2. Most of the legends that I collected from Mr. Wezo were not collected by Arndt in his book entitled *Mythen der Ngadha*; Annali Lateranensi Vol.24; 1960.
3. The typology of discourse cited here follows the model devised by Longacre (1976a).
4. Mr. Wezo did cite the invocations when I interviewed him in January 1979, but only after he had finished performing the legend; the invocations were cited as part of an answer to my question on whether he thought the legend was true history.
5. The section on the story-teller (2.1.1.) as well as my comment on the importance of his role in the interpretation of the text is meant to be a tribute to Mr. Wezo.
6. The measures for writing the text and its translations in this fashion were brought to my attention by Rich Rhodes and Ken Hill, also following Bright (1979).
7. The map of the Regency of Ngadha is taken from the Ngadha Regency Archives and the source is not known. The map of the island of Flores (inset) is taken from the University of Michigan Map Collection.

Chapter 3

A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF THE NGADHA LANGUAGE

3.1. Introduction

The sketch grammar of Ngadha presented here is meant primarily to help the reader get more out of the text, that is, for the reader to get an idea of how the grammar of the language works and as a set-up for the discussion of the higher level structures of the PV text in Chapter 4.

The sketch begins with a list of phonemes and a brief summary statement of the phonology of the language. Following it are three major sections which analyse the sentence patterns, the phrase patterns, and the particles. The final section of the sketch is devoted to notes on certain points of the Ngadha grammar which deserve further study due to the fact that they are too complicated to be dealt with in this sketch or for which adequate explanations cannot yet be given.

It is worth pointing out that no single linguistic model is adopted for the description of the grammar; the basis is eclectic, using techniques from various models where they have proven useful. The strategy is adopted due to the fact that it is always difficult to describe a language using a foreign language. The description of Ngadha presented here is largely traditional, and I am using a set of conventional linguistic terms although there are dissimilarities in the meanings and uses of the terms. To adequately describe the Ngadha language, and perhaps any other language, we need to evolve a set of new terms, but this could become so complex that it would be useless.¹

It is useful at this point to mention certain striking characteristics of Ngadha. In the area of phonology, Ngadha is straightforward and easy to get into. The syllable structure is mostly of the form (C)V, most words consist of two syllables, and stress is not phonemic. Ngadha has no morphology apart from a few cliticised particles. Tense, gender and plurality are not marked, and most of the syntax of the language is taken care of by word order. The unmarked sentence pattern is S(ubject) + P(redicate) + O(bject) or C(omplement) + A(dverbial(s)); the adverbials may be obligatory or optional depending on the clause type. In oral discourse, where context is clear, only the predicate constituent is obligatory; and in terms of form, there is only one type of unmarked sentence construction to convey declarative, interrogative and imperative functions. The phrase pattern of Ngadha is H(ead) + M(odifier(s)); a phrase may have several modifiers built around the head.

Besides word order, Ngadha marks prominence of information by using various types of particles (which mark theme, emphasis, sequence of events,

aspect, discourse pointing, narrative pointing, and specificity), and parallel constructions. It is worth mentioning that certain particles designate highly specific entities in the discourse and allow for the deletion of such entities. In such cases only the particles are left in the surface form, often functioning as complementisers.

It needs to be pointed out, too, that intonation plays an important grammatical role. And although largely impressionistic and not complete, reference to intonation will be made in the sketch.

And it has to be noted that the core of the present study is the PV text (The legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan), thus examples for the grammatical description of Ngadha will be restricted as much as possible to the text. However, other examples will also be cited, mostly from my own personal intuition as a speaker of Ngadha (which is my first language), where it is deemed necessary for the purposes of illustration and clarification.

The description will be general and concern only major points of the grammar of Ngadha; some explanations will be offered though of a tentative and speculative kind. It needs to be mentioned, too, that in an important sense, the sketch is a continuation of Dr. Paul Arndt's sketch of Ngadha grammar, entitled *Grammatik der Ngad'a-Sprache*, published in 1933.² That sketch is too short and too general to merit criticism and I leave the interested reader to look at it himself.

3.2. Phonology³

3.2.1. Segmental phonemes and orthography

For the sake of convenience, the phonemes and the orthography adopted in this study are presented side by side.

The phonemes:

Consonants:

The orthography⁴:

Consonants:

	bilabial										labio-dental										dental										alveolar										alveo-palatal										retroflex										velar										glottal									
nasal	m										n										ŋ										m										n										ng																													
voiced stop	b										d										g										b										d										g																													
voiceless stop	p										t										k										p										t										k																													
voiced implosive	ɓ										ɗ										ʄ										bh																				dh																													
glottal stop																					ʔ																																																											
voiced fricative											v										z										v										z										gh																													
voiceless fricative											f										s										f										s										h																													
voiced affricate																					ɟ																														j																													
tap/trill																					r																				r																																							
lateral																					l																														l																													

Vowels:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

Vowels:

i		u
e	e	o
	a	

Notes to the orthography:

(1) Schwa, the mid-central vowel, is represented as e followed by a diacritic, i.e. by doubling the consonant that directly follows it. In cases where a phoneme is orthographically represented by two letters (ng, bh, dh, and gh) only the first letter is doubled, e.g. dhegha *play* vs. dheggha *remember*. This procedure is adopted for ease of typing and as a practical orthography in line with the phonetic nature of schwa which lengthens the consonant following it.

(2) The orthography adopted in this study is different from the one used by Arndt (1933)⁵ and the one used in my previous papers (see note 3).

3.2.2. Distribution of phonemes

3.2.2.1. Syllable structure

The syllable structure of Ngadha is open and mostly of the form (C)V. Words are formed of two syllables. Words that appear to be monosyllabic are in fact formed of two syllables as shown by the extra length of the vowel and are thus represented by double vowels. The only instances of monosyllabics are certain grammatical words in which the vowels tend to reduce to schwa (see 3.2.3.7. below). Three-syllable words are rare and they are mostly frozen compounds or loan words.

Consonants may occur in initial or medial positions in the morpheme, while vowels may occur in initial, medial or final positions.

3.2.2.2. Nasals

m	:	mata	<i>die, eye</i>
		nama	<i>brass [metal]</i>
n	:	nade	<i>sleep</i>
		nana	<i>weave [of objects made of leaves or bamboo splits]</i>
ng	:	ngaza	<i>name, if, when/during</i>
		ngange	<i>be tired [physically]</i>

3.2.2.3. Stops

b	:	bana	<i>warm, hot, fast</i>
		bebe	<i>eat or work together [eat from one plate]</i>
d	:	dada	<i>far</i>
		medo	<i>a long time, long ago</i>

g	:	goo aga	<i>gong</i> <i>cave</i>
p	:	pama api	<i>receive with both hands</i> <i>fire</i>
t	:	tara utu	<i>branch</i> <i>gather, assemble</i>
k	:	kaa eko	<i>eat</i> <i>tail</i>
bh	:	bha'i rebho	<i>no, not [negation]</i> <i>to forget</i>
dh	:	dhola ladho	<i>uvula</i> <i>to exceed</i>
'	:	'aa la'a	<i>crow [bird]</i> <i>go, walk</i>

3.2.2.4. Fricatives

v	:	vejo vavo	<i>shake</i> <i>above</i>
z	:	zio azi	<i>to bathe</i> <i>younger sibling</i>
gh	:	ghili roggho	<i>friend</i> <i>dry</i>
f	:	faa teffa	<i>refreshing [as cool air]</i> <i>to spit</i>
s	:	soa sosa	<i>waterfall</i> <i>fish-trap</i>
h	:	hae 'ehhe	<i>maize</i> <i>to cough [in order to get attention]</i>

3.2.2.5. Affricate

j	:	jali laja	<i>to smear, to paint</i> <i>sail</i>
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3.2.2.6. Tap/Trill

r	:	rio aro	<i>painful</i> <i>charcoal</i>
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3.2.2.7. Lateral

l	:	lelu lole	<i>cotton, cotton thread</i> <i>to enter</i>
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3.2.2.8. Vowels

i	:	inu	<i>to drink</i>
		dia	<i>this, here now</i>
		dhomi	<i>only</i>
u	:	ule	<i>worm, caterpillar</i>
		lu'u	<i>tears</i>
		leu	<i>left</i>
e	:	eki	<i>take, fetch</i>
		pe'i	<i>lean [an object onto something], install</i>
		modhe	<i>good, well</i>
e (schwa)	:	bhetto	<i>bamboo</i>
		emmu	<i>mosquito</i>
o	:	one	<i>inside</i>
		kou	<i>undress</i>
		ja'o	<i>I [first person pronoun]</i>
a	:	ate	<i>liver</i>
		mae	<i>soul</i>
		mea	<i>be embarrassed</i>

3.2.3. Allophonic statement

3.2.3.1. Aspiration

Voiceless stops are strongly aspirated in initial position, while in medial position they are slightly preaspirated and aspirated. The aspiration and preaspiration are most noticeable with velar and alveolar consonants.

3.2.3.2. Implosives

Bh and dh are implosives. Laboratory tests (palatograms and glottograms) done in 1977 showed that they have a coarticulation of glottal and oral closure involving implosion.⁶ Dh is articulated as a retroflex. Bh in initial position is often pronounced as voiceless when the second syllable contains an implosive, bh or dh. Dh in dhano *also* is often replaced by ' (glottal stop), particularly in unstressed position within the sentence.

3.2.3.3. Fricatives

The fricative aspect of h is more prominent before high vowels than before mid and low vowels; the fricative aspect of v is more prominent before unrounded vowels than before rounded ones; the obstruent aspect of gh is more prominent in initial and stressed positions than in medial or unstressed positions.

3.2.3.4. Glottal stop

' (glottal stop) is always a stop in morpheme initial position. In medial position it may be articulated as a stop or just a friction. The following are examples in minimal or near-minimal pairs of morphemes that begin with a glottal stop and the ones that do not begin with a glottal stop.

inu	<i>drink</i>
'inu	<i>tiny</i>
uu	[exclamation meaning <i>I hear you</i>]
'uu	[a grunt to show disagreement or disappointment]
ee	[exclamation meaning <i>yes</i>]
'ee	[exclamation used in calling pigs]
limaessa	<i>six</i> (lima <i>five</i> , 'essa <i>one</i>)
'essa	<i>one</i>
ote	<i>brain</i>
'oto	<i>car</i> [loan word]
aa	[exclamation meaning <i>is it really</i>]
'aa	<i>crow</i> [bird]

In rapid speech, however, the contrast may be lost; that is, the glottal stop may be dropped. The glottal stop also tends to be dropped in medial positions when the vowels preceding and following it are identical, and often the process create homophones. Examples:

bo'o > boo	<i>full</i> [after eating]	boo	<i>blister, granary</i>
pu'u > puu	<i>from, base</i>	puu	<i>tall grass</i>
vi'i > vii	<i>bamboo split</i>	vii	<i>lead</i> [a horse]
le'e > lee	<i>bow</i>	lee	<i>toss</i>
pa'a > paa	<i>thigh</i>	paa	<i>distribute</i>

3.2.3.5. Tap/trill

r usually consists of one or more taps. It appears as a trill in emphatic speech or enunciation, or when preceded by a schwa.

3.2.3.6. Schwa

e (schwa) is usually very short and causes the lengthening of the consonant that follows it. Schwa never occurs in second syllables of a morpheme, except in three-syllable words.

In addition, the deletion of schwa in morpheme initial position results in a geminate-like syllable structure, of the form CCV. The lab tests (glottograms)⁷ done in 1977 showed that the CC sequence is a sequence of two similar segments manifest in voicedness, and possibly with a glottal friction between the two segments. It is also likely that the first C in such structures is an instance of a syllabic segment. However, in relation to the lengthening of consonants following schwa, I treat such morphemes as containing an underlying schwa. Hence such morphemes are written with a schwa initial position. The following is a list of such morphemes:

mma	written	emma	<i>father</i>
nna		enna	<i>sand</i>
nne		enne	<i>mother</i> , or [personal name female]
ngnga		engga	[personal name female]
bba		ebba	<i>cloth used to carry a baby</i>
bbu		ebbu	<i>grandparents</i>
mmu		emmu	<i>mosquito</i>
rro		erro	<i>sun</i>
bbo		ebbo	[personal name female]
limassa		limaessa	<i>six</i>

3.2.3.7. Vowel reduction

Most grammatical words consisting of one syllable tend to be short and the vowels are often reduced to schwa. Such words are treated as monosyllabic and are written with just one vowel. The following are examples in minimal pairs:

muu	<i>to kiss</i>
mu > [mə]	'contrastive emphasis marker'
saa	<i>to mention or pronounce the name of</i>
sa- > [sə]	<i>one</i> [a bound morpheme]
vii	<i>pull or lead</i> [as to lead a horse]
vi > [və]	'infinitive marker'
daa	<i>to stretch one's legs</i>
da > [də]	'relater', 'realis marker'
ngaa	<i>visit, check</i>
nga > [ngə]	'thematic particle'
goo	<i>gong</i>
go > [gə]	'marker of specificity'
lee	<i>toss</i>
le > [lə]	'adverb of manner'

In addition, a occurring in the first syllable tends to be reduced to schwa when preceded by the velars ng or g, as in:

ngata > ngetta	'third person thematic pronoun'
gazi > gezzi	'third person pronoun (oblique case)'

The reduction process also occurs across morpheme boundaries such as:

ba nga > bennga	(ba 'connective', nga 'thematic particle')
ba no'o > benno	(no'o 'connective')
da nga > dennga	(da 'relater')
vi nga > vennga	(vi 'infinitive marker')
sa-eko > se-eko	(sa- <i>one</i> , eko 'animal classifier' (lit. <i>tail</i>))

It is to be noted that vowel reduction may have to do with stress placement (see 3.2.3.1.0. below).

3.2.3.8. Vowel sequences

Sequences of two different vowels in Ngadha are comprised of two vowels without a glide or semivowel in between. They are not diphthongs, as a diphthong is usually part of one syllable in which one segment is more prominent than the other. Vowel sequences in Ngadha belong to a sequence of two different syllables of which the vowels are the nuclei. Nevertheless, in ordinary speech one may encounter instances of glide and semivowel. [y] may be inserted when the first vowel in a vowel sequence is unrounded a, i, e and the second vowel is a, i, u, e, o. The semivowel [w] may be inserted when the first vowel is rounded o, u and the second vowel is a, i, u, e, o. The following are examples of morphemes containing vowel sequences:

sia	<i>daylight time</i>
siu	<i>sparrow</i>
rie	<i>cicada</i>
zio	<i>bathe</i>
ua	<i>rattan</i>
sue	<i>ivory</i>
lui	<i>peel</i>
sei	<i>who</i> (question word)
seu	<i>sing</i>
dheo	<i>hold</i>
mea	<i>be embarrassed</i>
moa	<i>thirsty</i>
koe	<i>dig</i>
foi	<i>flute</i> (musical instrument made of bamboo)
bhou	<i>gather, assemble</i>

Schwa never occurs in vowel sequence; and the sequence uo does not seem to occur either.

3.2.3.9. Voiceless vowels

Vowels tend to be pronounced as voiceless when they occur between voiceless consonants, or when following voiceless consonants in phrase final position.

3.2.3.10. Stress

Stress is not phonemic and appears as greater vowel length and possibly higher pitch as the laboratory tests (spectrograms)⁸ have shown. The word stress always falls on the next to the last syllable (penultimate), which is the first syllable in most words. However, the stress may be shifted to the last syllable if the first syllable contains schwa. Monosyllabic particles as well as cliticised particles are normally unstressed.

3.2.3.11. Intonation

A phonological phrase ends with one of three terminals: rising, falling, or level. The falling terminal marks the end of an utterance or phonological sentence, except for questions, which normally end with a rising terminal. A level terminal marks the end of a non-final contour.

Two pitch levels will account for the contrast in the contours which have been found to function as syntactic signals, i.e. an interrogative sentence has a rising final, while a declarative sentence has a falling final intonation contour. However, a more complete analysis cannot yet be given.

3.3. Sentence patterns

Sentences are classified as basic and complex. A basic sentence contains only one clause, while a complex sentence contains more than one clause. In terms of function, sentences are classified as declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. Unmarked sentences may have the same syntactic structure for declarative, interrogative and imperative; they differ in the final intonation contour. A declarative normally has a falling final intonation, an interrogative a rising final intonation or a falling final intonation when it contains a question word, while an imperative often has the same intonation contour as that of a declarative, except in emphatic speech which often ends in a rising intonation plus greater stress.

3.3.1. Basic sentences

3.3.1.1. Declarative sentences

Declaratives are subdivided into transitive, intransitive and equative depending on the nature of the predicate,⁹ i.e. its transitivity and scope. The unmarked transitive sentence structure is SPO (Subject + Predicate + Object), the unmarked intransitive sentence structure is SP (Subject + Predicate), while the unmarked equative sentence structure is SC (Subject + Complement). Optionally, the sentences may contain negation and all type of adverbials. It is to be noted, however, that certain adverbials may be obligatory; that is, required as part of the clause. Such adverbials should be considered adjuncts to the clause.

Declaratives may have marked word order which normally has to do with topicalisation. In such a case we may find reversed word order of the forms: OSP (for transitives), PS (for intransitives), and CS (for equatives). Topicalisation is not discussed separately but will be referred to in passing.

The following are some examples. Note that examples taken from the PV text (quoted fully or in part) are identified by sentence numbers given in parentheses after the Ngadha examples.

Transitive sentences:

- (1) ... ngata so kolu bekki vekki paa zale. (S21)
SHE THEN plunge REFLEXIVE body AS=FAR=AS DOWN
 (thematic)
 ... she then threw herself down.
- (2) Kazi mu visi-nea da sosa kazi vo'o zale buu-na ... (S69)
HE mu tear-away da fishtrap HE at DOWN tip-na
He tore open his fishtrap down at the tip ...

Intransitive sentences:

- (3) Ngata to la'a roba-ngaba ... (S15)
SHE THEN go fall-ravine (commit suicide)
 (thematic)
She then went away to cast (herself down) a ravine ...
- (4) ... Vetta kita Penu dia mata-gha ... (S25)
sister WE= Penu this die-ALREADY
 ... *Our sister Penu is dead already ...*

Equative sentences:

- (5) Nua da dada. (S61)
village da far
The village was far.
- (6) Ne Penu kenna pu'u lau-mai Takatunga. (S9)
MISS Penu that FROM SEAWARD-COME Takatunga
Miss Penu was from down at nearby Takatunga.
- (7) Zale go tivu meze. (S22)
DOWN go pond big
Down (there) was a large pond.
- (8) Ja'o Java.
I Java
I am Java (lit. I am the person named Java.)

Comments:

Ngadha does not mark tense; instead, temporal expressions or aspect markers are used to identify time. Hence all of the examples above may be rendered as past or present depending on the context. Examples (1-7) above are rendered in the past tense because they are taken from the PV text which is an account of a past happening.

It needs to be pointed out that in Ngadha natural discourse, only the predicate (verbal or otherwise) is obligatory, while other sentence constituents may be deleted by virtue of the fact that they are all recoverable within the discourse context. The deletion strategy not only applies to minor sentences, such as greeting forms, vocatives, exclamations and standardised stereotypic bits, but also to major sentences found in narrative, expository, hortatory, procedural and dramatic discourse. Sentences are found in their full forms for the purposes of identification, reference, elaboration, reinforcement, and reminding the addressee or when the script requires it.

Intonation assumes an important grammatical role in distinguishing sentence from phrase. Example (7) above may be regarded as prepositional phrase (PP) if there is no intonational juncture after *zale*, in which case it has to be rendered as *down inside the large pond*. This observation is parallel to what Amran Halim (1969) found with respect to Bahasa Indonesia.

Any noun phrase may fill the subject or object slot of a sentence, while the predicate slot may be filled by verb phrase (VP), noun phrase (NP), adjective phrase (AP), or prepositional phrase (PP) (see 3.4. below for discussion on phrase patterns). In the examples above, sentences (1-4) have

verbal predicates, sentence (5) has an adjective predicate, sentence (6) has a prepositional phrase as predicate, and sentences (7 and 8) have nominal predicates filled by noun phrases. It needs to be pointed out that pu'u in (6) is a verbal preposition, thus sentence (6) may be regarded as having a verbal predicate. And, in addition, the expression lau-mai Takatunga in (6) must be treated as an adjunct required by the verbal preposition pu'u. On the other hand, the expression vo'o zale buu in (2) is a locative adverb and is not an obligatory part of the clause.

Note that the untranslated particles are discussed in (3.4.), while negation is discussed in (3.3.1.4.) below. Note also that examples of sentences with reversed word order are not cited but the reader is referred to some examples found in the PV text: for OSP pattern see sentences (2, 3, 4, 11, 31, 43, and 190), for PS pattern see sentences (94 and 219). The CS pattern does not occur in the PV text.

3.3.1.2. Interrogative sentences

Questions are distinguished from other sentences by the intonation. An interrogative normally has a rising final intonation, or a falling final intonation when it contains a question word. In terms of structure, unmarked interrogatives are the same as declaratives, thus all of the examples above (1-8) may be turned into questions just by applying the interrogative intonation contour.

Wh-questions are formed by using question words. The position of the question word is the same as that of the element or the constituent in a declarative sentence that is being questioned. As examples we will take examples (1 and 2) above and transform them into wh-questions.

- (9) Sei da kolu bekki vekki pee zale ?
who da plunge REFLEXIVE body AS=FAR=AS DOWN
Who threw himself/herself down?
- (10) Ngata da tapa (tau apa) ?
SHE da make/do what
What did she do?
- (11) Ngata so moe-dee ?
SHE THEN like-where (how)
What did she do then?
- (12) Ngata so kolu bekki vekki pee dee ?
SHE THEN plunge REFLEXIVE body AS=FAR=AS where
Where did she throw herself to?
- (13) Kazi da visi-nea go apa ?
HE da tear-away go what
What did he tear open?

Note that sentences (9, 10 and 13) above contain the particle da whose function is to designate presupposed or specified entities of which the questions are asked.

Basically, there are only five question words in Ngadha: sei *who*, apa *what*, piza *how many/much*, venngi *when* and dee *where*. And the basic question words pertain to three basic notions, the three building blocks of language as

Talmy Givón (1979)¹⁰ puts it: that of being (*sei*, *apa*, *piza*), of time (*venngi*), and of location (*dee*). From the basic question words other expressions are formed, the most important of which are: *go sei whose*, *moe-dee how*, *da moe-dee why*, and *dee-na which* (*go* 'specific marker', *moe like*, *na* 'discourse pointer').

Yes-no questions are formed by adding *gho bha'i* (*gho or*, *bha'i not*) to a declarative sentence. The centre of the intonation contour is on *gho* which is often directly followed by a juncture, while the end of the contour may be rising or falling depending on the force of the speech act. A neutral yes-no question ends in falling intonation, while an emphatic one ends in falling or rising intonation plus greater stress and/or a trailing catch. It is to be noted that *gho* also functions as a general question tag and is placed at the end of a sentence the intonation of which is falling, similar to that of a declarative. Examples:

(14) Nua da dada gho ?
village da far Q.TAG
The village was far, wasn't it?

(15) Nua da dada gho bha'i ?
village da far or NOT
The village was far or not?

Questions may have inversion of word order, that is, O + P (minus subject) or O + S + P for transitives, P + S for intransitives, and C + S for equatives. Such questions normally have falling final intonation and must be treated as marked constructions due to the fact that they are associated with topicalisation of their declarative counterparts. Additional examples are not cited, but an important note has to be made, which is: inversion does not apply to questions containing the thematic pronoun *ngata* as subject, such as in examples (10, 11, and 12) above.

3.3.1.3. Imperative sentences

Imperatives normally apply only to second persons, while suggestions (weak imperatives) may also be applied to first persons. The third person (person or thing referred to) on the other hand cannot directly be given an order except in indirect speech acts which are not discussed in this sketch.

Unmarked imperatives normally have the same word order and intonation as that of declaratives; they may have a rising final intonation when they contain sequential connectives which are used by extension to mark imperative and/or when they are extra emphatic. Examples:

Full sentence imperatives:

(16) ... Kau bodha e'e ne'e da hoga kenna-na ! (S5)
YOU= must yes WITH da young=man that-na
... You must agree to marry that young man!

(17) Dhoo-venngi-zua kau la'a tungi ! (S153)
UNTIL-night-two YOU=CL go burn
The day after tomorrow you go and burn (the trees)!

Imperatives with reversed word order (O+S+P and P + S) :

- (18) Masa tubo sa'o da ze'e-na e-e miu voa-si ! (S190)
 ALL post house da rotten-na INTERJ YOU=DI replace-THEN
 All the old and rotten houseposts, you must replace (them)!
- (19) La'a go gau
 go go YOU=CL.O
 Go you (and get lost)!
- (20) La'a go nga'o !
 go go ME
 (Okay) let me go (and get lost; who cares)!
- (21) Kaa(-si) kita !
 eat-THEN WE=INCL
 Let's (go ahead and) eat!
- (22) Sabu dhegha (miu) !
 CONT.ASP.M play YOU=DI
 Goodbye (to you)! (lit. please continue play (be in good health))

Comments:

Full sentence imperatives such as (16) and (17) are normally used to give order to an addressee (second person), and the full form often implies deference. Deference is also marked by the particle *si* or the ones that imply suggestion rather than order, such as *dhue*, *sabu*, etc. It is to be noted, however, that such particles basically mark sequence and function to mark polite imperative only by extension.

The short forms in (19, 20, 21) above, normally have a final rising intonation and are used by individuals who are in a position to give orders (such as parents to children, people to animals, etc.). The short forms are polite only when they imply invitation such as (21) and/or are marked by connectives or by markers of preference. The following is a list of such markers:

(a) Neutral imperatives are marked by *-si* (polite), *-setto* (when ordering a child), *-to* (when ordering a child or being polite), or a bare verb without any marker (when ordering a child).

(b) Cohortatives (marking suggestion rather than order) are marked by *ghe'e* (carry out the order then do something else), *kole* (go on doing what one is doing), *gezzi* (implies preference of the addressee), *vole* (implies preference of the speaker), *dhue* (similar to *ghe'e*), *loa* (the speaker wants something done soon), *sabu* (please continue doing what one is doing), *zagu* and *zapa* (implies suggestion to try doing something).

It is to be noted that all of these markers follow the verb except *sabu*, *zagu* and *zapa* which precede the verb; some of the markers are cliticised to the verb, while most of them cannot be translated in isolation. Vetatives (prohibitives or negative imperatives) will be discussed in (3.3.1.4.) below.

3.3.1.4. Negation

There are four basic negatives in Ngadha: bha'i, mona, meddu, and ma'e.

(a) Bha'i *not* is the neutral negative. It negates verb phrases, noun phrases, and adjective phrases. Bha'i precedes verb and adjective phrases, but follows noun phrases. When bha'i negates noun phrases it carries an emphatic or contrastive sense.

Examples:

- (23) ... ika kazi kenna ... vo'e bha'u (bha'i) mata ... (S64)
fish HE that still NOT die
His fish there has not died yet.
- (24) ... kau bha'i mode ... (S128)
YOU-CL NOT good
You are not good.
- (25) Kami go ata bha'i
WE=EXCL go human=being NOT
We do not have anybody.

Bha'i also occurs in combination forms, resulting in slightly different or with additional meaning. The following is a list of combination forms: bha'i-gho/bhagho (more emphatic than just bha'i), bha'i-nea (not anymore), bha'i-dhuu/bhadhuu (not at all), bha'i mema (not indeed), bha'i-tosi (not ever), bha'i taka (not ever), bha'i vali (not again/anymore). In combination forms, often the modifying expressions cannot be translated.

(b) Mona *not* is the contrastive negative. It negates verb phrases and noun phrases. Mona normally precedes the verb or noun.

Examples:

- (26) Kazi ngedho-ngedho gili-lio, mona ... mona sabu sei. (S80)
HE look-look round-AROUND NOT NOT meet who
He looked and looked all around, but did not see anybody.
- (27) Ja'o mona apa.
I NOT what
I don't have anything.

Mona also occurs in combination with the vetative ma'e (see ma'e below).

(c) Meddu *not* (or its variant matu) occurs in 'not - but' constructions. In such constructions 'but' may be apparent or presupposed.

Examples:

- (28) Meddu ja'o da punu vai kazi.
NOT I da tell but HE
I did not tell (it), but him.
- (29) Meddu ja'o !
NOT I
It wasn't me (but somebody else)! [a reduced sentence]

(d) Ma'e *don't* is a vetative or prohibitive. It only modifies verbs. Strong vetatives are formed by adding mona, while weak vetatives (advisory) are formed by adding the preference marker vole. Restricted (don't yet) vetatives are formed by adding dhue *yet*.

Examples:

- (30) ... kau ma'e tolo punu ... rivu ! (S139)
 YOU=CL DO=NOT *inconsiderate tell people*
 ... You must not (just) go about telling people (about me)!
- (31) Mona-ma'e kaa !
 NOT DO=NOT *eat*
 Don't (ever) eat (it) !
- (32) Ma'e-vole kaa !
 DO=NOT PREFER.M *eat*
 (It's better you) don't eat (it) !
- (33) Ma'e-dhue kaa !
 DO-NOT-yet *eat*
 Don't eat (it) yet !

There are other negatives not involving ma'e: *zekke-dhue don't yet* (*zekke* implies suggestion; the speaker does not have full control), *nea-vole don't* (*nea* *lose/lost*, *vole* 'preference marker (speaker's perspective)'), *nea-gezzi/gazi* (*gezzi* 'preference marker (addressee's perspective)'). Note that *zekke* cannot be translated, while *nea* may have another meaning not captured by *lose/lost*. *Vole* is perhaps a cognate of the Indonesian word *boleh* *permitted/ permissible*.

In addition to the four basic negatives, there are other forms of negation. The following is a brief discussion of expressions meaning *not yet*, paired negative-positive expressions, and exclamations involving negatives.

(e) *Ko'e-mara*, *ko'e-sala* and *vo'e bha'i-gho not yet*. The expressions consist of aggregates of seemingly unrelated elements: *ko'e-mara* is made up of *ko'e* *REMAIN* (i.e. a portion of something is left behind), and *mara* 'unordered plural action'. *ko'e-sala* is made up of *ko'e* and *sala* *wrong*. *vo'e bha'i-gho* is made up of *vo'e* *still* (i.e. continue to be) and the negative expression *bha'i-gho*. These expressions only modify verb phrases and adjective phrases and precede the elements they modify. And it is to be noted that these expressions are perhaps best interpreted as 'expectives', that is, 'while a happening is expected' such as observed by Whorf (1956) concerning Hopi verbal categories. It needs to be pointed out that Ngadha has no expression for 'before' or 'after'; normally, *ko'e-mara* or *ko'e-sala* is used to mean *before* and *moli finish* or *moli kenna that finished* are used to denote 'after'.

(f) *Paired negative-positive expressions*. There are certain negative expressions which have positive counterparts. The positive expressions do not normally take negatives and when they do, they are contrastive or extra emphatic. Such expressions are often used as auxiliaries (see 3.5.3.4.1.). The following are the most common expressions given in pairs:

talo	<i>be unable</i>	> <	ngee	<i>be able, can</i>
busa	<i>ignorant</i>	> <	be'o	<i>know</i>
tona	<i>lack</i>	> <	latu	<i>be/exist/have</i> (surplus)
bau	<i>refuse</i>	> <	e'e	<i>agree, to say yes</i>

It is to be noted that *talo* — *ngee* may modify verb and adjective phrases; *talo* follows the element it modifies and *ngee* precedes it. *Busa* — *be'o* may modify verb and noun phrases; when they modify a verb phrase they normally occur following it, while when they modify a noun phrase they precede it and have a slightly different meaning, i.e. *not acknowledging* and *acknowledging*.

Tona – latu only modify noun phrases; tona precedes, while latu normally follows the noun phrase. Bau – e'e only modify verb phrases and occur preceding them.

(g) Exclamations involving negatives often occur as short sentences or remarks. The common ones are:

Bha'i *not/no* is used as a denial, or to claim turn at talking while approving what the previous speaker was saying.

Bha'i ngee *it's impossible* (a contrastive or extra emphatic remark).

Messi bha'i or nugu/negge bha'i *it was close* (i.e. the speaker almost got into serious trouble). Messi means *if only*, while nugu/negge is a marker of temporary or brief action (lit. *be surprised/startled*).

3.3.2. Complex sentences

Complex sentences contain more than one clause; and the clauses may be linked together, with or without conjunctions. Since a basic sentence, containing only one clause, is analysed as a unit consisting of S(ubject), P(redicate), O(bject), or C(omplement) plus A(dverbials), a complex sentence can be analysed twice over into such elements.

Depending on the relations of the clauses that make up a complex sentence, two major subtypes can be distinguished: coordinate and subordinate constructions. A major difference between coordination and subordination of clauses is that coordination is a linking together of two or more elements of equivalent status and function, while subordination is a non-symmetrical relation, holding between two clauses in such a way that one is a constituent of the other. And, in addition, the information contained in a subordinate clause is normally not asserted. It is often the case, too, that in coordinate constructions the order of the units can be changed without a consequent change in the semantic relationship of those units. But the change of order is dependent on many factors, one of which is the relationship of meaning between the units conditioned usually by higher level structures.

With respect to Ngadha, a linguistic characteristic of the language needs to be pointed out; that is, the order of linguistic units rigidly follows the referential order of events, particularly those which involve temporal sequence or implicit cause-result relationships. An apparent fact about the rigid referential order of events pertaining to temporal sequence is that Ngadha does not have the expressions for 'before' or 'after'. Comparable constructions involving 'before' and 'after' would be translated into Ngadha as *not yet* (ko'e-mara, ko'e-sala, or vo'e bha'i-gho; see 3.3.1.4. above), and *that finished* (moli kenna) or *and then* (so, tetto, siba, no'o, ghe'e, and gezze).

3.3.2.1. Coordination

Coordination of clauses may be indicated by conjunctions or by connectives. The following are brief discussions of conjunctions and connectives; also included are brief comments on correlatives and appositions.

(a) *The conjunctions*: ala, vai, ne'e, dhapi and gho

Ala *but/while* indicates a positive or neutral contrast between two clauses; when ala designates a neutral contrast it can be rendered as *and*. Vai *but*

indicates a negative contrast as opposed to *ala*. Examples:

- (34) *Kami ngoo ala miu ngaa.*
WE=EXCL work and/while YOU=DI watch (lit. visit)
We work and/while you watch.
- (35) *Kami ngoo vai miu ngaa.*
but
We work but you (just/only) watch.

The two sentences can be reversed without changing the semantic relationship of the two clauses; the difference lies in emphasis.

Ne'e and and *dhapi and also* occur mostly in elliptical clauses and function to indicate associated actor or object. The difference between the two is that *dhapi* is contrastive and functions to indicate associated characteristics usually of the subject. Examples:

- (36) *Ja'o ne'e Java da la'a.*
I and Java da go
I and Java went.
- (37) *Ja'o da la'a ne'e Java.*
I da go and/with Java
I went with Java.
- (38) *Ja'o da la'a dhapi Java.*
I da go and=also Java
I went along with Java or I went with Java too.
- (39) *Kazi da vekki meze dhapi jaga.*
HE da body big and=also height
He is big and also tall. (lit. He has a big body and also height.)

Note that the difference between (36) and (37) is only a matter of emphasis and they are neutral as opposed to the contrastive and emphatic (38).

Gho or links clauses which imply questioning. It is found to link declaratives only if the two clauses are subordinate to a superordinate one. Examples:

- (40) *Kau da la'a gho kazi da la'a ?*
YOU=CL da go or HE da go
Was it you or he who went?
- (41) *Bodha ja'o gho kazi vi la'a.*
must I or HE vi go
It must be either I or he who may/is supposed to go.

Note that the coreferential constituent of (40) (*da la'a*) may be deleted in the first or the second clause. The superordinate clause in (41) is the reduced *bodha* clause.

(b) *The sequential connectives*

Sequential connectives in *Ngadha* basically link two or more clauses of equal status in terms of their syntactic forms. In terms of meaning, normally subsequent clauses contain the main idea, while the first clause is a condition in time (and other things) for the clauses that follow. It is to be noted too that a connective may designate implicit sequence of events in that it conceptually links a sentence to a previous sentence in terms of the progression of events (such as found in a narrative).

Below are the connectives and a brief comment on each. The common property of the connectives is that they rigidly regulate the line of events in accordance with the referential order, as has been briefly commented upon in (3.3.2.) above. The connectives are: *so*, *tetto/to*, *siba/ba/si*, *no'o/nosa*, *gezze*, and *ghe'e*, all of which can be rendered as *and then*, except *ghe'e* which is best rendered as 'first' (thereupon/after it).

(i) *So* marks important or climactic foreground information in a sequence of events. Examples:

- (42) Dhekke me zeta tolo kaju emma, levva vivi tivu meze, ngata
climb TRUE UP ON=TOP tree FATHER at brink pond large SHE
 so kolu bekki vekki pee zale. (S21)
THEN plunge REFLEXIVE body AS=FAR=AS DOWN
Climbing up in the tree, son, (which grew) at the brink of a large
pond, she then threw herself down.
- (43) Ngata vaga ma' go hova ika kenna-na emma, so ngae.
HE lift ALL=INDEF.N go scale fish that-na FATHER THEN parch
He took all of the fish's scales there, son, and then parched them (on
the fire).

Another example involving *so* is sentence (207) in the PV text. It is to be noted that *so* occurs only three times in the text, and it marks three most foregrounded events: the heroine's committing suicide (S21), the hero's attempt to bring the heroine back to life (S120), and the success of both the hero and the heroine, which makes them "accomplished" members of the community (S207).

(ii) *Tetto/to* also mark important foreground information like *so* but not climactic. (Note that *to* is a contracted form of *tetto*.) Examples:

- (44) Nga pejja menna Kolupenu, ngata tetto dhekke me zeta
nga arrive toward the left Kolupenu SHE THEN climb TRUE up
 (when one faces the sea)
 tolo kaju. (S19)
on=top tree
Upon arriving at Kolupenu there to the left, she then climbed in a tree.
- (45) Ngata to la'a roba-ngaba emma. (S15)
SHE THEN go fall-ravine FATHER
She then went to cast herself into a ravine (commit suicide), son.

Sentence (45) is cited here as an example of the occurrence of *tetto/to* in a single sentence and yet implying an understood sequence of events, that is, the event which led the heroine to commit suicide. Other examples of *tetto/to* can be found in the text: sentences (23, 26, 51, 59, 72, 84, 99, 100, 101, 109, 111, 119, 126, 127, 152, and 160).

(iii) *Siba/ba/si* marks important background information in a sequence of events, explicit or otherwise. *Siba/ba/si* may occur in imperatives, which implies that the order will be carried out. Examples:

- (46) Nga vado pee lau-mai Takatunga siba
nga return AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD-COME Takatunga THEN(perform a death ceremony)
 keo-rado. (S27)
sever-throw
When (they) got back down to nearby Takatunga, a death ceremony was
performed.

- (47) Emma, Penu kenna-na to'o sa-robha ba vozo pee lau
FATHER Penu that-na get=up one-morning then jump AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD
 sa-soa to'o sa-kobe ba vozo pee lau sa-soa. (S34)
one-waterfall get=up one-night THEN jump AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD one-waterfall
Son, Penu got up each morning and plunged down a waterfall; (she) got
up each night and plunged down a waterfall.
- (48) Dhuu-venngi-zua kau la'a-si lasa vali uma pee lau !
UNTIL-night-two YOU=CL go-THEN inspect AGAIN garden AS=FAR=AS SEAWARD
The day after tomorrow you go back down to inspect the garden again!

Other examples of siba can be found in sentences (47, 57, 60, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 94, 103, 105, 107, 121, 122, 123, 125, 157, 159, 164, 167, 197, 199, 201, 202, 211, 212, 214, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, and 232), examples of ba in sentences (32, 44, 72, 78, 108, 138, 154, 156, 204, 205, and 233), while examples of si in sentences (125, 157, 170, 179, 190, 191, 208, and 209). Underlined numbers are imperatives containing siba/ba or si/sei.

It is to be noted that si or its variant sei is always cliticised to the verb that precedes it, and it never occurs in explicit sequence of clauses (i.e. explicitly linking two clauses).

(iv) No'o/nosa *then* behaves like tetto and siba but it is normally found to introduce a direct quotation thus linking a narration clause and a quotation clause. Examples:

- (49) Kazi sai lau no'o/nosa punu naji ...
HE arrive SEAWARD THEN tell SAY
He arrived down there and reported (saying) ...
- (50) Kazi mai no'o/nosa la'a vali.
HE come THEN go AGAIN
He came then went again.

No'o and nosa are probably just dialect variations of the same thing. No'o often occurs as just no, while nosa is related to the verb posa *to tell/report*. There is only one instance of no'o in the text, found in combination with ba, giving benno (ba + no'o/noo) in sentence (233).

(v) Gezze *then* behaves like siba, and the difference with siba has not yet been isolated; gezze may mark suggestion, or preference or sequence.

- (51) Napa me'a da mosa kenna mu vado moi-gha pekka-na
WAIT ALL=INDEF.N da male that mu return finish-ALREADY CLASS.ACT-na
 (Hon.TIT.M)
 emma, kazi gezze me sa'a. (S58)
FATHER HE THEN mu CARRY (on the shoulder)
He waited until those people had all gone home, son, and then he
carried it (the fish-trap) on his shoulder.

Another example of gezze is found in sentence (230). In both sentences gezze can be replaced by siba; gezze in (230) clearly implies suggestion.

(vi) Ghe'e literally *thereupon* or *after it*. Ghe'e designates the first sequence of events, and like si it is often used to mark imperative. In explicit sequence of events, ghe'e co-occurs with tetto, such as:

- (52) Kazi kaa ghe'e tetto la'a.
HE eat first THEN go
He ate first and then went.

It needs to be mentioned that there is an instance of ghe'e in the text which cannot be accounted for, that is, it follows a noun:

- (53) Kau ghe' da bha'i olo punu. (S130)
 YOU=CL ? da NOT PREVIOUSLY tell
 You hadn't told (me not to do it).

To summarise, the connectives serve an important narrative function in Ngadha; that is, to mark sequences of events, explicit or otherwise, as well as to designate prominence of the information contained in the clauses they link. It is to be noted too that the clauses may be elliptical in that the subject may be deleted in the first or the second clause if it is coreferential, and it is even deleted in both clauses if understood and clear from context such as example (46) above.

So and tetto/to designate action predicates which carry the most important or foregrounded information; they differ in that so also marks the peak of a certain sequence of events. Siba/ba/si, no'o/nosa and gezze function to designate narration predicates which contain background information. The difference between them lies in the fact that siba/ba/si marks important background information, while no'o/nosa and gezze mark secondary background information. It is also the case that siba/ba/si often functions as a narrative or ethnographic present used to describe ongoing events, while no'o/nosa functions to introduce direct quotations. Gezze on the other hand is related to gezzi which is a marker of preference or suggestion as normally found with imperatives and vetatives (see 3.3.1.3. and 3.3.1.4.). Ghe'e functions to reinforce the sequence marked by tetto/to. Ghe'e and si are normally found in imperatives and designate implicit sequence of events, and in addition, both follow the verb and are often cliticised to it.

The connectives may co-occur in a sentence, thus reinforce each other such as to ba in (72), benno in (234), siba VERB-si in (125), and ba VERB-si in sentence (150) of the PV text.

(c) *Correlatives*

Three common correlatives in Ngadha are: meddu dhomi *not only* – vai *but/ but also*, bodha *either* (lit. *must*) – gho *or* and meddu *neither* – gho *nor*.

Meddu dhomi – vai. Meddu and vai can be used without being a correlative pair, but they presuppose the relation of at least two clauses. Meddu explicitly designates negative, while vai presupposes a negative implication in the previous clause or in the clause it modifies (see 3.3.1.4. and 3.3.2.1.). To designate *not only* – *but also* the correlative meddu dhomi – vai is used instead of just meddu – vai which designates *not* – *but*. Examples:

- (54) Kazi meddu dhomi da mai vai dongo dhano.
 HE NOT only da come but stay ALSO
 He not only came, but (also) stayed on.
- (55) Meddu kazi da mai vai ja'o.
 NOT HE da come but I
 It was not he who came but I.
- (56) Kazi meddu da dhegha vai da ngoo.
 HE NEG da play but da work
 He didn't play but worked.

The three examples above are cited to show the difference between the *not only* – *but also* and *not* – *but* constructions. It is to be noted that the negative

bhagho may be used to replace meddu in meddu dhomi, but meddu dhomi is the common form for *not only*.

Bodha – gho. A bodha – gho construction is comparable to the English *either – or* construction. Bodha *must* in this construction must be interpreted as inferential (factual or theoretical). Example:

- (57) Bodha kazi da la'a-gha gho da punu-gha.
must HE da go-ALREADY or da tell-ALREADY
He must have gone (there) or told (them) already.

It has to be pointed out, however, that gho in the example above functions to link two subordinate clauses occurring within a superordinate bodha clause.

Meddu – gho. A meddu – gho construction is comparable to the English 'neither – nor' construction. To give emphasis meddu may be repeated in the second clause. Examples:

- (58) Meddu ja'o gho kazi vi la'a.
NOT I or HE vi go
Neither I nor he may/is supposed to go.
- (59) Meddu ja'o gho meddu kazi vi la'a.
NOT I or NOT HE vi go
Neither I nor he may/is supposed to go.

NOTE: The common feature of correlation is that they allow for ellipsis to take place. Ellipsis applies when the subject is coreferential and in addition, ellipsis of whole predication is possible as exemplified by sentences (55 and 58) above.

(d) Appositions

Apposition resembles coordination in that typically the two or more units in apposition are constituents of the same level. And for the units to be in apposition, they must normally be identical in reference or the reference of one must be included in the reference of the other.

- (60) Nga ne'e da hoga kenna kazi, Penu da bau. (S11)
nga WITH da young=man that SHE Penu da refuse
As to marrying that young man, she, Penu, refused.
- (61) Masa hoga kenna to vado emma, ma'a da nara. (S26)
all THEY that THEN return FATHER ALL=INDEF.N da brother
All of them then returned home, son, the uncles (lit. brother).
- (62) Lau go Bai emma, lau ne'e Vegu ana-halo. (S29)
SEAWARD go Bai FATHER SEAWARD EXIST Vegu child-orphan
Down in Bai, son, there lived Vegu, an orphan.
- (63) ... ngaza miu, me'a emma-nara ja'o,
IF YOU=DI ALL=INDEF.N father-brother(MBr) I
 ledhe pusi-duki (S14)
ALL=DIS.PL fill-push (force)
... if you, all my uncles, keep pressing and insisting ...

Note that kazi and Penu in (60), masa hoga kenna and ma'a da nara in (61), Vegu and ana-halo in (62), and miu and me'a emma-nara ja'o in (63) are coreferential; and each member of the pairs may fulfil the same syntactic function. All of the examples above may be interpreted as non-restrictives in

that the appositives carry different information value such as when the context is unclear or emphasis in status is expressed. The emphasis of status is most clearly marked in Ngadha when kinship terms or titles are used as appositives, while the relationship is often most apparent when personal description is used as appositive. Given that the context is obvious, the examples above may be interpreted as restrictives; it is only in oral discourse that the distinction could be made with certainty in that non-restrictive appositives are separated by parenthetical intonation juncture. As for example (61), *ma'a da nara* may be interpreted as a partial appositive in that it functions like a resumptive pronominal reference.

It needs to be pointed out that Ngadha allows for more than two units in apposition. Examples:

- (64) ... *mosa-laki Vegu ana-halo kenna-na, sa-robha-robha vi la'a*
male-male Vegu child-orphan that-na one-morning-morning vi go
 (HONORIFIC)
vaga sosa ... (S44)
lift fish-trap
 ... *Mr. Vegu (Hon) the orphan, each morning, went to check (his) fish-trap ...*
- (65) ... *kazi ngoo sa'tebbo-vekki kazi sa-mori-na ... (S150)*
HE work one-body-self/body HE one-person-na
 ... *he worked all by himself just one person ...*
- (66) *Go bibi ngemme kenna, neo bu'e-bila, loo-pave, ne Penu kenna*
go seed gourd that MISS girl-beautiful form-perfect MISS Penu that
devve-nna, da olo pia ngata vi kenna-na. (S165)
AFOREMENTIONED-na da PREVIOUSLY put SHE at that-na
The gourd seeds - (Miss) the beautiful girl with perfect form, (Miss)
Penu, as mentioned earlier - they had been placed there (by her).

It needs to be reiterated that titles, personal descriptions, deictics, location words, and certainly personal names may be used as pronominal references (see 3.5.1.6. below). Note that *ne/neo*, *sa-tebbo-vekki* and *sa-mori* cannot be used as independent pronominal references, and that *sa-tebbo-vekki* (65) is in apposition with *sa-mori*. It is also worth noting that in oral discourse appositions are often realised as quotations such as *kazi punu naji ... he reported saying ...* in which whatever he said (the quotation) equals a report, or is replaced by gestures, such as *meze moe dia-na* (followed by gestures) *as big as this/yea big* (followed by gestures) in which the gestures equal 'how big'.

Appositions in Ngadha function to designate identification as often realised in equative sentences of the type NP + NP construction such as examples (6-8) above. Appositions also function as attribution such as found with the use of kinship terms, titles, honorifics, etc. which are normally attributives to the pronouns or personal names they co-occur with. The most important function of appositions in Ngadha is to create structural parallelisms as extensively found in the text of *Penu and Vegu*. The structural parallelism is found in the phonological, word, phrase and sentence levels; they are in a sense redundant, but the redundancy fulfils an important function in oral discourse; that is, to give emphasis and at the same time make sure that the message gets across, should the listener miss the first round of the telling of a certain element.⁷ The following are some examples from the text:

- (60) Nga ne'e da hoga kenna kazi, Penu da bau. (S11)
As to marrying that young man, she, Penu, refused.
- (67) Nga bau, dhano da.. ma' da emma-nara kenna-na
 nga refuse ALSO FS ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother(uncles) that-na
 mu pusi-duki, peddhe-renne moe kenna, naji, "Kau bodha e'e
 mu fill-push cook-push like that SAY YOU=CL must say=yes
 ne'e da hoga kenna !"
 WITH da young=man that
 Though she refused, still her uncles kept pressing, insisting like that,
 saying, "You must agree to marry that young man!"

On the phonological level the structural parallelism is found in pusi-duki, peddhe-renne in which the sequence /u - i/ in pusi is exactly the same as in duki, while the sequence /e(schwa) - e/ in peddhe is exactly the same as in renne; with respect to consonants, if we take first the consonants in the first syllables then the consonants of the second syllables of the two expressions above, we will get a sequence of: voiceless stop, voiced stop, voiceless stop, voiced tap; voiceless fricative, voiceless velar; voiced retroflex (implosive), nasal. The alternating sequence of sounds (particularly, the plosives) may be interpreted as symbolising Penu's being pushed by her uncles (i.e. mother's brothers) to marry a man of their choice. The same expressions exemplify parallelism on the word level and the phrase level, i.e. four different verbs for 'pushing' in two different collocations. In addition, parallelism across sentence boundaries is exemplified by the VP da bau in (60) and the VP nga bau in (67), which at the same time illustrate parallelism in the clause or sentence level. Examples can certainly be multiplied, but the main point to be stressed is that structural parallelism constitutes part of the formulaic constructions, which are a necessity to an oral tradition like Ngadha due to the fact that the building or producing of a text and its performance for an audience happen simultaneously.

Some of the cases discussed above may be considered marginal cases of coordination, such as gho or (3.3.2.1.) and sequential connectives which involve syntactically coordinate clauses but which are semantically subordinate due to the temporal condition of the sequentially-fixed coordinated clauses. The following are examples of concatenation of verbs, responsible for the formation of complex VP's. It is often the case that when two verbs are juxtaposed, ambiguous readings may arise, particularly, if the two verbs are of equal status. Some examples:

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| la'a tuza | go and plant (la'a go, tuza plant) or go to plant
(S161, 162, 163, 167) |
| pusi-duki | fill and push (pusi fill, duki push down) or push down
to really fill (a container) (S12, 14) |
| tau-ti'i | make and give (a feast) (tau make, ti'i give) or make
a feast in order to give (to the people) (S191) |
| la'a roba-ngaba | go and cast (oneself) into a ravine (roba fall, ngaba
ravine) or go to cast (oneself) into a ravine. (S14, 15) |

The examples may be interpreted as instances of serial verbs.

3.3.2.2. Subordination

Subordination is a major device that enables us to organise multiple clause structures. Two basic units of which complex structures are composed are: independent and dependent clauses. An independent clause is a clause capable of constituting a basic sentence, while a dependent clause is one that is subordinate to another clause.

This section concerns dependent clauses; independent clauses are apparently the same as basic sentences which have been briefly discussed in (3.3.1.) above. Dependent clauses may function as subject, object, complement, or adverbial in the superordinate clause; and in terms of form they may be subclassified into nominal, adverbial, relative, and quotative clauses. Other subclasses of clauses can certainly be identified but due to the limitation of this sketch attention will only be paid to some major constructions. The discussion also includes a brief comment on participial constructions.

(a) *Subordinating conjunctions*

It is useful to give a list of common subordinating conjunctions along with the sentence number of the PV text in which they occur.

dhuu (dhano)	<i>until (also)</i> (dhuu 'allative particle', dhano <i>also</i> ; (see S 17, 18, 60, 124, 216, 223)
ele	<i>though</i>
(ele-)gote	<i>even though</i> (see S 20, 159, 160)
ele-so'o-gote	<i>even though</i> (so'o <i>perhaps</i>); see S43)
gae(-negge)	<i>if</i> (subjunctive)
negge	<i>if</i> (?) (putative) (see S 39, 69)
lekka	<i>it turns out to be contrary to expectation</i>
lozi	<i>provided that</i> (see S 139, 196)
mali	<i>if</i> (neutral condition marker) (see S228)
messi	<i>if only</i> (implies negative, or unfulfilled wish) (see S 51, 53, 128, 132, 134, 135)
napa	<i>until</i> (S 58, 230)
ngaza	<i>when/if</i> (see S 3, 14, 35, 39, 41, 43, 50, 102, 231, 232)
ngeke	<i>until</i> (implies hard effort)
ngi'i	<i>because</i> (see S 44)
nugu	<i>if</i> (the same as gae or gae negge)
pu'u (ngi'i)	<i>because</i> (see S 6, 44, 45, 133, 191)
raba	<i>so that</i> or <i>in order that</i> (see S144)
sai	<i>until, also considering that</i>
taka	<i>if only</i> (unfulfilled expectation) (see S135)
tuku	<i>lest</i> (see S 57, 135)
uru	<i>because</i> (see S134)
vai	<i>but, however, also nevertheless</i> (see S137, 204)

Most of the subordinating conjunctions above may occur in correlative constructions; the paired conjunctions normally reinforce the logical relationship between the clauses. The most common paired conjunctions are:

gote <i>even though</i>	- dhano
mali <i>if/when</i>	- ghagha
messi <i>if only</i>	- taka <i>just; unfulfilled expectation</i> (S135)
messi <i>if only</i>	- messi <i>if only</i> (S131)
napa <i>when</i>	- ghagha <i>then</i>
nga 'thematic marker'; <i>though</i>	- dhano <i>still</i> (see S 12, 33, 44)
ngi'i <i>because</i>	- tolo <i>just; be indifferent/inconsiderate</i>
raka <i>that being the case</i>	- ngopo/opo vali <i>let alone; vali more/again</i>

It needs to be mentioned that the paired conjunctions normally occur in clause initial positions.

(b) *Participial constructions*

Participial constructions are normally marked by *veke*, *ze'e*, and *ngi'i*.

Examples:

(67a) *Dia veke ne'e go ana-halo dia, naji ... (S79)*
this PART WITH go child-orphan this, SAY
He, being an orphan, he said ...

(67b) *Da naka ze'e moe kenna-na.*
da steal PART like that-na
One who is apt to steal (a thief) will be like that.

(67c) *Ng'i'i da ana-halo rivu dhemmi-nea laki.*
PART/reason da child-orphan people scorn-down HE=PITY
Being an orphan (or because he was an orphan), people scorned him.

It has to be pointed out that *veke* marks neutral cases, while *ze'e* marks negative cases such as *naka ze'e a stealing (person)*, *rita ze'e a crying boy/girl (rita to cry)*. It is worth noting too that *ze'e* also means *bad/rotten*. There is only one instance of *ze'e* that cannot yet be accounted for, i.e. *robha-ze'e tomorrow* which is made up of *robha morning* and *ze'e*. One possible explanation is that *ze'e* in *robha ze'e* behaves like a participle and renders as *the time being morning or while morning-phase is occurring (?)*.

Ng'i'i on the other hand is a marginal case due to the fact that it basically designates reason and is best rendered as *because*; however when it modifies adjectives or nouns, *ngi'i* may be considered a participle. It is to be noted that the clauses containing *veke*, *ze'e*, and *ngi'i* may be interpreted as non-finites.

(c) *Nominal clauses*

Nominal clauses function like NP's; and they may take the role of subject, object, complement, or appositive. Examples:

As subject:

(68) *Da nana sosa me'a meze-meze moe dia-na. (S36)*
da weave fishtrap ALL=INDEF.N big-big like this-na
(They) weave fishtraps, all about this big. (show by gestures)

(69) *Vi la'a vai va'i molo.*
vi go on(used) foot/leg fine
Going on foot is fine.

(70) *Moe-dee, moe-dee beo kau.*
how (lit. like-where) how up=to YOU=CL
Whatever (happens) is your responsibility or Whatever (you want to do) is up to you.

As object:

(71) *Ja'o magha (naji) da mata-gha.*
I think SAY (that) da die-ALREADY
I thought (that) (it) was already dead.

- (72) Ja'o magha (naji) vi la'a lekka bha'i.
I think SAY vi go on=the=contrary NOT
I thought (that) (we were supposed) to go, but it turned out to be not the case.
- (73) Ja'o magha (naji) sei. (compare S110)
I think SAY who
I thought who might that be.

As complement:

- (74) Ja'o dia da rajo-dhekke.
I this da boat-ascend (fig. related by marriage)
I am (just) a relative by marriage (affine).
- (75) Kenna vi tau negge gea lezza kenna-na.
that vi make MOMENTARY=ASP.M finish day that-na
That is then to make do (subsistence/food) for the day.

As appositive:

- (76) Me'a da mori la'a-na punu to !
 ALL=INDEF.N da CLASS.HUMAN go-na tell THEN
All who went (there) please report (or tell us) about it!
- (77) Sei-sei da mori la'a-na punu to.
 who-who da CLASS.HUMAN go-na tell THEN
Whoever went (there) please report about it.

Note that *naji* in (71-73) is optional and may be rendered as *that* or *whether* depending on the context; such clauses are somewhat comparable to the English 'that-clauses'. Note, too, that sentences (74-75) are equatives and the complement slot may be filled by adjectives or prepositional constructions. Sentence (69) is somewhat comparable to the English 'to-infinitive' nominal clause and may be rendered as 'For (us) to go on foot is fine.'

(d) *Adverbial clauses*

Adverbial clauses may serve as adjuncts (i.e. integrated and/or obligatory to the sentence structure) or as optional parts of the main clause. Adverbial clauses may be placed in various semantic categories such as time, place, and manner. However, if we take subordination into consideration, other clauses of clause may be included.

Major clauses that deserve attention are clauses of condition, concession, reason or cause, and purpose and result, all having to do with the relation of the clauses which make up a complex sentence. The following is a brief discussion of each.

(i) *Clauses of time*

Clauses of time are normally introduced by subordinating conjunctions; and the clauses usually serve to indicate happenings that are given or assumed in the context. Examples:

- (78) Vi ngedho go ika pee zee sosa kenna-na, ko'e
 vi look go fish AS=FAR=AS UPHILL fishtrap that-na remainder
 ma da hova kena-na. (S116)
 ALL=INDEF.N da scale bare-na
When (he) checked the fish there in the fishtrap, there remained only its scales.

- (46) Nga vado pee lau-mai Takatunga siba keo-rado. (S27)
When/as soon as (they) got back down to nearby Takatunga, a death ceremony was performed.
- (79) Kenna lau ngaza nga vula tau buku kenna
that SEAWARD IF/when nga month make ceremonial feast that
 devve-na-na, lau da saa-ngaza
 AFOREMENTIONED-na-na SEAWARD da invoke-name (cite invocation)
 moe dia-na : ... (S232)
like this-na
Down there during the ceremonial feast season, as mentioned earlier, the people there cite this invocation: ...

Note that examples (78 and 46) are cited here to show the extensive use of *vi* (irrealis marker) and *nga* (thematic marker) to indicate presupposed time as implied by the context. In addition, the verbal preposition *sai*, and the allative particle *dhuu* designate temporal adjuncts.

(ii) *Clauses of place*

Normally the allative particle *pee*, or the verbal preposition *sai*, serves to indicate locational adjuncts. Examples (78 and 46) above contain locational adjuncts, i.e. *pee zee sosa kenna-na* (78) and *pee lau-mai Takatunga* (46), both of which are obligatory constituents of the sentences:

(iii) *Clauses of manner and comparison*

Clauses of manner are usually indicated by *moe* or *bhila* (*like* or *in such a way*) which imply comparison. In oral discourse *moe* and *bhila* are followed by gestures. Descriptions of manner which do not involve gestures are normally marked by *le*. Examples:

- (68) Da nana sosa me'la meze-meze moe dia-na. (S36)
da weave fishtrap ALL=INDEF.N big-big like this-na
(They) weave fishtraps about yea big. (show by gestures)
- (80) Gape da le pojo-nea laki, naji ... (S5)
put=in=stocks da le tie-away SHE=PITY SAY
Putting in stocks; that was by tying her up, saying ...

Note that *moe* in (68) may be replaced by *bhila*; the difference between *moe* and *bhila* is perhaps dialectal. In addition, both *moe dia* and *bhila dia* are often used to introduce a description or explanation and also serve as attention-getters to claim turn at talking.

Da le pojo-nea in (80) is an explanation of the way people put a person in stocks, and the clause may be interpreted either as an adverbial or as a clause in apposition to the predicate *gape*.

(iv) *Clauses of condition*

Conditional clauses state the dependence of one circumstance on another. Conditional clauses are normally introduced by subordinating conjunctions: *mali* and *ngaza* which are used interchangeably to denote neutral conditions but *ngaza* also denotes temporal conditions. Hypothetical conditions are marked by *gae* (*negge*), *nugu*, *messi*, and *taka* all of which can be rendered roughly as *if only*; however, *messi* implies unfulfilled condition and *taka* only occurs in correlative construction with *messi*. *Gae* (*negge*) and *nugu* on the other hand, function as a subjunctive and putative marker respectively. To mark condition-

contingency relation, usually *lozi provided that* is used. Examples:

- (81) Mali rivu da miri, kita ghagha utu-bhou.
 IF PEOPLE da shove WE=INCL then gather-assemble
 (Only) if other people shove (one of us), then we will stand together.
- (82) ... ngaza miu, me'a emma-nara ja'o, ledhe
 IF YOU=DI ALL=INDEF.N father-brother(uncle) I ALL=DIS.PL
 pusi-duki, ... ja'o dia nga la'a roba-ngaba. (S14)
 fill-push(force) I this nga go fall-ravine
 ... if you, my uncles (mother's brothers), keep pressing me ... I will
 go cast myself into a ravine (commit suicide).
- (83) Kau messi nga bha'i tei ngia, taka zenng-pii da sezzu naji,
 YOU= IF=ONLY nga NOT see face IF=ONLY hear-out da speak SAY
 'A! Kau tuku naji 'Ata'; ... (S135)
 INTERJ YOU=CL lest SAY somebody (lit. human)
 If you had not wanted your face seen, you should have signalled or said
 something such as, 'Well, lest you think it is an unknown person;' ...

(v) *Clauses of reason or cause*

Clauses of reason or cause are chiefly introduced by *pu'u* or *ngi'i*, or the combination of both. *Uru* is rarely used. The clauses modified by these subordinating conjunctions tend to precede the main clause. Examples:

- (84) Pu'u naji go ana-halo dia da-da ..da peggi busa sosa-na
 BASE SAY go child-orphan this FS da install ignorant fishtrap-na
 emma. (S45)
 FATHER
 Because, they say, (he was) an orphan who did not know how to install a
 fishtrap, son.
- (67c) Ngi'i da ana-halo rivu dhemi-nea laki.
 Because he was an orphan people scorned him.
- (85) Uru ja'o vi nuka sa-maru-maru, dia maki olo
 reason I vi return one-evening-evening this rice PREVIOUSLY
 mami ... (S134)
 cooked
 The reason is that every evening I get home, here the rice has been
 cooked ...

(vi) *Clauses of purpose and result*

Clauses of purpose and result often overlap both in meaning and form; they are introduced by the irrealis marker *vi*, while clauses of purpose are often reinforced by the putative marker *raba*. Examples:

- (86) ... vi bejja gezzi ate miu, ja'o dia nga la'a roba-ngaba. (S14)
 vi satisfy PREFER.M liver YOU=DI I this nga go fall-ravine
 ... to satisfy your desires, I will go cast myself into a ravine.
- (87) ... Kenna raba naji uma kita vi bhea. (S144)
 that in=order=that SAY garden WE=INCL vi spacious
 That is so that our garden will be spacious.

- (88) Gae ja'o, ja'o mu la'a.
if I I mu go
If it were me, I would have gone (there).
- (89) ... Molo, lozi kau ma'e tolo punu ... (S139)
fine provided YOU=CL DO=NOT inconsiderate tell
... Yes, fine, provided you don't go about telling ...

(vii) *Clauses of concession*

Concessive clauses imply contrast between two circumstances, i.e. in the light of the circumstance in the dependent clause, that in the main clause is surprising or unexpected. In this regard there is an overlap between conditional and concessive clauses, especially when linked by *gote/ele gote/ele-so'o-gote* which may be rendered both as *though* and *even if*; *gote* and its variants express both the dependence of one circumstance upon another and the unexpected result. Examples:

- (90) ... Kaju lau gote mu-u ma'a kaka tellu, kaka vutu
tree SEAWARD though ALL=INDEF.N armspan three, armspan four
 lau mu mu-u-tu moli-moli; ... (S160)
SEAWARD mu burn finish-finish
The trees down there, though they were three or four armspans, down there, they all burned up ...
- (91) ... ele-so'o-gote elo kenna levva viv-gha sosa moe
even-perhaps-though eel that at lip-ALREADY fishtrap like
 dia-na, ngata ngee ngeddhu vado emma. (S43)
this-na HE (it) can withdraw return/back FATHER
... even though an eel might be at the brink of the fishtrap, like this (show by gestures), it can withdraw, son.

(e) *Relative clauses*

Relative clauses generally act as modifiers of NP's. As a modifier, a relative clauses may be restrictive, i.e. the head can be viewed as a member of a class which can be identified only through the modification that has been supplied, or non-restrictive (or appositional), i.e. the head can be viewed as unique and the additional information given to it is not essential for its identification.

Ngadha has only one relative marker *da* whose function is to indicate non-restrictive relative clauses, or attributive. Examples:

- (92) Bu'e bila kenna Penu.
young=woman beautiful that Penu
That/the beautiful young woman is Penu.
- (93) Bu'e da bila kenna Penu.
young=woman da beautiful that Penu
That/the young woman who is beautiful is Penu.
- (94) Penu kenna da Dhaga.
Penu that da member of Dhaga clan
Penu is a Dhaga woman or Penu is a person who is a member of the Dhaga clan.

Note that *da* cannot modify Penu (92) by virtue of the fact that Penu is a personal name, which, like nouns, is considered an intrinsic value of the thing/person it represents, while *bila* (93) and *Dhaga* (94) are attributives, additional

information which is not essential for the identification of bu'e (93) and Penu (94). Bu'e bila in (92) is restrictive, while bu'e da bila (93) is non-restrictive; the difference between the two expressions also manifests itself in intonation, i.e. an intonational juncture is required between bu'e and da (93), but not between bu'e and bila (92). Other functions of da will be discussed in (3.3.3.).

(f) *Quotative clauses*

Quotative constructions include both direct and indirect quotations which in Ngadha are of the same syntactic form. Structurally, direct quotations may be considered as having the same status as that of a reporting sentence, while an indirect quotation is subordinated within the reporting sentence.

Quotative constructions in Ngadha are always preceded by laminating¹¹ verbs, i.e. the verbs of saying *naji* or *posa*. These verbs may be considered quotative modals due to the fact that they are used as buffers to other verbs including other verbs of saying, which do not normally introduce quotations. *Naji* and *posa* may also be called quotative or reportive modals which require an embedded clause as part of their structure. The difference between *naji* and *posa* is that *naji* may introduce both direct and indirect quotations, while *posa* only introduces direct, often reduced quotations.

The brief discussion that follows is focused on full and reduced quotations.

Full quotations include direct and indirect quotations, as well as quotation within quotation. As had been referred to above, direct and indirect quotations have the same form; the difference between the two generally concerns changes in the pronominal references, and temporal and locational expressions in line with the speaker's orientation. Examples:

- (95) Gape, da le pojo-nea laki naji,
put=in=stocks da le tie=in=bunches-away SHE=PITY SAY

"Kau bodha e'e ne'e da hoga kenna-na !" (S5)

YOU=CL must yes WITH da young=man that-na

Putting in stocks: that was by tying her up, saying, "You must agree to marry (lit. be with) that young man."

- (96) Kazi, ma' da emma-nara pera gazi naji, kazi bodha
SHE ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother teach(tell) HER SAY SHE must
(uncle; MBr)

vi ne'e da hoga kenna-na. (S10)

vi WITH da young=man that-na

She, her uncles (mother's brothers) told her that (saying) she must marry a certain young man.

- (97) ... "Kau messi nga bha'i tei ngia, taka zennga-pii da sezzu,
YOU=CL IF=ONLY nga NOT see face IF=ONLY hear-out da speak

naji, "A ! Kau tuku naji, "Ata", dia-mai ne'e nga'o; ja'o
SAY INTRJ YOU=CL lest SAY somebody this-COME EXIST ME I

tekke peddhe-teki ti'i gau." ... (S135)

support cook-lift give YOU=CL.O

If you had not wanted your face seen, you should have signalled, or said something, such as, "Well, lest you think (say), "It is an unknown person", it is me here (the fish); I help do the cooking for you."

Note that (95) is an example of a direct quote, (96) an indirect quote, while (97) is a hypothetical quote within a quote. These examples are considered full quotations although in (95) the subject of the main clause is not mentioned, while the main clause of (97) is not given since it occurs several sentences before the long quotation; it has to be pointed out that the introducing clause of (97) is just the verb *naji*, and is thus similar to (95) in that the subject of the main clause is not mentioned. The quotations are considered full in that they are full sentence quotations.

Reduced quotations may be direct or indirect, but often only part of the quotation is given and often no apparent quotations are involved. The reduced forms are often found in narration predicates as apposed to the full forms of quotations which normally concern dramatic (dialogic or monologic) discourse. Examples:

- (98) Posa, "Kau gho !"
 SAY YOU=CL Q-TAG
"They say, "You did it, didn't you!" or The speaker thinks/was told that it was the addressee who did it.
- (99) Nasu-nasu nga moli, kazi naji vi vado pee ze le one
simmer-simmer nga finish SHE SAY vi return AS=FAR=AS UPHILL inside
 go-go one sosa-na emma ; ... (S109)
 go-go inside fishtrap-na FATHER
When the simmering was done, and she - they say - was about to go back up inside - inside the fishtrap, son; ...
- (100) "... Kenna raba naji uma kita vi bhea." (S144)
that so=that SAY garden WE=INCL vi spacious
"... That (the reason) is - so the story goes - so that our garden will be spacious."

Note that *posa* is more emphatic than *naji* and often implies an interrogative even accusing tone in meaning. Note, too, that *naji* in (99 and 100) does not seem to be related to any quotation at all except by inference, and can be rendered as 'so the story goes'. In such cases *naji* functions as anaphora or cataphora in that it refers to the previous telling of the legend (where the present narrator was the listener) or to what will happen later in the story. Such cases may also be interpreted as a deletion strategy in which most of the contexts that are highly specific are deleted and what is left is just *naji*, a trace or a slot keeper. It needs to be pointed out, too, that *posa* and *naji* serve to indicate that the quoted information is taken from the 'public records' (i.e. shared cultural knowledge) hence the speaker cannot be held responsible for it.

The following are common verbs of saying which require *naji* as a linker in quotative constructions:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| begge ... naji ... | (S191); (begge <i>order</i>) |
| dhemmi-nea ... naji ... | (S193); (dhemmi <i>scorn</i> , nea <i>at</i> (?)) |
| magha ... naji ... | (S91, 110, 230); (magha <i>think</i>) |
| mazi naji ... | (mazi <i>talk</i>) |
| nabhe naji ... | (S182); (nabhe <i>say</i> (proverbial)) |
| nadha naji ... | ; (nadha <i>seek sympathy</i> (of a child)) |
| nangi naji ... | ' (nangi <i>lament</i>) |
| ngau-ngere-noa naji ... | (S51); (ngau-ngere-noa <i>hope/pray</i>) |
| ngedho naji ... | (S20, 180); (ngedho <i>look</i>) |

pera ... naji ...	(S10); (pera <i>show/teach/tell</i>)
posa naji ...	; (posa <i>say/tell/report</i>)
punu naji ...	(S152); (punu <i>tell</i>)
ree naji ...	; (ree <i>deny</i>)
save ... naji ...	(S233); (save <i>rhyme</i>)
seu ... naji ...	(S75); (seu <i>sing</i>)
sezzu ... naji ...	; (sezzu <i>speak</i>)

These expressions all have to do with reports, and most of them are found in the PV text. It has to be pointed out that naji and posa may occur as free verbs in which case naji means *reprimand*, while posa means *confess/acknowledge*.

3.4. The particles

This section concerns the particles that are not translated in the gloss to the PV text. The particles are not translated either because they are untranslatable or because their functions and meanings vary depending on the context. The discussion will also include particles that can be translated but deserve comments due to their important functions.

The following are the particles and a brief comment on each.

(a) Go functions as a marker of specificity of NP's, as a nominaliser (i.e. changing a verb or adjective into a noun), and as a ligature between the possessed and the possessor in certain possessive constructions. Examples:

- (101) Ja'o da velli kaba.
I da buy water buffalo
I bought a water buffalo (or water buffalos).
- (102) Ja'o da velli go kaba.
I da buy go water buffalo
I bought a water buffalo (or water buffalos). (specified)
- (103) Ja'o da velli go kaba sa-eko.
I da buy go water buffalo one-CLASS.ANIMAL (lit. tail)
I bought one water buffalo.
- (104) Ja'o da velli (go) kaba sa-eko kenna.
I da buy go water buffalo one-CLASS.ANIMAL that
I bought that/the water buffalo (one in number).
- (105) Go ine-vetta dia-na bodha heti go dolu
go mother-sister this-na must listen go fishhook
(girl HONORIFIC) (accept) (choice of spouse)
 ine-emma da feddhi ... (S2)
mother-father da cast
A girl was (or girls were) supposed to accept the spouse that the
parents chose ...
- (106) Gape, me lii kami dia bha'u raka, dhomi
put=in=stocks TRUE generation WE=EXCL this NOT overlap only
 go punu-pede. (S4)
go tell-compare
Putting in stocks, actually, my own generation didn't witness it, only
reports of it.

- (107) Kenna sosa go Vegu.
that fishtrap go Vegu
That is Vegu's fishtrap.
- (108) Dia sosa ja'o.
this fishtrap I
This is my fishtrap.
- (109) Dia go nga'o.
this go ME
This is mine.

Note that kaba (101) refers to a generic entity, while go kaba (102) designates a specific indefinite water buffalo or water buffalos, (i.e. it is specified as a known individual rather than a generic concept); go kaba sa-eko (103) designates a specific water buffalo and is definite in terms of number, while go kaba sa-eko kenna (104) is specific definite in terms of presupposed knowledge shared by both the speaker and the addressee. To put it another way, (101) is non-specific and indefinite, (102 and 103) are specific indefinite (to the speaker the two examples are specific definite, but to the addressee it is specific indefinite, although the number has been specified), while (104) is specific definite to both the speaker and the addressee (i.e. they both know about that specific water buffalo).

Go ine-vetta and go dolu in (105) are specific and even definite in terms of the Ngadha cultural 'script' (i.e. prescribed by tradition). Go punu-pede in (106) is an example of go functioning as a nominaliser. Examples (107, 108, and 109) show go or its absence in possessive constructions. It is to be noted that go is required if the possessor is designated by personal identification (such as personal names or personal descriptions) and when the possessed entity is deleted as in (109). Go in (109) functions as a slot keeper. It is to be noted that when the possessor is designated by pronoun or by other objects, possession is indicated just by juxtaposition of the entities in the order possessed-possessor such as (108) above. However, go may be inserted between the two entities and in such a case the construction is rendered marked; that is, it is contrastive and/or emphatic, such as in sa'o go ja'o (*it's*) *MY house!* or koba go kaju (*it's*) *the root(s) of the tree(s)* (koba *liana* (aerial roots or otherwise) *kaju wood/tree*).

(b) Da functions as a realis marker; that is, marking that an event really happened, is happening, or will likely happen in the future (based on experience or other evidence). In this respect, da can be interpreted as an indicative marker or factive marker. Da also functions to mark focus on the participant along with the action involved and thus can be interpreted as agentive or pronominal. The focus on the participant and the function to mark realis allow da to assume another role; that is, to function as a relativiser and often to introduce a cleft construction due to the fact that only presupposed entities can be relativised, while a cleft construction normally has to do with the focus on the participant. Note that da as a relativiser has been briefly discussed in (3.3.2.2.(e)) above. Da is also found in possessive constructions in which case it marks focus on the possessor, i.e. the participant. Examples:

- (110) Ja'o velli kaba.
I buy water buffalo
I buy water buffalos.

- (102) Ja'o da velli kaba.
I bought water buffalo(s).
- (111) Go kaba ja'o da velli da mata-gha.
go water=buffalo I da buy da die-ALREADY
The water buffalo(s) that I bought has/have died.
- (112) Da nane sosa me'a meze-meze moe dia-na.
da weave fishtrap ALL=INDEF.N big-big like this-na
(They) weave fishtraps all about this big. (show by gesture)
- (113) ... da Sese da bodha .. bodha saa ghe' pu'u dia-na. (S234)
da Sese=clan da must must invoke THEN(first) FROM this-na
(lit. yellow)
(Members) of the Sese clan have to invoke (the names of people and places) from around here.
- (114) ... ma' da emma-nara pera gazi ... (S10)
ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother teach(tell) HER
All of her uncles told her ...
- (115) Kazi mu visi-nea da sosa kazi ... (S69)
HE mu tear-away da fishtrap HE
He tore up his fishtrap ...

Note that velli in (110) is generic; it may be habitual or it may designate the occupation of the speaker, that is, buying and selling water buffalos, for example. Da velli (102) is assertive in that the speaker asserts that he really bought (a) water buffalo(s), while da velli in (111) is a relative clause; da mata-gha (111) is assertive like da velli in (102).

Da nana sosa (112) may be interpreted in several ways: da may be a realis marker in that the story-teller attests that the people of Bai do weave big fishtraps, or it may function as a pronominal marker thus rendered as *they*; da also functions as a complementiser, hence rendered as *the weaving of fishtraps*, and to introduce a cleft-like construction in which case the sentence is rendered as *what they weave are fishtraps about this big*.

Da Sese (113) is best rendered as *person(s) who is/are member(s) of the Sese clan*; the Sese clan is here an attributive. Da can thus be interpreted as a relativiser focusing on the participant(s), while da in da bodha (113) serves as an assertive marker.

Da emma-nara in (114) is a possessive construction in which da functions to give focus on the deleted participant just like da sosa kazi in (115); the full form of (114) should be da emma-nara kazi. Da in both sentences is best interpreted as a relativiser and best rendered as *that/those who are uncles to her* (114) and *that which is his fishtrap* (115). Note that the deletion of the possessor in da emma-nara (114) is parallel to the deletion of the possessed entity in go ja'o in sentence (109) above in that in both cases highly specific entities (which can be recovered from context) are deleted. The strategy also applies in quotative constructions involving naji and posa as has been pointed out in (3.3.2.2.(f)) above, in that highly specific entities may be deleted and what is left is just naji. And in addition, go, da and naji and posa may function as nominalisers: go at the phrase level, da at the clause level, and naji and posa at the discourse level all having to do with designating specificity and foregrounding of the elements they modify. (Note that naji and posa have been discussed in 3.3.2.2.(f) above.)

A final note about *da* is its relation to question formation. Most questions require *da* by virtue of the fact that what are being asked are presupposed at least in the questioner's mind (see examples in 3.3.1.2. above). It is worth mentioning too that *da* has nothing to do with time as such (Ngadha does not mark tense), thus the realis attitude may be projected into an account of future events, that is, events that the speaker believes will likely happen.

(c) *Vi* functions as an irrealis marker (as opposed to the realis marker *da*), that is, designating plan, wish, purpose, or future time. *Vi* may also be interpreted as an expective marker in that it declares an expectation or anticipation of a situation. *Vi* may be rendered as *is going to*, *begins to*, or *while* (i.e. expectant anticipation). *Vi* like *da* has nothing to do with time as such, thus the expectant attitude may be projected into an account or past events (cp. Whorf 1956:114). And like *da*, *vi* may also function as a complementiser.

Examples:

- (96) Kazi, ma' da emma-nara pera gazi naji, kazi bodha
SHE ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother teach/tell HER SAY SHE must
(uncle; MBr)
vi ne'e da hoga kenna-na. (S10)
vi WITH da young=man that-na
She, all of her uncles (mother's brothers) tell her that (saying) she
must marry (be with) a certain (that) young man.
- (116) ... "Ja'o dia vi le moe-dee dia?"
I this vi le like-where (how) this
"What shall I (here) do now?"
- (100) "... Kenna raba naji uma kita vi bhea."
that so=that SAY garden WE=INCL vi spacious
That (the reason) is - so the story goes/they say - so that our garden
will be spacious.
- (117) Kazi mu visi-nea da sosa kazi vo'lo zale buu-na, vi ala go kojo
HE mu tear-up da fishtrap HE at DOWN tip-na vi take go crab
kuza ... vi tau mekku ne'e me'a go uta Kigo ... vi tau
shrimp vi make soft (mix) WITH ALL go edible=leaf sowthistle vi make
negge gea lezza kenna-na emma. (S69)
TEMPORARY=ASP.M finish day that-na FATHER
He then tore open his fishtrap down at the tip to take the crabs and
shrimp ... to mix with all the sowthistle leaves ... to make his meal
for the day, son.

Note that *vi* in (96) designates a plan, an arrangement by the uncles (mother's brothers) for the girl (Penu) to marry a young man of their choice, *vi* in (116) marks wish in that the speaker wished he knew what to do, while *vi* in (100) and (117) marks purpose. Note also the function of *vi* in the formation of multiple embedding in (117).

The following is an example of *vi* functioning as a complementiser:

- (118) Vi la'a vai va'i molo.
vi go on foot/leg good
Going on foot is fine.

Sentence (118) is to be interpreted as expectant, that is, it concerns some future action.

Finally it is to be noted that *vi* is parallel to *da* in that they function to designate specificity at the clause level and that they are opposite poles on the same plane functioning to indicate the speaker's attitude and perspective concerning a certain event.

(d) The thematic marker *nga* functions to mark prominence of information at the clause, sentence, or discourse level. *Nga* is often associated with topicalisation of constructions it modifies, and in such cases the theme of a particular sentence is twice highlighted, i.e. by word order (the fronting device) and by *nga*. With respect to the PV text, fronted *nga*-clauses often function as frames, as introducers for content clauses; in such constructions, the *nga*-clause contains old often repeated information (i.e. a repetition of part of a previous sentence), while the content clause contains new information. It has to be noted that if we take the repetition strategy into account, a repeated, fronted *nga*-construction becomes three times highlighted (see Jones 1977; chapter 6 on theme highlighting devices); and, in addition, the repetition strategy in Ngadha constitutes the chaining process which is responsible for paragraph formation (see Chapter 4).

Nga also occurs in combination forms. The most important instance of such combinations is the word *ngata* (*nga* + *ata* indefinite pronoun/*somebody/people*) which is a third person thematic pronoun, similar to the one found in Bacairi of Brazil as reported by Callow (1974) and Grimes (1975) (as quoted in Jones 1977:175). The thematic pronoun *ngata* has a unique function in Ngadha; that is, to mark sentential theme. In addition, it is the only pronoun proper which may be used to replace all NP's (human or otherwise), while all the other pronouns proper may only replace human NP's. Parallel to *ngata* there is another pronoun *ana-ngata* 'third person pity' (*ana child*).

Other combination forms of *nga* are *ngara* reflexive pronoun which is a frozen form (perhaps consisting of *nga* + *ra/ara*), *ngaza* *if/when/during* which is also a frozen form (perhaps consisting of *nga* + *za/aza*), and *nengga* 'future aspect marker' (consisting of *na* 'discourse pointer/cataphoric' + *nga*). It is to be noted that *ngaza* in other contexts means *name*, which may be related to *ngaza* as a conditional marker in that 'name' can be perceived as a 'condition of being' (?). In addition, *ngaza* is also related to *ngara*, especially in dialects of Ngadha that have *r* for corresponding *z* in such a position in other dialects (e.g. the Bolonga dialect, see 3.6.(b)). Note too that *ngara* in other contexts is used as a comparative marker meaning either *more ... than* or *less ... than* (see 3.5.2.3.(a)). Some examples:

- (119) *Nga ne'e da hoga kenna, kazi Penu da bau. (S11)*
nga WITH da young=man that SHE Penu da refuse
As to marrying that young man, she Penu refused.
- (120) *Nga bau, dhano da.. ma' da emma-nara kenna-na mu*
nga refuse ALSO da ALL=INDEF.N da uncle(father-brother) that-na mu
pusi-duki peddhe-renne moe kenna naji, "Kau bodha e'e ne'e da
fill-push cook-push like that SAY YOU=CL must yes WITH da
hoga kenna !" (S12)
young=man that
Though she refused, still her uncles kept pressing, insisting like that,
saying, "You must agree to marry that young man!"

- (121) Ngata mu bau. (S13)
SHE mu refuse
(But) she kept refusing.
- (122) Ngata naji, "Molo; ngaza miu me'a emma-nara ja'o, ledhe
SHE SAY good IF YOU=DI ALL=INDEF.N uncle I ALL=DIS.PL
 peddhe-renne, vi bejja gezzi ate miu, ja'o dia nga la'a
(force) vi satisfy THEN liver YOU=DI I this nga go
 roba-ngaba." (S14)
fall-ravine
She said, "Fine; if you all my uncles, keep pressing, keep insisting, to
satisfy your desires, I will go cast myself into a ravine (commit
suicide)."
- (123) ... kazi ke'e nengga tau buku meze, vi nengga kaa meze ke'e ?" (S193)
HE perhaps will make feast big vi will eat big perhaps
... is he perhaps going to give a ceremonial feast and have a big dinner
maybe?"
- (124) Na hoga kenna tau-zua zeze, meo Vegu ana-halo kenna
na THEY that make-two(couple) UPHILL MISTER Vegu child-orphan that
 pee zeze, da fai siba ngara pebbhi-vekki. (S212)
AS=FAR=AS UPHILL da female(wife) THEN REFLEXIVE (get dressed)
Then the two of them up there, Vegu the orphan arrived up there - his
wife then got dressed and dressed him up herself.

The following are brief comments on the examples.

(119): The nga-construction here is a fronted clause whose grammatical function is object of the VP, *da bau*. The nga-construction can be interpreted as the TOPIC which contains old information due to the fact that it is just a repeat of the same clause found in sentence (10) of the PV text, while the rest of the sentence is the *comment* which contains new information.

(120): The nga-construction here is a repeat of the last part of example (119) and it can be seen as the *topic* of the whole sentence, while the rest of (120) is the *comment* constituent. With respect to the semantic relation, the nga-construction is the circumstance, while the rest of the sentence is the result; the semantic of the whole sentence allows for the interpretation of the nga-construction as concessive.

(121): Ngata is the third person thematic pronoun; it highlights the character, Penu, who refused to marry the young man of her parents' and uncles' choice even when they kept pushing her to. Ngata is the *topic* and *da mu bau* is the *comment* of the sentence.

(122): The sentence contains several levels of prominence, all marked by nga (in combination form or otherwise). The most highlighted part of the sentence is marked by ngata (third person thematic pronoun) found in the main clause; the main clause is thus the *topic* of the sentence, while the whole quotation is the *comment*. Within the quotations there are two levels of prominence. The second level of prominence is marked by ngaza *if*; ngaza marks the clauses following it as having the relation of condition and purpose-result. The condition is ngaza miu ... ledhe peddhe-renne, the purpose is vi bejja gezzi ate miu, and the result is ja'o dia nga la'a roba-ngaba. The relationship between the three clauses is one of a chaining nature; that is, the ngaza clause is the *topic* while the remaining two clauses are the *comment*. On the

other hand, the purpose clause marked by *vi* may be seen at a lower level as the *topic* to which the last clause in the series is the *comment*. The last clause, by the way, is the third level prominence marked by *nga*.

It has to be pointed out too that in the four examples above, *nga ne'e da hoga kenna* (119), *nga bau* (120), and *ngata naji* (122) may be considered frame-constructions that function as introducers to the remaining parts of each of the sentences which are the content parts.

(123): The two instances of *nennga* in the example show the possible distribution of highlighted constituents of a sentence; the highlighted elements come at the very end of a long quotative construction in which the prominence of the main clause is not marked by *nga* but by word order; that is, it occurs in the sentence initial position. The two *nennga*'s highlight the importance of the big ceremonial feast and dinner that nobody in the story believes *Vegu* could afford due to the fact that he is just a poor orphan.

(124): The highlighted part of the sentence, marked by *ngara*, is similar to example (123) in that it is not the main clause or the first constituent of the sentence. *Ngara* highlights *pebbhi vekki* due to the fact that normally other people help one get dressed in the traditional *Ngadha* costumes for the purposes of appearing in public (in a ceremonial feast or to dance); but *Penu* and *Vegu* in the story have no-one to help them get dressed. And, in addition, *Vegu* could not possibly dress himself, because he did not know how to dress properly using all the golden ornaments due to the fact that he had never owned such clothes and ornaments before (note that in sentence (31) of the PV text, the narrator mentioned that an orphan, as it was in the past (in *Ngadha*), only wore a piece of plain loincloth and nothing else).

Finally it is worth pointing out that the *nga*-construction in *Ngadha* is parallel to the *pun*-construction of Indonesian and Malay, in that both function to mark prominence particularly at the discourse level (see Becker 1979, and *Ajamiseba* 1978).

(e) *Mu* is a narrative emphasiser whose function is to indicate the attitude of the speaker toward the subject he is talking about, that is, to emphasise the claimed truth of an account or part of it, thus appealing for belief or appealing for suspension of disbelief. The marking of emphasis seems to be prevalent in *Ngadha* shown by the liberal use of *mu*, repetition, parallel constructions, multiple appositive constructions, and quantifiers such as found in the PV text. In relation to the rest of the emphasising device, *mu* is normally contrastive and even extra emphatic especially in cases where it is supported by expressive phonology realised in the lengthening of *mu* (i.e. the vowel *u*).

It is to be noted too that the marking of emphasis has to do with evaluation, to borrow *Labov*'s term (*Labov* 1972), in that these are the places where the intrusion of the speaker's attitude into the subject matter he is talking about is most conspicuous.

Finally, separate examples of *mu* are not cited since *mu* is easy to find in the PV text due to its frequent use, while some comment on evaluation is given in Chapter 4.

(f) *Le* may be interpreted as an adverb of manner whose function is to mark the way and/or means by which something is done. *Le* also marks resulted change of state. Examples:

- (125) Ngaza ... fine-ga'e kenna mu bau da le gape-nea laki. (S3)
 IF aunt-divine that mu refuse da le put=in=stocks-away SHE=PITY
 (girl HONORIFIC)
 If ... the girl refused, (they) would put her away in stocks.
- (126) Kita le la'a
 WE=INCL le go/walk
 We will go on foot. (as opposed to going on horseback, by car, etc.)
- (127) Dhuu dhano go vae kenna ... le fiki-nea-na. (S124)
 UNTIL ALSO go water that le murky-up-na
 Until the water ... became (all) murky.

Note that le gape (125) indicates the means (i.e. the stocks) used to put away a disobedient girl (who refused to marry a young man of her parents' and uncles' choice) and also a way by which parents and uncles showed that they meant what they said; it is thus a way of giving punishment. Le la'a (126) indicates the means to get from one place to the other, i.e. on foot (by walking). Le fiki (127) indicates resulted change of state, i.e. the water became murky after Vegu mixed it with the parched scales that had been pulverised.

(g) Na is a discourse pointer whose function is to point back to earlier mentioned, given, or presupposed entities within the sentence in which it occurs or in earlier sentences in the discourse. It thus functions as an anaphora. Na may also function as a cataphora, that is, pointing forward to elements that will be mentioned in the sentence in which it occurs. The reason that I label na a discourse pointer is because it appeals to the visual perception of the entity it refers to which may be present in the visual field of both the speaker and the listener or only in the mind; the evidence is drawn from the fact that na is often accompanied by pointing gesture if the entity referred to is present in the visual field at least of the speaker. An additional functions of na is to serve as oral punctuation and as such it always occurs in final position of a phrase or clause. In many ways na acts like a definite article in English, especially when it occurs in combination forms: kenna and dia-na or di-na. It is to be noted that kenna *that/there/then* often functions to indicate definiteness and is perhaps a frozen form of ka/ki/ke + na, while dia-na/di-na *this/here/now* is identifiable as consisting of dia/di + na due to the fact that dia and di do occur as free morphemes meaning *this/here/now*.

It is to be noted too that na cliticises to virtually any element preceding it; and when it modifies a phrase or clause occurring in the middle of a sentence, it usually assumes a rising intonation which is directly followed by a juncture, while at the end of a sentence, na normally has a final falling intonation which coincides with the final intonation of the sentence.

The following are some examples; the examples will include na in combination forms.

- (6) Ne Penu kenna pu'u lau-mai Takatunga. (S9)
 MISS Penu that FROM SEAWARD-COME Takatunga
 Miss Penu was from down at nearby Takatunga.
- (16) ... Kau bodha e'e ne'e da hoga kenna-na ! (S5)
 YOU=CL must yes(agree) WITH(marry) da young=man that-na
 You must agree to marry that young man.
- (128) Kenna pu'u da molo mata kami dia-na ... (S6)
 that BASE da good eye WE=EXCL this-na
 The reason is: it is good to our eyes (here) ...

- (18) Masa tubo sa'o da ze'e-na e'e miu voa-si !
 ALL post house da rotten-na INTERJ YOU=DI replace-THEN
 All the old and rotten houseposts, you must replace (them)!
- (124) Na hoga kenna tau-zua zeze, meo Vegu ana-halo kenna pee
 na THEY that make-two UPHILL MISTER Vegu child-orphan that AS=FAR=AS
 zeze, da fai siba ngara pebbhi-vekki. (S212)
 UPHILL da (wife) THEN REFLEXIVE (get dressed)
 Then the two of them up there, Vegu the orphan arrived up there - his
 wife then got dressed and dressed him up herself.

Note that kenna in (6) brackets the NP and refers back to the first mention of Penu in sentence (6) of the PV text; kenna-na (16) is a two-fold pointing in which kenna brackets the NP, while na reinforces kenna and punctuates the sentence and, in addition, points to a presupposed young man possibly referred to earlier by the expression *dolu choice of spouse* (lit. *fishhook*) mentioned in sentences (2) and (3) in the PV text. Kenna in (128) is best rendered as *it* and it refers back to sentence (5) in the PV text in which supposedly the girl is told by her uncles and parents to marry a man of their choice, while *dia-na* refers to the speaker(s) (i.e. the uncles and parents); hence na functions to point to the individual(s) present in the visual field of the girl and in addition it punctuates the sentence. *Dia* (128) brackets the NP and is reinforced by na.

Na in (18) exemplifies its occurrence in the middle of a sentence; it functions to bracket the whole clause preceding it. Na also functions to appeal to the listeners to visually check their house posts. Sentence (124) is cited particularly due to the fact that it contains the only instance of na (in the whole PV text) occurring in initial position; other instances of na in initial positions are found only in combination forms such as kenna, *dia-na/di-na*. Na in (124) is cataphoric, functioning like a preparatory-it in English; it points to the NP following it and the rest of the sentence. Kenna in hoga kenna brackets the NP to which tau-zua zeze is in apposition, while kenna in meo Vegu ana-halo kenna brackets the NP and refers to all prior mention of the personal description (ana-halo) attributed to Vegu.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that na is parallel to the Indonesian and Malay *itu that* and *nya* 'third person possessive' and to the Javanese particles 'e/ne 'third person possessive' and 'ipun *that* (all are bound forms). Further study is, of course, necessary to bring more light to this interesting linguistic phenomenon, especially if we take into account the historical reconstruct of na as the Austronesian third person non-topic pronoun (see Becker and Oka 1974).

(h) Devve and roa are narrative pointers whose function is to point back to text-evoked time in which the element referred to was mentioned earlier in the story (while it is being told). Both expressions can be rendered as *afore-mentioned, just now or recent past*. Devve is related to the word *teve* which means *at the time* (see sentence 224 of the PV text), while roa in other contexts means *flame or large waterfall* (perhaps the momentary flash of flame/fire and the rapid movement of water in a waterfall are the metaphors from which the expression *just now/recent past* derives its meaning).

The difference between devve and roa cannot yet be fully isolated except that roa may be premodified by sa- *one* (bound form) giving sa-roa *later* (i.e., presently). Both devve and roa may follow kenna *that/there/then* and dia *this/here/now* (but not dia-na) thus reinforcing them, and may be modified by na

a juncture in the scope of a certain proposition. Examples:

- (132) Nga bau, dhano da.. ma' da emma-nara kenna-na
 nga refuse ALSO (still) FS ALL=INDEF.N da father-brother that-na
 (uncle: MBr)

mu pusi-duki ... (S12)

mu fill-push (force)

(Though she) refused, still her uncles (keep) forcing her...

- (133) Ne'e pu'u medo vali emma, kenna da papa
 EXIST FROM long=ago AGAIN (too) FATHER that da SIDE/RECIPROCAL

tana go fai ... (S1)

ask go female

There used to be (a long time ago) too, son, that (other) proposing practice ...

Note that dhano in (132) concerns the same topic, i.e. the forcing of the girl to marry somebody of the parents' and uncles' choice as mentioned in sentence (10) of the PV text, while vali in (133) concerns the introduction of a new topic of conversation between the speaker and the interviewer (i.e. the interviewer asked Mr. Wezo to tell him about traditional marriage practices of the Ngadha people which Mr. Wezo answered by giving some explanations including the telling of the legend of Penu and Vegu).

Finally it needs to be pointed out that the sequential connectives discussed in (3.3.2.1.(b)) above may also be interpreted as continuatives, but their scope is normally limited to within a sentence, while the scope of dhano and vali may be extended to several sentences of paragraphs, and even the whole text as exemplified by vali in (133) above.

Other particles will be included in the analysis of phrase patterns (see 3.5. below).

3.5. Phrase patterns

3.5.1. Noun phrases (NP)

NP's are analysed as basic and complex; a basic NP contains only one noun, while an NP is considered complex if part of its structure is an attributive derived from another NP, from a verbal phrase, adjective phrase, prepositional phrase, or from a sentence.

3.5.1.1. Basic NP

The basic NP consists of a head noun (HN) optionally modified by one or more quantifiers (QUANT), a specific marker (SM), a classifier plus numeral (CLASS + NUM), and/or determiner(s) (DET); the NP pattern is: (QUANT) (SM) (HN) (CLASS+N) (DET). A determiner may precede the classifier and number in a marked NP.

3.5.1.2. Nouns

The head of an NP is a noun which may be a single morpheme, a compound, or a derived noun. Most nouns in Ngadha are words consisting of single morphemes and relatively few genuine compound nouns are found; most compound nouns consist of a basic noun plus a descriptive term for natural phenomena or its function (mostly of man-made objects). Place names, personal names, as well as titles and honorifics are mostly binomials in which one of the terms is a description of the other.

Derived nouns are mostly found in the forms of full reduplication, frozen compounds consisting of nouns plus adjectives or nouns, and verbs plus numerals. It is to be noted that reduplication of nouns may function to specify plurality and/or variety which is often diffused, while unreduplicated nouns are unspecified unless marked by the specific marker (go) or a quantifier. Note that the specific marker go has been discussed in (3.4.(a)) above.

The following are some examples (the examples are not numbered unless a full sentence is quoted):

Single morpheme nouns:	nua	<i>village</i>
	sa'o	<i>traditional house</i>
Compound nouns:	li'e-mata	<i>eye/eyeball</i> (li'e <i>fruit/seed</i> (also classifier for globular object), mata <i>eye</i> or <i>death</i> (in other context))
	Takatunga	'village name' (taka + tunga; most likely it is a name of two villages founded by a clan, or a clan and a subclan)
	Naisavi	'personal name' (Nai + Savi, i.e. Nai, the son of Savi; Savi is the mother's name)
Derived nouns:	koba-koba	<i>vines</i> (lianas and/or aerial roots)
	tau-zua	<i>couple</i> (tau <i>make</i> , zua <i>two</i>)
	ana-fai	<i>female person</i> (ana <i>child</i> , fai <i>female</i> , also <i>wife</i>)
	kita-ata	<i>human being</i> (kita <i>we-inclusive</i> , ata <i>human</i> or 'indefinite third person pronoun' (<i>somebody</i>))

3.5.1.3. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are non-numerals and numerals; numerals are always associated with classifiers except when one is only reciting the numbers.

(a) *Non-numeral quantifiers* consist of common members of the set and derived forms. The following are non-numeral quantifiers that modify nominals:

bula/bua	<i>all</i> (contrastive collective plural); (see S24, 44, 52, 150, 152, 169, 183, 187)
ledhe	<i>each/all</i> (distributive plural); (see S40, 172, 181, 183, 186, 222)
masa(-masa)	<i>all</i> (neutral plural marker); (see S26, 125, 143, 146, 184, 187, 190, 198, 201)
me'a/ma'a/ma'e/me'/ma	<i>all</i> or <i>a number of</i> (indefinite number); (see S10, 12, 20, 24, 26, 30, etc.)

toto	<i>the whole</i> (covering the whole population or space); (see S55)
voso	<i>many/much</i> ; (see S217)
tiga	<i>abundant</i> ; (see S202)

Note that *bula*, *ledhe*, *masa*, and *me'a* may modify a VP in which case they have a slightly or totally different meaning. Other quantifiers that modify verbs will be cited in (3.5.3.3.).

The following are derived non-numeral quantifiers:

bhaghi ngia	<i>each (with his share)</i> (bhaghi <i>distribute</i> , ngia <i>place</i> (i.e. <i>one's share</i>) also <i>face/front</i>)
gee (ngia)	<i>each</i> (gee <i>count</i>); (see S1, 95, 110, 190)
ko'e	<i>more</i> (lit. <i>some portion remains</i>); (see S54, 116, 158, 159, 160)
maki ngia/neke ngia	<i>each (with his share)</i> (maki <i>for</i> , neke ?)
moli(-moli)/moi(-moi)	<i>all</i> (lit. <i>finish</i>); (see S181)
resi	<i>remainder</i> (lit. <i>to leave some amount behind</i>); (see S158)
sa-bagi	<i>half/some</i> (sa- <i>one</i> , bagi <i>divide</i>)
sa-keddhi	<i>a little/some</i> (keddhi <i>small</i>); (see S54)
sa-rivu (-rivu)	<i>a great many</i> (rivu <i>people</i> , also <i>thousand</i>)
sa-rivu-resi	<i>some people</i>
sa-vegga	<i>half/some</i> (vegga <i>divide/sort</i>); (see S209, 211, 211)
sa-veggha	<i>one half</i> (veggha <i>divide into halves</i>)
sa-voso (-voso)	<i>a great many</i>

It is to be noted that quantifiers involving measurement (of liquid, grain, etc.) are too numerous to be dealt with in this sketch.

(b) *Numerals*

Cardinal numerals:

sa- (bound form), 'essa	<i>one</i>
zua	<i>two</i>
tellu	<i>three</i>
tutu	<i>four</i>
lima	<i>five</i>
limaessa	<i>six</i> (five plus one)
limazua	<i>seven</i> (five plus two)
ruabutu	<i>eight</i> (two (rua/zua) times four (butu/vutu))
taressa/tarasa	<i>nine</i> (ten minus one (?) tara <i>branch</i>)
sa-bulu	<i>ten</i> (one times ten)
sa-bulu (ne'e) sa-'essa	<i>eleven</i> (ten plus one)
sa-bulu (ne'e) 'essa-zua	<i>twelve</i> (ten plus two)
bulu-zua	<i>twenty</i> (ten times two)
bulu-tellu	<i>thirty</i> (ten times three)
sa-ngasu	<i>one hundred</i>
sa-rivu	<i>one thousand</i>

Ordinal numerals:

vunga(-vunga)	<i>first</i>
ngia zia	<i>second</i> (second place; ngia <i>place</i>)
ngia tellu	<i>third</i> (third place)
etc.	

Note that only numbers one through five, ten, one hundred, and one thousand of the cardinal numerals are expressed by digit morphemes; the rest are expressed by addition, multiplication or subtraction. Note too that for numbers eleven and up a linking marker *ne'e and/with* is needed, and from twelve up 'essa is needed as a classifier (?), except multiplications of ten. The bound form *sa-* cannot yet be fully explained; it is perhaps a numerically cliticised adjective like *mono-* in English, or a quasi-indefinite article (?). *Sa-* also occurs with reduplicated adjectives such as *sa-meze-meze very big*. The ordinal numerals are formed of cardinal numerals plus *ngia*, which is perhaps used as a classifier (?), except for 'first'. It needs to be pointed out that certain numbers are perceived as significant in the Ngadha culture (see Appendix I).

3.5.1.4. Classifiers

Classifiers are nominal or verbal counterparts whose function is to make them countable units, but for objects that are naturally countable, the classifiers serve to designate specification. Classifiers in Ngadha also function as nominal substitutes, markers of specificity and definiteness. The classification is based primarily on the parameters of object and action, while object is further classified based on animateness, shape, or function. Diagram 1 is an attempt to present the most common classifiers in Ngadha.

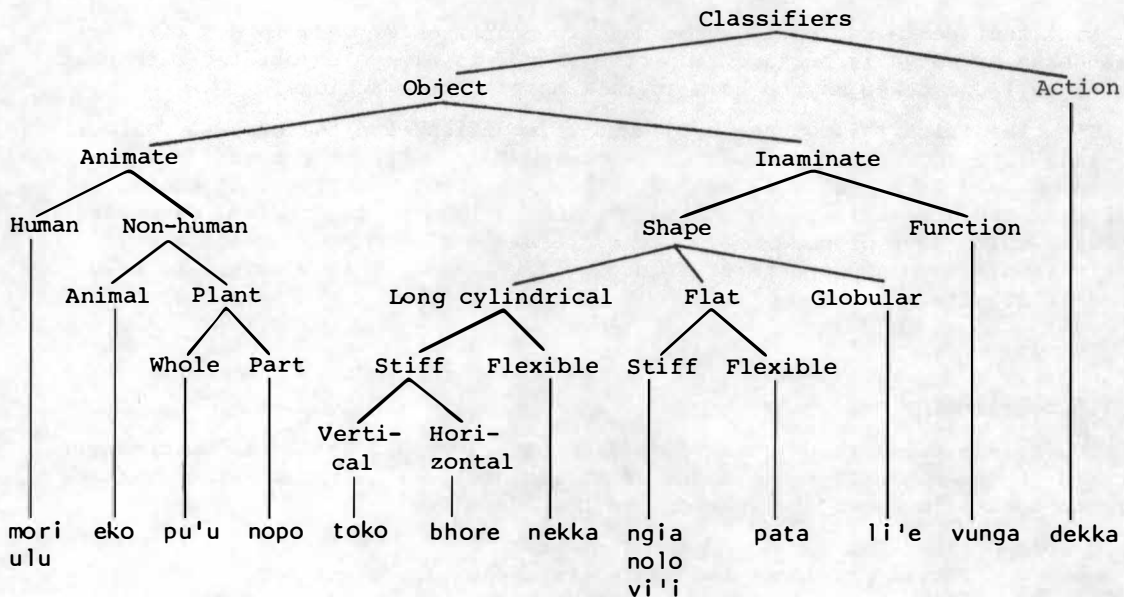


Diagram 1: The classifier system

The meanings and uses of the classifiers given in the diagram are:

bhore	used when counting cut bamboo nodes; (bhore also means <i>hit</i>)
dekka	used when counting action (i.e. time units)
eko	(lit. <i>tail</i>) used when counting animals, including insects
li'e	(lit. <i>fruit/seed</i>) used when counting fruits, also round, roundish, or intact objects such as balls, eggs, houses, etc.
mori	(lit. <i>owner</i> or <i>crocodile</i>) used when counting people, including gods, ghosts, and devils.
nekka	used when counting ropes, also hairs and blades of grass
ngia	(lit. <i>face/front</i>) used when counting geographical locations such as gardens, meadows, etc.
nolo	used when counting flattened bamboo nodes used for floors
nopo	(<i>stump/butt</i>) used when counting parts of a tree (stump, branch, twig), also cigarettes
pata	used when counting pieces of cloth
pekka	used when counting actions (i.e. time units); pekka only occurs with the numerals two and up
pu'u	(<i>base/tree/from</i>) used when counting whole trees or plants
ulu	(lit. <i>head</i> or <i>heading toward</i>) used when counting children (i.e. offspring); ulu also means a group of forty (normally of coconuts or maize)
va'i	(lit. <i>leg/foot</i>) used when counting actions (i.e. time units)
vi'i	used when counting bamboo splits
vunga	(lit. <i>first</i>) used when counting metal tools

Note that dekka and va'i may be used to mean *once* or *once upon a time* as in sa-dekka or sa-va'i; pekka on the other hand, is always associated with past action, va'i and dekka may be used to talk about future actions.

The classifier follows the head noun it modifies, and the numeral follows the classifier except number one, which precedes it. Only the bound form sa-one can be used with a classifier. Finally, it is worth noting that Ngadha still uses the classifiers productively in comparison to Indonesian, Javanese and Malay which have dropped most of the classifiers from use. Quantifiers (mostly involving measurements of liquid, grains, and other objects) are also used as classifiers.

3.5.1.5. Determiners

The determiners are deictic words/demonstratives and anaphoric determiners. Deictics or demonstratives are a set of three locatives which mark the distance from the speaker or both the speaker and the addressee:

di/dia	<i>this/here/now</i> (near the speaker)
dau	<i>that/there</i> (near the addressee); dau also means <i>now</i>
kenna	<i>that/there/then</i> (far from both the speaker and the addressee); kenna may mean near the addressee if further specified.

The deictics may modify any NP and thus render it as definite. And it needs to be pointed out that all direction words are location deictics and can be used to fill the slot filled by kenna, dia, or dau except leu *left*, vana *right* and gili *around*. (See 3.5.4.1. and Figure 1 for direction words.)

The anaphoric determiners are *na* (discourse pointer), *devve* and *roa* (narrative pointers) which have been discussed in (3.4.(g) and (h)) above. Note also that *kenna* and *na* may function as cataphoras, as has been briefly discussed in (3.4.(g)) above.

3.5.1.6. Pronouns

The pronouns are classified as pronouns proper and derived pronominal references.

(a) *The pronouns proper*

Table 1: The pronouns proper				
	CLOSE (intimate)		DISTANT (deferential)	
	Neutral case	Oblique case	Neutral case	Oblique case
First person	ja'o/(za'o)	nga'o	kami (exclusive) kita (inclusive)	(gami) gita
Second person	kau	(gau)	miu	miu
Third person	kazi	gazi	hoga/(soga) (emu)/(demu) (emu-hoga)/(emu-soga) (siza)	hoga/(soga) (emu)/(demu) (emu-hoga)/(emu-soga) (siza)
	(vo'e)	(ngo'e)	(vo'e)	(ngo'e)
Third person thematic	ngata	ngata	ngata	ngata
Third person indefinite	ata	ata	rivu voe	rivu voe
Third person -pity	laki	laki	(emu-laki) ana-ngata	(emu-laki) ana-ngata
Reflexive	ngara bekki vekki			

Notes to Table 1:

- 1) The forms given in parentheses are not used in the text.
- 2) Exclusive means not including the hearer; inclusive means including the hearer.

The pronouns proper are classified as *close* versus *distant* rather than *singular* versus *plural*, based on the fact that plurality is not marked for pronouns or nouns. Plurality of nouns in general is marked by quantifiers or reduplication. In addition, there are instances in the text of *kami*, *kazi*, *ngata*, *hoga* and *miu* that denote singular as well as plural entities (cp. Becker and Oka 1974).

The neutral and oblique cases are found only with respect to the pronouns proper, and in certain dialects of Ngadha (i.e. the southern part of Ngadhaland). The neutral case is self-explanatory; while the oblique case designates patient, genitive/possessive when marked by *go*, or object of a prepositional phrase (i.e. the object of a director in an endocentric construction). It has to be noted too that possession is marked by word order, i.e. the possessed entity + the possessor. Some examples:

sosa kazi	<i>his/her fish-trap</i> (sosa <i>fish-trap</i>)
sosa go gazi	<i>his/her fish-trap/</i> (go 'specific marker')
go gazi	<i>his/hers</i>
da sosa kazi	<i>his fish-trap</i> (lit. <i>the fish-trap that is his/hers</i> ; da 'realis marker')

The third example is a reduced form in which the possessed entity is deleted. The fourth example, on the other hand, involves relativisation and has to be treated as a reduced relative clause (see 3.3.2.2.(d) and 3.4.(b)).

The occurrences of the oblique case are also triggered by certain prepositions (such as *maki for*, *logo behind*, etc.), the conjunction *ne'e and/with* and the quantifier *bula/bua all* (contrastive collective plural). It is not clear why *bula/bua* triggers the oblique case; it may have something to do with specificity since possessives marked by *go* take the oblique case.

The pronouns *laki*, *emu-laki*, and *ana-ngata* are called third person pronoun-pity for lack of a better term; the pronouns imply the speaker's sympathetic feeling toward the person(s) referred to due to his/her/their unfortunate condition. The third person indefinite pronouns *ata*, *rivu*, and *voe* may be rendered as *somebody*, *people*, or *unknown person(s)*; the third person thematic pronoun *ngata* marks the whole sentence or one of its constituents as thematic by virtue of the fact that it contains the thematic particle *nga* (see 3.4.(d)). The reflexive pronouns *ngara*, *bekki*, and *vekki* indicate that the subject does something by himself/herself; the action may be directed at himself/herself or at another person. The difference between the three reflexives is that *ngara* is thematic (because it contains *nga*) and it occurs preceding the verb, while *bekki* and *vekki* follow the verb; *vekki* in other contexts means *body* or *self* and is perhaps related to the participle *veke* (see 3.3.2.2.(b) for *veke*), and it may fill a subject or object slot in a sentence. The pronouns are not marked for gender.

(b) *Derived pronominal references*

Derived pronominal references consist of kinship terms, titles, honorifics, personal descriptions, and deictics (including direction and location words). It is to be noted that all direction and location words can potentially be used as pronominals except *leu left*, *vana right* and *gili around* which are never used pronominally.

The following are examples taken from the PV text:

Kinship terms:

ana	<i>child</i> (also used as a term of address meaning <i>son/daughter</i>); (see S191)
ana-ame	<i>child and father/uncle</i> (ame is related to emma <i>father</i> , but is often used to mean <i>uncle</i> as a direct term of address when referring to a distant relative or a friend of members of one's ascending generation); (see S82)
emma	<i>father</i> (also used as a term of address to mean <i>sir, son, or you</i> (deferential)); (see S229 meaning 'father', S1, 30 meaning 'you', and S1, 8, 15, etc. as a term of address meaning 'sir/son' (all translated as FATHER in the PV text)
emma-nara	<i>uncle</i> (mother's brother); (S2, 10, 12, 14, 24)
fai	<i>wife</i> (lit. <i>female</i>); (S1, 212)
ine-emma	<i>parents</i> (mother and father); (S2, 3, 83)
ine-vetta	<i>aunts</i> (father's sister); (S2, 28; both used as an honorific to refer to a girl or girls in general)
ka'e	<i>older sibling</i> ; (see mosa-ka'e S56)
nara	<i>brother</i> (S20, 26)
vetta	<i>sister</i> (S25)
voe	<i>members of a clan or clan</i> (lit. <i>bind</i> ; hence by extension used to mean <i>friend</i>); (see S151)

Honorifics:

beppu-della	<i>elders</i> (the term is used in the PV text to mean <i>ancestors</i> ; beppu/bupu literally means <i>old</i> ; beppu is often used as an honorific to refer to older women, while della <i>mature/adult</i> is used as an honorific to refer to older men); (see S65)
fine-ga'e	<i>divine aunt</i> (the term is used to refer to older/married marriageable women; fine/pine means <i>aunt</i> (of both father's and mother's sister, ga'e <i>god</i> or <i>higher caste</i> ; the term is used in the PV text to refer to girls/women in general); (see S3)
ine-vetta	<i>aunt</i> (see kinship term above)

Titles:

da mosa	a deferential title used to refer to village elders and village administrators (mosa <i>mature male beast</i> , da 'realis marker'); (see S58)
me/meo	intimate title for men (the term is translated as MISTER); (see S109, 212)

mosa-emma	a deferential title used to refer to older men (of one's ascending generation); (see S56)
mosa-ka'e	a deferential title used to refer to an older person (of one's own generation); (see S56)
mosa-laki	a deferential title used to refer to older, influential, and successful men who are eligible to become members of the village council (see S44, 46, 56, 109)
mosa-ngai	a deferential title used to refer to rich people (ngai <i>rich</i>); (see S191)
ne/neo	intimate title for women (see S9, 111, 165, 194, 226)

Personal descriptions:

ana-halo	<i>orphan</i> (ana <i>child</i> , halo <i>orphan</i>); (S29, 30, 31, 44, 45, 48, 49, 66, 73, 76, 109, 149, 212, 217, 220, 226)
bu'e-bila loo-pave	<i>a beautiful woman with perfect form</i> (bu'e <i>young woman</i> , bila <i>beautiful</i> , loo <i>appearance/body</i> , pave <i>perfect</i>); (see S104, 114, 165)
bu'e-hoga	<i>young women and men</i> (hoga <i>young man</i>); (see S75)
da Bai	<i>the Bai people</i> (see S217, 230)
da Dhaga	<i>members of the Dhaga clan</i> (see S233)
da hoga	<i>young man</i> (see S5, 10, 11, 12)
da Sese	<i>members of the Sese clan</i> (see S234)
deva-kela	<i>multicoloured god</i> (deva <i>god</i> , kela <i>spotted</i>); (see S44)
duu-jere	<i>poor docile person without social status</i> (duu <i>docile</i> , jere <i>flat ground</i>); (see S164)
emma-deva	<i>father god</i> (see S53)
ho'o-feo	<i>slave</i> (ho'o <i>slave</i> , feo <i>war captive</i>); (S200, 206, 209, 213, 214)
isi-kita	<i>our people</i> , i.e. the Ngadha people (isi <i>inhabitant</i> , kita <i>we-inclusive</i>); (see S41, 102, 147, 181)
jongo-jere	<i>poor person without a social status</i> (jongo <i>poor</i>); (see S191, 193)
kita-ata	<i>human being</i> , i.e. like us (ata <i>human person</i>); (see S200)
l ii	<i>generation</i> (see S4, 30)
tau-zua	<i>couple</i> (tau <i>make</i> , zua <i>two</i>); (see S212)
nava	<i>soul or entity</i> (see S109)

Deictics:

dia	<i>this person</i> (see S234, 237)
kenna	<i>that person/the person or it</i> (see S39, 148, 219)
lau	<i>the person/object downstream</i> (see S173, 176, 177, 232)
lau-mai	<i>the person downstream</i> (mai <i>come or nearby</i>); (see S220)

lau-eko	<i>the person(s) living at the bottom of the village (eko tail); (see S190)</i>
zele-ulu	<i>the person(s) living at the head of the village (zele uphill, ulu head); (see S190)</i>

The pronominal references may be combined with a pronoun or personal name resulting in multiple appositives such as:

meo mosa-laki Vegu ana-halo kenna (see S109)
 sa-tebbo-vekki kazi sa-mori (see S150)
 neo bu'e-bila loo-pave ne Penu kenna (see S165)

Such heavy NP's are normally manipulated to give emphasis, focus on the identification, or show change of perspectives on the part of the speaker.

It has to be pointed out, however, that the pronouns proper and other pronominal references in Ngadha may replace only human NP's, except the third person thematic pronoun *ngata*, which may replace any NP. Normally, non-human NP's are replaced by deictics: *kenna that* or *dia this* or just by \emptyset ; *kenna* and *dia* in such cases act like the English *it*.

In general, the same forms of pronouns proper are used for nominative, possessive and accusative functions, while some dialects distinguish neutral and oblique cases.

Often resumptive pronouns are found in clause final positions, and in such cases, they normally function to give emphasis to the role of the participant. Another interesting fact that needs to be mentioned about pronouns is that *kami* and *ja'o* may be used (with some transformation) as verbs, i.e. *hami to say we* (exclusive) and *ha'o to say I*. The two expressions are found only when bitter sarcasm is expressed, such as in a litigation.

Finally, it needs to be noted that there are two borrowings of pronominal reference from Indonesian: *mereka they* and *keturunan descendants* (see S236). The mastery of pronominal references is crucial for communication in Ngadha because they have to do with assigning deference and acknowledging status of being old, high caste, successful, influential, member of the village council, etc.; in short, the Ngadha culture stresses the idea that every individual is different from any other individual (also see Djawanai 1978).

3.5.1.7. Complex NP

A complex NP is one in which part of the structure is an expansion or a replacement derived from other phrases or from a sentence. The expansion is attributive to the head of the NP and fills the slot after the head noun, but preceding the classifier + numeral (see 3.5.1.4. above).

(a) Nominal expansion

An NP may be expanded with another noun. The second noun is attributive to the HN. The procedure is responsible for the formation of compounds (see 3.5.1.2. above), and the formation of possessive construction as has been mentioned in (3.5.1.6. and 3.4.(a)).

Additional examples:

koba kaju *aerial root of a tree (koba aerial root or vines, kaju tree/wood)*

zeggü kaba	<i>water-buffalo horn</i> (zeggü horn, kaba <i>water-buffalo</i>)
sa'o ja'o	<i>my (traditional) house</i> (sa'o <i>traditional house</i> , ja'o <i>I</i>)
sa'o go Java	<i>Java's (traditional) house</i> (Java 'personal name, male')

In the above examples the HN's are the first nouns followed by attributive nouns, or pronoun or personal name. The attributives designate description or possession. As has been mentioned in (3.5.1.6.), possession is marked by juxtaposition of the elements in the order: possessed-possessor. However, the specific marker *go* is required as a ligature between the possessed and the possessor if the possessor is human and is represented by a personal name or a personal description. *Go* is optional elsewhere and used only when one wants to give emphasis such as to show intense relationship between the possessed and the possessor, or to mark contrast; thus the first three examples above can occur as: *kaba go kaju*, *zeggü go kaba*, and *sa'o go ja'o*.

(b) *Verbal, adjectival and prepositional expansion*

An NP may have an attributive expansion of verbs, adjectives or prepositions. Some examples:

sa'o dhoro	<i>a traditional house that stems from a 'mother' house</i> (sa'o <i>house</i> , dhoro <i>descend</i>); the 'mother' house is called sa'o pu'u (pu'u <i>base/from/tree</i>)
rajo dhekke	<i>a relative by marriage (affine)</i> ; (rajo <i>boat</i> , dhekke <i>ascend</i>)
ngeṃme meze	<i>large gourd container</i> (ngeṃme <i>gourd</i> , meze <i>large</i>)
manu lalu	<i>rooster</i> (manu <i>chicken</i> , lalu <i>male</i> (of birds))
teda one	<i>inner patio</i> (teda <i>patio</i> , one <i>inside</i>)

All of these examples may take the specific marker *go* if specificity is to be expressed.

(c) *Sentence expansion*

An NP may contain a sentence or a clause as an attributive; see relative clause (3.3.2.2.(e)), nominal clause (3.3.2.2.(c)), and the discussion on the particles *da*, *go*, and *vi* in (3.4.).

3.5.2. Adjective phrases (AP)

Adjectives in Ngadha may occur as attributives to NP's, in which case they are non-predicating, or as predicates in equative sentences. As predicates, adjectives may take modifiers, thus forming adjective phrases.

3.5.2.1. Non-predicating adjectives

Non-predicating adjectives function as attributives to NP's and may be considered an expansion of NP's as referred to in (3.5.1.7.(b)) above. Non-predicating adjectives may be subclassified into simple, complex and derived adjectives.

(a) *Simple non-predicating adjectives* consist of single morphemes. Examples:

nagemme meze	<i>large gourd/gourd container (nagemme gourd, meze big)</i>
nagemme keddhi	<i>small gourd/gourd container (keddhi small)</i>

NP's modified by adjectives are regarded as complex NP's (see 3.5.1.7.).

(b) *Complex non-predicating adjectives* are formed by reduplication or by juxtaposition of adjectives. These devices are used to indicate plurality and/or variety of the modified NP's. Examples:

nagemme meze-meze	<i>many and/or various large gourds</i>
nagemme keddhi-keddhi	<i>many and/or various small gourds</i>
nagemme keddhi-meze	<i>many gourds small and large</i>

(c) *Derived non-predicating adjectives* are mostly nouns, numerals and verbs that function as attributives to the head noun in an NP. Thus they may be considered denominal and deverbal adjectives; and they are considered adjectives only in terms of their function in such constructions. Some examples have been cited in (3.4.1.2. and 3.5.1.7.) above.

3.5.2.2. Predicating adjectives

Predicating adjectives function as predicates in equative sentences (see 3.3.1.1.). As predicates, such adjectives may be modified by elements that normally function to modify verbs (see 3.5.3. on VP) with some exceptions. The exceptions chiefly involve cases where the speaker does not have control or characteristics that are involitional.

It has to be noted that intonation plays an important role in distinguishing non-predicating from predicating adjectives, that is, predicating adjectives are separated from the constituents they modify by an intonational juncture similar to the juncture that separates subject and predicate in a sentence. And there is no copula.

The discussion that follows will focus on comparatives, superlatives and nonsense counterparts of adjectives. Examples concerning the use of modifiers will also be included.

3.5.2.3. Comparatives, superlatives, and nonsense counterparts of adjectives

(a) *Comparatives*

When two things are compared, they may be perceived as the same, similar, or comparative (i.e. one is more X than the other). When the compared entities are perceived as 'the same as' the word *sama* is used in the comparison. Examples:

sama meze ne'e kenna	<i>as big as that (meze larger, ne'e with/and, kenna that)</i>
mu ngee sama meze moe kenna	<i>(it) was (able) about as large as that mu 'emphatic', ngee be able, moe like); (see S150)</i>

When comparing two things that are perceived to be similar in certain respects, the words *rennga*, *moe*, *bhila* or *dheggha* are used. These words can be roughly rendered as *alike*, and often their use is accompanied by ostensive gestures. Examples:

meze rennga ne'e dia	<i>similar in size to this</i>
meze moe dia	<i>similar in size to this</i>
meze bhila dia	<i>similar in size to this</i>
meze dheggha dia	<i>similar in size to this</i>

The difference between the four expressions cannot yet be isolated.

When comparing things that are perceived to be different, i.e. one is more X than the other, the word *ngara* is used. *Ngara* may be rendered as *more* or *less* depending on the context of comparing. Examples:

ngara meze pu'u (ngia) dia	<i>bigger than this (pu'u from, ngia place/front/face)</i>
ngara keddhi pu'u (ngia) dia	<i>smaller than this (keddhi small)</i>

Note that *ngia* in *pu'u ngia* is perhaps used as a classifier designating a thing that is located in front of the speaker.

(b) *Superlatives*

It has to be pointed out that there are no neutral superlatives in *Ngadha*. Contrastive superlatives are formed by adding the words *laga* (lit. *exceed*) or *ngere* (lit. *most*) to the adjectives, or by adding *sa-* (numerically cliticised adjective) plus reduplication of the adjectives. The contrastive superlative markers may be rendered as *most* or *very*. Examples:

meze laga	<i>biggest or very big</i>
meze laga la'e	<i>biggest or very very big (la'e place)</i>
ngere bhara	<i>most white or very/utterly white</i>
da ngere bhara	<i>(which) was utterly white (da 'realis marker'); (S159, 160)</i>
sa-meze-meze	<i>biggest or very big</i>

The difference between the superlatives marked by *laga*, *ngere* and *sa-* plus reduplication cannot yet be accounted for apart from the obvious difference in form and position relative to the adjective. And it needs to be noted that *sa-* plus reduplication only occurs with adjectives that are perceived to be 'normative' such as *meze big* but not *keddhi small*, or *leva long* but not *bhoko short*. The 'normative' implied in such cases is perhaps determined by the primacy of bigness as opposed to smallness.

(c) *Nonsense counterparts of adjectives*

Some adjectives take nonsense counterparts whose primary function is to give emphasis and possibly to achieve rhyming effects and build meter in oral discourse. Examples:

bhara-gezza	<i>be really/very white (bhara white)</i>
gemma-giu	<i>be really/very dark (gemma dark)</i>
dhengo-reo	<i>be/take a very/really long time (dhengo a long time)</i>
'inu-riu	<i>be really/very tiny ('inu tiny)</i>

Note that the second term in the examples above do not have a meaning, and are perhaps frozen forms that have dropped out of use. These particles serve also to form parallel constructions; the device is still productive in Ngadha not only with adjectives, but also with nouns (e.g. ngazo-ngettu *tassel*; ngazo *nod*, ngettu *short* (S54)) and verbs (e.g. rabi-sangi *dilapidated*; rabi *torn*, sangi *ugly* ? (S63)).

3.5.2.4. Other modifications of adjectives

Two classes of modifiers may be distinguished: those that function to exclusively modify adjectives and the ones that may modify verbs.

(a) *Exclusive adjective modifiers*

This class certainly includes comparatives and superlatives (see 3.5.2.3. (a and b) above). Beside comparatives and superlatives, there are markers of degree and one particle whose function is to indicate inchoative and progressive aspect.

(i) *Markers of degree.* To denote neutral degree, the words *tosi* or *ana + ze'e* or *laga* are added to the adjectives. Examples:

meze <i>tosi</i>	<i>very big</i>
ana meze <i>ze'e</i>	<i>very big</i>
ana meze <i>laga</i>	<i>very big</i>
mu ana da mu <i>guku</i>	<i>most/very diligent</i> (da 'relater'; <i>guku diligent</i>); (S228)

To indicate contrast the emphatic particle *mu* may be added to the examples above; often *ze'e* and *laga* are dropped, especially when *mu* is repeated such as in the last example above. Note that *laga* basically means *exceed*, while *ze'e* is a participial marker meaning *be apt to* and is often used in a negative sense.

To denote negative degrees, the words *bai*, *kama*, *kata*, *kama kata*, *kadhi kata* are used to modify adjectives; these expressions may be roughly rendered as *too* (i.e. excessive). Examples:

da <i>bai leva</i>	<i>(which was) too long</i> (<i>leva long</i>); (S219)
<i>kama leva</i>	<i>too long</i>
<i>piro kata</i>	<i>too narrow</i> (<i>piro narrow</i>); (S219)
<i>leva kama kata</i>	<i>much too long</i>
<i>leva kadhi kata</i>	<i>much too long</i>

To mark contrast, *mu* may be added in the initial position of the expressions above. And it has to be pointed out that the difference between *bai*, *kama* and *kata* cannot yet be accounted for except for their fixed positions in the adjective phrase and some combinatorial properties such as: *kadhi* cannot be combined with *kama* or *bai*, and *bai* cannot be combined with any member of the set. The difference might be either dialectal or stylistic. It is worth mentioning that the difference between neutral, contrastive and negative qualities of the modifiers stems from the contrasting notion of 'sufficiency' and 'excess'.

(ii) The particle *naa* or its variant *naa-naa*. The particle indicates inchoation and simultaneously, the continuing change of state expressed by the adjectives. Examples:

naa(-naa) meze *(it) becomes/is becoming bigger and bigger*
naa(-naa) keddhi *(it) becomes/is becoming smaller and smaller*

Note that *naa* implies comparison but comparison to an every changing state of the same object (in time).

(b) *Certain modifiers that are found with adjective phrases as well as verbal phrases*

Adjectives take most of the modifiers that normally occur with verbs due to the fact that they can function as predicates. It has to be pointed out that NP's can also function as predicates in equative sentences like adjectives. There are instances where the three word classes (noun, adjective, verb) merge, such as: *mata death/dead/die*, and *muzi livelihood or life/alive or new/live* to mention two examples. And I am assuming that a difference between the word classes needs to be established.

The modifiers are quantifiers, auxiliaries, and degree markers.

(i) Quantifiers include the numeral *sa-* and non-numeral quantifiers. Examples:

sa-meze-meze *biggest or very big*
me'a meze-meze *big* (of indefinite plural objects); (*me'a* 'indefinite number'); (S36)
mara nguza-vezo *all green and shaking (in the wind)* (*mara* 'unordered collective plural', *nguza green/young of leaves, vezo shake*); (S173)

Lists of quantifiers are given in (3.5.1.3. and 3.5.3.3.).

(ii) Auxiliaries include markers of mood and aspect. Examples:

ngee meze *be able to become big* (*ngee be able*)
bodha vi meze *(it) will become big* (*bodha must, vi* 'irrealis marker')
da meze ke'e *(it) is big perhaps* (*da* 'realis marker', *ke'e perhaps* (dubitative marker))
tau meze *cause to become big* (*tau make*)
meze-gha *(it) is big already* (*gha* 'perfect aspect marker')
vo'e muzi dongo-pau *(it) was still alive* (*vo'e still, muzi alive, dongo- stay, pau* 'progressive aspect marker'); (S86)
vo'e meze *still big* (or *continue to be big*)
nengga meze *will become big* (*nengga* 'future marker')

These examples involve markers of ability, certainty/doubt, causative, perfect aspect, continuative aspect, and future aspect.

(iii) Degree markers are equivalents of adverbs which include markers of manner and emphasis. Examples:

dhomi meze dia *only as big as this* (*dhomi only, dia this*)

mu meze dia	<i>as big as this</i> (mu 'emphatic')
le fiki-nea-na	(<i>it</i>) <i>becomes murky</i> (le 'marker of manner', fiki <i>murky/muddy</i> , nea 'multiword formator', na 'discourse pointer'); (S124)

It needs to be reiterated that the examples above involve predicating adjectives and as such, they may be modified by sequential connectives (see 3.3.2.1.(b)), negatives (see 3.3.1.4.), and particles (see 3.4.).

It is also worth pointing out here that adjectives may serve as adverbs to modify VP's (see 3.5.3.5.1.(b)).

3.5.3. Verbal phrases (VP)

VP's are analysed as basic and complex. A basic VP contains only one verbal head (VH). A complex VP is one in which part of its structure is an attributive derived from another VP, adjective phrase or prepositional phrase.

3.5.3.1. Basic VP

The basic VP consists of a verbal head (VH) optionally modified by auxiliaries (AUX), quantifiers (QUANT), and adverbials (ADV). It is to be noted that the modifiers may precede or follow the verbal head. A basic VP construction is:

(QUANT) (AUX) (ADV) (VH) (AUX) (QUANT) (ADV)

It is to be noted, however, that the distinction in the ordering of the modifiers is too complex and will not be discussed in this sketch.

3.5.3.2. The head of the VP

There are three types of verbal heads: transitive verbs, intransitive verbs and verbal prepositions. In terms of form, VH's may be classified as single-morpheme, and compound and derived.

(a) *Single morpheme VH's*

Transitive verbs:	pera	<i>teach/tell/show</i>
	tungi	<i>burn/set on fire</i>
Intransitive verbs:	la'a	<i>go/walk</i>
	mai	<i>come</i>
Verbal prepositions:	male	<i>to/toward/heading toward</i>
	pu'u	<i>from/coming from/live in</i>

Note that transitive verbs normally have an obligatory object, intransitive verbs have no object, while verbal prepositions obligatorily require a location adjunct. It is to be noted too that transitive as well as intransitive verbs may also require location adjuncts, although they may or may not appear in the surface forms.

(b) *Compound and derived VH's*

Compound verbals normally consist of a base verbal plus a descriptive or reinforcing term. Like nouns, the compounds are mostly collocations occurring in parallel constructions. Examples:

male menna	<i>heading toward the left (when one faces the sea or downstream)</i>
muzi vado	<i>be restored to life or regain consciousness (muzi be alive, vado return (home)); (S127)</i>
pusi-duki	<i>to force (pusi to fill, duki push down); (S12, 14)</i>
rai-roma	<i>keep on wandering/walking (aimlessly) (rai go/walk on and on, roma well-arranged); (S18)</i>

Note that menna by itself may mean *heading toward the left*; while duki and roma in the last two examples have more to do with rhyming and meter than with meaning. Roma, particularly, is contradictory to the aimless wandering of the character in the PV text.

Most derived verbals are found in the forms of full reduplication of the verbals. The reduplication often implies plurality, variety, diffuseness, and/or duration of actions. In addition some verbs take particles whose function is to form multiword verbs (also adjectives and verbal prepositions).

(i) *Verbal reduplication*

Examples:

dhegha-dhegha	<i>play (implying variety and duration)</i>
menna-menna	<i>keep on heading towards the left (implying duration and plurality of action (S17))</i>
vado-vado	<i>return (home) (S173)</i>

Note that reduplication in vado-vado only functions to give emphasis as true with most reduplications.

(ii) *Multiword formators*

The participles nea and pii are often used to form multiword verbs; however, nea may occur with adjectives, negatives, and location words. The particles are often untranslatable in isolation, although sometimes nea may be rendered as *away/up/anymore*, and pii as *along*. When they occur as free forms nea means *lose/lost*, and pii means *layer/generation*, but such forms are best considered homophones. Examples:

da le gape-nea	<i>by way of putting (someone) away in stocks (da 'realis', le 'adverb of manner', gape put in stocks); (S3)</i>
taka zenng-pii	<i>if only (one) has signalled in order to be heard (taka if only, zenng hear); (S135)</i>

Note that nea also occurs with negatives (see 3.3.1.4.) and imperatives (see 3.3.1.3.). Nea and pii often indicate unfulfilled hope or unexpected result.

3.5.3.3. Quantifiers

Only non-numeral quantifiers modify verbs; numerals may modify verbs only when they occur with action classifiers. The following are the quantifiers:

bholo/bho	<i>on and on</i> ; it is a marker of plurality, variety, and duration of action. (See S18, 94, 95, 171, 217.)
bula/bua	marks contrastive collective plural and is translated as <i>all</i> . (See S52, 72, 137, 184, 212.)
ko'e	is translated as <i>remain</i> (i.e. there is more). (See S84, 92, 167.)
ledhe	<i>all</i> ; it marks distributive plural. (See S14, 35, 97, 172, 237.)
mara	marks unordered plural actions. (See S149, 150, 177, 188, 192, 194, 212.)
masa	<i>all</i> (neutral plural). (See S199.)
me'a/ma'a/ma'e	<i>all</i> (indefinite number). (See S75.)
moli (-moli)/moi(-moi)	<i>finish/all</i> ; (see S85, 86, 107, 108, 109, 159, 160, 176, 177, 180, 182, 184, 188, 199, 201).
vali/vai	<i>more</i> (also <i>again</i>); (see S174, 179, 185, 189, 205, 230, 233).

Note that bula and ko'e are sometimes best rendered as *just* (see 3.5.3.5.2.(a) below); vali is a continuative marker (see 3.4.(i) and 3.5.3.4.2.(f)).

3.5.3.4. Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are classified as modifiers that serve to indicate mood and aspect.

3.5.3.4.1. Mood

Mood expresses the attitudinal relation of the speaker/actor to the verbals. Mood indicators are subclassified into elements that mark: obligation, ability, doubt/certainty, cause, indifference, and quotation. The following are examples of each subclass:

(a) *Obligation*

Obligation is marked by bodha *must*. Examples:

bodha e'e	<i>must agree</i> (lit. <i>must say yes</i>); (S5, 12)
bodha la'a tuza	<i>must go and plant</i> la'a go, tuza to plant (S163)

It has to be noted, however, that bodha may also indicate inference or procedure, such as:

da bodha go bekku da sekke	(<i>there</i>) must be some trash stuck (in it) (go 'specific marker', bekku trash, da 'realis', sekke choke/get stuck); (S50)
bodha kago vana	must be turned to the right (be arranged counter-clockwise) (kago drive/arrange, vana right); (S41)

(b) *Ability*

Ability and disability are marked by paired expressions denoting positive and negative poles. Examples:

ngee tuza	be able/manage to plant (ngee can/be able); (S169)
tuza talo	be unable to plant (talo be unable)
lole talo	be unable to enter (S218)
be'o peggi sosa	know how to install a fishtrap (implying ability to perform) (be'o know, peggi install, sosa fishtrap); (S46)
peggi be'o	know how to install
da peggi busa	(who) do not know how to install (busa do not know (implying inability to perform); (S45)

Note that ngee also implies permission.

(c) *Doubt and certainty*

To mark doubt or indeterminacy, i.e. lack of knowledge or certainty, the particles ke'e, so'o, and ai are used. Ke'e and ai may be rendered as *perhaps*; they indicate that the speaker is not sure or simply does not know about a certain state of affairs, but he makes a conjecture. So'o, on the other hand, indicates possibility and may be rendered as *possibly*; in addition so'o may mark concession and is rendered as *even*. Examples:

la'a-gha ke'e	(someone) has already gone perhaps (gha 'perfect aspect marker')
ke'e la'a-gha	(someone) has already gone perhaps (gha 'perfect aspect marker')
da la'a ai	maybe (someone) went (da 'realis')
da la'a-gha so'o	possibly (someone) has already gone (there)
so'o da la'a-gha gho	possibly (or as far as the speaker is concerned) (someone) has already gone (there)
ke'e menna-gha	(someone) has already headed towards the left (when one faces the sea) perhaps

It has to be pointed out that the particles may modify the whole sentence, predicates, or adverbial constituents. Some examples from the text:

so'o ja'o nga mata	even though I (possibly) die (ja'o I, nga 'thematic marker', mata die); (S91)
--------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------

ke'e 'ano moe no...	<i>perhaps also like, say ... ('ano also, moe like/similar, no 'interjection used to introduce a quotation); (S118)</i>
me'a zii Java ai	<i>like down at Java (island) maybe (me'a 'indefinite number (plural)', zii/zili further down toward the sea/downstream); (S37)</i>
e'e-ke'e	<i>be as it may (an exclamation); (S91)</i>

To mark certainty, on the other hand, the adverbs *mema indeed/really*, or *tu'u true* is used to modify verbs. The difference between the two is that *mema* is contrastive, while *tu'u* is neutral. Examples:

dhekke me zeta tolo kaju	<i>(she) really climbed up in a tree (dhekke climb, zeta up, tolo on, kaju tree); (S19)</i>
da roba-ngaba tu-tu'u	<i>really casting (oneself) down the ravine (da 'realis', roba fall, ngaba ravine); (S20)</i>

Note that *mema* may occur as just *me*, or *ma*, while *tu'u* may be reduplicated for emphatic purposes; *mema* is the cognate of the Indonesian word *memang indeed*, and *tu'u* is the cognate of the Indonesian word *betul true*.

(d) Cause

To mark cause either causative verbs or imperatives are used. Imperative markers are considered causatives by virtue of the fact that they imply attempt on the part of the speaker to make someone do or not do something. Imperatives have been discussed in (3.3.1.3.) above; also see (3.3.1.4.) for vetatives.

The causative verb *tau make* is also used to mean *to cause*; examples:

tau mata	<i>cause (someone/something) to die</i>
tau kaa meze	<i>give a big feast (i.e. to cause a big feast to happen) (kaa eat, meze big); (S193)</i>

(e) Indifference (or being inconsiderate)

The marker implies that the agent acts without thinking of the consequences to himself or others. Examples:

tolo kaa(-kaa)	<i>just eat (without thinking of the consequences)</i>
zekke-dhue tolo punu rivu	<i>just don't go about telling people (about me) (zekke-dhue don't yet, punu tell, rivu people); (S141, 139)</i>

(f) Quotation

The common verbs of saying used as laminating verbs to introduce both direct and indirect quotations are *naji* and *posa*; see 3.3.2.2.(f) above for the discussion of *naji* and *posa*.

3.5.3.4.2. Aspect

Aspect markers indicate duration, completion, relationship, and type of actions or state. It needs to be pointed out that tense is not marked in Ngadha. Time is marked by temporal adverbs or by aspect markers. Aspect markers are

classified into: perfect aspect marker, relationship marker, progressive marker, future marker, habitual marker, continuative marker, momentary marker, and reciprocal marker. The following are brief comments and examples for each class.

(a) *Perfect aspect*

Perfect aspect marker designates completed action. The marker is gha which is always cliticised to the element it modifies. Examples:

mata-gha	<i>already dead or have died</i>
lau-gha	<i>(someone) has already gone downhill</i>

(b) *Relationship aspect*

There are three relationship markers: olo denotes prior action, moli denotes completed prior action, and ngeke which projects to the completion of an action. Examples:

olo mata	<i>had previously died</i>
kaa moli	<i>finished eating</i>
ngeke le moli	<i>until (it is) finished (le 'adverb of manner')</i>

Note that apparent sequence of events or actions is marked by connectives (see 3.3.2.1.(b)).

(c) *Progressive aspect*

Ongoing actions may be expressed by pau, or nennga plus reduplication of the verbs. Pau may also be used to indicate simultaneity of two activities. Examples:

tebbhi-sida pau	<i>be in the process of winnowing and washing (hulled rice) (tebbhi winnow, sida wash rice before cooking); (S104)</i>
kaa la'a pau	<i>(he) eats while walking (la'a walk/go)</i>
nennga ghello-ghello	<i>(the eyes) keep staring (nennga will, ghello-ghello stare); (S64)</i>

Note that nennga is related to the thematic marker nga (see 3.4.(d)).

(d) *Future aspect*

Future aspect marker nennga (without reduplication of the verb) marks future time or plan. Nennga is related to the thematic marker nga (see 3.4.(d)). Examples:

nennga la'a	<i>will/is going to go</i>
nennga tau buku	<i>will/is going to give a ceremonial feast (tau make/give, buku ceremonial feast); (S193)</i>

(e) *Habitual aspect*

Past and present habits are marked by dhanga or dhoma, or the combination of both. Dhanga is also extended to indicate occupation. Examples:

dhanga (dhoma) tei	<i>used to see (past or present habit) (tei see)</i>
dhoma da tei	<i>used to see (past habit)</i>
da dhanga pera	<i>(who) used to show/teach, also teacher; (da 'realter', pera show/teach/tell)</i>
ma'e dhoma	<i>don't get used to (something), (hence, don't try it in the first place)</i>

(f) *Continuative aspect*

Continuatives mark the scope of a process or state. There are four continuatives: dhano, vali, sabu and vo'e. Dhano marks that an action or state continues within the same propositional frame, vali marks the setting up of a new propositional frame; sabu and vo'e function like dhano, but sabu is only found as a polite imperative marker, while vo'e is neutral as opposed to the contrastive dhano. Examples:

dhano bhaghi	<i>still distribute (something) as happened before</i>
bhaghi vali	<i>distribute again</i>
sabu bhaghi	<i>please continue distributing</i>
vo'e bhaghi	<i>still distributing (continuous)</i>

Note that vo'e indicates uninterrupted action; see (3.4.(i)) for discussion of dhano and vali.

(g) *Momentary marker*

To indicate interruption or periodic completion of action (within a large scope) the expression negge is used. Examples:

la'a negge	<i>go (i.e. stop an activity in order to resume another right away)</i>
tau negge gea lezza kenna	<i>make do for the day (i.e. have enough food for a period of one day) (tau make, gea finish or sufficient, lezza day); (cp. S69)</i>

Note that negge/nugu may occur as a conditional marker (putative ?); see (3.3.2.2.(a)) above.

(h) *Reciprocal marker*

Reciprocity of action between at least two actors are marked by the word papa, which in other contexts translates as *side*. Examples:

papa dhekke	<i>marry each other (dhekke ascend)</i>
papa sabu	<i>meet each other/one another (sabu meet)</i>

3.5.3.5. *Adverbials*

Adverbials are markers of manner, time, location/direction, and intensifiers. Temporal and locational/directional adverbials are dealt with in a separate section (see prepositional phrases 3.5.4.); the section includes temporal adverbials that are not modified by prepositions.

3.5.3.5.1. *Adverbs of manner*

There are two ways to mark the manner by which something is done:

(a) By using the particles le, moe, or bhila. Le marks the way or means by which something is done. Moe and bhila may be rendered as *like/resemble* and are used to express manner but are always combined with demonstratives (dia *this*, kenna *that*) and are often accompanied by ostensive gestures; in addition,

moe and bhila imply comparison (see 3.5.2.3.). Also see (3.4.(f)) for the discussion of le. Examples:

le gape	<i>tie (someone) by using stocks</i>
gape moe dia	<i>putting (someone) in stocks in this way</i>
gape bhila dia	<i>putting (someone) in stocks in this way</i>

(b) By using adjectives. The adjectives may be reduplicated if plurality, variety, duration or emphasis is to be expressed. Examples:

mebe noa-noa	<i>brush slightly or easily (mebe to brush or knock down, noa easy); (S211)</i>
la'a ro'i(-ro'i)	<i>walk briskly or go right away (ro'i brisk/soon)</i>

3.5.3.5.2. Intensifiers

Intensifiers have in common a heightening or lowering effect on some unit in the sentence. Intensifiers are words or particles that mark the effect or the scope of the force of the predicate in part or as a whole, and in particular, the effect of the force of the verb. Intensifiers are classified as restrictive scope markers and emphasisers.

(a) Restrictive scope markers

The markers are: dhomi *only*, me'a *alone*, and pennga *together*. Certain quantifiers may also be used to mark restrictive scope such as: bula *all*, and ko'e *remain* both of which may function like dhomi and are rendered as *only/just*. Examples:

dhomi kaa	<i>just eat (and then ...)</i>
bula kaa	<i>just eat (and then ...)</i>
ko'e mu kaa	<i>just eat (and then ...) (emphatic)</i>
pennga kaa	<i>eat together</i>
kaa me'a	<i>eat alone (i.e. not sharing the food with others)</i>

(b) Emphasisers

There is only one narrative emphasiser, mu (see 3.4.(e)) which marks contrastive emphasis. Mu is often reinforced by dheggha which cannot yet be explained. However, emphasis may be achieved by extension which is designated by certain quantifiers and resumptive pronouns. In such cases normally the positions of the quantifiers and the resumptive pronouns bring about the emphatic effects. Examples:

mu kaa	<i>just eat</i>
dheggha mu kaa	<i>just eat</i>
dheggha mu kaa ngata	<i>just eat (ngata 'third person thematic pronoun')</i>

It needs to be pointed out that down-toning or understatement is often marked by dubitative (indeterminate) markers: ke'e, so'o, or ai (see 3.5.3.4.1. (c) above). Often the question-tag gho is used to mark either emphasis or down-toning.

3.5.3.6. Complex VP

Complex VP's are formed by adding another VP, adjective phrase, or prepositional phrase to the basic VP. But since they have been included in the discussions following the basic VP above, they will not be repeated. The following are examples of complex VP's that function to build long and complicated predicates (taken from the PV text):

to la'a roba-ngaba	<i>(she) then went to/and cast (herself) into a ravine (S14)</i>
dhano papa geu-gajo bho ngata	<i>still (the foods) kept changing (from one to the other) (S95)</i>
dhekke vi ghebbhe	<i>(he) climbed to/and hide/hid (S103)</i>
gezze me viu vado vai tau nettu	<i>then (you) should straighten (the legend) back again to/and make (it) right (S230)</i>
vado pee zele	<i>(when he) returned home up toward the mountain (S77)</i>

Note that pee zele in vado pee zele is a locative adjunct required by the verb vado, while the direction word zele (here used as a locative) is required by the verbal preposition pee. The verb vado, however, may occur by itself but in such a case a location adjunct is either presupposed or understood, while pee as a verbal preposition cannot occur by itself.

3.5.4. Prepositional phrases (PP)

PP's are classified as basic and complex. A basic PP contains only one preposition, while a complex PP contains more than one preposition, plus an NP. The NP's that are modified by prepositions may be locational, directional, or temporal. And it has to be noted that all direction words may function as prepositions.

3.5.4.1. Basic prepositions

The following are lists of prepositions denoting points in place and in time, relationship between points in place and in time, directions, and verbal prepositions.

(a) Prepositions that designate points in location:

au	<i>under</i>
dee	<i>at or at the place (lit. where)</i>
deggha	<i>at (neutral location)</i>
di/dia	<i>at, in (as a demonstrative it renders as here)</i>
lea/lia	<i>at, in (a spacious or hollow location such as a hole)</i>
levva	<i>at</i>
ngia	<i>at (in front of the speaker or addressee as he faces the object; ngia face/front/place)</i>
tolo	<i>on/on top</i>
vai	<i>at, in (involving instrument into or in which something is to be put)</i>
va'u	<i>at (implies distance from the speaker)</i>
vavo	<i>above</i>
vi	<i>at</i>
zale(au)	<i>below</i>

(b) Prepositions that designate points in time:

di/dia	at, in (as a demonstrative translates as <i>now</i>)
kenno	at (lit. <i>accomplished</i>)
retti	at (lit. <i>coincide</i> or <i>be in harmony</i>)
va'u	at (implies distance from the moment of speaking)

Note that *kenno* and *retti* are best rendered as *the time is come*; and some prepositions denote both time and location.

(c) Prepositions that designate relationship between points in location:

baka	side/bank/ (of a river or a body of water)
bhisu	corner (of a house)
dhiri	side/edge (of a patch of land or multisided objects)
eko	bottom side of a village (lower elevation; lit. <i>tail</i>)
fale	side (of geographical location; the point of orientation is the speaker; <i>kasa</i> also means <i>shoulder</i>)
gherra	straight ahead (at an aimed location)
kasa	side (geographical location; the point of orientation is the speaker; <i>kasa</i> also means <i>shoulder</i>)
kili	around (complete or intact)
liko/lio	around (not complete)
maki	toward, also for (from the speaker to the addressee or vice versa; also benefactive)
male	to/heading toward (implies going around a slope)
metta	at (the boundary of)
mo'a	outside
ngia	in front of (<i>ngia</i> face/front/place)
nono	along
nonga/nunga	to/heading toward (an aimed location)
nuka	to/heading toward (the village)
one	inside
pali	side/edge (of a slope)
papa	side (the point of orientation is the object being described)
(para-)kisa	middle/midpoint (<i>para</i> always occurs with <i>kisa</i>)
pee	as far as, at, until one reaches a point (allative particle which designates the point at which motion ends)
pu'u	from/base
ulu	to/toward/heading toward (<i>ulu</i> head)
venna	bottom (of a village, garden, or object which encloses)
sai	as far as, until one reaches a point

(d) Prepositions that designate relationship between points in time:

dhuu	until (temporal allative particle)
metta	at (the boundary of)
napa	until (wait until, thus implies delayed time)
ngaza	when/during
ngeke	until (temporal allative particle)
(para-)kisa	while
sai	as far as, until one reaches a point

Note that some prepositions denote both time and location: *dhuu*, *napa* and *ngeke* may be translated as *as far as* and, like *pee* and *sai*, they designate the points at which motion (in time or location) ends.

(e) Direction words. All direction words may occur as prepositions, except *bhala*. The following is a list of direction words (also see Figure 1):

<i>bhala(-ola)</i>	<i>around</i> (whence the winds come; <i>ola</i> <i>earth</i> or <i>far</i>)
<i>gili</i>	<i>around</i> (also <i>round</i> or <i>circle</i>)
<i>kisa</i>	<i>middle/midpoint</i>
<i>menna - zale</i>	'opposite points on a horizontal axis (when one faces the sea)'; <i>menna</i> <i>toward the left</i> , <i>zale</i> <i>toward the right</i>
<i>leu - vana</i>	'opposite points on a horizontal axis (from a neutral point, i.e. whichever way the speaker faces)'; the point of orientation is the speaker; <i>leu</i> <i>left</i> , <i>vana</i> <i>right</i>
<i>zele - lau</i>	'opposite points on a slant axis'; <i>zele</i> <i>towards the mountain/uphill</i> , <i>lau</i> <i>towards the sea/seaward/downstream</i>
<i>zili</i>	<i>further down towards the sea/downhill/downstream</i> ; <i>zili</i> may also be rendered as <i>over</i> (a <i>body of water</i>) (such as toward another island)
<i>zeta - zale</i>	'opposite points on a vertical axis'; <i>zeta</i> <i>up</i> , <i>zale</i> <i>down</i>
<i>zale - dia</i>	'opposite points on a curved horizontal axis (i.e. the point where the speaker is versus the other side of a mountain)'; <i>zale</i> <i>on the other side of the mountain</i> , <i>dia</i> <i>here</i> (where the speaker is).

(f) Verbal prepositions. Some of the prepositions and most of the direction words may occur as verbs by virtue of the fact that they imply motion. The common ones are:

<i>gherra</i>	<i>go straight</i> (toward a designated point)
<i>male</i>	<i>go around the slope</i> ; <i>male</i> is related to <i>pali</i> and <i>pale</i> <i>put/lay horizontally</i>
<i>menna-zale</i> or <i>lau-zele</i>	<i>wander aimlessly</i> (i.e. not doing or not knowing what one is supposed to do)
<i>nuka</i>	<i>heading toward the village</i> (return home in the village)
<i>pu'u</i>	<i>come/start from</i>
<i>sai</i>	<i>arrive, reach</i>
<i>ulu</i>	<i>heading toward</i> (an <i>elevated location</i>)
<i>zeta-zale</i>	<i>argue</i> or <i>talk back</i> (such as denying an accusation or unwilling to give up arguing)

Note that some direction words never occur as verbs, namely: *bhala*, *gili*, *kisa*, *leu* and *vana*.

3.5.4.2. Complex PP's

Complex PP's are formed by combinations of prepositions or combination of prepositions and a verb. The common verbs often found in combination with prepositions and location/direction words are *mai* *come* and *pejja* *arrive*; in combination forms *mai* means *near/nearby*.

The following are examples taken from the PV text:

PP denoting location and direction:

zeta tolo kaju	<i>up in a tree or up on top of a tree zeta up, tolo on/on top, kaju tree/wood</i> ; (S19, 21)
pu'u lau-mai Takatunga	<i>from down nearby Takatunga pu'u from/base, lau downhill/seaward, mai near/come, Takatunga 'place name'</i> ; (S9, 16)
zale one tivu meze	<i>down inside the large pond (zale down (on a vertical axis), one inside, tivu pond, meze large)</i> ; (S23)
pee vi zeta one (sa'o)	<i>up inside the house (proper) (pee until or into (allative, vi at, zeta up, one inside (also house proper) sa'o traditional house)</i> ; (S112)

PP denoting time:

dhuu venngi-zua	<i>the day after tomorrow (lit. until two nights have lapsed; dhuu until (allative particle), venngi night (also when), zua two)</i> ; (S153, 156, 161)
napa robha-ze'e	<i>wait until the next day/morning (lit. wait until it is morning; napa wait until/until, robha morning, ze'e 'participle' (also bad; a homophone)</i> ; (S93)
pejja pee zee nua kazi	<i>upon arriving in his village uphill (pejja arrive, pee until/into (allative particle), zee/zele uphill/towards the mountain, nua village, kazi he/she)</i> ; (S60)
nuka pu'u lau uma	<i>return home to the village from down in the garden (nuka return home, pu'u from, lau downhill/toward the sea, uma garden)</i> ; (S89)
zale one hiva zua	<i>after two years had lapsed (zale down, one inside, hiva year, zua two)</i> ; (S47)
ngaza go vula lezza-na	<i>during the dry season (ngaza when/during, go 'specific marker', vula month, lezza day or dry, na 'discourse pointer')</i> ; (S35)

3.5.4.3. Temporal adverbials

The section concerns temporal expressions that are found in the PV text. The temporal expressions are divided into two classes: explicit and implicit temporal expressions.

(a) *Explicit temporal expressions*

The class includes expressions that denote points in time and length of time.

Year:

zale one hive zua	<i>after two years had lapsed (lit. inside two years); (S47)</i>
sa-hiva-hiva	<i>all year long or year by year (S52)</i>

Season and month:

ngaza go vula lezza-na	<i>when/during the dry season (S35)</i>
ngaza nga vula tau buku	<i>when/during ceremonial feast season (S232)</i>
vula tellu-gha-na	<i>three months had already lapsed (S96)</i>

One day period and stages of the day:

sa-lezza	<i>one day</i>
sa-lezza-lezza	<i>each day or day by day (S52)</i>
repo sa-lezza	<i>at last one day (S96, 99)</i>
lezza kenna	<i>that day (S150)</i>
lezza devve-na	<i>later today (S208)</i>
gee lezza	<i>every day (S140)</i>
gee lezza, gee lezza	<i>from day to day (S95, 110)</i>
gea lezza kenna	<i>finish the/that day (S69)</i>
tu'o sa-robha	<i>get up one morning (S34)</i>
sa-robha-robha	<i>each morning (S44)</i>
to'o robha-ze'e	<i>get up the next morning (S49, 87, 146)</i>
napa robha	<i>wait until the next morning (S85)</i>
robha-ze'e-na	<i>tomorrow (S142)</i>
ola maru	<i>evening (S97)</i>
sa-maru-maru	<i>each evening (S134)</i>
venngi	<i>night/when (S232)</i>
sa-ngai kobe	<i>later tonight (S142)</i>
to'o sa-kobe	<i>get up one night (S34)</i>
gea kobe	<i>finish the night</i>

Two day period:

dhuu venngi-zua	<i>the day after tomorrow (lit. after two nights have lapsed); (S153, 154, 156, 157, 161, 164, 170, 171, 174, 175, 179, 180, 185, 187, 189, 190, 197, 205, 206)</i>
ledhe go venngi-zua	<i>every second day (S186)</i>

Other expressions:

sa-dekka	<i>once or once upon a time</i>
medo	<i>a long time (117, 118)</i>
pu'u medo	<i>a long time ago (S1, 30, 31, 65, 75, 102, 147)</i>
da repo-repo-na	<i>(which was) the last of all (S218)</i>
di-na	<i>now/right now or today (S190, 208, 213)</i>
dhuu di-na	<i>until today/this very day (S233)</i>
roa	<i>just now (recent past) (S109, 152)</i>
devve-na	<i>just now (narrative pointer); (S159, 209, 217, 222, 233, 236)</i>
pu'u devve-na	<i>just now or a while ago (recent past) (S82)</i>
dua-tiga jam	<i>(borrowing from Indonesian) two to three hours (S118)</i>
nola/noa	<i>just (S62)</i>

(b) *Implicit temporal expressions*

pu'u tevve kenna	<i>at that time (in the past)</i> ; the time is the anchor point of the legend. (S224)
dhuu bupu-mata	<i>until old age and death or ever after</i> (S216)
kita dia	<i>we of today/now</i> (i.e. the current time period) (S215)
isi-kita	<i>our people</i> (i.e. of the past and the current time period); (S102, 147, 181)
lau mai	<i>(the people of Bai) near downstream</i> (i.e. of the current time period); (S220)
lii kami	<i>my/our (exclusive) generation</i> (i.e. the time period of the speaker's generation); (S4)
lii miu	<i>your generation</i> (i.e. the time period of the addressee's generation); (S30)

Note that a discussion of the Ngadha calendrical system and a complete list of the names for the stages of the day are given in the appendix (see Appendix I). It is to be noted too that the words *lezza day*, *robha morning*, *maru evening*, and *kobe night* may interchangeably be used to refer to a one-day period.

3.6. Summary and final notes

The sketch barely touches the surface of the complexities and intricacies of the grammar of Ngadha. However, it serves the important purpose of continuing the pioneering work of Dr. Arndt. It is hoped that the sketch may revive interest in the study of Ngadha and encourage others to take up from where I have left off at this point. And for that purpose I find it useful to present my findings, though tentative and speculative in nature, along with the grammatical points that deserve further and more detailed investigation.

(a) *Some findings:*¹²

1. I use the term predicate a bit hesitantly since there is evidence that predication and modification in Ngadha is essentially of the same type as the relationship between head and modifier in an NP. The relationship between predicate and its arguments and between head and modifiers is an attributive relationship in that the core of such constructions is a head (verb or noun) to which modification (attributing some quality or assigning some property) is added. The evidence is drawn from the fact that sentences in oral discourse (where context is clear) only have VP's or complements (predicates) while subject and object (arguments to the predicates) are optional. And, in addition, the particles *go*, *da*, *vi* and the quotative modal *naji* (all functioning to indicate some type of specificity) act as complementisers which transform VP's and clauses into nominals, and as nominals they are in attributive relation to the head. The idea was in part inspired by Becker (1976) who gives evidence that Indonesian is moving away from a previous attributive system, toward a predication system and by Brandstetter (1916) who was the first to suggest that the relationship of the verb to its arguments was not the same in Indonesian as in Indo-European languages.

2. The thematic organisation of information at the discourse and lower levels as well as its prominence are controlled by the thematic marker *nga*, the thematic pronoun *ngata*, and a set of sequential connectives (*so*, *tetto/to*, *siba/ba/si*, *no'o/nosa*, *gezze/gezzi*, and *ghe'e*). Prominence of information is also highlighted by word order, repetition and the thematic pronoun, while focus and perspectives are marked by 'heavy' (long and complex) NP's and VP's and parallel constructions.

3. The discourse pointer *na* and the narrative pointers *devve* and *roa* function as anaphoras, i.e. pointing back to text-evoked time, while *na* and *kenna* (demonstrative) also function as cataphoras. *Na* also functions as an oral punctuation.

4. The distinction between realis (*da*) and irrealis (*vi*) is prevalent in Ngadha. The distinction has been claimed by linguists working with Austronesian languages as characteristic of Austronesian. In Ngadha realis and irrealis distinguish experiential and expective attitude or perspective concerning a state of affairs.

5. The marking of emphasis is prevalent in Ngadha. Emphasis is achieved by the narrative emphasiser *mu*, quantifiers, and resumptive pronouns.

6. The direction words in Ngadha are a set of location deictics operating according to the perspectives of the observer and the geographical locations.

7. The classifier system in Ngadha is based on the parameters of perceived object and action, animateness, shape and function.

8. The quotative and reportive modal *naji* also functions to indicate information taken from the public 'records', that is, presupposed and shared cultural knowledge.

9. Intonation plays an important grammatical role in distinguishing phrase from sentence, declaratives from interrogatives and from imperatives in cases where they are structurally the same, and restrictive from non-restrictive relative clauses and appositives.

10. The categories 'close' versus 'distant' instead of singular versus plural are prevalent in the pronominal system of Ngadha by virtue of the fact that plurality is not marked except by quantifiers. The pronominal system of Ngadha includes the pronouns proper, kinship terms, titles, honorifics and personal description; most of the pronominal references may occur as direct terms of address often associated with showing deference and respect and, in addition, stressing the difference between speech participants.

11. As for typology, Ngadha has SVO word order, *topic* is more prominent than *subject*, and since Ngadha has no morphology there is no passive construction but, instead, topic shift. Synchronically Ngadha may be characterised as being in the pragmatic mode (see Givón 1979a on the characteristics of pragmatic and syntactic modes).

Tables 2 and 3 below are recapitulations of the major particles found in the PV text.

Table 2: The thematic organisation in relation to sequential connectives		
TOPIC	COMMENT	
	Foreground	Background
nga	so tetto/to	siba/ba/si no'o/nosa gezze/gezzi ghe'e
pun	-lah	

Note that the Ngadha NGA-SO construction is parallel to the Indonesian and Malay PUN-LAH construction (see Ajamiseba 1978). For discussion of nga see (3.4.(d)), and for so, tetto, siba/ba/si, etc. see (3.3.2.1.(b)) above. Note also that the higher an item is in the table, the more prominent is the information it contains.

Table 3: The hierarchy of specificity	
Discourse level	naji (quotative/reportive modal)
Clause level	da (realis marker) vi (irrealis marker)
Phrase level	kenna (demonstrative; <i>that/the</i>) Classifier + numeral go (specific marker) noun/verb

Note that the higher an item is in the table, the higher is the hierarchical level and within a certain level the higher an item is in the chart the more specific it is in relation to other members of the set. For discussions of naji see (3.3.2.2.(f)), da and vi see (3.4.), kenna see (3.4.(g) and 3.5.1.5.), classifiers see (3.5.1.4.), and for go see (3.4.(a)) above.

(b) *Points that deserve further study:*

1. The dialect variation of Ngadha in pronunciation. Corresponding to Bajava z, the Bolonga dialect has initial r in morphemes of the structure CVV and initial zero in many other cases. Bolonga has medial j for Bajava z after schwa; and it has initial z instead of the j of Bajava in morphemes of the structure CVCV.

Examples:

Bajava dialect	Bolongga dialect	
zua	rua	<i>two</i>
zio	rio	<i>bathe</i>
zili	ili	<i>further down</i> (on a slant axis)
zale	ale	<i>down</i> (on a vertical axis)
zeta	eta	<i>up</i>
ngezzi	ngejji	<i>go/ride fast</i> (downhill)
ja'o	za'o	<i>I</i>

The Inerie and Manguleva dialects retain the older forms corresponding to Bajava h in word initial position.

Examples:

Inerie and Manguleva dialects	Bajava dialect	
sae	hae	<i>maize</i>
sui	hui	<i>meat</i>
soga	hoga	<i>they or young man</i>
seti	heti	<i>listen</i>
setti	hetti	<i>scorpion</i>
singo	hingo	<i>deaf</i>

The Mataloko/Vogo and Inerie dialects tend to drop l in medial position, such as zele *uphill* pronounced zee, moli *finish* pronounced moi, etc.

2. The quantifiers and some of the sequential connectives (ghe'e, gezze/gezzi), the participial markers (ze'e, veke, ngi'i) and subordinating conjunctions need to be further investigated, particularly the ordering and ranking of the quantifiers.

3. The terms that are used in the description of the grammar may not be entirely accurate and need to be reworked.

4. Intonation needs to be studied in detail.

5. The distinction between grammatical structure and discourse structure, and between grammatical function and discourse function in Ngadha needs to be investigated in depth.

6. Reduplication of nouns, verbs and adjectives needs to be studied particularly in relation to plurality, variety, diffuseness and duration of actions.

7. The relationship of Ngadha to *Nagekeo*, *So'a* and *Riung* languages/dialects and their place within the Austronesian family. Verheijen (1977) suggests that Ngadha belongs to the *Ngadha-Lio* subgroup which is part of the *Bima-Sumba* group, following Jonker (1898). The first invocation in the PV text (sentence 232) is in the Nagekeo dialect spoken in the Bai/Mbai area, and its striking similarity with Ngadha makes it possible to pass unnoticed as a Ngadha sentence.

NOTES

1. Alton Becker and Peter Hook brought this to my attention.
2. The first sketch of Ngadha grammar was done by the late Dr. Paul Arndt S.V.D. Arndt was a Catholic priest who came to Indonesia and worked on Flores Island from 1923 until his death in 1962. Beside Ngadha, Arndt also worked with Sika, Lio, Adonara and Solor languages and cultures (Sika and Lio are two ethnic groups of the island of Flores, while Adonara and Solor are two smaller islands to the east of Flores which used to be, administratively, parts of Flores).
3. The section on phonology is partly a rewriting of my paper entitled 'A description of the basic phonology of Nga'da and the treatment of borrowings', published in *NUSA*, volume V, 1977. The ideas were first developed in the Field Methods classes (Fall 1975 and Winter 1976) in which Ngadha was investigated; I was the informant and Ken Hill was the instructor.
4. The orthography adopted in this study was developed by myself and Ken Hill. The orthography used in my previous papers is: m, n, ng (velar nasal), b, d, g, 'b (bilabial implosive), 'd (alveopalatal implosive), ? (glottal stop), v, z, gh (voiced fricative), f, s, x (voiceless fricative), j, r, l, i, u, e, ə, o, a.
5. The orthography used by Arndt (1961) is: m, n, ng (velar nasal), b, d, g, p, t, k, bh (bilabial implosive), dh (alveo-palatal implosive), y (voiced velar fricative), v, z, f, s, x (voiceless fricative), dz (voiced affricate), r, l, i, u, e (mid-front vowel), e (schwa), o, a. Arndt also used /c/ to represent the voiceless approximant /h/ for words beginning with a vowel but not preceded by a glottal closure; he also used /c/ in medial positions between vowels to indicate that it is not a diphthong. Where there is a glottal closure between the vowels he wrote them in a row.
6. The laboratory tests were done by J. Harris and myself as informant at the foreign language laboratory, The University of Hawaii (Summer 1977).
7. *ibid.*
8. The laboratory tests were done by P. Moore and myself as informant at the phonetics laboratory, The University of Michigan (Fall 1975).
9. I am hesitant in using the term predicate since I am of the opinion that such constructions in Ngadha are modifications (which give descriptions) and not predications (which assert). Modification and predication is essentially a relationship of the same type. (Also see comments in 3.6.(a)).

10. Alton Becker brought this to my attention.
11. The term laminating is borrowed from Scollon and Scollon (1979:151) who took it from Goffman (1974). The term 'laminating' refers to a set of verbs which are used to frame a piece of the narrative as spoken or thought by a character in the narrative, not necessarily the narrator. Laminating verbs require an embedded clause as part of their structure.
12. I am indebted to Rich Rhodes, Alton Becker, Peter Hook and Ken Hill for their ideas, suggestions, helpful comments and criticism in earlier versions of this chapter.

Chapter 4

MACRO STRUCTURES OF THE TEXT (The legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan)

4.1. Introduction

The concern of this chapter is to investigate coherence systems that serve to organise the text at the discourse level and to look at textual units that are larger than the sentence. The phenomena to be investigated are the processes by which the events depicted in the narrative (the PV text) are transformed and retransformed by the narrator as he performs the text, by the interpreter as he interprets it, and of no less importance is how the text itself influences both the narrator and the interpreter (Gadamer 1976), and the constructions or morphemes that define a unit as having its own structure and boundaries, that is: observable beginning, middle and end.

The chapter is divided into two major sections: the coherence systems consisting of temporal, locational and identificational frameworks, and the interplay between the real world and the story world settings, and the narrative structures consisting of section and paragraph structures.

4.1.1. Coherence systems

The transformations undergone by a text as it is performed and interpreted is best perceived when we look at it from different perspectives. And to talk about perspectives I find the notion 'frame' as it is used by Bateson (1972) and later amplified by Goffman (1974) most useful. Both Bateson and Goffman have rightly argued that the 'framing' of experience is how our world is created, and the ways in which we frame our experience are the ways in which we create our concept of reality and make sense out of the reality that we create. Scollon and Scollon (1979) further amplify the notion by claiming that we frame the world because we are human; it is the basic cognitive activity of human beings.

Three basic frameworks are required to analyse any narrative: those of time, location and identity (being). These are the building blocks of language as Givón (1979) puts it. Any narrative involves some kind of reporting of events which have their anchors in time and place; time indicates the discourse status of the event, while location is the environment in which the events occur and these have to be coupled with the beings (characters) about whom the narrative is centered and the producer(s), listener(s)/interpreter(s) of the narrative.

In the analysis of the PV text presented below, the focus of our attention will be on the three frameworks which I perceive as major coherence systems for the organisation of the text.

4.1.1.1. Time

The time anchorage of the text and its interpretation can be subdivided into: story time, performance time, and interpretation time; each provides a unique perspective into the temporal organisation of the text. The objective of this section is to look at the semantic notion of time (not the physical reality or psychological phenomenon of lived time).

4.1.1.1.1. Story time

The story time is the backbone¹ time of the text in which the events are anchored. The time in question involves the text time, that is, the time of the legend, and the script and calendric times which are presupposed by the culture.

(a) Text time

The time of the legend is not well-established except as being in the past. Some of the events anchored in the text time are understood by the narrator and many Ngadha speakers to be real but not to have actually happened either to them or in the current time period. And it is to be noted that the text time is evoked by the legend and functions to mark off the temporal boundaries of the legend.

The most important instances of the markings of the boundaries in the PV text are:

Sentence (1)	Ne'e pu'u medo ...	<i>And there was long ago ..</i>
Sentence (8)	Sa-dekka ne-e Penu ...	<i>Once (upon a time) there was Penu ...</i>
Sentence (29)	Lau go Bai ... ne'e Vegu ana-halo.	<i>Down in Bai ... there was an orphan named Vegu.</i>
Sentence (216)	... hoga siba nga papa dhekke dhuu bupu-mata ...	<i>... they then got married (and lived together) until old age and death ...</i>
Sentence (223)	... dhuu di-na	<i>... until today ...</i>
Sentence (224)	... pu'u tevve kenna- na ...	<i>... at that time ...</i>

Note that these expressions all have to do with text-evoked time and there is no way of knowing for sure when, due to the fact that Ngadha is an essentially oral culture. However, to the Ngadha people the temporal anchorage is 'real' because the text is a story, a 'history' about their ancestors,² and, as the narrator puts it, "Our ancestors did not just go about telling legends; there is something they wanted to tell us about." The firm belief in such legends often baffled me as a modern scholar, but I came to understand it better when I looked at the text as a way by which the Ngadha people try to make sense out of 'reality', that is, to them the text is a form of knowledge handed down through the generations by word-of-mouth.

Note also that the temporal anchorage is rooted in the distant past but the time line expands up to the present day; sentence (1) is the entrance

point into the story world and sentence (223) brings it back into the real world. The first three expressions (sentences 1, 8, and 29) are all existentials marked by the verb *ne'e exist/be*; (1) identifies time, while (8) and (29) identify the characters and locations.

Within the text time-line established by these sentences, the script and calendric times are anchored.

(b) *Script time*

By script time I mean the time that is presupposed by the culture involved; it is often not explicitly stated in the text but known to the members of the culture, such as when people normally eat supper, go to bed, get up, go to work, etc.³

The most important indicators of script time are the sequential connectives: *so*, *tetto/to*, *siba/ba/si*, etc. (see 3.3.2.1.(b)), and *moli finish* (i.e. *that finished ...*). The expressions rigidly regulate the events according to the referential order of happenings although with *moli* there are often two tellings for a single happening (such as: *He ate. Finished (moli) eating, he went to work.*). There are instances of flashback, but I consider them as departing from the usual way of telling a story. The evidence is drawn from the fact that there is no expression for 'before' or 'after' in Ngadha; for 'before' Ngadha uses the expression *ko'e-mara not yet* and for 'after' Ngadha uses *moli (that) finished* or the sequential connectives which render as *and then* (see 3.3.1.4.(e)).

Examples of script time from the PV text are:

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| keo-rado | <i>burial rites for a person who died a violent or untimely death</i> (S27). The ceremony is done only in the evening right before sunset. |
| pe'i go sosa | <i>install fishtrap</i> (S35). This is done in the evening and the fishtraps are left overnight in the river and checked in the morning. |
| dua | <i>go to work in the garden</i> (S72). People normally start working very early in the morning and rest at noon, due to the fact that Ngadha is located very near the equator and the sun gets very hot during the day. |
| vado (or nuka) | <i>return home in the village</i> (S77). People normally return home in the evening as in the late afternoon other chores are done such as bring their cattle to drink at the river, gather firewood, pick fodder (leaves) for the pigs, etc. |
| kaa | <i>eat supper</i> (S84). This is normally done between 8 and 9 o'clock in the evening. |
| nade | <i>go to bed</i> (S86). Most people go to bed early; that is, right after supper because they have to go to work early in the morning. |
| punu | <i>announce (to the village) to make preparations for a feast</i> (S190). This is done in the evening, that is when everybody has returned home in the village. If the announcement is made during the day, it would not be effective, as most people are out in their gardens. |
| ja'i | <i>traditional (ceremonial) dance</i> (S214). The ceremonial dance accompanied by the goo-laba ensemble is done only during daylight time. |

- punu nange *tell legends (or stories)* (S229). This is normally done in the evening while sitting around the fireplace (lapu; see Figure 6) or lying on the floor mat (before bedtime).
- vula tau buku *ceremonial feast season* (S232). Feasts are given after harvest time (around the months of June and July).
- saa ngaza *cite invocations* (S232). Invocations are cited only at ceremonial feasts preceding the ceremonial dance (ja'i) which is accompanied by the goo-laba ensemble.

The script time serves to create immediacy and provide cultural context to the legend, a context that is known to the members of the culture and to which they can relate.

(c) *Calendric time*

Like script time, calendric time is presupposed by a given culture and the points that are elaborated are the ones that make sense to members of a given culture. Every culture has its own time sense. The Ngadha people seem to have no sense of progressive historical time (i.e. linear time), since for them time is cyclical or seasonal, a recurrent cycle of birth, death, and rebirth (cp. Becker 1979: Chapter II, and Sypher 1976).

The calendric time found in the text pertains to the yearly cycle (hiva), seasonal cycle (vula lezza and vula tau buku), monthly cycle (vula), two-day period (venngi zua), and one-day period (lezza, kobe, robha, and maru). Examples are not cited in this section, and the reader is referred to Chapter 3 (3.5.4.3.) for temporal expressions found in the PV text and Appendix I for the discussion of the Ngadha calendrical system.

It needs to be pointed out that the main thing to be observed about time is that it is topological rather than metric; notions of before, after and during are more important than the measurement of particular intervals (Grimes 1975:230). However, regarding my text, the intervals play an important function in that longer intervals mark bigger breaks in the story, such as; zale one hiva zua *in two years* (S47) Penu, the fish, arrived in Bai swimming from the Kolupenu river, and vula tellu *three months* (S96) after Vegu the orphan made his first catch of fish (which happened to be Penu) he decided to find out who prepared the foods for him. The two events mark important episodes, that is, Penu's (the fish) arrival in Bai where Vegu lives and on her own accord enters Vegu's fishtrap (though it is poorly installed), and Vegu's surprising the girl which causes her death but later she is revived by Vegu, thus the meeting of the two characters. The episodes that follow are divided into two-day intervals which finally lead to the climax of the story; that is, the 'wedding' and the ceremonial feast.

Finally it has to be noted that although the Ngadha people have developed a somewhat sophisticated calendrical system (see Appendix I) they did not develop a linear calendrical system by which they could refer to past events. There is no expression for 'age' in Ngadha; instead one asks about a person's contemporaries. This is strong evidence that time that is cyclical makes more sense to the Ngadha people and it is always associated with rituals because they have faith in renewal in that the past will recur as the future. The time of the ancestors is often considered 'sacred' and therefore not identifiable and yet one is allowed to cite invocations at which instant, as has been pointed out, the invocator 'is' the ancestor.

4.1.1.1.2. Performance time

The performance time has its anchor in the performance (i.e. the telling) of the legend by the narrator, thus it is evoked by the performing of the legend and the events that brackets it. The important instances of performance time are those marked by the narrative pointers *devve* and *roa* *aforementioned* (see 3.4.(h)) and to some extent the discourse pointer *na* (see 3.4.(g)). These particles function to point back to what have been said earlier in the text as it is being performed and thus reminding the listener of their importance and their relation to what is being said at the moment. This exemplifies the cohesive side of language structure which involves the relating of what is being said at the moment back to what has already been said (Grimes 1975:259). And in the case of cataphoric relationship, marked by *na* or the demonstrative *kenna* *that*, the relation is projective, that is, of what is being said to what will be said.

There are two other particles that also serve to indicate the temporal relationship such as marked by *devve*, *roa* and *na*; they are the continuatives *vali* *again/more/too* and *dhano* *also* (see (3.4.(i))). *Vali* and *dhano* function to mark the scope of a proposition or a strip of activities; *vali* marks the setting up of a new frame for certain events, while *dhano* indicates that the event being described is within a continuing frame, that is, the one that has been set up earlier in the text. Note also that *vali* serves an important role of relating the performance time to the time prior to it.

The following are some examples from the PV text:

- vali* *again/also* (S1) indicates that the narrator is about to launch a new topic. It is to be noted that the PV text is part of an answer given by the narrator, Mr. Wezo, to my question on the Ngadha traditional marriage practices. Mr. Wezo gave some explanation and then told me the legend. *Vali* thus bridges the time prior to the telling of the legend and the telling of it.
- na* in sentence (5) points back to a presupposed young man whom the girl (identified in sentence 2) is supposed to marry as arranged by the girl's parents and uncles (identified in sentence 2).
- dhano* *also/still* (S12) indicates that the uncles (of the girl) kept pressuring the girl to marry the young man of their choice as they did before (referred to in sentence 10); thus sentence (12) is a continuation of sentence (10) or to put it another way, the two events occur within the same frame, the same strip of activities involving the pressuring of the girl, Penu, to marry a man of her (parents' and) uncles' choice.
- devve* *aforementioned* (S40) related laki *he-pity* (i.e. Vegu) to previous mentions of Vegu in sentences (29, 30, and 35). Penu *kenna devve-na da bale go ika meze-na* *the girl, Penu - as mentioned earlier - who had transformed herself into a large fish* (S47); *devve-na* relates sentence (47) to sentence (23) in which Penu is said to have transformed herself into a large fish. The particle *na* and the demonstrative *kenna* reinforce the anaphoric relationship marked by *devve*, as both point back to the character and event mentioned in sentence (23).

kenna roa *as mentioned earlier* (S109) Vegu ana-halo kenna roa *Vegu the orphan – as mentioned earlier*. Kenna roa refers to the previous mention of Vegu's climbing onto the ledge of the house (to find out who prepared the foods for him) as mentioned in sentence (101) and repeated in sentence (103).

Other instances of reference to time outside the performance of the text besides sentence (1) are: vula lezza *dry season* (S35), isi-kita *our people* (of the current time period) (S41), beppu-della pu'u medo *ancestors of long ago* (S65), da bu'e-hoga pu'u medo *young women and men of long ago* (S75), moe pu'u devve-na kita ... da seppa uta moi dhoo dia *as long as from the time we ... finished eating up to now* (S82), kita dia *we-inclusive of today*, and vula tau buku *ceremonial feast season* (S232). It is worth pointing out that these expressions serve to relate the PV text to the time outside the performance of the text but also to other texts which serve to highlight the present text, such as the proverb (S65), the song (S75), and the invocation (S232). And, in addition, these expressions reinforce the story time (see 4.1.1.1.1. above), putting it in the perspectives of the Ngadha people of the current time period.

It is to be noted that the invocations (sentences 232 and 233) call for several interpretations with respect to time. They can be interpreted as pertaining to the 'time of the ancestors' (thus story time) or the time of the invocator(s) (thus performance time). The best way of looking at them is that the invocations are timeless or atemporal, based on the facts that they do not change in time, and as mentioned earlier, when one cites an invocation he 'is' the ancestor; thus he, at the time of the performance, is part of the past and of the present. As is true with other oral-aural traditions the distinction between the present and the past plural because they merge in the collective consciousness of such cultures. This is, of course, true with all traditions, oral, written or both, as Whorf (1956:143) puts it, if we inspect consciousness we find no past, present, future, but a unity embracing complexity. *Everything is in consciousness, and everything in consciousness is, and is together (the emphasis is mine)*.

4.1.1.1.3. Interpretation time

The interpretation time involves the listener during the performance of the legend (January 9, 1979) and the interpreter as he analyses the text; in both cases the person involved is the present writer. The time in question involves the process of understanding that the listener/interpreter has used in interpreting the text and how the text influences his view concerning the subject matter depicted in it.

Two phases of understanding are apparent in the interpretation process. First, the understanding that is displayed during the performance of the legend by Mr. Wezo as manifest in the exclamations made by the listener to show that he was following the story. However, during the performance of the legend, the listener did not understand the text entirely as there were distractions of all kind. And, in addition, during the two-day visit⁴ several legends, stories and topics were covered by the narrator. These and other factors made the processing time needed to understand the legend very limited. Secondly, the interpreter has had more time to study the legend, that is, the time he used to listen to the recorded legend again and again, make transcriptions and translations, and discuss it with various people. The time involved

is over a year, and in the meantime the narrator has also added something to the text, that is, his request to add the invocations and the recording of the goo-laba ensemble to the text to make it complete.

What emerges from the efforts mentioned above is a better understanding of the legend and its function to encode the traditional knowledge and oral history of the Ngadha people.

To summarise, the story time serves as the anchor point of the legend; it is the main force that holds the narrative intact and coherent. Within it the text time serves to mark the boundaries, while the script and calendric times mark off major breaks in the text. The characteristic of text time is that it is not well-established except as being in the past expanding to the current time period, while script and calendric times are chronologically rigid in terms of the order of events; the calendric time also serves the purpose of indexing the events.

The performance time embeds explanations that highlight the story time and in a way it interrupts the story time and yet supports it. The interpretation time has to do with the process of understanding of the text. The story time is the backbone time; it narrates. The performance time does not narrate but supports the story time; it provides an additional perspective to the narrated events. In other words, the distinction between the two is that between event and non-event (cp. Grimes 1975:55). In short, the story time is internal to the text, while the performance and interpretation times are external to it.

A text establishes relationships of differing intensity with the time in which the events represented are supposed to have taken place. A return to the past is necessary in order to explain a text, and it exemplifies the relationship between the present and the past. The present is responsible for the new interpretations that each cultural generation gives to the text as an oral literary and historical work of the past, as the case is with respect to the legend of Penu and Vengu the orphan.

4.1.1.2. Location

Two major perspectives by which the locations which serve as environments for the events can be looked at are: the textual perspective and the narrator's perspective.

(a) *Textual perspective*

The text-evoked locations are those in which the events depicted in the legend are supposed to have taken place. These locations are just reported by the narrator and have to be taken for granted just like the text-evoked time which must also be taken for granted.

The important locations in the story are those in which the characters are supposed to have lived and those in which major events happen including travelogues made by Penu (and Penu, the fish).

The following are major locations in the PV text:

Takatunga (S9) where Penu was originally from.

Saraseddu (s17), Zeu (S17), So'a (S17), and the Kolupenu river (S18).

These places are topological points in the travels made by Penu as she runs away from home (Takatunga). The most important location is the Kolupenu river where Penu is said to have committed suicide.

Bai (S29) is the place where Vegu the orphan lived. After her transformation into a fish, Penu (the fish) is said to have swum following the river towards the sea (S34) until she finally arrived in Bai (S48).

The 'Aesesa river to which Penu, the fish, is supposed to have swum and in which Vegu installed his fishtrap (S48) is the first important location in Bai. Vegu is supposed to have caught Penu, the fish, in the 'Aesesa river, or rather she went into Vegu's fishtrap of her own accord (S48).

Note that all of the locations cited above are geographical locations as currently known in Ngadha (see Map 1).

Other major locations are Vegu's village (identified in sentence 60), house (identified in sentence 63) and garden (identified in sentence 73). The precise locations are not described, but they are the places where important events happen. The village is the setting for the ceremonial feast (S214), and in its entrance a large ox is said to have been transformed into a stone (S219). The house is the setting in which Vegu found mysterious foods (S78), where Vegu surprised the girl (Penu) who then died and was revived by Vegu (S109, 111, and 126), and in which Penu hid until her revelation to the Bai community in the ceremonial feast (S214). The garden is the setting in which Vegu is supposed to have felled the big and tall trees (S146), burned the felled trees (S156), planted gourd seeds (S164, 167), and in which the gourd seeds germinated in a short time (S171), grew tall (S175) and bore fruit (S180) also in a short time. The same garden was infested with worms that destroyed the gourds (S187), and where the worms were supposed to have been transformed into water buffalos and people (i.e. the slaves) (S199 and 200). It needs to be pointed out that the house, garden and village are closely related to the life and livelihood of the Ngadha people: the house gives shelter, the garden gives food, and the village is the place to live and the burial ground.

All of the locations mentioned above are those with which the Ngadha people can relate; the geographical locations may or may not be the same as the ones they know in the current time period, but they serve as anchor points as evoked by the text, while the house, garden and village are, in a sense, the script of the livelihood in Ngadha because life to most Ngadha people revolves around these three locations. Note also that as part of the livelihood script, the house, village and garden are highly specific and thus need no special identification, while the geographical locations identified by place names are removed from the day-to-day livelihood and thus need to be specified.

(b) *Narrator's perspective*

The performance of the text requires a certain anchor point from which the narrator directs the audience to the locations depicted in the story. This is made complicated by the fact that the direction words in Ngadha are location deictics using either the perspective of the observer or of the location that is being described (see 3.5.4.1. and Figure 1).

The primary locational anchor point is the place where the narrator and the listener were at the time the legend was told, that is, Mr. Wezo's house at Mataloko village (see Map 1). Thus the point of reference is Mataloko and all the direction words used are to be interpreted in relation to that location. There are exceptions, however, particularly concerning locations inside the house (see Figure 6); such descriptions are best understood if we take it that the narrator 'is' at the moment of narration in such a house.

The following are some examples from the text:

- Lau-mai Takatunga *down (seaward) at nearby Takatunga (S9)*; the direction is downstream and seaward but toward the southern coast of Ngadha (see Map 1) from Mataloko.
- Lau go Bai *down (seaward) in Bai (S29)*; the direction is toward the northern coast of Ngadha from Mataloko (see Map 1).
- Dia-dia gheddhi *coming up this way (S16)*; the direction is toward the speaker, that is, toward Mataloko village (from Takatunga).
- Lau-mai Zeu *down (seaward) at nearby Zeu (S17)*
and
- Pee menna So'a *as far as So'a to the left* (as one faces the sea) (S17) are in a straight line from Mataloko village to the north, but notice that two different expressions are used to point to the locations. The best interpretation is that when the narrator describes Zeu he uses the downstream dimension as the point of orientation, while in the case of So'a he uses the seaward dimension as a point of orientation, probably imagining himself facing the sea to the north of Bai (see Map 1).
- Pu'u menna lekko *from the river to the left* (S69) uses Bai as the point of orientation, thus somewhat to the west (see Map 1). Note here that the narrator is using Bai as the anchor point and not the place where he was as he told the legend.

In short, it is the narrator's point of reference that is used as an orientation, and in a way he would manipulate it for the purposes of making the story interesting and suitable to the different audiences he has to address. When he told the story to the Bai people in Bai, as mentioned in sentence (228), he certainly used a totally different sequence of location and direction words as compared to the set of terms he used when he told the same legend at his home in Mataloko village.

It has to be noted that there are other locations mentioned in the story which are not internal to the text. These locations are mentioned as descriptions mostly of the distances of the places that are part of the text. Instances of such expressions are: the distance from Amatus's house to the office of the District Chief (see S49), the distance between Mataloko and Manguleva village (see S62), and the size of Vegu's garden as compared to the mission plantation at Malanuza (see S150). Such expressions must be considered secondary; they do not narrate but support the main story and they function to create immediacy; that is, bringing the story to the points with which the listener can best relate. The mentioning of Java island (S37) and Amatus's house (S49) are meant by the narrator to include the listener in the performance of the legend because the narrator knows that the listener (i.e. the present writer) has lived on Java island for some time, and that Amatus is a relative of the listener.

To summarise, the spatial viewpoint for the locations in which the narrated events occur is established by the text and the subject matter depicted in it, and of no less importance is the viewpoint imposed by the narrator through whose perspectives the descriptions of the locations may be transformed and manipulated to suit a given audience.

4.1.1.3. Identity

The concern of this section is to look at the characters in the legend. As a matter of fact, the narrator and the listener/interpreter must be included in the discussion about identity due to their roles in the performance of the text, but since a special section has been devoted to the discussion of the narrator and in which mention has been made of the listener (see 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. above), attention will be paid mainly to the characters in the legend.

The two principal characters of the legend are Penu (identified in sentence 8) and Vegu the orphan (identified in sentence 29). The story revolves around these two characters: Penu, a young woman, and Vegu, an orphan boy. The story starts with the identification of Penu, her defying of the arranged marriage practice which led to her suicide and her transformation into a fish. Then a break follows, and Vegu the orphan is introduced. The contemporaneity of the two characters is presupposed by the juxtaposition of the characters in the story. The first meeting of the two characters is exemplified by the fish's (Penu) entering Vegu's fishtrap, which constitutes Vegu's first catch of fish (see S48). The real meeting of the two characters is when Vegu revived the girl (Penu) see S126 and 127). The story then continues expounding the efforts by Vegu with the help and directions of Penu to achieve success in farming and cattle breeding which eventually leads to the end; that is, the wedding of Penu and Vegu (see S214) and the giving of a ceremonial feast (see S222).

What is striking about the two characters is the role and strength of the woman, Penu. She violated social order in the Takatunga community by refusing to marry a man chosen and arranged for her at her own peril, that is, being expelled from the community. At Bai she arranged everything to help Vegu the orphan which eventually led to their being acknowledged as 'accomplished' members of the community. Vegu, on the other hand, was a docile young man due to the fact that he was just a poor orphan without any social status. And yet he performed an important role in the story. Two crucial decisions made by Vegu help build the text. First, he did not kill the fish (Penu) when he found it in his fishtrap, or after bringing it to his house (see S71). Secondly, after spying and surprising the girl and the girl died, Vegu took the initiatives to try to revive her (see S116-125), and he succeeded (see S126 and 127). Without Vegu's crucial acts, particularly the second one, that is, reviving the girl, the story would have a very different outcome.

Secondary characters of the story are: Penu's uncles (see S10), and her brothers(?) (see S20), the people of Bai, that is, Vegu's fellow villagers (see S32, 191), and the slaves (see S200). These are supporting characters performing their own roles in the story. Penu's uncles and brothers were responsible for her committing suicide, while the Bai community gave Vegu and Penu acknowledgement of their success and a high social status as 'accomplished' members. Without the Bai community, no ceremonial feast could be given. The slaves, on the other hand, helped Vegu tend the cattle, and as Vegu's and Penu's 'followers' their existence forced the Bai community to accept them as full members because Vegu and Penu had the manpower and riches.

Of no less importance are the non-human characters in the story. First of all, 'god' (see S44) who determines human fates and to whom Vegu prayed for good luck (see S53); Vegu's prayer changed his lot. Secondly, the fish; Penu changed into a fish (see S23) and, as a fish, swam ('travelled') to Bai (from the Kolupenu river). And the gourds (see S180, 181, and 182) which were transformed into worms (see S187) and which were later transformed into water buffalos and human beings (see S199 and 200). To the Ngadha people, gourds

are symbols of prosperity and family unity (see footnote (214) to the Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and Appendix I), while water buffalos are totem and sacrificial animals (see footnote 190 to the Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and Appendix I). As for the fish and worms, no cultural explanation can be offered at this point, except that they symbolise sufferings and change (or 'rebirth') (also see 4.1.2. below).

Finally, some comment about the role of the heroine, Penu, in connection with the Ngadha concept and attitude toward women. Women are considered the symbols of strength, shelter and givers of life. This attitude is reflected in several ways. First, in litigations, line of descent is determined by tracing the mother's side; related to this are the facts that women retain their maiden names after marriage and children's names are coupled (for identification) with the mother's name. Ngadha is a matrilocal society in which the men are married into the women's families. Women and mothers have a high place in the society, as reflected in language where collocations (consisting of male and female terms) have the female term mentioned first, such as, *ine-emma mother-father*, *fai-haki wife-husband*, and *vetta-nara sister-brother*; this is also true with expressions for animals such as: *susu-lalu hen-rooster* and *moka-haki female and male beasts*. As symbols of strength and shelter, we find that the traditional house is the symbol of women, and whenever in pain, the exclamation used is *ine mother* (this is true for children, adults and old people). Women are associated with rain (*ine rute mother rain*; *ine mother, rute rain/rainy season*), earth (*nitu goddess of land and the underworld*), mountains (in rituals associated with rain, the names of the mountains are invoked and 'they' are asked to come and breastfeed the land), moon (*ine vula mother moon*; *vula moon*; the moon determines the calendrical system, see Appendix I), the stars (particularly the Pleiades *dala koo*; the Pleiades are associated with the rainy season and the caste system, see Appendix I), the bronze gongs (*goo gong* is the symbol of women, see Appendix II), and palm wine tree (*arenga pinnata*) (the *Arenga pinnata* sap is a ritual drink and is considered 'mother's milk', see footnote 217 to the Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss). Most of these symbols are associated with women and mothers as the givers of life.

To conclude, the narrator and listener/interpreter have their parts in the organisation of the text in that their interaction with the text gives it a shape, a form, a meaning. A text exists only as discourse, that is, an interaction between the text and the characters that make up the text, the text with other texts - because every text is an intertext of another text (Becker 1979), the text with the producer (narrator or writer) and the listener (interpreter or reader). A text depicts human experience that is contained in time and location, and all taken together are held coherent in language; thus as Givón (1979) has rightly argued, being, time, and location are the building blocks of language, they are the coherence systems that constitute language. This now leads to the discussion of the interplay between the story world and the real world as exemplified in the PV text.

4.1.2. The interplay between the story world and the real world

The concern of this section is to look at the overlapping between the two worlds: the text-evoked world and the real world in the context of the Ngadha culture. The notion interplay is used to mean the balance between the two worlds and the effects that the text and the narrator create by bringing the listener/interpreter into both realities.

The concern here is the question of historicity. If we use the term history in its modern sense in talking about the Ngadha culture, it seems inevitable to state that Ngadha has no history since it is an essentially oral culture. The modern sense of the term history requires some kind of written records which the Ngadha culture does not have. Ong (1967:23) points out that in an oral-aural culture one can ask about something, but no-one can look up anything. He further states that in such cultures there is no history in the modern sense of the term. The past is indeed the present, as to a degree the past always is, but it is present in the speech and social institutions of the people, not in the more abstract forms in which modern history deals. Along the same line Goody and Watt (1972:313) maintain that in a purely oral tradition where all beliefs and values, all forms of knowledge are communicated between individuals in face-to-face contacts and are stored only in the human memory, myth and history merge into one. Keeping this in mind, let us now turn to the text and work back from the text itself to deductions about the persons who formed the text, the characters, locations and time mentioned in the text.

(a) *The producers of the text and the characters*

As I mentioned earlier (see footnote 1 to the Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss) the legend is a story, a history about the ancestors of the Dhaga clan of Takatunga and Saraseddu (see S232 and 233) and the Sese clan of Bai (see S234). The producers of the text, that is the narrator, Mr. Wezo, and his father from whom he learned the legend (see S229) are in an important sense parts of the legend since they are both members of the Lako subclan (lako *dog*) which is part of the Dhaga clan (note the barking and baying dog metaphor in the second invocation, sentence 233). The legend is handed down by word-of-mouth, and this inevitably involves several generations of narrators, both in the Takatunga and Saraseddu areas and the Bai area. Unfortunately, I only have one side of the legend and have not been able to get a version of the legend from the members of the Sese clan in Bai.

As for the characters in the legend, Penu and Vegu, not much is known except the facts that Penu was originally from Takatunga and Vegu was from Bai. Penu's travel to Bai may have to do with the migration of the people from Takatunga to other areas of Ngadha, including Zeu, So'a, Kolupenu and Bai. The migration can be explained from the fact that the agricultural practices done by the Ngadha people then, and even of the current time period, is slash-and-burn type farming. This type of farming requires that tilled land be left fallow for a certain period of time before it is cultivated again. A supporting piece of evidence about such practices is found in the invocations. Many invocations that I collected have to do with praising the ancestors and their great deeds but they also include territorial claims. The territorial claims can be interpreted as related to the agricultural practices adopted by the Ngadha people in that fallowed lands are not free lands but belong to certain clans or subclans who first opened them. It is to be noted, too, that the many reports about wars between clans in Ngadha mostly had to do with territorial claims.

Thus a speculative conclusion can be drawn that Penu's travel symbolises the travel of a clan, subclan or a group of families in search of a new settlement. Another interpretation that is also plausible is that the travel of such groups of people resulted from a family feud symbolized by the banishment of Penu from the Takatunga community because she violated social order.

As for the supporting characters, an additional comment needs to be made concerning the non-human characters. As mentioned in section 4.1.1.3. above,

the gourds, worms, water buffalos and fish play an important role in the building of the text; they symbolise sufferings and change. The text makes use of supernatural and superhuman powers to bring about changes as exemplified by the transformations of the heroine, Penu, into a fish and back to human form, the gourds into worms, and the worms into water buffalos and human beings. The changes are parallel to the philosophical notion referred to in Chapter 2 (see 2.1.3.), that is, the change from 'order' to 'disorder' and back to 'order', or to put it in another way, the changes exemplify the life cycle from birth to death to rebirth. These notions are also reflected in the Ngadha culture's relationship and attitude to time (see 4.1.1.1.1.(c) above).

Table 4 below is an attempt to capture the changes/transformations undergone by Penu, Vegu, and the gourds, worms and water buffalos.

Note that Penu violated social order to follow a higher order, that is, the order of the conscience; she had to suffer being expelled from the community and died, as symbolised by her transformation into a fish. At this level, Penu and Vegu shared the same fate in that both had no social status: Penu was an outcast and Vegu was an orphan, and they both had no relatives. But their sufferings gave them supernatural powers: Vegu was able to restore Penu to life and Penu helped Vegu achieve success, and their lives were restored to order marked by the ceremonial feast.

Table 4: The transformations undergone by the characters		
Order	Disorder	Order
Penu violates social order by refusing to marry a man of her uncles' choice. Takatunga	Penu is expelled from the community, commits suicide and is transformed into a fish. Kolupenu river	Penu, the fish is retransformed into human, dies and is restored to life by Vegu the orphan. Penu then helps Vegu and both become 'accomplished' members of the community. Bai
Vegu's life is not known. Bai	Vegu becomes an orphan (his parents died); Vegu makes a catch of fish (Penu); Vegu has no social status. 'Aesesa river / Bai	Vegu causes Penu's death, restores her to life, achieves success (with Penu's help) and both Vegu and Penu become 'accomplished' members of the community. Bai
Gourds (symbol of success in agriculture).	Gourds are destroyed and are transformed into worms.	Worms are transformed into water buffalos (symbol of success in cattle breeding) and human beings (slaves). One ox is transformed into a stone.
Birth	Death (suffering)	Rebirth

It has to be pointed out that the non-human characters underwent pretty much the same change. The gourds were destroyed and changed into worms; the worms were destroyed and changed into water buffalos, and some of the water buffalos had to be killed as sacrificial animals for the ceremonial feast, while the largest ox turned into a stone. Note also that the water buffalos are of the same status as human beings since the worms not only changed into water buffalos but also into slaves (human beings); this is evidence of the status of water buffalos as totemic animals.

The transformations undergone by the characters (both human and non-human) can be interpreted as a way the Ngadha culture described in symbolism the stages in life of members of the community to reach the highest level called *sadho accomplished* (lit. to reach the summit of a mountain). For a person to reach the *sadho* stage in life, he/she had to work in the garden to produce enough food, raise pigs and raise water buffalos. Having enough food, pigs and water buffalos, the person could then build a traditional house (*sa'o*), make golden ornaments (*kezzu loda*; *kezzu melt, make strings and weave, loda gold chains*), and finally give a ceremonial feast.⁵ All of these are mentioned in the legend: Vegu's success in agriculture (see S180) is exemplified by the beautiful gourds, his success in cattle breeding (see S199) is exemplified by the transformation of worms into water buffalos, while his accomplishment in building a traditional house and golden ornaments is described in sentence (207). And it has to be pointed out that the success at each stage has some social effect, that is, a person was acknowledge the rights to use a certain title, see Table 5 below.

It needs to be pointed out that there are other initiation rites associated with the stages in life of an individual from birth to death (see Arndt 1954: part I, chapter II), but our concern here is restricted to the descriptions found in the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan.

The following is a comment about water buffalos as totemic and sacrificial animals. The Ngadha culture considers water buffalos as the highest in the hierarchy of animals. For every ceremonial feast at least one water buffalo is killed as a sacrifice in commemoration of the ancestors of the feast giver(s) and to purge the village. The Ngadha people talk about water buffalos as *ra'a mite black blood* (*ra'a blood*, *mite black*); and when killed for ceremonial feasts, the water buffalos have to be tied to the male ancestor tree (*ngadhu*; see Plate 1 and Figure 3) in order that the blood purge it. Part of the rituals marking the completion of a traditional house is smearing some water buffalo blood on the door of the house proper (see Plate 3), while in the *So'a* area there used to be a yearly ceremony called *para* in which a water buffalo was let loose inside the village and men killed it slowly using javelins, for the purpose of purging the village with its blood.

Supporting facts about the importance of water buffalos are the animal sculptures found on the wall of the house proper facing the inner patio (see Plate 3). On the wall are found sculptures of a rooster, above it a horse, then an elephant, and at the highest point above the door are the horns of a water buffalo. The sacredness and the totemic value of the water buffalo are perhaps responsible for the fact that only the horns are sculptures and not the whole animal. It is to be noted, too, that water buffalo horns are used as war trumpets, while its equal status to a human being is manifest in the term used to kill a water buffalo for a ceremonial feast, *vela*, is the same term used for homicide.

In any case, water buffalos are considered symbols of strength and affluence, and oxen (castrated ones) are even more so due to their rarity. It is to be

Table 5: Vegu's stages in life and titles

Vegu's life: working stages	Economic status marked by giving ceremonial feasts	Social status marked by titles
1. Fell trees (146) 2. Burn trees (157) 3. Plant gourd seeds (164) 4. Check garden: seeds germinate (171) plants grow tall (175) plants bear fruit (180) 5. Gourds change into worms (eaten by worms (187)	Success in farming marked by giving a garden feast called <i>moni uma</i> (<i>moni watch/show</i>); the rituals involved include the destroying of young shoots of rice, i.e. by dancing in the garden full of young plants.	<i>Mosa-uma</i> (<i>mosa male beast, uma garden</i>); the title marks a promotion from an ordinary member of the community.
6. Worms change into water buffalo (199) 7. House changes into a new one (207)	Success in cattle breeding (no special ceremony) Success in building a traditional house marked by giving a ceremonial feast called <i>kaa sa'o</i> (<i>kaa eat, sa'o house</i>)	No special title <i>Mosa-nua</i> (<i>nua village</i>)
8. Gold and golden chains are found in the house (207)	Success in making golden chains (<i>kezzu loda</i>). After the completion of each golden chain (<i>loda</i>) a feast is given and certain parts of the house are sculptured — called <i>mia sa'o</i> (<i>mia ornate</i>).	No special title
9. Vegu and Penu go forth to dance (214), get married (215), and give a ceremonial feast (222)	<i>Sadho accomplished</i> . The stage is marked by giving a ceremonial feast called <i>tau buku</i> (<i>tau make, buku bamboo node</i>). (The bamboo node separating hollows marks stages of growth.)	<i>Mosa-laki</i> (<i>laki male</i>); also <i>mosa-laki vatutana</i> (<i>valu stone, tana ground/earth</i> .) For a woman <i>finega'e</i> (<i>fine/pine aunt, ga'e god/high caste</i>); also <i>bu'e-ga'e bu'e young woman</i>)

pointed out that oxen are raised only for ceremonial feasts, as exemplified in the PV text where Vegu and Penu killed twenty bulls and twenty oxen for the feast (see S222). One ox was transformed into stone (see S218 and 219) which related water buffalos to another symbolism, i.e. the stone structure. In every village there is a stone structure called ture consisting of menhirs (the symbol of men) and stone slabs (the symbol of women) (see Plates 1 and 2); for further information on stone structures see Arndt (1932).

(b) *The location and time*

The overlapping of the locations in the story and the geographic/topographic locations of Ngadhaland is the most apparent instance of the interplay between the two worlds (see Map 1). The fact poses an interesting question as to whether a place name like Kolupenu (see S18 and 224) was named after a real incident (i.e. the place where Penu plunged), or the legend itself existed prior to the naming of the place, in which case the settlers named the place in accordance with an event depicted in the legend. The answer may be found in the practice of place naming.

The Ngadha people named the villages and other locations after the founders of the villages or settlements. To cite one example from the current time period is the name Mataloko, the village in which the narrator now lives. Mr. Wezo claimed that the village, which is a fairly new settlement, was named after an incident in which a man named Loko died (mata) at the springs of Vogo river. Presumably Loko was an important man and the settlement was named after him.

In general the motives of naming villages, mountains and rivers after the ancestors are to honour them. Even traditional houses, (sa'o), male ancestor trees (ngadhu), female ancestor house (bhaga), and gardens were named the same way. By tracing these names we can come up with a reliable history of a certain family up to several generations. To give an example, below are the names of Mr. Wezo's (the narrator) ancestors by tracking the names of his family's bhaga *female ancestor house* (the structure is placed in the centre of the village; see Figure 3) and the names of the traditional houses from which his mother and her parents originated.

Mr. Wezo belongs to the Kutu clan (his mother's clan; kutu *porcupine*; his father was from the Lako clan). His female ancestor's house from the Kutu clan is called Bava Rani; Bava Rani is a secret name of a female ancestor called Bhae. Bhae came from a house called Kodo Savi; Kodo Savi was named after two older ancestors: Kodo Kutu (the name of a 'mother' house called sa'o pu'u (sa'o *house*, pu'u *base*)) and Ria Savi (the name of a 'daughter' house stemming from a 'mother' house; the 'daughter' house is called sa'o dhoru (dhoru *descend*)). The name Kodo Savi (the house of the female ancestor Bava Rani) was taken from the first element from Kodo Kutu (the 'mother' house) and the second element from Ria Savi (the 'daughter' house). Thus when one asks Mr. Wezo about his ancestors, the answer that he would give is, "I am a member of the Kutu clan, my female ancestor house is Bavi Rani and her house is Kodo Savi." This information is normally asked for in litigations concerning claims to inheritance. And one has also to track the history of the father's side to have a more complete family history. This, however, is often considered secondary since most marriages are matrilineal; it only has legal implications if somewhere along the line of descent there is a pasa marriage, that is the man paid a bride price and took his wife into his family's house (patrilocal).

The naming of places in the current time period is different from the traditional one. In the old days a settlement was founded by a family and it

was named after one of the founders; nowadays several unrelated families may start a new settlement and no one name can be used to name the new settlement, hence we find villages with names such as: Nua Muzi *new village* (nua *village*, muzi *new*) to mention one example.

It has to be noted that the overlapping between the names of locations in the story and in the geography of Ngadha of today is too obvious to be regarded purely as coincidental and fictitious. The legend does contain a true historical account, at least in part, of the migration of the people from Takatunga to Saraseddu, Zeu, So'a, Kolupenu and Bai (see Map 1), not necessarily in that order nor by one person (Penu). Several stories of several people might have been collapsed into just one legend by several generations of narrators.

As for time, nothing much can be said since there is no way we could pinpoint the period in the history of the Ngadha people in which the events depicted in the legend might have taken place. The time of the story must be considered given and is to be taken for granted. The only thing we know is that the Bai people (the Sese clan) even of today consider the great number of water buffalos in Bai originally belonged to Vegu and Penu, and in the invocations they cite today they still mention that they 'come' from Takatunga and Saraseddu (see S232 and 233).

Finally, some comment about the political implications the legend, and, particularly, the invocations, have in the current time period. As claimed by Mr. Wezo and many of my informants (in the field), the invocations do not change through time, and at least once a year they are cited in ceremonial feasts. When I asked Mr. Wezo whether he thought the legend was true history, he answered with a smile saying, "Why would the members of the Sese clan in Bai invoke Takatunga and Saraseddu and cite the invocation of the Dhaga clan if they are not related." This exemplifies his firm belief in the historical part of the legend. To cite another example, in the late sixties the government of Ngadha had a plan to separate parts of Takatunga areas from the then Vogo District (Gemeente Vogo) and to include it in another district to the east, but Mr. Wezo who was then Chief of the District argued against the plan just by citing the invocations in which territorial claims are made. He was backed by the people who refused to be separated from the existing district and won the case.

To conclude, the elaboration on the importance of the legend and the information contained and preserved therein in relation to the oral history, ethnography, religious and philosophical beliefs, geography and agricultural practices, as well as the political implications and the symbolism, is meant to expound the purpose, meaning and value of such a legend to the people who own it or rather, as the narrator puts it, the people who 'make' it (see S231). The legend is continuously in the 'making' as long as there are narrators and listeners/interpreters to give it new interpretations. This exemplifies what Labov (1972) calls the principle of tellability, and we might add, the principle of interpretability.

The perspectives discussed above are 'frames' by which a strip of activity is changed, shaped and packaged by the narrator, the interpreter and the text. The 'frames' and the involvement of the narrator and the interpreter give the text a meaning in the contexts of the Ngadha culture. The perspectives are ways by which we understand or explain the text or portions of it by showing that it is an instance, an aspect, a phase, a consequence, or a cause of other events (Goffman 1974:25). This now leads to the discussion of the narrative structures of the Penu and Vegu text.

4.2. Narrative structures

The concern of this section is to investigate textual units that are larger than the sentence. The basic assumptions that underlie the present effort are: (1) a text is composed of units, large or small, from discourse down to morpheme levels; (2) the relationship of the units is a part-whole relationship in which smaller units occur as constituents within larger units, which may in turn be constituents within still larger units; and (3) between the units discourse and sentence, intermediate units can be distinguished. Thus the investigation involves looking at boundaries, conceptual or structural. What I mean by conceptual boundaries are those determined by meaning, and in this respect I rely on my intuition as a native speaker of Ngadha; structural boundaries, on the other hand, are determined by morphemes or constructions which define a unit as having its own beginning, middle and end.

To illustrate the need for units spaced between sentence and discourse, I find it useful to quote van Dijk (quoted by Longacre 1979:115) who maintains that we cannot consider that a discourse is composed directly of concatenation of sentences; rather, we must consider it to be composed of sequences of sentences. My understanding of van Dijk's observation is that sentences occurring in a text must be interpreted relative to one another. The relatedness of the sentences is thus perceived as forming a sequence which has its own movement, its own unity. A discourse may be composed of several sequences of clusters of sentences, and each cluster of sentences may be distinguished as forming a separate unit. Though each unit may be perceived as discrete, it has to be related to other units and taken together they make up a whole discourse.

The sequential connection between sentences that make up a unit, and units that make up a discourse, may or may not be overtly marked by connectives, but a reader/listener will intuitively see or look for such relationships in order to make sense out of a text or portions of it, just as he intuitively sees or looks for the relationship between a word and a phrase, a clause, or a sentence in which it occurs. The impulse to seek for relationships or for a "pattern which connects" as Bateson (1979) puts it, is universal and basic to human beings in order to make sense out of life, of experience, or of a response to a text which is the concern of the present undertaking.

Generally speaking, if a text or a subunit of a text is too large for the reader/listener to perceive in its entirety, he would turn to a more manageable, or smaller unit through whose configuration he seeks to see the pattern of a larger unit or of the whole. In this light, I see the need to divide my text into sections and paragraphs, and each is to be perceived as a subdivision of the text at different levels.

As for the size of the units, normally, the total length of a text, along with other factors such as: the subject matter, the form in which a text is presented (written or oral), the writer/narrator, the reader/listener for whom the text is intended, etc. will determine the size of a unit. In addition, the way certain portions of a text are perceived as units and the perception of the pattern of relationships between the units are determined by cultural and individual differences.

The discussions that follow will focus on section and paragraph structures.

4.2.1. Section

What I mean by section is the episodic organisation of the text manifest primarily in the cohesion of the topic that is being expounded. The topic is supported by the identification or reidentification of the characters and locations and by major breaks in the temporal flow of the narrative. The discussion that follows will focus on such indications along with the signals of connection and boundaries.

The signals of connections are the sequential connectives (see 3.3.2.1.(b)), the continuatives: *so*, *tetto/to*, *siba*, etc. (see 3.4.(i)) and the narrative pointers: *devve* and *roa* (see 2.4.(h)), while boundaries are marked by the direct term of address (hence DTA), *emma father/sir/son* as the narrator temporarily shifts his attention to the listener, the discourse pointer *na* (see 3.4.(g)) which also function as an oral punctuation and often coincides with a final falling intonation (hence FFI), and the remark/acknowledgement by the listener. And, in addition, attention will also be paid to thematic sentences marked by the thematic marker *nga* or the thematic pronoun *ngata* (see 3.4.(d)), which more or less summarises the topic of a certain section. This now leads to the text (see Chapter 2); note that the text (2.2.) has been divided into sections (and paragraphs) for easy reference.

The PV text is divided intuitively⁶ into eight sections. The following is the discussion of each section:

Section I (sentences 1-7) is the introduction

The narrator begins by establishing the general theme of the discourse concerning arranged marriage practices. The opening line (S1) is an existential sentence marked by *ne'e exist/be/have*, while the temporal anchor is established by the expression *pu'u medo (from) long ago*. The time is to be taken as the 'time of the ancestors'.

The characters and locations are not established, but the narrator does allude to the arranged marriage practice involving a woman who is referred to as *ine-vetta aunt* (lit. *mother-sister*, i.e. *father's sister*; but it is used here to refer to women in general (S2)). Note that the theme of the section is sentence (1) while the theme of the whole discourse is specified in sentences (2 and 3), marked in part by *ngaza if* (S3). *Ngaza* expresses the condition-result relation of the proposition given in sentence (2) which is later elaborated in Section II. Note also that the rest of the section is just an elaboration of the premises given in sentences (2 and 3).

The connection of the whole text to previous topics covered by the narrator in the stretch of encounter with the listener is marked by *vali again/more/also* (S1). The boundaries of the section are marked by DTA, *emma* (in sentence 1, line 1), the discourse pointer *na* (in sentence 6, line 2) which coincides with FFI, and the acknowledgement by the listener (in sentence 7). Note that the word *emma* (in line 3, sentence 1) is not a DTA but a pronominal reference to the listener and is to be rendered as *you*; a DTA is a vocative.

Section II (sentences 8-28) is setting 1

Here is where the story starts. The narrator begins by setting the time in which the story is supposed to have taken place; the expression used is *sa-dekka once (upon a time)* (S8). Also in sentence (8) the first character, *Penu*, is introduced whose existence is expressed by *ne-e exist*. Note, however, that *ne-e* may also be interpreted as a variation of the intimate title for women *ne*, in which case *ne-e* identifies the character as being a woman.

And sentence (9) identifies the location, Takatunga (see Map 1), where Penu is from.

The theme of the section concerns the practice of arranged marriage (S10) and the conflict (S11). Note that this practice imposed on Penu (S10) is a repeat of what has been alluded to in Section I (see S2), while the rest of the section is an elaboration on the consequences resulting from the conflict expressed in sentence (11), that is, Penu refused to marry the man chosen by her uncles (mother's brothers). Note also that the consequences of a refusal has been alluded to in Section I (see S3).

The conflict of interest is marked by the thematic marker *nga* (S11), reinforced by subsequent occurrences of *nga* (S12, 19, 27), *ngata* 'third person thematic pronoun (S13, 14, 15, 21, 23), and *ngaza* (S14), all of which function to highlight secondary events or propositions having to do with the result of the conflict. Important episodes following the conflict are Penu's going away from home to commit suicide (S15), her committing suicide (S21), her transformation into a fish (S23), and the burial rites performed at Takatunga to mark Penu's death (S27). The sequence of events are marked by the sequential connectives to (S15), *tetto* (S19), *so* (S21), *to* (S23), *to* (S26) and *siba* (S27). Note that in most cases the sequential connectives overlap with the thematic marker *nga* or combination forms of *nga*.

Penu's travelogue from Takatunga to Saraseddu (S16) to Zeu and So'a (S17) and finally to the Kolupenu river (S18) may be considered a secondary theme; it is to be pointed out that travelling as a theme is not uncommon in traditional Ngadha legends.⁷

The boundaries of the section are marked by DTA (S8), the discourse pointer *na* (which coincides with FFI (S28) and reinforced by the expression *moi/moli finish* (S28).

Section III (sentences 29-46) is setting 2

The section begins with an existential sentence marked by *ne'e exist* (S29). The sentence also identifies the location, i.e. *lau go Bai down in Bai* (see Map 1) and the second character, Vegu, an orphan. Note that there is no way of knowing whether Vegu is a boy or a girl, and it is only implicitly expressed in sentence (31), that is in the clothes worn by the orphan. *Sada loincloth* is only worn by boys/men, while girls/women wear sarongs called *lavo* or *biri* (see Plates 6, 8, and 10) covering the whole body; men also wear sarongs called *sapu*, but they cover only the lower part of the body, from the waist down (see Plates 7 and 9).

Time is not identified, but the juxtaposition of the two characters suggests their contemporaneity. However, the mention of time in sentence (30) expressed by *pu'u medo (from) long ago* relates the section back to Section I in which the temporal anchor of the whole discourse is first set (see S1).

The theme of the section is the livelihood of Vegu the orphan given through a projection of an account of the true livelihood of the people of Bai. The section expounds the miserable life of an orphan, his having no social status, and most of all his ignorance even of certain basic skills such as installing a fishtrap. This exemplifies the nature of learning in an oral tradition in which direct observation and doing are the basic parts. It needs to be pointed out that adoption outside the extended family was prohibited in the Ngadha customary laws; it can thus be inferred from the account that Vegu has no relatives at all. The sentences that highlight the theme are marked by

nga (S32, 33, 44), ngata (S35, 43, 44, 46), and ngaza (S35, 39, 41, 43).

Note that the section embeds a procedure of how to install a fishtrap (S41-43). and an account of Penu's (the fish) trip (S34). The connection of Penu's trip to the previous account of her is marked by the sequential connective *ba* in sentence (34), while the sequence of events experienced by Vegu is marked by *ba* (S32, 44) and the continuative *dhan o also* (S32, 44). And it is to be noted that the embedding of the account about Penu, the fish, (S34) in the middle of an account about Vegu's livelihood strongly suggests the contemporaneity of the two characters.

The boundaries of the section are marked by DTA in sentence (29) and the FFI in sentence (46). Note, too, that the temporal expressions *to'o sa-robha (get up) one morning*, *to'o sa-kobe (get up) one night* (S34), *vula-lezza dry season* (S35), and *sa-robha-robha every morning* (S44) do not mark major temporal breaks and will be dealt with in the discussion of paragraph structures.

Section IV (sentences 47-95) is development 1

The section begins with a resetting of time, that is *zale one hiva zua in two years* (S47) and the reintroduction of Penu, the fish, in anticipation of the meeting with the other character, Vegu.

The theme of the section is the first 'meeting' of the two characters, that is, Vegu's first catch of fish (Penu), or rather, Penu's entering Vegu's fish-trap though it is poorly installed (since Vegu does not know how to install a fishtrap properly) (S48). The rest of the section is an elaboration on Vegu's miserable life: his dilapidated house (S63) and miserable garden (S73), and the result of the catch, that is, the finding of mysterious foods (S78). Two important accounts worth noting are Vegu's prayer to 'god' (S53) which changes his lot, and the fact that Vegu does not kill the fish (Penu) (S71).

Highlighted sentences that support the theme are marked by *nga* (S65, 70, 74, 83, 85, 88, 91), *ngata* (S47, 95), *nengga* (S64) and *ngaza* (S50). The sequence of events is marked by *siba* (47), *to* (51), *to* (53), *siba* (57), *gezze* (58), *to* (59), *siba* (60), *to ba* (72), *ba* (78), *to* (84), *siba* (86), *siba* (87), *siba* (88), *siba* (92), *siba* (93), *siba* (94), the continuative *dhan o'ano* (S52, 60, 62, 70, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91, 92, 95), and the narrative pointer *devve* (S47, 69, 73, 82).

The boundaries of the section are marked by DTA in sentence (47) and in sentence (95). It is to be noted that other temporal expressions and locations do not mark major breaks and will be discussed in the analysis of paragraph structure. Note, however, that the expression *lau down/seaward* (S47) may be interpreted as a reidentification of location and is related to the expression *lau go Bai* (S29) which identifies the location where Vegu is from.

Section V (sentences 96-145) is development 2

The section expounds the real meeting of the two characters, Penu and Vegu. It begins with the resetting of time, that is *repo sa-lezza at last one day* and *vula tellu three months (have lapsed)*. Note that the temporal anchor is three months after Penu, the fish, arrives in Bai (S47), while the expression 'two years' in sentence (47) has its temporal anchor in the incident at Kolupenu river (S23). The location is the same as in section IV.

The meeting of the characters results from Vegu's decision to find out who prepares the foods for him: he spies on the girl, startles her (which causes her death), and revives her; the episode ends with the dialogue between the two

characters. The sentences that highlight the theme of the section (the meeting of the two characters) are marked by nga (S109, 115, 122, 126, 131, 135), ngata (S119, 120), ana-ngata 'third person thematic pronoun-pity' (S111, 112, 114, 126), and ngaza (S102). Note that the girl is identified as Penu in the middle of the section (see S111).

The sequence of events is marked by the sequential connectives to (99), to (100), to (101), siba (103), siba (105), siba (107), ba (108), to (109), to (111), to (119), so (120), siba (121), siba (123), siba, si (125), to (126), to (127), ba (137), the continuative dhano (S111, 118, 124), and the narrative pointer roa (S109).

The boundaries of the section are marked by the temporal expressions in sentence (96) and FFI in sentence (145); instances of DTA within the section have to do with the boundaries of smaller units.

It is to be noted that the meeting of the characters is exemplified by the dialogue in which the foregrounded role of the heroine, Penu, begins to take shape; this is manifest in Penu's ordering Vegu not to tell other people (the inhabitants of the village) about her and to follow her directions in order to achieve success (in farming, cattle breeding, etc.) which is the theme of Section VI.

Section VI (sentences 146-216) is the resolution

The section begins with the resetting of time, but instead of a major break in the temporal flow, we find a period of only one day, that is to'o robha-ze'e *the next morning* (S146). Incidentally, the smaller episodes that make up the section are all marked by an interval of two days, and only the beginning is marked by a one-day interval. The characters and locations are not reidentified.

The theme of the section is the efforts by Vegu with Penu's directions and supernatural help to achieve success in farming, cattle breeding, and giving a ceremonial feast which eventually leads to their 'wedding' and acceptance in the Bai community as 'accomplished' members. The sentences that highlight the theme are marked by nga (S196, 200, 208, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216), ngata (S151, 155, 168, 191, 200, 202, 205), nennga (S193), and ngara 'reflexive pronoun' (S212).

The sequence of events is marked by the sequential connectives to (160), siba (164), siba (167), -si (170), -si (179), -si (190), -si (191), siba (197), siba (199), siba (201), siba (202), ba (204), -si, ba (207), -si (209), siba (216), the continuatives dhano/'ano (S154, 167, 168, 186) and vali/vai (S179, 185, 189, 205, 207), and the narrative pointer devve (S149, 159, 165, 200, 208). It is to be noted that some instances of the sequential connectives and the continuative vali/vai are found in imperative sentences, but I include them as markers of sequence due to the fact that they imply that the order will be carried out, thus a subsequent event is implied.

The boundaries of the section are marked by DTA in sentence (146) and DTA coinciding with FFI in sentence (216), and the temporal break expressed by dhuu bupu-mata *until old age and death ('ever after')*.

Section VII (sentences 217-226) is an addendum

The reason that I label the section an addendum is because there is a drastic shift of topic, that is, the narrator explains why and how the Bai people of the current time period have a lot of water buffalos, the transformation of the largest ox into a stone, the number of water buffalos killed for

the ceremonial feast and how the river Kolupenu got its name. These are the themes of the section which serves as a transition bridging the story world and the real world, while the title of the legend, given in sentence (226), serves as the closure of the text.

The sentences that highlight the themes are marked by nga (S222, 223), and ngata (S217, 223). The sequence of events is marked by siba (218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224) and the narrative pointer devve (S217, 222).

The boundaries are marked by the remark by the listener (S225), and the discourse pointer na which coincides with FFI (S226). And, in addition, the temporal expression dhuu di-na *until today* (S223) marks the boundary of the story and brings the audience back to the present.

Section VIII (sentences 227-237) is the closure

The section is divided into two subsections.

Section VIII A (sentence 227-231) is the coda

The coda is a signal that the story has ended; it is an evaluation, to use Labov's term (Labov:1972). The narrator points out in sentence (227) that the legend belongs to the people of Bai. He further expounds how he learned the legend and quoted himself talking to the Bai people. The end of the section, (S231), shows the attitude of the narrator and the Ngadha people toward the legend, that is, the 'making' of it; the legend will endure if the people continue 'making' it, which is the theme of the section.

The sentences that highlight the theme are marked by nga (S230), and ngaza (S231), while the sequence is marked by the sequential connectives gezze (S230) and siba (S231), and the continuative 'ano (S231). The boundaries of the section are marked by kenna *that* (S227) and FFI (S231). Note the shift from di-na go nange ... *this is the legend* ... in sentence (226) to kenna go-go nange ... *that is the legend* ... in sentence (227); the shift indicates the changing perspective of the narrator within the performance frame of the legend (S226) and outside or 'removed' from it (S127).

Section VIII B (sentences 232-237) is part of the closure

This is taken from the 1976 version of the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan, told by the same narrator, Mr. Wezo. In correspondence with him, I was asked by Mr. Wezo to include the invocations of the goo-laba ensemble to make the text complete.

The section begins with the setting of location, that is lau *down(seaward)* in Bai and time, that is vula tau buku *ceremonial feast season* (S232). The theme of the section is the citing of invocations that attest to the relationship of the people of Bai (i.e. members of the Sese clan) and the people of Takatunga and Saraseddu (i.e. members of the Dhaga clan). The invocations are a kind of prayer and hence the section is a ritual climax of the story/legend; and the ritual is amplified by the goo-laba ensemble which is a ritual music.

The theme is highlighted by nga (S232) and ngaza (S232), while the sequence of events is marked by the sequential connective ghe'e (S234) and the narrative pointer devve (S232, 233, 234). The boundaries are marked by the setting up of the time frame in sentence (232) and the discourse pointer na which coincides with the final falling intonation in sentence (237). And, in addition, the goo-laba music ends the text and its performance.

It needs to be pointed out that the invocations (sentences 232 and 233) are in the Nagekeo dialect spoken in the Bai area, and the goo-laba recording was made at a ceremonial feast held on November 30, 1979 at Tololela village (by the writer). And with respect to the text, the proper place for the goo-laba music should be right after sentence (233), that is, after the signal laba *please sound the music*, but I decided to put it at the very end so that it does not interrupt the text.

To conclude, I find it appropriate to give a brief comment about the peak or the climax of the story. The peak of the story is found in Section VI, the resolution, marked by the ceremonial feast and ceremonial dancing (see S214) and which the narrator interprets as a 'wedding' (see S215). The peak is amplified by the invocations (see sentences 232 and 233) which are normally cited before the ceremonial dancing, and the dancing is accompanied by the goo-laba ensemble which is ritual music (see Appendix II for the discussion of the goo-laba ensemble). Note that the peak/climax of the story is ritualistic, which gives evidence to the importance of the legend as a story or history of the ancestors of certain clans, and as a form of knowledge.

There are secondary peaks within the sections, namely, Penu's suicide and transformation into a fish (Section II), Vegu's first catch of fish (which happens to be Penu) which exemplifies the first 'meeting' of the two characters (Section IV), and Vegu's surprising of the girl (Penu) causing her death and the reviving of the girl by Vegu, which is the real meeting of the two characters (Section V). The minor peaks serve to highlight important parts of the story which lead to the ritual climax at the end.

It is to be noted too that the narrative structure of the PV text matches the model devised by Labov and Waletzky (1967) as reproduced in Labov 1972:370. section I (Introduction) is the abstract, sections II and III (the setting) are the orientation, sections IV and V (the development) are the complicating action, section VI (the resolution) is the result, and section VII (the addendum) and section VIII (the coda) are the evaluation. Diagram 2 presents a recapitulation of the legend of Penu and Vegu.

4.2.2. Paragraph

The concern of this section is to investigate paragraph structures of the PV text. And it needs to be pointed out that the investigation involves an oral text which is put in writing for the first time in this study. Before we turn to the text, I find it useful to quote ideas suggested by several scholars concerning the notion of the paragraph and relate them to my work.

Longacre (1979:115-116) observes that discourse has grammatical structure, and the structure is partially expressed in the hierarchical breakdown of discourse into constituent embedded discourse and paragraphs. He further maintains that paragraph is taken to designate structural rather than orthographic unit, and is spaced between sentence and discourse. In another work (Longacre 1976:276) he states that paragraph is the developmental unit of discourse; it is the typical unit of argumentation or exhortation in hortatory discourse, of explanation and exposition in expository discourse, and of episode in narrative discourse. Longacre's observations are drawn from evidence in many languages of the features of beginning and end which mark paragraph closure.

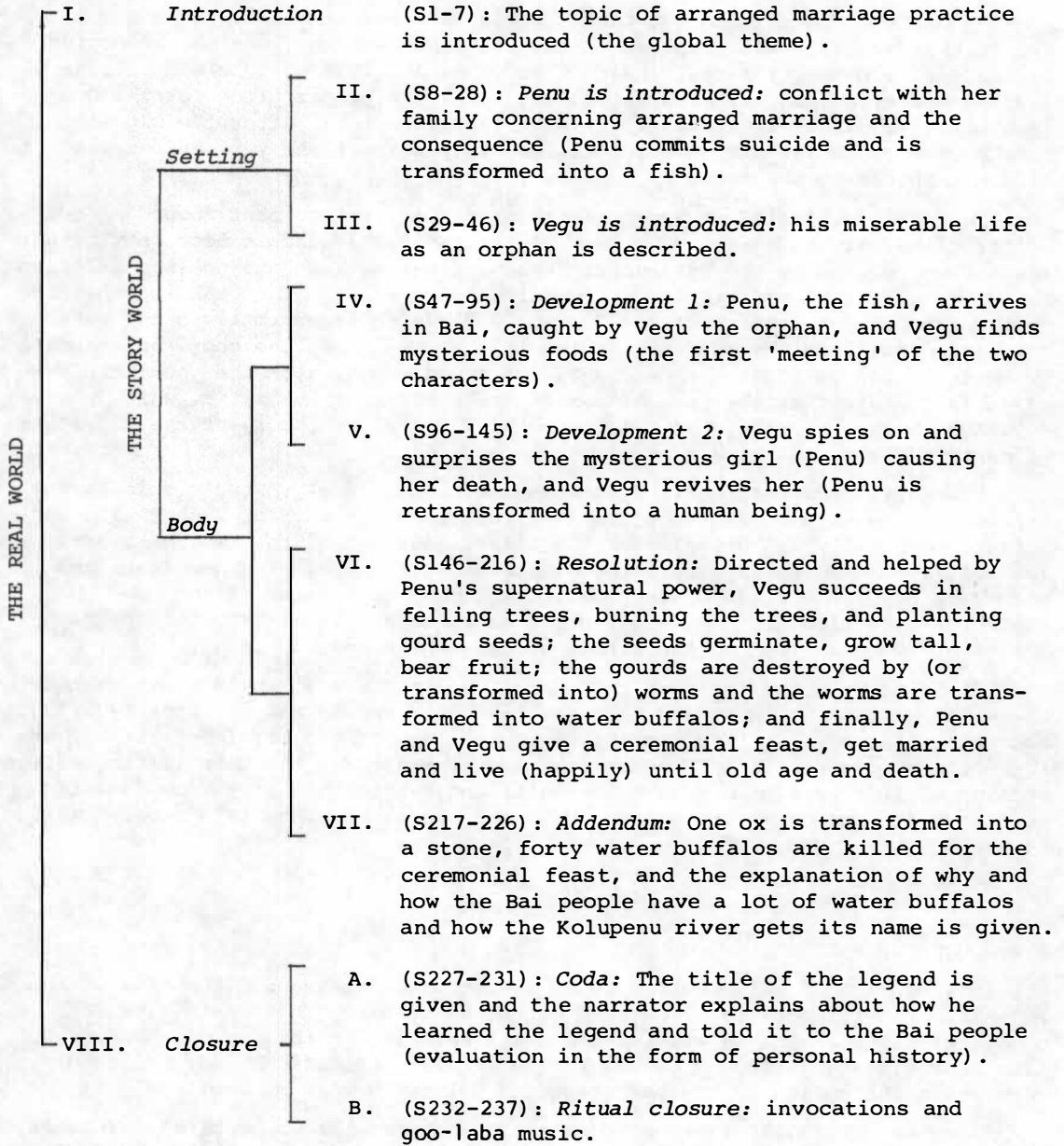


Diagram 2: The narrative structure of the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan

Pike and Pike (1977:25, 488) define paragraph as the minimum unit in which a theme is developed and elaborated. Their definition captures both the structural aspect of paragraph (i.e., it is built up of sentence clusters that form a unit) and the semantic aspect (i.e. the ideational sequence of propositions). Pike and Pike also maintain that a single thematic sentence may comprise an entire paragraph in that the theme is not further elaborated.

Grimes (1975:238) maintains that the partitioning of a text into their constituents: sentences, paragraphs, episodes, and the like, involves semantic unity on the one hand and embodies certain characteristic structural signals that define its nuclei and boundaries on the other. The partitioning of a text, he further suggests (1975:240), has to do with resetting the theme, re-establishing the time and place, and the thematic and setting identification.

In the attempt to apply the concept paragraph to my work, I take it to be a further partitioning of sections. Like sections, paragraphs have themes which are stated in thematic sentences. And a paragraph may be further divided into subunits, that is, a narrative paragraph (hence Nar P) may be subdivided into events (hence E), a procedural paragraph (hence Proc P) may be subdivided into steps (hence ST), an expository paragraph (hence Expo P) may be divided into points (hence Po). A narrative paragraph may take the form of dialogues (dramatic), and thus may be analysed as turns (hence T), while the dialogic subunit may embed exhortations, and may be divided into order, execution and report of the execution. The model cited here follows the model devised by Longacre (see Longacre 1968:vol.1, part 2 and Longacre 1972).

In the discussion that follows, attention will be paid to thematic sentences, chaining processes, boundary markers, and quotative constructions:

1. The thematic sentences are normally the first sentences in a paragraph. The thematic sentences may be marked by the thematic marker *nga* by itself or in combination forms such as *ngata* 'third person thematic pronoun', *ngaza if/when*, *ngara* 'reflexive pronoun', etc. The thematic sentences often have to do with identification of time, character, and location; thus attention will be paid to such identification.

2. The chaining processes responsible for paragraph formation may be realised as back-reference, which involves the partial repetition of an item as an introduction to the next. The repetition of the item (word, phrase or clause) may be of exactly the same form or in the form of an extension involving paradigmatic or syntagmatic change to provide the point of departure for the next item. The chaining processes may also be realised as projective linkage involving items that point ahead rather than back to maintain thematic continuity; such items include noun phrases, verb phrases, or clauses whose subjects, predicates or objects are predictable in that they are the same as the ones that have been identified. The chaining processes function primarily to provide extension, elaboration or amplification of the theme; and they also regulate, often rigidly, the flow of information, that is from old to new to newer, etc., and in addition, they may indicate the progression from general to specific identification of the theme.

Related to the chaining processes are markers of sequence of events, indicated by the sequential connectives (*so*, *tetto/to*, *siba*, etc.), the continuatives (*dhano/'ano* and *vali/vai*), the narrative pointers (*devve* and *roa*) and the discourse pointer (*na*). These particles mark the connections of propositions. In addition, attention will also be paid to parallel constructions that function to add heaviness to particular elements which may have to do with

either elaboration or change of perspectives; parallel constructions may take the form of appositives or copied constructions.

3. The boundary markers are indicated by the direct term of address (DTA) *emma father/sir/son*, the final falling intonation contour (FFI) and the discourse pointer *na* which often functions as an oral punctuation. It has to be noted that DTA may function to mark boundaries across units or levels, that is, it may mark the beginning or end of a paragraph and at the same time mark the beginning or end of a section (higher level), or a subunit paragraph or a sentence (lower level).

4. Quotative constructions involve primarily the narrator quoting the characters, or a character quoting another character in cases where portions of the story are told via dialogue or soliloquy. The quotations also involve the narrator quoting the ancestors and elders, the Bai people he met, and himself talking to the Bai people. The quotations may occur in direct (hence D-quot) or indirect (hence I-quot) forms.

It should also be noted that some of the items to be investigated in the discussion of paragraph structures of the PV text have been discussed in the analysis of the sections of the text (see 4.2.1. above), hence there are bound to be repeats. Note also that the text (see 2.2.) has been divided into sections and paragraphs for easy reference.

Section I:

Expo P1 (S1-7)

Sentence (1) identifies the topic concerning the Ngadha traditional marriage practice, that is *papa tana go fai asking for a wife* (proposing), while sentences (2 and 3) give a more specific account of the theme of the whole discourse concerning the practice of arranged marriage. The participants are referred to as *ine-vetta girls* (in general), *ine-emma parents* and *emma-nara uncles* (see S2) but no further identification of them is provided. In addition, the location is not identified, and time is not well-established except for being in the distant past, *pu'u medo from long ago* (see S1). Thus the introduction of the topic can be interpreted as generic (but within the context of the Ngadha culture), while the proposition is evoked by the existential sentence (1) marked by *ne'e exist/be/have*.

The rest of the paragraph is an elaboration of the premises set in sentences (2 and 3): sentence (2) expounds the arranged marriage practice, while sentence (3) expounds the consequence of a refusal, which is further amplified in sentences (4-6). Note also that the progression of the paragraph is from general to specific information. Two instances of such a progression are: first, the consequence of a refusal, that is, if a girl refused to marry a man chosen by her family she would be put in stocks (S3) and the putting in stocks (*gape*) (S5) is specified as *pojo tie in bunches* (S6), and the whole idea is amplified by describing in direct quotations (S5 and 6) as to why the girl had to comply with the parents' and uncles' choice; secondly, the girl involved is referred to as *fai wife* in sentence (1), but later referred to more specifically as *ine-vetta* (lit. *ine mother, vetta sister*; that is, father's sister, but here used as an honorific to refer to girls in general) (S2), then as *fine-ga'e* (an honorific normally used to refer to older or marriageable women; *fine aunt, ga'e god/high caste*), then as *laki 'third person pronoun-pity'* (S5), and finally, in the direct quotation, the narrator refers to the girl as *kau you-close* (S5 and 6) as if he were directly addressing the girl.

The cohesion of the paragraph is achieved by the repetition of *pu'u medo* and *tana (go) fai* in sentence (1), the chaining process involving parallel structures, that is, the expression *go dolu ine-emma da feddhi, dolu emma-nara da feddhi* *the fishhook that the parents cast, that the uncles cast* (S2) which is partially repeated in sentence (3), and also the progression from general to specific information as has been mentioned above, that is, the setting up of premises in sentences (1-3) which is followed by an evaluation in sentence (4) and explanations in sentences (5 and 6).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the DTA, *emma father/sir/son* (S1), the discourse pointer *na* which coincides with FFI (S6) and the acknowledging remark by the listener (S7). And note that the paragraph constitutes a whole section.

It is to be pointed out that *ngaza if* (S3) reinforces the theme by virtue of the fact that it contains the thematic marker *nga*; the evidence is the fact that the sentence expresses the possibility of a refusal on the part of the girl and the consequence of it, which is part of the global theme of the whole text. Note also that *vali again/more/also* (S1) signals the setting up of a new frame, that is, the topic to be covered is different from what has gone before.

Section II:

Nar P1 (S8-14)

Sentences (8 and 9) provide identification of time, *sa-dekka once (upon a time)*, the character, *Penu*, and the location, *Takatunga*. Note that the proposition is evoked by the existential sentence (8) marked by *ne-e*, which may be interpreted as a variation of *ne'e exist/be*. The theme of the paragraph is given in sentences (10 and 11) which explain that *Penu* was asked by her uncles to marry a certain young man but she refused. The most important fact about the account is *Penu's* refusal, marked by the thematic marker *nga* (S11) which is elaborated in sentences (12-14) all marked by *nga*, that is, *nga* (S12 and 14), *ngata* 'third person thematic pronoun' (S13 and 14) and *ngaza* (S14).

The cohesion of the paragraph is achieved by the chaining processes, repetition, parallel construction, and also the progression from general to specific information. The chaining processes are exemplified by the repetition of *Penu* (S9) which copies (S8), *da hoga kenna that young man* (S11) which copies (S10), *bau' refuse* (S12) which copies (S11) and *ledhe pusi-duki, ledhe peddhe renne all keep insisting* (S14) which copies (S12). Examples of parallel constructions are the expression *pusi-duki* and *peddhe renne* which essentially mean the same thing (S12, 14). The progression from general to specific information is found in the fact that *Penu's* uncles first asked her to marry a man of their choice given in the form of an indirect quotation (S10) but later they were insisting as expressed in the direct quotation in sentence (12).

Note also that the dialogue between the uncles and *Penu* (S12 and 14) gives cohesion to the paragraph, while the continuative *dhanu also* expresses the idea that the uncles kept insisting that *Penu* marry the young man they chose as first described in sentence (10). Note that *dhanu* signals that the action is within the same event frame.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by DTA (S8) and FFI (S14).

Nar P2 (S15-18)

The thematic sentence (15) is marked by the thematic pronoun *ngata* and the sequential connective to (*and*) *then*. The theme is *Penu's* 'running away' from home (to commit suicide) which has been established in the previous paragraph

(see S14). The rest of the paragraph is a specification of Penu's trip (from Takatunga to the Kolupenu river). Note, too, that the progression is from general to specific, that is Penu's 'running away' from home followed by the mention of the exact places that she visited.

The cohesion of the paragraph is primarily marked by the locations marking the points in Penu's travels; it is also created by expressions that imply time, that is *pejja arrive* (S16), *dhuu dhana pejja until also arrive* (S17), and *pejja and dhuu dhano pejja* (S18), and the chaining process and repetition. The chaining process is exemplified by the repetition of *la'a roba-ngaba go to commit suicide* (S15) which copies (S14), *Saraseddu* (S16) which copies (S15), *So'a* (S18) which copies (S17), and the repetitions of *dia-dia gheddi keep coming up this way* (S16), *menna-menna pelu keep on going to the left (as one faces the sea)* (S17) and the expressions *pejja* and *dhuu dhano pejja* as have been referred to above. Note also that the actor (Penu) is mentioned only in sentence (15), while sentences (16-18) are subjectless; however, it is understood that the subject is Penu. In addition, the repetition of *la'a roba-ngaba* in sentence (15) of the same expression in sentence (14) and the sequential connective to (S15) relate the paragraph to the previous one, thus maintaining thematic continuity.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by DTA (S15) and DTA which coincides with FFI (S18).

Nar P3 (S19-21)

The paragraph expounds Penu's suicide as the theme marked by *ngata* (S21); the theme is supported by the identification of location, that is, the Kolupenu river (S19) also marked by *nga*. Sentence (20) functions to amplify Penu's determination to commit suicide given in the form of a partial dialogue.

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the sequence of events marked by the sequential connectives *tetto* (S19) and *so* (S21) both of which can be rendered as (*and*) *then*, while the relatedness of the paragraph to previous ones is marked by the repetition of the expressions *pejja mena Kolupenu* (S19) which copies (S18) and *vi bejja gezzi ate miu to satisfy your desires* (S20) which copies (S14). The repetitions are instances of the chaining process which provides cohesion to the whole section indicated by back-references to previous events.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by implied time (S19), that is, *nga pejja upon arriving* and FFI (S21).

Nar P4 (S22-23)

Sentence (22) identifies location, while sentence (23) contains the theme, that is, Penu's transformation into a fish, marked by the thematic pronoun *ngata* and the sequential connective *to*. The sequential connective relates the event to the previous paragraph, while the repetition of *zale ... tivu meze down (on a vertical axis) ... large pond* (S23) which copies (S22) adds to the cohesion of the short paragraph.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in location (S22) and FFI (S23). It is to be noted too that the drastic change in the topic (i.e. Penu's transformation into a fish) is the rationale for the formation of the paragraph.

Nar P5 (S24-25)

The paragraph is marked by the shift of perspective, that is, from the focus on the heroine, Penu, to her uncles who came to the pond only to find a large fish (S24). In addition, the uncles inferred that Penu had died, eaten by the fish, only because they saw a large fish. Thus the theme of the paragraph is Penu's death.

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the repetition of the expressions *pee zale tivu as far as down at the pond* and *ngedho look* (S24), while *zale tivu* is also a repeat of the same expression in sentences (22 and 23) thus relating the event to the previous paragraph.

The boundaries of the paragraphs are marked by shifting the focus to other characters, and FFI (S25).

Nar P6 (S26-28)

The paragraph is marked by a shift in location; that is, the 'brothers' (uncles ?) returned to Takatunga (S26), while the theme is the performing of the death ritual called *keo-rado* to mark that Penu had died a violent death (S27). Note, too, that the arrival of the 'brothers' at Takatunga and the performing of the death ritual are marked by the thematic marker *nga* (S27).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the chaining process, i.e. *keo-rado* (S28) which copies (S27); and the event is related to the previous paragraph by the sequential connective *to* (S26).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in location and the discourse pointer *na* which coincides with FFI (S28). Note too that *na* points back to Penu's death as reported in sentence (25).

*Section III:**Nar P1* (S29)

The one-sentence paragraph functions to identify a new location *lau go Bai down (seaward) in Bai* and to introduce the second character, *Vegu*, identified a new location *lau go Bai down (seaward) in Bai* and to introduce the second character, *Vegu*, identified as an orphan. The location and character are evoked by the existential *ne'e (exist/be)*.

The boundaries are marked by DTA and FFI. It is to be noted, however, that some elaboration on the character and his life as an orphan is given in sentences (30-33) in the form of a projection about the life of an orphan as the narrator himself had witnessed; it is perhaps an evaluation about the lives of orphans in general.

Expo P2 (S30-33)

The theme of the paragraph is the description of the life and the bad treatment of an orphan (S32, 33), marked by the thematic marker *nga* and *ne'e*. Sentence (30) is an evaluation which interrupts the story in that the narrator shifts his attention to the listener, while sentence (31) contains an important piece of information about the orphan, that is, his clothing, *sada loina loth* (worn only by men). The description of the clothing helps to identify the character as being a boy or man; it is thus related to the identification of *Vegu* in sentence (29). Note that without the description there is no way of knowing whether *Vegu* is a boy or a girl.

It should be pointed out that sentences (32 and 33) also embed an exposition of the village layout (see Figure 3) and a description of the procedure of

distributing foods in a feast, expressed by ghoko *scoop* and bhaghi *distribute*. The collocation ghoko-bhaghi is used for distributing foods in ceremonial feasts.

The cohesion of the paragraph is achieved by the repetition of the expression ana-halo *orphan child* (S30) which copies (S29) and is repeated in sentence (31), neko *wear* (S31) and ne'e ngo'e *have guest* (S32) which are repeated several times in sentence (33). The cohesion of the paragraph is also marked by the sequential connective ba (S32) and the continuative dhano (S33).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of perspective from Vegu to orphans in general (S30) and the demonstrative kenna *that* which coincides with FFI (S33); note that kenna contains na (discourse pointer) which functions to point back to the distribution of foods (S32) and also as an oral punctuation. And it is to be noted that the temporal expression pu'u medo *from long ago* (S30) refers to the narrator's personal experience and is not directly related to the story.

Nar P3 (S34)

Sentence (33) is a one-sentence paragraph in which Penu, the fish, is reintroduced to the story. The reintroduction of Penu strongly suggests the contemporaneity of the two characters, Penu and Vegu.

The theme of the paragraph concerns the fact that Penu, the fish, did not stay at Kolupenu pond (see S23, 25) but that each day and night it kept swimming downstream (lau) towards Bai (see Map 1). The cohesion is created by the repetition of ba vozo pee lau sa-soa *then jump down one waterfall* and to'o sa-robha *get up one morning* and to'o sa-kobe *get up one night* which is a repetition involving a paradigmatic change, and the sequential connective ba.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by DTA and FFI, and, in addition, the shift of attention from Vegu (in the previous paragraph) to Penu, the fish. Note too that the temporal expressions robha and kobe are general, in that they are not related to a specific time anchor.

Expo P4 (S35-39)

Sentence (35) contains the theme of the paragraph, that is, the livelihood of the people in Bai during the dry season. The theme is marked by the third person thematic pronoun ngata, reinforced by ngaza *when/during*. Note that the paragraph begins with the mention of Vegu, but the narrator then shifts to a description of fishing using a fishtrap, as done by the Bai people during the dry season. The mention of Vegu is to be interpreted as a reminder that Vegu was from Bai and that the description which follows includes Vegu's livelihood. The thematic sentence contains the repetition of the locational identification and the resetting of time; the mention of time vula lezza *dry season* functions as a projection of what will happen next, that is, Penu's (the fish) arrival in Bai (see S47). And the theme is partially repeated in sentence (39) marked by ngaza and nga.

The rest of the paragraph is an elaboration of the theme, that is, how the Bai people weave fishtraps (S36) and where they install them (S38).

The cohesion of the paragraph is created by the chaining process, i.e. the repetition of sosa (S36) which copies (S35), and the repetition of meze-meze *big* (S38) of the same expression found in sentence (36).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the reintroduction of Vegu (S35) and FFI (S39).

Nar P5 (S40)

The one-sentence paragraph marks the shift from a general description of the livelihood of the Bai people to an account about Vegu's ignorance of how to install a fishtrap, which is elaborated in the next paragraph. The sentence is linked to the previous paragraph by the narrative pointer *devve aforementioned* which links laki *he-pity* to Vegu as referred to in sentence (35).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus and the DTA which coincides with FFI.

Proc P6 (S41-43)

The theme of the paragraph is the procedure involved in installing fishtraps (S41). Sentences (42 and 43) expound the result of proper or improper installing of fishtraps respectively. Note, too, that the improper installing of fishtraps (S43) is marked by *ngaza if* and *ngata*.

The description given in the paragraph is general and is marked partially by the expression *isi-kita our people* (of the current time period), thus not a specific account about Vegu. The cohesion of the paragraph is achieved by the repetition of *lipi to line* (s41) in sentence (43), and the continuative *dhanu* (S43).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus from Vegu (S40) to 'our people' (S41) and DTA which coincides with FFI (S43).

Nar P7 (S44-46)

The theme of the paragraph is expounded in sentence (44) marked by the shift of focus to *deva-kela multicoloured god* and Vegu; the multicoloured 'god' is marked by *ngata*, while Vegu's bad luck is marked by *nga*. The theme is also amplified by the contrast in the luck of the other people who made good catches (S46), marked by two instances of *ngata*. And sentence (45) elaborates on the reason why Vegu never made good catches, that is, he was an orphan who had no-one to teach him how to properly install a fishtrap.

The cohesion of the paragraph is created by the repetition of the expressions *sa-robha-robha vi la'a vaga sosa, dhanu bua go kojo ne'e go kuza every morning (he) checked (his) fishtrap (but he) only (caught) crabs and shrimp* (S44), the sequential connective *ba* and the continuative *dhanu* (S44).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus and FFI (S46). And it is to be noted that the temporal expression *sa-robha-robha every morning* (S44) has no specific temporal anchor.

Section IV:

Nar P1 (S47-53)

The thematic sentence (47) contains a shift in time reference; that is, *zale one hiva zua inside two years*, the reintroduction of Penu couples with a reminder of her transformation into a fish, and marked by *ngata*. Note that the time has its anchor in the incident at Kolupenu river (see S23), and the reminder of her transformation into a fish is also pointed to the same incident (S23), while the sequential connective *siba* relates the description to the event given in sentence (34), that is, Penu the fish kept swimming towards the sea. The thematic sentence thus summarises all the important events and provides a thread connecting the events.

The secondary theme of the paragraph is Penu's (the fish) entering Vegu's fishtrap (S48) and Vegu's feeling when he saw the bubbling water at his fishtrap

(at the river). Note that Penu's (the fish) arrival in Bai was in the dry season, as pointed out in sentence (35) that the Bai people install their fish-traps only at this particular season and that Vegu found the fish in the morning, expressed by to'o-robha-ze'e. The theme is reinforced by ngaza (S50) and Vegu's soliloquy (S51-53).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the sequential connectives siba (S47) and to (S51, 53), and the narrative pointer devve (S47).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the resetting of time and DTA (S47) and FFI (S53).

Nar P2 (S54-57)

The paragraph expounds Vegu's finding the fish (Penu) in his fishtrap. The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by implied time expressed by pejja *arrive* (S54), the sequential connective siba (S57), and the repetition of the whole clause in sentence (57), while the boundaries of the paragraph are marked by DTA (S54) and FFI (S57).

It has to be noted that the paragraph contains an additional piece of information about Vegu's villagers (S56), that is, the rich and older people not only treated him badly in feasts but also robbed him of his catch.

Nar P3 (S58-60)

The paragraph describes Vegu's carrying the large fish home to his village. The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by implied time expressed by the word napa *wait until*, while the cohesion is created by the sequential connectives gezze (S58), to (S59) and siba (S60), the continuative dhano (S60), and the chaining process, that is sa'a *carry on the shoulder* (S59) which copies (S58) and is repeated in sentence (60), and the repetition of the clause in sentence (60). Note, too, that the projective linkage is marked by the fact that the subject of sentence (60), which is not marked, is the same as the one found in sentences (58 and 59).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by DTA in sentences (58 and 60).

Expo P4 (S61-63)

The paragraph describes the distance from the river to Vegu's village and the condition of Vegu's house. The theme is marked by the shift of location from the river (S49) to the village (S61).

The paragraph is connected to the previous paragraph by the chaining process, that is, the repetition of nua *village* (S61) which copies the same expression in sentence (60) and which is repeated in sentences (62 and 63) and pejja pee zee nua *arrive up in the village* (S63) which copies sentence (60).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of location and topic, and DTA which coincides with FFI in (S63).

Nar P5 (S64)

The one-sentence paragraph is a flashback; it tells that on the way home (while carrying the fish) Vegu saw that his fish was still alive. The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the repetition of the expression found in the first four lines.

Note that the boundaries are not clearly marked except the fact that the sentence is a flashback and should have been included in *Nar P3* above.

Nar P6 (S65-72)

The theme of the paragraph is Vegu's activities upon arriving home with the fish; that is, he started a fire (S65), cooked (S69), and then went to work in his garden (S72). It is to be pointed out that the paragraph embeds a description of the poverty of the orphan given in the form of a direct quotation of lines from an orphan song⁸ (S65), and the cooking procedure as mentioned above. The theme is marked by nga (S65, 70).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the sequential connectives to (S68) and to ba (S72), the narrative pointer devve (S69), the continuative dhano (S70) and the chaining process, that is, the repetition of rangi-rangi api *start a fire (by blowing)* (S68) which copies (S65) and vo'o muzi *still allive* (S71) which copies (S70).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by implied time expressed by epo *at last* (S65) and FFI (S72). Note that DTA in sentence (66) marks the end of the evaluation which is acknowledged by the listener (S67). Note too that the paragraph contains an important piece of information which has a crucial bearing upon the development of the story, that is, that the fish was still alive (S70) and Vegu did not kill it (S71).

Expo P7 (S73-76)

The paragraph is a description of Vegu's garden; and the theme is started in the form of a quotation of lines from a traditional song⁹ both marked by the thematic marker nga (S74, 75).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the repetition in sentence (75) of the expression found in sentence (74), and the continuative dhano (S76); the paragraph is related to the previous one by the chaining process, that is, the repetition of dua (S73) which copies (S72).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of location from Vegu's house to his garden, DTA (S73) and na (S76).

Nar P8 (S77-86)

The theme of the paragraph is the finding of mysterious food which is incidentally summarised in the evaluative clause given not in Ngadha but in Indonesian (S77). The paragraph embeds a description of the food (S78) and Vegu's soliloquies (S79, 83, 85).

The paragraph may be subdivided into several events:

- E1 (S77) is Vegu's returning home marked by DTA.
- E2 (S78) is the finding of the food, the end of which is marked by DTA; the cohesion is marked by the sequential connective ba.
- E3 (S79-81) is Vegu's soliloquy, his trying to find the person who prepared the food, and checking the fish; the end of E3 is marked by DTA (S81), while the cohesion is marked by the continuative 'ano (S81).
- E4 (S82-84) is Vegu's decision to just eat the food and his determination is marked by nga (S83), while the cohesion is marked by the sequential connective to (S84) and the continuative 'ano (S83); the end of E4 is marked by kenna (S84).
- E5 (S85-86) is Vegu's going to sleep after he had finished eating and checking his fish; the theme is marked by nga (S85), the cohesion by dhano and siba (S86), while the boundary is marked by FFI (S86).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of location from Vegu's garden back to his house (S77) and FFI (S86).

It is worth noting at this point that if we take all the important activities done by Vegu from *Nar P1* up to *Nar P8* we have a script of Vegu's day-to-day livelihood: he got up in the morning (S49), checked his fishtrap at the river (S54), took his catch (S58) and on the way home picked edible ferns and other leaves (referred to in sentence 69), returned home, started a fire and cooked his meal for the day (S65), (ate) and went to work in his garden (S72), returned home in the evening (S77), ate supper (S84) and went to sleep (S86). The account gives a clear picture of the life in the villages in Ngadha and in his particular case, the Bai people during the dry season.

Nar P9 (S87-88)

The paragraph expounds Vegu's activities the next day, that is, he got up early in the morning, heated the leftovers (food from the night before) and went to work.

The theme is marked by *nga* (S87), the cohesion by *siba* (S87, 88) and the chaining process, that is, the repetition of *bana to heat (the food)* (S88) which copies (S87), while the boundaries are marked by the shift in time (S87) and FFI (S88).

Nar P10 (S89-93)

The paragraph is almost an exact copy of *Nar P8* above, the theme of which is the finding of mysterious food. The theme is marked by *nga* (S91, 93) and the cohesion by *dhano* (S90, 91, 92) and *siba* (S92, 93).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in time and DTA (S89) and the temporal projection and FFI (S93).

Nar P11 (S94-95)

The paragraph is a summary of what happened from day to day to Vegu, and particularly, the change in the menu of the food that Vegu found. The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the parallel construction found in sentence (94) and the sequential connective *siba* (S94), and *dhano*(S95). Note that the parallel construction involves a paradigmatic change in the subject slot, while the reversed word order renders the sentence as highly evaluative. The theme is marked by *ngata* (S95) which refers to the food, while the boundaries are marked by DTA (S94, 95). Note too that the description of the food that Vegu found is in sharp contrast to the poor meals he used to have, that is, the edible ferns, wild lettuce, sowthistle and soy leaves described in sentence (69).

Section V:

Nar P1 (S96-98)

The theme of the paragraph is Vegu's soliloquy; Vegu was thinking aloud about what to do to find out who prepared the food for him. Sentence (96) contains a major shift in the temporal reference marked by the expressions *repo sa-lezza at last one day* and *vula tellu three months (had lapsed)*; the temporal anchor is sentence (47) thus the time at this point is three months after Vegu made the catch of fish (Penu) or Penu's arrival at Bai which was two years after her suicide at Kolupenu pond (S23). Note that the calendric time serves to index the major events and major breaks in the story.

Nar P2 (S99-101)

The theme of the paragraph is Vegu's decision to spy on the person who prepared the food for him. The cohesion of the paragraph and its relation to the previous paragraph is marked by the sequential connective to (S99, 100, 101), the repetition of the expression *sa-lezza* (S99) of the same expression in sentence (96), and the chaining process: *dua* (S100) which copies (S99), and *vado* (S101) which copies (S100).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the temporal expression (S99) and DTA and FFI (S101).

Expo P3 (S102)

The paragraph describes the traditional house structure (see Figures 4 and 6). The theme is marked by *ngaza*, while the boundaries are not clearly marked except the fact that there is a drastic change of topic.

Nar P4 (S103-104)

The focus of attention is reshifted to Vegu's activities, that is, his climbing on the ledge of the house to spy on whoever cooked the food for him. The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by *siba* (S103) and the repetition of *dhekke ascend* (S103) which is an instance of the chaining process.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus from the house structure (S102) to Vegu, and DTA and FFI (S104) coupled with the description of the girl that Vegu saw.

Proc P5 (S105-108)

The paragraph is an elaboration on what Vegu saw as has been described in the previous paragraph, that is, there was a beautiful girl with perfect form doing the cooking for him (S104). The cooking procedure described in the paragraph is a script of how the Ngadha people prepare their food (in this particular case involving the steaming of rice and simmering of meat). The procedure consists of several steps:

St1 (S105) winnow the hulled rice (*tebbhi*).

St2 (S105) sort the unhulled rice (*ghale*).

St3 (referred to in sentence 104) wash the rice (*sida*).

St4 (S106) pour the rice into the cooking pot (*zobhe*) in which water had previously been boiled.

St5 (S107) take strips of seasoned water buffalo meat and slice into small cuts (*kaje*).

St6 (S108) simmer the meat (*nasu*).

The cohesion of the paragraph is created by the sequential connective *siba* and *ba* (S105, 107, 108) and the chaining process involving the repetition of *zii* (106) which copies (S105), *zobhe dhea* (S107) which copies (S105), and *kaje* (S108) which copies (S107). Note, too, that the chaining of events is also created by the expression *moli finished*, that is, finished sorting then pour the rice into the cooking pot (S105), finished pouring the rice then take the meat and slice it (S107), finished slicing then simmer it (S108).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of perspective and FFI (S108). It is worth noting that the sentences in the paragraph are all subjectless, which is characteristic of procedural description; the subject is identified only in sentence (104).

Nar P6 (S109-111)

The focus of the paragraph is shifted back to Vegu, that is, his startling the girl which causes her death. The theme is marked by nga (S109) and ana-ngata 'third person thematic pronoun (pity)' (S111). Note too that only at the very end of the paragraph does the narrator identify the girl as Penu.

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by to (S109, 111), the narrative pointer roa *aforementioned* (S109) and the chaining process expressed by the repetition of boka *collapse* and the continuative dhano (S111).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus and the demonstrative kenna *that* and FFI (S111).

Nar P7 (S112-119)

The paragraph expounds Vegu's surprise at the death of the girl and his thinking of the way to try to revive her; the account is given in D-quot of Vegu's soliloquies. The theme is marked by ana-ngata (S112, 144), nga (S115, 119) and ngata (S119).

The paragraph can be subdivided into several important events:

E1 (S112-115) Vegu came into the house and saw the dead girl. Note that he was sorry for her but thought about her beauty and the fact that he might go hungry again (marked by nga; see S115).

E2 (S116) He checked the fish but only saw its scales.

E3 (S117-119) He thought and thought and got an idea which he carried out as described in the next paragraph.

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by to (S119) and the chaining process expressed by the repetition of medo *a long time* (S118) which copies (S117), and magha *think* (S119) which repeats (S117). Note also the evaluative element in the telling of the story as marked by the repetition of the word magha in sentences (117 and 119).

The boundaries of the paragraph are not clearly marked, except by FFI in sentence (119) and the shift from the dramatic account (D-quot) to action in the next paragraph.

Proc P8 (S120-125)

The paragraph describes the procedures of preparing the 'medication' (which is Vegu's own invention)¹⁰ and its application. The procedures are:

St1 (S120) Take the fish's scales and parch them on the fire. The actor is represented by the thematic pronoun ngata and the boundary is marked by DTA, while the cohesion is marked by so *then*.

St2 (S121) Pour water into a large gourd container. Note that the sentence embeds an explanation of what a toza is: and the boundary is marked by DTA.

St3 (S122) Pound and pulverise the parched scales. The theme is marked by nga, while the cohesion is marked by siba and devve.

St4 (S123-124) Mix pulverized scales with the water. The cohesion is marked by the repetition of rettu gejju-gejju *pound well* and the continuative dhano, while the boundary is marked by DTA and na (S124).

St5 (S125) Apply 'medication' starting from the head to the body and feet. The cohesion is marked by *siba* and *-si* which relate the action to what has been described earlier; the boundary is marked by DTA.

Note that the boundaries of the whole paragraph are not clearly marked.

Nar P9 (S126-145)

The paragraph is an embedded dramatic discourse expounding a dialogue between the two characters. The main theme of the paragraph is Penu's regaining consciousness (revival) (S126, 127) marked by *nga*, *ana-ngata* (S126) and the sequential connective *to* (S126, 127). The secondary theme is Penu's request for Vegu not to reveal her identity and her directing Vegu to do whatever she tells him in order to achieve success which will be further elaborated in the next section of the story.

It is worth noting that the dialogue does not index the speaker, thus the turn at talking must be inferred from the meaning of the utterances. The following are the turns at talking:

- T1 (S128) Penu: The turn is marked by *naji say*; the remark is a reprimand by Penu of Vegu's surprising her.
- T2 (S129-130) Vegu: The turn is marked by the interjection *no*, followed by a question and counter-remark.
- T3 (S131-132) Penu: The turn is a further reprimand by Penu.
- T4 (S133-138) Vegu: The turn is marked by *naji* and is a remark of self-defense explaining why he spied and startled Penu; important points in the remark are marked by *nga* (S135), the sequential connective *ba* (S137), the parallel construction (S134), and the quote within a quote (S135).
- T5 (S139-144) Penu: The turn is marked by *naji* and contains an important request, that is, for Vegu not to tell other people about her (S140, 141), and two directions: that Vegu must sharpen his machete (S142) and the next day fell the trees around his garden (S143).
- T6 (S145) Vegu: The turn is marked by *naji* and expresses an agreement by Vegu to do whatever Penu tells him.

Note that the quotation within a quotation (S135) is a hypothetical quotation of what Penu should have said to Vegu to prevent him from spying on and startling her, while the order by Penu for Vegu to fell the trees will be executed the next day, as expounded in the next paragraph.

The boundaries of the whole paragraph are not clearly marked, except for the final falling intonation contour (S145) which marks the end of the dialogue, and the shift in time reference in sentence (146).

Section VI:

Nar P1 (S146-156)

The paragraph is marked in the beginning by a shift in temporal reference; that is, *to'o-robha-ze'e (get up) the next day* (S146). The paragraph can be divided into three subunits: the execution, that is Vegu executed Penu's order (S146, 149), the report by Vegu of the execution (S152) and further direction by Penu (S153, 156).

Note that the execution subunit embeds descriptions of a dense forest (S147, 148), the clearing that Vegu opened (S150), and an evaluation (S151) marked by *ngata*. The evaluation part may be interpreted as an appeal for suspension of disbelief and that the narrator is just telling the legend the way he learned it.

The report and further direction subunits are given in the form of a dialogue, and thus may be analysed as turns:

- T1 (S152) Vegu: The turn is marked by *naji*; Vegu reported about the felling of the trees; the sequence of events is marked by *to* and the cohesion is marked by parallel constructions.
- T2 (S153) Penu: The turn is marked by *naji*; it contains a remark and further order, that is, for Vegu to burn the trees the day after next.
- T3 (S154) Vegu: This is a counter-remark expressing Vegu's doubts; the projected sequence of events is marked by *ba*.
- T4 (S155-156) Penu: The turn is marked by *naji*. It contains a remark by Penu that the trees will burn, marked by *ngata* (S155) and the repetition of the order given in sentence (153) marked by *ba* and *-si*.

The theme of the paragraph is given in the thematic sentence (146), while the cohesion is marked by the sequential connectives as has been pointed out above, the chaining process, i.e. the repetition of *kaju-tebe aze-una big and cloud-high trees* (S148) which copies (S147), '*eo-guka fall with loud noise and echos*' (S150) which copies (S149), and the parallel construction found in sentence (152).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in temporal reference (S146) and FFI (S156).

It is worth noting at this point that the structure of the subsequent paragraphs in Section VI is pretty much the same as *Nar P1* above, in that the paragraphs consist of execution, report of the execution, and further direction; in addition, each paragraph is marked by a temporal shift of a two-day interval and a dialogue between Vegu and Penu.

Nar P2 (S157-163)

Sentence (157) is the thematic sentence marking the execution, that is, the burning of the trees; it is marked by the temporal expression *dhuu-venngi-zua the day after next*, and the sequential connective *siba* which links the execution to the order given in sentence (156). Sentences (158 and 159) are elaborations on the burning of the trees. Sentence (160) contains the report by Vegu of the execution, and sentence (161) is Penu's remark and further direction, that is, for Vegu to plant gourd seeds. Vegu's disagreement is given in sentence (162) but Penu insisted that he plant gourd seeds (S163), thus a repeat of the order (S161).

The cohesion of the paragraph is created by the repetition of the description given in sentence (158) in sentences (159 and 160) and the dialogue between the two characters (S160-163).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the temporal shift and DTA (S157), and the end of the dialogue marked by FFI (S163).

Nar P3 (S164-170)

Sentence (164) is the thematic sentence which implicitly describes the execution of the order to plant gourd seeds as manifest in the expression *duu-jere a poor and docile person*. The expression implies that Vegu did whatever was ordered of him.

Sentence (165) is an embedded description about the gourd seeds, while sentence (166) is an overlapping remark made by the listener. Sentence (167) repeats the execution of Penu's order by Vegu and sentence (168) describes the execution.

The report of the execution is given in sentence (169) followed by a further direction by Penu for Vegu to check the garden in two days.

The cohesion of the paragraph is created by *siba* (S164, 167) which relates the execution to the order given in sentence (163), and the repetition of the expression *ngee tuza moi be able to finish planting* (S168) in sentence (169), and the dialogue between Penu and Vegu (S169-170). The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in temporal reference and DTA (S164) and the end of the dialogue marked by FFI (S170).

It is worth noting at this point that if we take the thematic sentences of the three paragraphs above, we will get a script of traditional agricultural practices adopted in Ngadha, that is the slash-and-burn type farming: slash (S146), burn (S157) and plant (S167).

Nar P4 (S171-174)

Sentence (171) is the thematic sentence which describes the execution and is marked by the shift in temporal reference. And both sentences (171 and 172) provide a description of the germination of the seeds. Sentence (173) is the report of the execution by Vegu followed by a further direction by Penu (S174).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the parallel construction *mettu da kaa eaten by ants, kolo da gare scratched by wild doves* (S171) and the repetition of the expression for *germinate* (*tebbu*) (S171) in sentence (172 and 173), and the dialogue (S173-174).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in temporal reference and DTA (S171) and FFI (S174).

Nar P5 (S175-179)

Sentence (175) is the thematic sentence which describes the execution by Vegu, while sentence (176) is a description of the gourd plants which had all grown tall. Sentence (177) is the report by Vegu followed by a further direction by Penu (S178, 179).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the repetition of the expressions *lobo mara moe ana-gala shoots looking like lance tips* (S175) in sentence (177) and *lobo papa tuki moli-gha pekka shoots have all grown intertwined* (S176) in sentence (177), and the dialogue between Penu and Vegu (S177-178).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in temporal reference and DTA (S176) and FFI (S179).

Nar P6 (S180-186)

Sentence (180) is the thematic sentence which describes the execution, while sentences (181-183) are the description of the gourds. Sentence (184) contains the report by Vegu followed by a further direction by Penu (S185). Sentence (186) is an evaluation by the narrator about the time interval of two days; note also that sentence (181) contains an evaluation about the gourds given in D-quot which is a line taken from a traditional song, while the expressive pronunciation of the word *heke round and well-formed* (S180) renders it as evaluative.

The cohesion of the paragraphs is marked by the parallel construction *nemme meze-meze*, *nemme keddhi-keddhi gourds large and small* (S182), the repetition of *nemme kena-kena just gourds* (S183) in sentence (184), and the dialogue between the two characters.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of temporal reference and DTA (S180) and DTA and FFI (S186).

Nar P7 (S187-189)

Sentence (187) is the thematic sentence describing the execution, sentence (188) is the report of what Vegu saw, that is, the gourds had been destroyed by worms, and sentence (189) is a further direction by Penu for Vegu to check the garden again in two days.

The cohesion of the paragraph is created by the parallel construction found in sentence (188), that is, *ule kaa moli-moli, ule seppa moli-moli, go tegge da seppa worms ate them all, worms ate them, maggots ate them*, and the dialogue between Vegu and Penu (S188-189).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in temporal reference (S187) and FFI and the continuative *vali again* which projects to a future event (S189).

Nar P8 (S190-197)

The temporal frame of the paragraph is not marked; it is supposed to be the same as the time that has been set for *Nar P7* above. The theme of the paragraph is the announcement by Vegu as ordered by Penu for the village to make preparation for a feast (S190), while the rest of the paragraph expounds the reaction of the people.

The paragraph can be subdivided into:

- E1 (S190) is the order by Penu for Vegu to make the announcement followed by the execution by Vegu; note, however, that the order and the execution are not clearly distinguished. The repetition and parallel construction found in the sentence are a script of the traditional way of making an announcement and they provide cohesion to the script along with the sequential connective *-si/-sei*.
- E2 (S191-193) is the remark by Vegu's fellow villagers who mocked and insulted him. Note that the remarks are given in D-quot (S191, 193).
- E3 (S194-195) is the report by Vegu of the execution and the reaction of the village.
- E4 (S196-197) is Penu's remark and further direction which is a repeat of her order given in sentence (189).

The cohesion of the whole paragraph is created by the dialogues between Penu and Vegu (S190 and S194-197) and the remarks by the people of the village (S191, 193) as well as the partial repetition of the announcement (S190) in sentences (191 and 193). And note that the sentences that contain information about the theme are marked by nennga (S193) and nga (S196).

The boundaries of the paragraph are not clearly marked except by the change of topic and FFI (S197).

Nar P9 (S198-205)

The time reference of the paragraph is not given, but it is understood that the event happened two days after Vegu made the announcement for the preparation for a ceremonial feast as has been established in the previous paragraph (see S197). Sentence (198) is the execution followed by a description of the water buffalos (S199) and the slaves that Vegu saw in the garden (S200). Sentences (201 and 202) are the report by Vegu followed by a remark by Penu (S203). Sentence (204) is a remark by Vegu about where to put the water buffalos followed by a counter-remark by Penu and a further direction, that is, for Vegu to check the garden again in two days (S205).

Note that the paragraph contains a detailed description of water buffalos with respect to their sex, approximate age (indicated by the length of the horns) and size, and hence their value.

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the repetition of the expressions given in sentence (199) in sentence (202), the sequential connective siba/ba (S199, 201, 202, 204), the narrative pointer devve (S200), the continuatives dhano (S199) and vai (S205), and the dialogue between Penu and Vegu (S201-205). The sentences that highlight the theme are marked by ngata (S200, 202) and nga (S200), while the boundaries of the paragraph are marked by DTA (S198) and FFI (S205).

Nar P10 (S206-208)

Sentence (206) is the execution of Penu's order given in sentence (205), that is, for Vegu to check the garden, but he met the slaves and the water buffalos on their way toward the village. Sentence (207) gives a description of the things Vegu found upon returning home to the village, that is, a new house, a large corral behind the house, a large granary, and gold and golden ornaments in the house. And sentence (208) is a remark by Penu telling Vegu that that day they would go forth to dance.

It is worth noting that the paragraph contains information on 'being successful' by the Ngadha traditional standards, that is, having enough food or success in agriculture, success in cattle breeding, in building a traditional house, in making golden ornaments and in giving a ceremonial feast. These requirements constitute the traditional script for a person to be considered 'accomplished' (see 4.1.2.(a) and Table 5 above).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the sequential connectives so, ba and -si (S207) and the narrative pointer devve (S208), the theme is highlighted by nga (S208), and the boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift in temporal reference (S206) and FFI (S208). Note too that the expression lezza devve-na *later today* (S208) does not provide a new time frame but reinforces the time established in sentence (206).

Nar P11 (S209-211)

The paragraph contains a shift of focus from Penu and Vegu's preparation for the ceremonial dancing (S208) to the arrival of the slaves and water buffalos in the village (S209). Sentences (210 and 211) expound the reward and punishment to those who complied or did not comply with the orphan's order; that is, those who replaced their house posts as ordered by Vegu were rewarded in that their houses did not collapse when brushed by the water buffalos, but those who did not were punished in that their houses collapsed.

The cohesion of the paragraph is achieved by the parallel construction found in sentence (209), the sequential connective *siba* (S210), the continuative 'ano (S209) and the juxtaposition of contrastive propositions in sentences (210 and 211).

The boundaries of the paragraph are not clearly marked except by the shift of focus as mentioned above and FFI (S211).

Nar P12 (S212-216)

The paragraph is the peak or climax of the story marked by the ceremonial dancing by Vegu and Penu. Note also that the event is Penu's first appearance in public in Vegu's village (Bai).

The theme of the paragraph is marked by *ngara* 'reflexive pronoun' (S212) and *nga* (S213, 214, 215, 216), while the cohesion is marked by the repetition of *zele uphill* (S212), *pebbhi-vekki get dressed* (S212, 213, 214), *kenna me'a ho'o-feo ... lii-gha ne'e goo-laba the slaves have sounded the goo-laba ensemble* (S213, 214) and the chaining process, that is, the repetition of *ja'i dance* (S215) which copies (S214) and the sequential connective *siba* (S212, 214, 216). The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus to Penu and Vegu's dancing and DTA and FFI (S216).

It needs to be noted that sentence (216) is a formulaic closure of the story and may be translated as *and they got married (and lived happily) until old age and death (ever after)*. Note too that the narrator gives a new interpretation to the ceremonial dance; that is, it is a 'wedding (feast)' of Penu and Vegu. In fact, a traditional wedding is marked by a formal invitation to the groom or bride to ascend (*dhekke*) into the house proper in a ceremony called *zezza feed* and the wedding is celebrated only by family members of the groom and the bride (also see footnote 24 to the Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (2.2.4)).

Section VII:**Expo P1** (S217)

The paragraph is a report of what the Bai people of the current time period say (i.e. mention in the legend(s) they tell) about the great number of water buffalos found in Bai. The theme of the paragraph is marked by two instances of *ngata* which refer to Vegu, and to Vegu and Penu respectively. The description given in D-quot is related to the previous account of Vegu and Penu and is marked by the narrative pointer *devve*, while the end of the paragraph is marked by the discourse pointer *na* which also functions as an oral punctuation and FFI.

Nar P2 (S218-220)

The paragraph is a flashback which gives an account of the largest ox which was transformed into a stone and what the Bai people say (i.e. mention in the legends(s) about it).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the repetition of *siba bale-nea*

vatu *then turned into a stone* (S218) in sentence (219), and the sequential connective siba (S218, s19, 220). The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus to the ox, and by FFI (S220).

Note that time is not set but it is understood as of the current time period marked by the expression lau mai (*the people*) down nearby (S220).

Nar P3 (S221-222)

The paragraph is a flashback and should have been included in Nar P11 in Section VI. The paragraph provides an additional piece of information about the ceremonial feast and what was done to the water buffalos.

The account is related to previous events by siba (S221, 222) and the narrative pointer devve (S222), while the ceremonial feast is highlighted by the thematic marker nga (S222).

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of focus to the feast and the rest of the water buffalos. Note, too, that sentence (222) contains an elaboration on the number and kind of water buffalos that were killed for the ceremonial feast, that is, twenty oxen and twenty bulls.

It is worth noting that oxen are rare and raised only for ceremonial feasts, while the number, forty, refers to a group (of people) which was traditionally considered adequate to start a new settlement. The group of settlers is called ulu-eko *head-tail* which expresses the relationship of families in a clan; ulu also means a *group of forty* normally used in counting fruits such as coconuts and unhusked maize (also see Appendix I on significant numbers).

Nar P4 (S223-226)

The paragraph is an evaluation in which the narrator repeats the description given in sentence (217) and adds an explanation of how the Kolupenu river (see Map 1) got its name (S224), and then ends the legend by giving its title (S226).

The theme of the paragraph is marked by nga (S223), the cohesion by siba (S223, 224), and the boundaries by the shift in temporal reference, that is dhuu di-na *up to this very day* (S223) and FFI (S226). Note that the paragraph also functions to bring the reader from the story world back to the real world.

Section VIII A:

Expo P1 (S227-231)

The paragraph is the closure of the performance of the legend and can be divided into two points:

Pol (S227) identifies the owner of the legend, the Bai people.

Po2 (S228-231) is a D-quot of the narrator's conversation with the Bai people in which he explained how he learned the legend (S229) and his appeal for them to continue 'making' the legend (S231). Note that Po2 may be further analysed as turns at talking:

T1(S228) The Bai people: This is a remark by the people (to whom the narrator told the legend) praising the narrator for his diligence and unwearied effort to preserve traditional knowledge.

T2 (S229-231) The narrator: This is a counter-remark that explains how he learned the legend (i.e. from his own father) thus an

acknowledgement of previous generations of narrators (S229), an apology to the Bai people if there were mistakes in his legend (S230), and an appeal to the people to continue 'making' the legend (S231).

The cohesion of the paragraph is marked by the quoted dialogue, the sequential connectives *gezze* (S230) and *siba* (S231), and the continuative '*ano*' (S231), the highlighting of the theme by *nga* (S230) and *ngaza* (S231), and the end of the paragraph -y the demonstrative *kenna* and FFI (S231).

Section VIII B:

Expo P1 (S232-233)

The paragraph contains two invocations which mark the ritual climax of the legend and serve as a closure of the performance.

Pol (S232): Invocation 1. This provides information on the migration of the people from Takatunga and Saraseddu. Note that the invocation is formulaic and is composed of rigid parallel constructions with rigid rhymes and meter.

Po2 (S233): Invocation 2. This is a praise of the greatness of the Dhaga clan of Takatunga and Sarseddu; note the rigid parallel construction, rhyme and meter similar to invocation 1.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of topic and of temporal reference (S232) and the signal to sound the *goo-laba* music and FFI (S233).

Expo P2 (S234-237)

The paragraph provides an additional bit of information about the invocations and is an evaluation by the narrator on why the Sese clan of Bai cites the invocations, that is, to acknowledge their relationship with the Dhaga clan of Takatunga and Saraseddu which is the theme of the paragraph.

The boundaries of the paragraph are marked by the shift of topic, the discourse pointer *na*, and FFI (S237). The end of the whole text and the performance is marked by the *goo-laba* music.

The following is a summary of my findings concerning the narrative structures of the PV text.

The text is essentially one-dimensional in that the progression and the sequence of events rigidly follow the referential order of events from the beginning to the end. The events that constitute the backbone of the text are temporally oriented. This seems to be the favourite way of telling stories in Ngadha. The conclusion is drawn after studying several legends and personal stories taken from my field notes, including the legends and myths collected by Dr. Arndt (Arndt 1960).

Instances of departure from the rigid sequence of events are found in the PV text (Section IV: Nar P5 and Section VII: Nar P2 and Nar P3), but I interpret them as additional information which has to do with evaluation and not the main thread of the text.

As for the paragraph, its formation is primarily created by the chaining process which involves the partial repetition of an item as an introduction to the next. The repetition of a certain element does not imply that the event happened twice but rather it provides a point of orientation for the next element (cp. Pike 1980 and Longacre 1968). Figure 12 below is an attempt to

illustrate the chaining process.

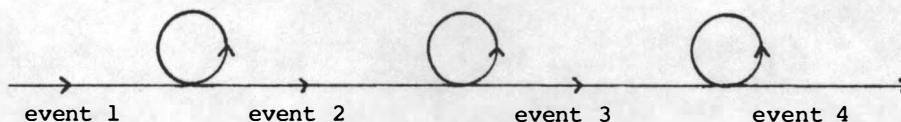


Figure 12: The chaining process

In addition, the paragraph may be formed by repetition which involves parallel constructions whose function is to add heaviness or extension and amplification of a certain element (cp. Grimes 1975 and Fox 1971a).

The characteristics of the paragraph structure of the PV text are:

- (1) A narrative paragraph is time-oriented and marked by temporal expressions, and is built of sequences of events marked by the sequential connectives. In addition, a Nar P may embed a dramatic discourse in that the story may be told via dialogue or soliloquy.
- (2) A procedural paragraph is time-oriented like a Nar P but the time is not overtly marked. A Proc P is composed of subjectless sentences and is associated with a certain traditional script.
- (3) An expository paragraph serves to provide additional description or evaluation; it does not narrate but supports the building of the text. An Expo P is not time-oriented although it may contain temporal expressions. And the temporal expressions contained in it mostly have to do with relating the text to other texts.

Finally, it is to be noted that the theme of a certain paragraph is highlighted either by the thematic marker *nga* (or its combination forms), repetition, or by word order which may involve topicalisation or reversed word order in which the predicate is preposed (cp. Jones 1976). The cohesion of the paragraph and the relatedness of paragraphs are achieved by the sequential connectives, narrative pointers and discourse pointer, while the boundaries of a paragraph are marked by the direct term of address (*emma*), final falling intonation contour, and the identification or reidentification of characters, time and locations. It is also to be noted that identifications are characteristically given in existential or equative sentences.

NOTES

1. The term backbone is used here following Longacre (1968); it has to do with the time-oriented parts of a narrative to which identification and explanation are added as peripheral elements.
2. See footnote 1 to the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (2.2.4.).
3. The term script is used here to mean presupposed traditional ways of doing things including livelihood and procedures. A script is shared cultural knowledge thus highly specific and hence may not be overtly stated or marked.
4. My visit with Mr. Wezo was done on a field trip to Ngadha, Flores on January 9-10, 1979.
5. Information on the stages of life of an 'accomplished' individual by the Ngadha traditional standards is taken from my field notes, from interviews and discussions at Bajava village with:
 - (a) A.J. Siwemole (70 years), J. Batelanga (70 years), W. Wea (57 years) on January 3, 1979;
 - (b) H. Nainawa (57 years), P. Maku (57 years), Balumo'i (54 years), J. Demusua (50 years) on December 12, 1978;
 - (c) Uge Fonokesa (85 years), Taifono (62 years), P. Soroboba (57 years) on January 4, 1979.
6. Intuitively means using my intuition as a speaker of Ngadha, which is my first language.
7. See Arndt (1960).
8. See Appendix III.
9. See Appendix III.
10. The 'medication' invented by Vegu (in the legend) is not known in the Ngadha culture. Vegu's initiatives are perhaps drawn from the analogy that a fish has scales; his fish is gone and what is left are the scales and the dead girl; hence he takes the scales, parches and pulverises them, mixes the powder with water and smears it on the dead girl, thus putting the 'scales' where they belong, on the 'fish-girl'.

APPENDIX I

THE CALENDRIAL SYSTEM AND THE STAGES OF THE DAY IN NGADHA

The passage of time within the one-year, one-month, one-season and one-day period is observed by reference to various events drawn from the human, animal, and plant realms as well as the course of the sun, the phases of the moon, and the apparent motion of the heavens (i.e. certain stars and constellations). The natural chronometers observed by the Ngadha people are the rising and setting of the Pleiades (*dala koo*; *dala star*, *koo net bag made of string*) and the Antares (*vavi toro*; *vavi pig*, *toro red*) and the phases of the moon (*vula*) to determine the yearly and seasonal cycles of time, and the course of the sun to determine the stages of the day (i.e. during daylight). Besides the apparent motion of the heavens, the Ngadha people also observe the rainy and dry periods, human activities such as gardening stages, hunting and fishing seasons, and bedtime, the cock's crow time, and the stage of ripeness of certain fruits (particularly the wild nutmeg called *fange* whose nuts are used to blacken the teeth of women in the tooth-filing initiation rites called *kiki ngi'i*; *kiki to file or bite*, *ngi'i tooth*).

It is to be noted that though the Ngadha culture has developed some sophisticated systems to keep track of time, the culture is concerned only with times that are cyclic, i.e. yearly, seasonal, monthly and daily. Very little attention is devoted to the keeping of records of linear time, i.e. the progressive historical time. The Ngadha people, like other agrarian societies, are more concerned with the cyclic times which reflect the recurrent patterns of the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth.

1. THE YEAR

One year (*hiva*) consists of two seasons, or thirteen months, or 364 days. The discrepancy of one or two days with respect to the solar year (365 or 366 days) is made up around the month of November in a period called *tuke vara* (*tuke support with a pole*, *vara wind*). At this period the Ngadha people wait for the coming of the so-called 'big or strong wind' (*vara meze*; *meze big*) which is the west wind. The west wind signals the coming of the wet-monsoon or rainy season whose first stage coincides with the celebrations of the village new year, called *rebba*. The village new year differs from village to village and is normally celebrated between late November and late February. The Ngadha people living on the southern part of the land commonly consider *rebba Bena* the new year celebration of the village of *Bena* as the first in the series of *rebba* feasts, thus the first day of the year.

The village of Bena takes the credit for being the first due to the fact that it is now the only village in Ngadha that still assigns one single traditional house (hence the extended family of the house) to keep track of the yearly cycle of time. At every tuke vara period (month), the family performs a ritual ceremony called tegge sobhi (tegge *to bring and secure in the house*, sobhi *comb*). The 'comb' is a bamboo node with twelve branches or fingers. By observing the moon, they take off one branch/finger from the 'comb' at each new moon, beginning one month after the rebba feast. It follows that by the time the twelve branches are taken off plus the tuke vara period, at the end of which they make or take in a new 'comb' for the coming year, there are thirteen months. A traditional Ngadha month consists of twenty-eight days. Further discussion on the phases of the moon is given in 2. below.

The traditional house in Bena whose members are responsible for the making of the 'comb' calendar is called sa'o sobhi (sa'o *traditional house* in which several extended families live). Some informants claimed that there is a similar house in the vitlage of Sadha, however, Bena is the one that is considered the most consistent within the current time period. It used to be the case that every village had one sa'o sobhi to keep track of time.

2. THE MONTH

Although the Ngadha lunar month (vula) appears to operate according to a four or eight part division of the phases of the moon, it is essentially divided into just two phases: vula boo *the waxing moon* and vula bee *the waning moon* (boo *rise*, bee *wane*). A one-night period of the waxing moon is called reppa *be startled*, while a one-night period of the waning moon is called gelu maru *changing evening* (gelu *change*, maru *evening*); and the two expressions are used as classifiers in counting nights. The first night of the waxing moon is the moonless night, i.e. when the moon is completely invisible; it is called reppa 'essa ('essa *one*); the full moon is the fourteenth reppa. The first night of the waning moon, on the other hand, is the first night after full moon; the night before the moon is completely invisible coincides with the fourteenth gelu maru. Figure 13 and Table 6 give a more detailed description of the system.

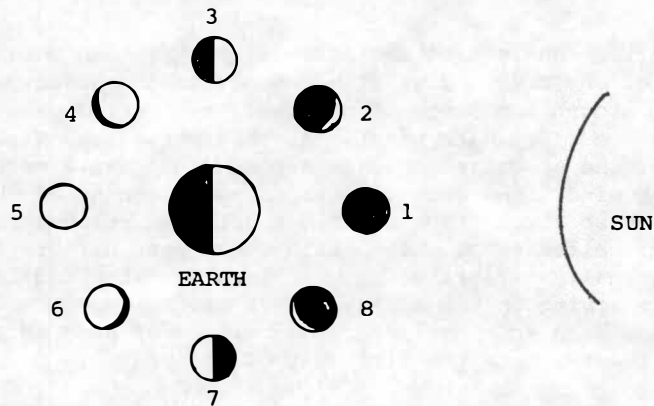


Figure 13: The phases of the moon

Table 6: The terms used for the phases of the moon

1. Vula muzi or vula mata, vula messe, vula selli	New moon; the moon is invisible (muzi <i>new/alive</i> , mata <i>die/dead</i> , messe <i>die slowly</i> , selli <i>dark or blinding light</i>).	The waxing moon (vula boo). A one-night period is called reppa (<i>be startled</i>). Reppa 'essa is the first moonless night; the last reppa is the fourteenth night which is around the time of the full moon ('essa one).
2. Vula kuku	The moon looks like the hoof of a horse or cow (kuku <i>hoof [of a horse or cow]</i>).	
3. Vula sa-veggha	Half of the moon is visible (sa- <i>one (bound form)</i> , veggha <i>half of a round object</i>).	
4. Vula remmi-remmi	The moon is almost round, but not fully rounded (remmi <i>intact</i>).	
5. Vula gili or vula gili moli, vula pepe li'e, vula dara gessa	Full moon; the moon is round and well-lit (gili <i>round</i> , moli <i>finish</i> , pepe <i>make a round clay pot</i> , li'e <i>fruit or round object classifier</i> , dara <i>light</i> , gessa <i>obvious/sure/not hidden</i>).	The waning moon (vula bee). A one-night period is called gelu maru (gelu <i>change</i> , maru <i>evening</i>). Gelu maru essa is the first night after the full moon; the fourteenth night is the night before the moon disappears completely.
6. Vula remmi-remmi	The moon begins to wane; it is not fully rounded anymore.	
7. Vula sa-veggha	Only half of the moon is visible.	
8. Nio lejje	The moon looks like a slice of coconut (nio <i>coconut</i> , lejje <i>a slice of coconut meat which looks like a thin hoof</i>).	

A month, according to the Ngadha calendrical system, consists of twenty-eight days. The one and a half day difference between the Ngadha system and the period of one complete revolution of the moon around the earth (29.531 days) is perhaps made up by assigning a special day for the full moon. It is to be noted that the thirteen-month period of a year and the twenty-eight-day period of a month coincide with the number of posts of a traditional house (thirteen) and the number of planks that make up the four walls of the house proper (twenty-eight). The stilts of a Ngadha traditional house (sa'o) are thirteen in number, consisting of twelve house posts (tubo) to hold the floors and one post (dekke kae) to hold a partial ceiling which is located above the fireplace inside the house proper (see Figure 6). The four walls of the house proper of a traditional

house are made of twenty-eight pieces of planks, seven on each side. There is only one sliding door and no windows (see Figure 6). I asked my informants whether one could build a house with more, or less, main house posts or planks for the walls than the numbers prescribed by tradition, and they bluntly said, "No!" Such a house would not qualify as a sa'o ngaza which literally means *a house with a name*, i.e. built in honour of and named after an ancestor (sa'o *traditional house*, ngaza name). My informants claimed that there was nothing significant about the numbers, but when I suggested that the numbers coincided with the number of months in a year and number of days in a month that they had just told me, they were surprised and said that that was perhaps the case. However, the interpretation is my own, and I am the one to be held responsible if it is proven to be wrong.

3. THE NAMES OF THE MONTHS

The names of the months differ from village to village and often coincide with the names of the different village new year celebrations (rebba), stages in gardening (i.e. slash, burn, cleaning, and planting), hunting seasons (para vitu; para *side/location*, vitu *tall grass* (of the genus *Sacchareum spontaneum*), fishing for fry (ipu *young fish right after they hatch* (of the genus *Chanos chanos*)), and the stages of ripeness of the fruits/nuts of fange tree (a kind of wild nutmeg whose fruits/nuts are used to blacken the teeth of women). Unfortunately, my informants could not remember all of the names of the months or the exact order. The following tables give the names of the months obtained at different parts of Ngadha and reconstructed with the help of some informants.

Note that the time period (given in column 3 of Table 7) is about the same throughout Ngadha thus will not be repeated in Tables 8 through 11 below.

Table 7: The names of the months obtained at Bena village, on December 27, 1978; informants: Emma Lolo (80), Y. Roja Tai (48), Y. Demusua (50)

1. Rebba Bena	Bena village New Year.	Between late November and early December
2. Rebba Nage	Nage village New Year.	Between late December and early January
3. Rebba Deru	Deru village New Year.	Around January
4. Rebba Loga	Loga village New Year.	Around February
5. Ketti kali	People pick leaves and dig wild tubers/yams (<i>ketti pick leaves, kali dig</i>).	Around March
6. Pozi maza	The rain stops; (<i>pozi diminish, maza dry or stop (of rain)</i>).	Around April
7. Fange zi'a	The wild nutmeg fruit is ripe and perfect to use; (<i>fange wild nutmeg, zi'a healthy</i>).	Around May
8. Fange ze'e	The wild nutmeg fruit is overripe; (<i>ze'e bad, rotten/overripe</i>).	Around June
9. Mapa	Slashing period; bushes are slashed to make garden clearings; (<i>mapa ?</i>).	Around July
10. Duzu	The slashed bushes are left in the sun to dry; (<i>duzu ?</i>).	Around August
11. Rebba Langa	Langa village New Year (?)	Around September
12. Bui	The slashed bushes and weeds are burned; burning period (<i>bui burn</i>).	Around October
13. Tuke vara	Waiting for the west wind to come and bring rain; (<i>tuke support with a pole, vara wind</i>). Right after the first rain people begin planting.	Between late October and mid-November

Table 8: The names of the months obtained at Tololela village on November 29, 1978; informants: Emma Dhiu (77), Pedhu Maku (62), Y. Laja (50), D. Daku (47), Ine Nedo (90), H. Nainawa (57)

1. Rebba Bena	Bena village New Year.
2. Rebba Nage	Nage village New Year.
3. Rebba Deru	Deru village New Year.
4. Balu Keli	Balu Keli village New Year.
5. Loga	Flood water (?).
6. Ketti kali	People pick leaves and dig wild tubers/yams.
7. Pozi maza	The rain stops.
8. Fange zi'a	The wild nutmeg fruit is ripe and perfect to use.
9. Fange ze'e	The wild nutmeg fruit is overripe.
10. Mapa	Slashing period.
11. Duzu	The slashed bushes are left in the sun to dry.
12. Langa	Langa village New Year (?).
13. Bui	Burning period.

Table 9: The names of the months obtained at Mataloko village on January 10, 1979; informant: Y. Wezo (52)

1. Rebba Sadha	Sadha village New Year.
2. Rebba Doka	Doka village New Year.
3. Rebba Vogo	Vogo village New Year.
4. Rebba Toda	Toda village New Year.
5. Koti	People pick leaves and dig wild tubers/yams (?).
6. ?	
7. Fanga zi'a	The wild nutmeg fruit is ripe and perfect to use.
8. Fanga ze'e	The wild nutmeg fruit is overripe.
9. ?	
10. Para vitu	Hunting season.
11. ?	
12. Bolo	Burning period; (bolo <i>smoke and/or clouds fill the sky</i>).
13. Vara meze	The great wind comes; (vara <i>wind, meze large, also strong</i>).

Table 10: The names of the months obtained at Raghi and Bella villages, on December 12 and 13, 1978; informants: Emma Tai Mo'i (95), Enne Meo Bupu (85), Enne Pare Neda (75), Emma Dhei Wea (71), Felix Laja (35), D. Uta (45) and H. Gelo (34).

In addition to the gardening stages and stages of ripeness of the wild nutmeg fruit, the system makes references to the kinds of fry (*Chanos chanos*) that people catch at the river or estuaries.

1. Bui Bena	The burning period at the village of Bena.
2. ?	
3. Fanga zi'a	The wild nutmeg fruit is ripe and perfect to use.
4. Fanga ze'e	The wild nutmeg fruit is overripe.
5. Ketti Kali	People pick leaves and dig wild tubers/yams.
6. Ipu sessi	People catch Sessi fry (<i>Sessi Chanos chanos</i>).
7. Ipu vette	People catch Vette fry (<i>Vette Chanos chanos</i>).
8. Ipu kosu	People catch Kosu fry (<i>Kosu Chanos chanos</i>).
9. ?	
10. Ipu tekke	People catch Tekke fry (<i>Tekke Chanos chanos</i>).
11. Ipu manu	People catch Manu fry (<i>Manu Chanos chanos</i>).
12. Ipu raru	People catch Raru fry (<i>Raru Chanos chanos</i>).

Note: Presumably the names of the different kinds of fry are related to their shapes and looks; *sessi water filter made of palm wine (Arenga pinnata) husk, vette oat, kosu unhusked rice, tekke gako, manu chicken, raru needle.*

Table 11: The names of the months obtained at Lo'a village (So'a district), on November 12, 1978; informants: J. Meo (58), J. Wea (58), H. Nainawa (57) and J. Demusua (50).

The system makes reference to the hunting seasons of certain areas of Ngadha.

1. Vitu du'a	The hunting season of the mountain people; (<i>vitu tall grass</i> (of the genus <i>Sacchareum spontaneum</i>), <i>du'a mountain or high elevation</i>).
2. Vitu Lado	The hunting season of the Lado people.
3. Vitu Lo'a	The hunting season of the Lo'a people (of the So'a area).
4. Vitu Bedu	The hunting season of the Bedu people.
5. Pu'u Boo	The hunting season of the Pu'u Boo people (?).
6. Buu Dai	The hunting season of the Buu Dai people (?).
7. ?	
8. ?	
9. Ro'e	Resting period; people rest and celebrate harvest feasts; (<i>ro'e indulged or spoiled</i> [as of a child]).
10. Ije	The hunting season of the Ije people.
11. Gisi	The hunting season of the Gisi people.
12. Naru	The hunting season of the Naru people.
13. Bui	The burning period.

Note: There is a term that doesn't fit in the table. The term is Vitu Keddhi-meze (*keddhi small*, *meze big*) used to refer to a general period of hunting between the months of August and October.

4. THE SEASONS

Ngadha does not have a special name for season; instead the word *vula month* is used by extension to mean *season*. The two seasons observed are *vula rute the rainy season* (*rute goddess of rain or mother earth*) which begins around late November and ends in late April, and *vula lezza the dry season* (*lezza day*) which begins in early May and ends in late October. The points of orientation for the seasons are the rising and setting of the Pleiades (i.e. the Seven stars which are in the Taurus constellation into which the sun enters on or near the twenty-first of April) called *dala koo* (*dala star*, *koo a net bag made of string*) and the rising and setting of the Antares (the super-giant star in the constellation Scorpius which rises in the evening in May just as the Pleiades disappear from the sky, and is entered by the sun on or around October twenty-third) called *vavi toro* (*vavi pig*, *toro red*). It is to be noted that in the Southern latitude the constellation Scorpion is magnificently seen in its entirety. Andree (1893), as quoted by Barnes (1974:117), in his studies of the Pleiades, remarks that no

other constellation is so significant to the people in Oceania, Asia, Africa and South America due to the fact that the constellation is associated with planting and the yearly calendar. The Ngadha people observe both the Pleiades and the constellation Scorpion for determining the seasons of the year as has been reported by Arndt (1954:322).

The Pleiades stand opposite the sun in the sky during the second half of November; this means that they rise in the evening just after sunset. From then on they rise earlier, so that at sunset they appear higher in the sky each night. Simultaneously, they set earlier in the morning, until at the end of February they set at about midnight. In the second half of May, the Pleiades stand near the sun, and therefore they rise and set with the sun and are thus completely invisible. After this point, they rise earlier and earlier in the morning before sunrise, until by the end of August they stand mid-way in the sky when the morning sun appears. The constellation Scorpion stands almost directly opposite the Pleiades in the sky, and it rises in the evening in May just as the Pleiades disappear. It finally disappears at the end of November, just as the Pleiades begin to rise again at sunset (Barnes 1974:117).

The course of the two constellations is the basis of one important myth in Ngadha explaining why the two are separated (cf. Arndt 1951:62) and one important legend about the seven main clans in Ngadha. The myth *dala koo ne'e vavi toro* (*The Pleiades and Antares*) is associated with the origin of the caste system in Ngadha and depicts incest (the marriage of *dala koo the symbol of woman* to her twin brother *vavi toro the symbol of man*) and its consequences, i.e. the separation of the two. In relation to the caste system of Ngadha, *dala koo's* descendants from a second marriage (i.e. after her separation from her twin brother *vavi toro*) constitute the highest caste called *ga'e meze* (*ga'e* also *older sibling*), *meze big*), while the descendants of *vavi toro* from a second marriage (i.e. after the separation from his twin sister) constitute the middle caste called *ga'e kisa* (*kisa middle*). The descendants of *dala koo* and *vavi toro's* children from their incestual marriage constitute the third caste called *azi ana azi younger sibling, ana child, off-spring*). It is to be noted that from the incestual marriage *dala koo* and *vavi toro* get twin children, a boy and a girl (cf. Arndt 1954:322). My version of the myth differs from Arndt's in that in Arndt's version it is the man's (*vavi toro*) descendants who become the highest caste, while the woman's descendants become the middle caste. For more information on the caste system, see Arndt 1954: Chapter II, Section IV, pp 321-343.

It is to be noted that the legend is associated with the number seven, inasmuch as it deals with the Seven stars (*dala koo*, the Pleiades).

The legend of Java Meze *Java the Great* (*java 'male personal name', also peace; meze big*) is not included in Arndt's collection of myths, *Mythen der Ngadha* (1961). It is one of the most important legends of the Ngadha people depicting the migration of the people from Java one (perhaps a mythical place (?); one *inside*, i.e. down toward the sea) to Ngadhaland. Java Meze, according to the legend, has seven sons (Ratu Java, Bima, Jati Java (or Jati and Java), Todo, Dara, Sama, and Faga) and seven daughters (Ngadha, Naru, Vato, Lodo, Gisi, Siga, and Rani). Java Meze and the sons returned to Java one and only the woman stayed and started the settlement of Ngadha. The oldest of the women i.e. of the seven sisters) is Ngadha, hence the name of the land and the largest clan. The true history part of the legend is exemplified by the fact that when the Dutch first came to Ngadha in 1907, they appointed a king who was not of pure Ngadha-clan blood, and it was reported that the king was killed in the wars

between the rivals and their followers. Peace was achieved only after the Dutch appointed Java Tai from the Ngadha clan of Bajava to be the king in 1914.

It is also worth mentioning that the 'capital' of Ngadha 'kingdom' was Bajava village, often referred to as 'Bajava the seven villages' as it had its 'satellite' villages (i.e. Bo Java, Piga Sina, Bo kua, Bo Ripo, Vako Menngge, and Bo Seka) (cp. Arndt (1954:272-3) who collected sets of slightly different names for the seven brothers and sisters, the children of Java Meze).

5. HOW TO KEEP TRACK OF THE DAYS (other than the month, season, and year)

To count days such as when one has an appointment or a transaction to be made, the Ngadha people used to use a string on which knots are tied to represent the number of days. The system is called buku (*knot* or *bamboo node separating two hollows*; it is also a term for ceremonial feast). Depending on the number of days agreed upon in the contract or appointment, knots are tied on the string which are then loosened or cut one at a time as each one-day period passes. In cases where one wants to catch a rival party off guard (normally done in cases involving marriage arrangements and the paying of bride prices) cheating called naka buku (*naka steal*, buku *knot*) is tolerated. In such a case normally the paying party comes one day ahead of the time provided for or agreed upon in the contract thus forcing the receiving party to accept the bride price offered without condition since they could not give a special party/feast to the paying party (i.e. the party of the suitor).

6. SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS

Certain numbers are observed by the Ngadha people as significant. The significance is drawn from both the human and religious (mythical) realms. The following are the numbers and a brief comment on each:

1. 'essa (*one*) is associated with deva *god of the upper world*, often called deva zeta sa-mori (zeta *up* (on a vertical axis), sa- *one* (a bound form), mori *owner* also *crocodile*, and generally used as a human classifier). The first son or daughter is always regarded special and is often called li'e ga'e *the godly fruit* (li'e *fruit/seed*, also used as a classifier for round objects, ga'e *god* or *high caste*) or ana vunga *the first child* (ana *child*, vunga *first* (ordinal number) also used as a classifier for metal tools). A mythical figure Sili ana-vunga (sili *lightning*) is always the first to be mentioned in the mentioning or invoking of the names of ancestors and places in the rebba feast (village New Year) as the first ancestor who 'comes' each year for the rebba celebration to teach the youngsters of Ngadha about tradition and give knowledge.

2. Zua or doa (*two*) is associated with human couples or pairs. Kinship terms are mostly given in pairs such as fai-haki *wife and husband* (fai *female* or *wife*, haki or laki *male* or *husband*), ine-emma *mother and father*, pine-ine *aunts* (of both mother's and father's sister), emma-pame *uncles* (of both mother's and father's brother), vetta-nara *sister and brother*, ka'e-azi *older and younger siblings*, etc. A common term for husband and wife is tau-zua (tau *make*, zua *two*); and doa is the term for a twin, which is extendedly used to mean *siblings* or *friends*, also *twin gongs* (see Appendix III). In the realms of the gods, the pair notion is exemplified in the expressions deva zeta (*god of the upper world*), and nitu zale (*goddess of the under world*; nitu *goddess of the under world* or

fairy, zale down (on a vertical axis)). The binary character of nature is drawn from obvious facts that there are male and female, the rainy and dry seasons signalled by the rising and setting of two opposite constellations, night and day following the course of the sun, the sky and earth (representing the upper and lower worlds), etc. It has to be noted that one striking feature of the legends and myths that I collected is that most legends and myths revolve around two important figures, a woman and a man.

3. Tellu (*three*) is associated with the gods of the upper and lower worlds and the family structure as exemplified in the ancestor worship practices. The Ngadha people talk about deva saga tellu "*a three-branch god of the upper world*" (saga branch or fork (of a road)) and nitu kabu tellu "*a three-root goddess of the underworld*" (kabu root). In the practices of ancestor worship the Ngadha people built a ngadhu (*a male ancestor tree*, built in honour of and named after a male ancestor), a bhaga (*a female ancestor house*, built in honour of and named after a female ancestor) and a peo (a small stone henge placed between the ngadhu and bhaga or behind the ngadhu towards the head of the village (see Figures 6 and 7)). Many of my older informants claimed that the three structures symbolised family unity, namely, mother, father and children. It is to be noted, too, that the male ancestor tree (ngadhu) has two branches and a roof, and has three roots planted in the ground. The ngadhu is claimed to symbolise the relationship between the goddess of the under world and the god of the upper world. In praying, my informants claimed, "One cannot directly pray to or 'interact' with 'god' but only through one's ancestors and parents"; this is the reason why ceremonies involving ancestor worship have to be performed in their commemoration because without them (the ancestors and parents) one cannot possibly 'be/exist'. When I asked my older informants whether the Ngadha people worship two gods (i.e. of the upper and lower worlds), they said, "No, only one god, realised as two persons, i.e. mother and father". The number three also coincides with the number of castes.

4. Vutu (*four*) is often counted as a group (of four) called buku (which is related to the 'knots' on a string used to keep track of the number of days). In feud or peace-making ceremonies, a set of special musical instruments, called laba rudu, is used. The set of instruments consists of two drums (laba skin drum), and two horns (rudu water-buffalo horn used as a trumpet). My informants claimed that the set of four of the special musical instruments is related to the importance of the water-buffalo as a totemic and sacrificial animal to the Ngadha people; a water-buffalo obviously has two horns and four feet. For the accompaniment of feasts, traditional ceremonies, and traditional dancing, a different set of musical instruments is used: laba-goo or goo-laba (goo bronze gong, laba skin drum).

5. Lima (*five*, also *hand*) is associated with the strength and the skill of one's hand. The Ngadha people refer to the success of a person as go lima ngata (go 'specific marker', ngata 'third person topic pronoun'). An example of the use of the word lima *hand* to mean success is found in the text of Penu and Vegu (sentence 192). The five fingers of one hand certainly serve for counting purposes.

Related to the notion of strength and skill, Ngadha has the expressions lima mali *medicine man*, i.e. one who knows about herbs to cure sick people (mali *effective* [of medicine]) and lima pade *traditional carpenter and blacksmith* (pade *skillful*).

In the area of music, Ngadha traditional music is a pentatonic system having a scale of five tones to the octave (approximately: do, re, mi, fa, sol).

The goo-laba ensemble consists of five gongs of different tones and three skin drums of three tones.

6. Lima-zua (*seven* also *two hands* lit. *five plus two*) has its significance in relation to the number of wooden planks needed to make the walls of the house proper. Each wall has to be made of only seven pieces of plank; the four walls thus have twenty-eight pieces of plank; and the number coincides with the number of days in a Ngadha traditional month, as discussed above. When lima-zua is taken to mean *two or both hands* it is often associated with strength or open-heartedness.

7. Rua-butu (*eight*) is built of the roots rua and butu (related to zua *two* and vutu *four*, thus two times four). A group of eight people working together to carry a heavy burden is called vigu-zua (vigu *shoulder*). The significance of the number is exemplified in the number of musical instruments of a goo-laba ensemble (five gongs and three drums; see note 5 above), and the number of people required to carry a ngadhu (*male ancestor tree*) into the village. Normally a ngadhu is carried by thirty-two persons, i.e. vigu-zua dekka vutu *eight times four* (dekka *to multiply*; also used as an action classifier), but eight is the minimal number prescribed by tradition.

8. Sa-bulu 'essa zua (*twelve*; bulu *ten*, 'essa is used as a classifier for number). The number is significant in house building; as prescribed by tradition, there must be twelve house posts (tubo): four to hold the house proper, four the inner patio and four the outer patio (see Figure 6). The twelve main house posts hold crossbeams which hold the floors. One post, called dekke-kae (dekke *support*, kae *partial ceiling above the fireplace*) is different from the other posts in that it is planted in the ground and goes right into the roof. The total number of main house posts is thus thirteen, which makes the number thirteen significant.

9. Sa-bulu 'essa tellu (*thirteen*). As mentioned in note 8, the total number of house posts prescribed by tradition is thirteen, and the number coincides with the number of months in a Ngadha calendrical year (cf. 2. on the Ngadha traditional months above).

10. Sa-bulu 'essa vutu (*fourteen*) is normally used in the buku counting system as discussed in 5. above. My informants claimed that fourteen is normally the maximum number of knots tied in the string, which coincides with both the number of nights (reppa) between the new moon and a full moon and the nights (gelu maru) between a full moon and the time when the moon completely disappears (cf. 2. above).

11. Ulu or sa-ulu (*forty*; lit. *head*). A group of forty people is normally considered adequate to start a new settlement. My informants claimed that the usual case was twenty men and twenty women, often married couples from one clan, started a new settlement, hence a subclan called ili-bhou ili *a cluster of bamboo or banana trees stemming from the same mother tree, bhou heap or gather*). The significance of the number forty is exemplified in the text of Penu and Vegu, i.e. the number of water buffalos killed for the feast at the end of the story: 'twenty bulls (mosa) and 'twenty oxen' (kodhe) (cf. sentence 222 of the text).

12. Indefinite plural numbers: ngasu (lit. *hundred*) and rivu (lit. *thousand*; by extension it is often used to mean *people*) are used to refer to a crowd (of people or things). In litigations, the two expressions are often used with a bad connotation, such as an accusation which draws a crowd but in point of fact is without reason or evidence (such as a false accusation).

Another use of the indefinite plural is the expression used to refer to the god of the upper world and the goddess of the under world in a ritual called *deva bhee god's summon* (*bhee summon, call*) or in the curse for someone to encounter bad luck called *noba*. The expressions are: *deva kela multicoloured god of the upper world* and *nitu riku multicoloured goddess of the under world*. The word *kela* means *having patches of different colours* (of animals) and *riku* means *having spots or dots of different colours* (of animals); the expressions are used to refer to animals with two or more different colours (patchy or spotty). I have not been able to get information on why the Ngadha people refer to the god and goddess as 'multicoloured'.

7. THE STAGES OF THE DAY

The passage of time within the twenty-four-hour period is observed by reference to various events drawn from the human and animal realms as well as the course of the sun. It is to be noted that the Ngadha people can also estimate the passage of time at night by observing the apparent motion of the heavens (moon and stars), but I have very little information on this.

Table 12 below shows the stages of the day and the terms used to refer to them. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the terms differ according to locations such as the mountainous or coastal areas, as well as the types of livelihood such as gardening, working on wet rice-fields, cattle breeding, fishing, working on small coconut plantations, weaving and doing handicrafts, etc. The terms given in the table apply to the mountainous areas around Bajava where I did my fieldwork (October 1978 to January 1979).

Note, too, that the basic terms in the system are *robha morning* (from around 4.00 to 9.00 a.m.), *lezza daylight or sun* (from 6.00 a.m. to around 5.30 p.m.), *maru evening* (from around 5.00 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.) and *kobe night* (from around 6.30 p.m. to around 4.00 a.m.). The overlapping of time designated by the four basic terms explains why the terms *robha*, *lezza*, *maru* and *kobe* are interchangeably used in the Penu and Vegu text (see Chapter 2) to refer to a one-day period.

Table 12: The stages of the day

kisa-kisa	<i>midnight</i> (<i>kisa middle</i>)	12.00 midnight
pipi fe'a	<i>the temple feels light; (pipi temple, fe'a light, i.e. not heavy)</i>	around 12.00 to 1.00 a.m.
manu kako sa-pa'o	<i>first cock's crow; (manu chicken, kako crow, sa- one, pa'o 'classifier for cock's crow)</i>	about 1.00 a.m.
manu kako pa'o zua	<i>second cock's crow; (zua two)</i>	about 2.00 a.m.
manu kako pa'o tellu	<i>third cock's crow; (tellu three)</i>	about 3.00 a.m.
manu kako rettu-rettu	<i>cocks crow continually; (rettu-rettu pulverise by pounding)</i>	about 4.00 a.m.

giri-gara	<i>faces cannot yet be recognised; (giri-gara groping in the dark)</i>	around 4.00 to 5.00 a.m.
bhusu-boo	<i>dawn; the day is clear but the sun has not yet appeared; (bhusu emerge like plant shoots, boo rise, blister)</i>	between 5.00 and 6.00 a.m.
lezza boo	<i>sunrise (lezza sun or day)</i>	6.00 a.m.
ola sia	<i>daylight time (ola earth, sia daylight)</i>	from 6.00 a.m. until 6.00 p.m.
lezza boo bana	<i>the sun is warm; (bana warm/hot)</i>	around 7.00 to 8.00 a.m.
lezza boo bana vaja	<i>the sun is hot; (vaja hard, steel)</i>	about 9.00 to 10.00 a.m.
lezza zeta	<i>the sun has risen high; (zeta up (on a vertical axis))</i>	between 10.00 and 11.00 a.m.
lezza zettu	<i>the sun is nearing its zenith; (zettu right on top of the head)</i>	around 11.30 a.m.
lezza hii or lezza veggha lizu	<i>the sun is at its zenith; noon; (hii silent, deserted; veggha half; lizu sky)</i>	12.00 noon
lezza poka	<i>the sun descends slightly; (poka fall, pour)</i>	between 1.00 and 2.00 p.m.
lezza fa'a	<i>the sun is cooling off; (fa'a/faa cool, refreshing)</i>	between 2.30 and 3.30 p.m.
lezza zale	<i>the sun is low; (zale down)</i>	around 4.00 to 4.30 p.m.
lezza kolu volo	<i>the sun goes over the hill; (kolu plunge, volo hill)</i>	around 5.00 p.m.
ola maru	<i>evening (ola earth, maru evening, dark)</i>	between 5.30 and 7.00 p.m.
lezza messe	<i>sunset (messe sink, die slowly)</i>	around 6.00 p.m.
ola renngu or renngu gemmi	<i>dusk (renngu getting dark, gemmi tight)</i>	around 6.00 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.
zanga sala	<i>faces cannot be recognised (zanga look closely, sala wrong)</i>	around 6.15 p.m. to 7.00 p.m.
ola kobe	<i>night time (kobe night or dark dark)</i>	from 6.00 p.m. until 6.00 a.m. The term is also used to designate the period from 7.00 until 10.00 p.m.
kobe meze or kobe lemma	<i>late evening; (meze large, lemma deep)</i>	between 10.00 and 11.00 p.m.
kobe sala	<i>late night; (sala wrong)</i>	between 11.00 p.m. and midnight

APPENDIX II
THE NGADHA GOO-LABA ENSEMBLE

1. THE INSTRUMENTS

The Ngadha goo-laba ensemble consists of eight pieces: five small bronze gongs (goo) of different pitches and three skin drums (laba) also of different pitches (see Figure 11 for the drawing of the goo-laba instruments). Each gong is forged from one piece of metal bar and is hung on a string. As for the drums, the bodies are made of large bamboo stumps or hollowed tree trunk or palm tree stump covered with tightly stretched water buffalo, cow or deer hide only at one end and are open at the other.

When the ensemble is played (by seven players) each gong player uses a piece of soft wood to strike the gong with one hand while holding the gong with the other hand, and each drum player uses a pair of sticks (one in each hand) to beat on the membrane heads of the drum. It is to be noted that the hide covers of the drums are secured using strings that are tied to the bodies of the drums and stretched by means of little wooden or bamboo pegs which are slipped between the strings and the bodies of the drums.

Each village owns a set of goo-laba instruments, and the normal case is that the set is owned by one family, the founders of the village. However, since the villages are relatively very small and the inhabitants are all related by blood or marriage, the goo-laba set is practically owned by the whole village. And the set is usually named after the village to which it belongs or after the name of the traditional house of the founders.

The size of each of the instruments is approximately as follows:

- the gongs: vela is about 20 cm. in diameter;
uto-uto is about 21 cm. in diameter;
dhere is about 22 cm. in diameter;
doa₁ is about the same size as a dhere (21 cm. in diameter);
doa₂ is about 23 cm. in diameter;
- the drums: bhegu₁ and bhegu₂ are about 100 cm. in height and the membrane heads are about 20 cm. in diameter;
derra is about 50 cm. in height and the membrane head is about 30 cm. in diameter.

Note that the bhegu drums are also called laba va'i *drum with legs* (laba *drum*, va'i *leg/foot*), the derra drum is also called laba derra, and the dhere gong is also called bheme (onomatopoeic).

It needs to be pointed out that the sizes of the instruments may differ slightly from set to set (owned by different villages) and likewise as to the pitches. In addition, each village owns a complete set and never borrows an instrument from another set. The reason for this is that each set is considered a unit to be owned as a complete set, and, in addition, each set is considered to have its own magical power and often the set is regarded as an 'individual'. The practice can be explained from the fact that the goo-laba ensemble is always associated with rituals.

The names and pitches of the goo-laba instruments as well as comparable names and pitches within the Javanese gamelan system are given in Table 13 below.

The goo-laba ensemble is played by seven people, usually men, but women may also play in the ensemble. Note that *doa* is played by one person who has to hold two gongs on one hand, the higher pitch (*doa*₁) on top and the lower pitch gong at the bottom with one finger separating the two gongs, and striking the gongs with the other hand. When the goo-laba ensemble is playing, all of the players have to stand up except the player of *derra* who sits down and holds the drum in a slant position using his feet while playing it.

Ngadha goo-laba ensemble				Javanese gamelan
Name	Symbol	Pitch	Player	Equivalent name and pitch
<i>Goo gongs</i>				
<i>vela (kill)</i>	V	5	1	pelog 4
<i>uto-uto (onomatopoeic)</i>	T	4	1	pelog 3
<i>dhere (onomatopoeic)</i>	R	3	1	pelog 2
<i>doa (twin)</i>				
<i>doa</i> ₁ (high)	d	2	1	pelog 1
<i>doa</i> ₂ (low)	D	1		pelog ?
<i>Laba drums</i>				
<i>bheggu (onomatopoeic)</i>				
<i>bheggu</i> ₁ (high)	b	3	1	kendhang (small)
<i>bheggu</i> ₂ (low)	B	2	1	kendhang (large)
<i>derra (onomatopoeic)</i>	L	1	1	bedhug

In a procession, in which the whole ensemble has to move around, three helpers are needed to hold the drums. Each gong player can handle the gong because it is small and not heavy.

2. WHEN IS THE GOO-LABA ENSEMBLE PLAYED?

The goo-laba ensemble is traditionally played only during a ceremonial feast called buku including death ceremonies and a feast performed for and given in honour of an 'accomplished' (sadh) person. It accompanies the traditional dancing called ja'i in which the opening is marked by the citing of invocations in honour of the ancestors and ancestresses of the person(s) who give(s) a particular feast to the village. Certain ceremonial feasts only allow extended family members of the feast giver(s) to participate in the dancing, at least, in the first round in which the invocation is recited. After the first round of dancing and in other public festivities, the dancing is open for the public to join.

In the current time period the goo-laba ensemble and dancing are also done for purposes other than the traditional ceremonial feasts such as to welcome dignitaries. The goo-laba ensemble and traditional dancing (ja'i) have also been incorporated in the Catholic liturgical rites since the early 1950s, especially in religious processions and outdoor masses.

It needs to be pointed out that the goo-laba ensemble is for the Ngadha people a daytime musical ensemble. Traditionally, it is never played during the night time; however, nowadays, the ensemble is also played in the evening such as in a cultural evening, for example. For traditional ceremonial purposes, the ensemble and dancing are only performed during the day.

In passing we should also mention that the Ngadha people have another set of musical instruments called laba-rudu (war drums and horns). The set consists of two bheggu drums and two trumpets made of water buffalo horns, and is played by four men (women do not participate at all). The laba-rudu ensemble was played only when there was a war between villages or a blood feud between families. The set was played to summon supporters or to signal the beginning of combat, and it was also played at peace-making ceremonies. However, since there has never been a war in the past fifty years (scanty reports assert that the last war between villages was in the late thirties), the set is now rare and the few sets left are only played to accompany a mock war and peace-making ceremonies performed at cultural evenings. Incidentally, the use of water buffalo horns as trumpets is related to the importance of water buffalo as a totemic and sacrificial animal.

It needs to be pointed out too that there are reports (obtained from my older informants) of the use of bronze drums called laba nama (nama *bronze*) played only at peace-making and rain-making ceremonies. But, as far as I know, none of such drums are to be found in Ngadha today; however, the name is still found in an old traditional song called seu laba nama *the song and the bronze drum* (seu *traditional song*). Laba nama is perhaps related to the Dongson kettle drums (?).

3. THE MUSIC

The music of the Ngadha goo-laba ensemble operates on the principle of cyclic time, very much like the Javanese gamelan (see Becker 1979). Basically, there is only one single piece of music played over and over in a somewhat loud and very fast tempo.

The time cycle of the ensemble is marked off by vela (V), a regular

single-stroke beat. V is the first instrument to be played when the ensemble performs, right after the invocation is done and the invocator says, "Laba!" which means 'please sound the goo-laba ensemble'.

The second instrument to be played is uto-uto (T) which is a regular single stroke beat like V, but is played in alternation with V. The third instrument to be played is dhere (R) which overlaps with every second beat of vela; R is a regular two-stroke beat with the second stroke damped. The fourth instrument to join the ensemble is the twin gongs doa (d and D). Doa basically has a four-stroke unit which consists of: one D beat which coincides with the first V stroke (in the four-beat unit), the second stroke is d (the higher pitch doa) which coincides with the second V stroke, the third stroke is D which coincides with T (uto-uto) which falls in between the second and third stroke of V, while the last stroke is D damped which coincides with the fourth stroke of vela.

It needs to be pointed out that the time cycle is also marked off by pauses, and since the longest basic unit is marked by doa which is a four-stroke pattern, a while unit is constituted by eight timed segments, i.e. four strokes plus four pauses.

The following illustration shows the basic unit involving the five gongs:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
vela	:	⌈	· V	· V	· V	· V	⌋	
uto-uto	:	⌈	T	T	T	T	⌋	
dhere	:	⌈	· R	⌘	· R	⌘	⌋	
doa ₁	:	⌈	·	·	d	·	·	⌋
doa ₂	:	⌈	·	D	·	D	·	⌋

Note that vela is the first instrument to be played but the illustration is arranged in a way that best shows the interlocking pattern of the basic unit involving all the gongs. And the stroke sign (/) superimposed on a sign indicates a damped beat.

The first drum to join the ensemble is bhegg₁ (b), followed by bhegg₂ (B), and lastly, derra (L). Basically, the drums play the same rhythm of three patterns. The basic rhythm pattern of the drums coincides with one unit of four vela strokes thus parallel to the eight timed segments of the gong beat as pointed out earlier.

The three basic patterns of the drums are given in the following illustration. Note that b indicates the right hand and b̄ (with a longer vertical line) indicates the left hand for bhegg₁, B indicates the right hand and B̄ (with a longer vertical line) indicates the left hand for bhegg₂, while L indicates the right hand and l the left hand for derra.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
(vela)		·	V	·	V	·	V	·	V	
Drum pattern 1 (bhegg ₁)	:	⌈	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	⌋
Drum pattern 2 (bhegg ₂)	:	⌈	·	B	B̄	B̄	·	B	B̄	⌋
Drum pattern 3 (derra)	:	⌈	·	Ll	·	Ll	·	Ll	·	⌋

Figure 14 below shows the cycle subdivisions of the basic unit of the goo-laba music which consists of eight timed segments. Each instrument is represented by the symbol given in Table 13 and the illustrations above, while the pauses are indicated by dots (.).

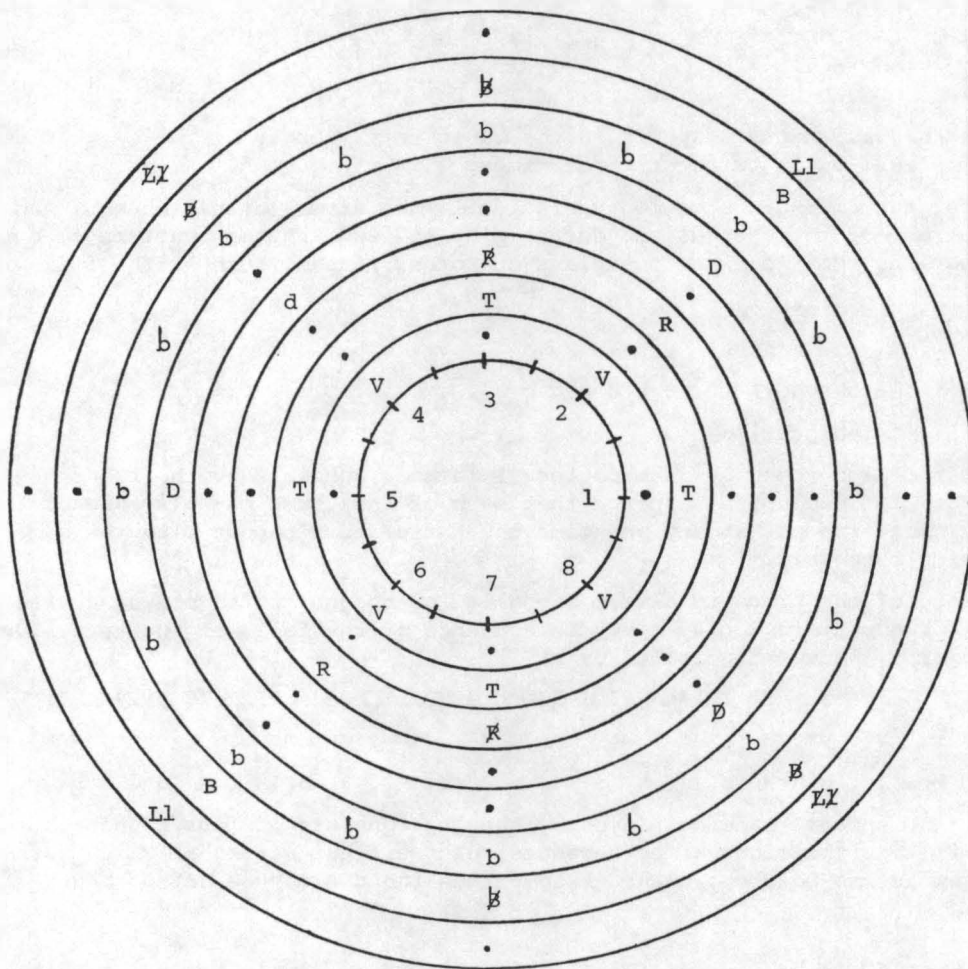


Figure 14: The goo-laba music (basic unit)

There are variations in the music involving the twin gongs (doa) and the drums, but the end has to coincide with the basic unit marked by vela.

The following are two common variations of doa:

	5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(vela)	: [v . v . [v . v .] v . v . v . v . v . v . v . v . v . v .]
doa	: [. . . d . d . .]
(var.1)	: [D ∅ . . D . . ∅]
(var.2)	: [. . . . d . d ∅ . d d . . d . . . [d] . . d]
	: [D . D D D ∅ . . D . ∅ . [.] ∅ . . D . ∅ . .]

Note that the variations stay within the basic unit (marked by the eight timed segments) played once, twice or three times.

As for the drums, the common variation is two drums (either bhegg₁ and bhegg₂ or one of the bheggus and derra) play the same rhythm, pattern 1, but in alternation, that is, when one plays the other pauses, such as the following:

	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(vela)	v . v . v . v .
Drum pattern 1 (bhegg ₁)	: [[b b b b b b . .]]
(bhegg ₂)	: [. [B B B B B B . .]]

Note that the high tempo of drum pattern 1 is made possible by the rebounds of the sticks. It is also to be noted that each of the drums may play one of the three drum patterns but at any one time the three drums cannot play the same pattern simultaneously.

The end of the piece is always signalled by bhegg₁ which plays several rounds of drum pattern 2 plus a special cadence of the following pattern: (vela indicated by V, bhegg₁ indicated by b)

	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 END
	[[V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V . V .] V]
	[[b b b b ∅ . . . b b b b ∅ . . . b b b b ∅ . b b b b b b ∅ . . .] ∅∅]

Note that the special cadence played by bhegg₁ consists of four rounds of the basic unit (i.e. the eight timed segments) plus a final stroke at which point the whole ensemble has to stop, although sometimes the doa may be out of beat.

4. CONCLUSION

Certain conclusions can be drawn from the symbolism of the goo-laba ensemble regarding the instruments, number of instruments and players, and the cyclic time of the music.

The instruments consist of gongs, symbols of women, and drums, symbols of men. Women are required by the culture to be strong and 'pure' because their lines of descent determine the rights and duties within the family (including rights to inheritance) due to the fact that men are married into the women's families; the practice is called di'i sa'o *matrilocal* (di'i stay, sa'o house)

and the men are referred to as *rajo-dhekke boat ascender* (*rajo boat, dhekke ascend*), that is, related by marriage. There are cases of *pasa* marriages (patrilocal) in which the groom pays the bride price and takes the woman into his family's house, but they are rare (*pasa shoot*). And in relation to the gongs, the metal, bronze, is the metaphor used to characterise the strength of women. Also note that the strength of women is exemplified by the heroine, Penu, in the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan (Chapter 2).

As for the significant numbers, the reader is referred to Appendix I above. However, three significant numbers need to be reiterated; they are the numbers two, seven, and eight. Number two, exemplified by the twin gongs, is associated with the Pleiades and the Antares which in the Ngadha astronomical myth are considered twins; number seven, exemplified by the number of players in the ensemble, is associated with the seven stars, the Pleiades, and number eight, exemplified by the total number of instruments, is associated with the eight phases of the moon (see Figure 13).

The cyclic time of the *goo-laba* music is basically binary in that there are alternating strokes of a gong with other gongs, a drum with other drums, and between the gongs and the drums. The binary nature of the music reflects the belief in the unified and dualistic nature of existence, as exemplified by woman and man (e.g. Penu, the heroine, and Vegu, the hero of the legend, or mother, goddess of the under world and father, god of the upper world, or female, the Pleiades and male, the Antares, etc.) as the basic metaphor for the Ngadha view of the universe. The cyclicity of the *goo-laba* music, the most important ritual music, is reflected in the culture's attitude to time which in the Ngadha view is a closed system consisting of inevitable cycles. The world view brings about the belief in coincidence and recurrence (cp. Becker 1979) and that chronology is unimportant or irrelevant.

It needs to be reiterated that the *goo-laba* set is considered an 'individual' and its relationship to the members of the culture as well as to the totemic animal, the water buffalo, is uniquely reflected in the word *vela*: in the *goo-laba* system *vela* is the first gong to be played; and *vela* also means to strike the first gong, to kill a water buffalo in a ceremonial feast as a sacrificial animal, and the same expression is used for homicide.

To conclude, it should be pointed out that the description of the *goo-laba* ensemble presented here is not complete, while the musical notation given above is an impressionistic approximation. Further study is of course necessary to bring more light to the musical aesthetics and practice in the Ngadha culture. The present sketch is offered as an illustration to the legend of Penu and Vegu the orphan which is the main concern of this study, and as an invitation for further research.

APPENDIX III

SEU LALU-SEBBHA 'THE SONG OF THE INDIGO ROOSTER' (*seu song, lalu rooster, sebbha indigo*)

1. INTRODUCTION

Seu is a cover term for traditional songs and singing done in groups. Men, women and children may participate in the singing, but normally, the older persons do the solos. The singing is usually done in the evening when there is a feast in the village or a celebration of some sort within the household.

Traditional Ngadha songs are classified by the themes, such as: jesting or being sarcastic, called *aiole*, complaining and lamenting, called *more*, praising great deeds and individuals, called *tekke*, teaching histories, tradition and geography, called *tekke rebba* (*rebba village New Year celebration*; see Appendix I), and expressing grief when there is death in the family or in the village, called *nangi* (*nangi to cry*). *Tekke* of various kinds are normally sung when there is a ceremonial feast; and the themes also include teaching basic skills such as building a traditional house, for example. There are work songs to make working more enjoyable and less tiring, songs to accompany bedtime stories, and songs to criticise an immoral deed or person; such songs are identified by the type of work, story or individuals respectively.

One characteristic of the traditional singing is that it is done in groups except when lamenting or singing to accompany bedtime stories. In addition, the singing is done without the accompaniment of traditional musical instruments such as the *goo-laba* ensemble, *foi bamboo flute*, *robe jew's-harp*, and *bhego a bamboo ukulele* (a *bhego* has five bamboo-skin splits functioning as strings). Singing associated with certain ceremonies may be accompanied by dancing in groups, such as the village New Year celebration (*rebba*; see Plate 10), and the circle dance (around a fire) to accompany certain *tekkes*.

The traditional singing and dancing in groups reflect the social cohesiveness and strong group solidarity within the community. And as reflected in other social practices, the interest of the group is placed above that of the individual. Powerful evidence of such practices is shown by the fact that the responsibility for village government to settle disputes and other legal cases used to be taken care of by the village elders; there was no king, village chief or the like, but the village council whose members were 'accomplished' individuals (such as *Penu* and *Vegu* at the end of the story; see Chapter 2) and older persons who were knowledgeable about the customary laws of Ngadha. It needs to be pointed out that the tradition of kings, district and village chiefs, was introduced when the Dutch came to Ngadha in 1907 (the official

setting up of the Ngadha district (onderafdeeling Ngadha) within the Nederlandsch-Indië was on January 12, 1921) (see Said 1937:352).

The reason the Indigo Rooster song is included as part of this work is to provide an example, a frame, in which the song lines given in the PV text (see sentences 65, 74, 75 and 181; Chapter 2.2.) fit. The lines are rhymed couplets and are instances of the parallel construction which serves to form cohesion within the paragraph (see Chapter 4) and to build the text. Furthermore, the song lines quoted in the text serve as an evaluation which does not add to the main thread of the story (the PV text) but communicates the feeling and attitude of the narrator to the subject matter of the story. Note too that the performance of the legend, by Mr. Wezo, includes chanting (see sentences 190, 232 and 233 of the PV text; Chapter 2.2.) characterised by an inflected vocal crescendo, held momentarily, and followed by a slow falling and diminishing tone.

A song is a form of communication, it conforms to the rules of culturally defined poetic and musical systems, and it is clearly a more emotionally charged communication than most speech. Chanting, on the other hand, is synonymous to 'announcing' and is performed within a precise melodic framework marked by a series of undulating musical pitches, pulsation of the voice, and the deliberate manner of enunciation which serve to project the message. The narrator makes use of the devices to create a dramatic effect to the performance of the legend, and I suspect in other performance situations he would have sung the songs whose lines he quoted in the text, such as when telling the legend to children, for example.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE SONG

Seu lalu-sebbha consists of four major units:

1. Bhee *call* is the opening line, usually sung by one man, followed by *tenngo answer* - a one line reply sung by one woman.
2. Dha'o *catch* is the refrain which contains the basic theme of the song. The refrain is sung by the whole group and normally one woman sings the *leddho* which is the high note part and the rest of the group (men and women, also children) sing the *sipo* part (*sipo help* or *accompany*) which is the lower note part.
3. Tolu or pata *solo* consists of rhymed couplets. After each line the group repeats part of the refrain and then repeats the whole refrain. Tolu is sung by one person but is normally accompanied by several persons who hum along with the singer; the helpers of the solo singer (i.e. those who hum along) are called *dho'o help lift*. One line constituting half a couplet is called *sa-bhigi* (*sa- one, bhigi half of a round object*) or *sa-nai* (*nai half of a sarong*; also used as a classifier for cloth).
4. *Sebbhe lid* is the closing line; it consists of a call and answer, each sung by one person (usually a man) and directly joined by the whole group.

Note that a song may last as long as there is a soloist to give the tolu. Often when the singing becomes too sad or too personal as expressed in the solo lines, a member of the group may force a closing line right after a round of refrain.

3. THE TEXT OF THE SONG

The text of the song is not indexed by the consecutive sentences or utterances but by the units which conform to the structure of the text as has been discussed in 2. above. The solo unit is indexed according to the rhymed couplets (1-4) and each line is designated by the letters a and b respectively. The refrain (dha'o) section is divided into subunits (A, B and C) due to the fact that after each solo (tolu) line only part of the refrain is repeated (e.g. 2.C), while after the two lines (of the rhymed couplet) are sung, the whole refrain (2.A,B,C) or just 2.B and C is repeated.

Like the goo-laba music (Appendix II) the song also reflects the idea of cyclicity manifest in the repetition of the refrain and the basic melody (see 4. below). The text is simple and straightforward and the rhyming and meter are rigid, which makes it suitable for singing in a group; normally after two or three rounds of the singing of the refrain and solos, any Ngadha speaker could join in the singing, including those who have never heard the song before or children. This is made possible by the relatively short lines, parallel constructions, chainings of the solo lines (i.e. a couplet serves as an introduction to another couplet or is repeated and amplified in another couplet), and the rigid rhyme scheme and meter. Note that whenever a solo line does not have enough syllables to fit the prescribed meter, vocables (abbreviated as voc in the gloss) are added to make the line fit.

Seu Lalu-sebbha (*The song of the indigo rooster*)

- 1.A. Bhee : o mora messe go vekki rote, e vali
call voc love/affection pity go body affectionate voc AGAIN
 mu le modhe-dhole. Die !
 mu le good-handsome/healthy voc/exclamation=used=in=calling=dogs
Oh, such an affectionate person (body) who deserves (all the) love and pity; and he is handsome too. Come!
- B. Tenngo : 'oe, o ja'o da dere, da gheddhi-gheddhi e, o raba
answer yes voc I da wait da ascend-ascend voc voc welcome
 me hoga keddhi gha, o hoga keddhi gha, Die !
 MISTER young=man small voc voc young=man small voc voc
Yes (I hear you), well I was waiting and came up (here) to welcome the little (diminutive) young man, to welcome the little young man. Come!
- 2.A. Dha'o : eo lalu sebbha go manu lau isi Savu.
catch voc rooster indigo go chicken SEAWARD people Savu
- B. o robha poa e, 'o robha poa e,
 voc morning evening voc voc morning evening voc
- C. o poa loza, ma'e ebho nonga !
 voc evening go away/wander DO NOT disappear straight
Oh indigo rooster, the chicken of the Savu people; each morning and night (you) wander, (but please) do not disappear for good!

3. Tolu solo
- 1(a): o davi tangi e, davi da rale tangi e;
voc stand ladder voc stand da DOWN ladder voc
- (b): o da lese vali e, azi vado da lese
voc da promise AGAIN voc younger=sibling return da promise
vali e.
AGAIN voc
Oh (you) stood at the ladder, stood down (on a vertical axis) at the ladder and (you) promised again and again, younger sibling, (you) promised to return (home).
- 2(a): ao da kadhi ngali e, azi vado da
voc da cross (a river) ravine voc younger=sibling return da
kadhi ngali e;
cross ravine voc
- (b): o raba go ka'e-axi e, raba
voc welcome/meet go older=sibling younger=sibling voc welcome
go ka'e-azi e.
go older=sibling younger=sibling voc
Oh (you) crossed ravines, young sibling (you) crossed ravines (only) to welcome and meet (your) older and younger siblings, to welcome and meet (your) older and younger siblings.
- 3(a): o go ka'e-azi e, napa go
voc go older=sibling younger=sibling voc wait=until go
ka'e-azi e;
older=sibling younger=sibling voc
- (b): o mu kadhi e, gote ngali azi mu kadhi e.
voc mu cross voc though ravine younger=sibling mu cross voc
Oh, (it's) the older and younger siblings, only for the older and younger siblings you crossed (the ravines), though ravines, (you), younger sibling dared to cross.
- 4(a): o Ngadha gedha e, o zeta go Ngadha
voc Ngadha=mountain summit/top voc voc UP go Ngadha=mountain
gedha e;
summit/top voc
- (b): o sau teva e, ne'e go eko
voc magical=sword wave/set=sail WITH go tail/tassel
nennga sau teva e.
nennga (will) magical sword wave/set=sail voc
Oh, on top of the Ngadha mountain, up (on a vertical axis) on top of the Ngadha mountain (you will) wave the magical sword (while dancing), the magical sword with a tassel (you will) wave (while dancing).

4. Sebbhe A: o Dhone !
lid voc *Dhone*
Dhone! (calling the person named Dhone)
- B: 'oe !
yes (answering a call)
Yes! (*I hear you*)
- C: miu tei go sei, o go soga mori zua; nennga je je
YOU-DI see go who voc go *THEY person two* nennga voc voc
 'obe, je je 'obe lae, nennga dhoo-dhengo 'ame.
showy voc voc *showy different* nennga *until-a=long=time* amen
Whose do you see, oh of the two of them; they'll be showy,
showy and different, forever, amen.

With respect to the song lines quoted in the Penu and Vegu text (sentences 65, 74, 75 and 181; Chapter 2), they may occur as solo (tolu) lines as in unit 3 above.

4. THE MUSICAL NOTATION OF THE SONG

Note that 1.A is sung by one man, 1.B by one woman, 2.A,B,C by the whole group, 3.1(a and b) by one man, 3.2(a and b) by one women, 3.3(a and b) by one man, 3.4(a and b) by one man, 4.A by one man, 4.B by one man, and 4.C by the whole group. The solos are accompanied by several persons who hum along with the soloist (the 'line giver').

The melody is simple and repetitious, the pitches ranged from a major or minor third, the tempo is slow, the accent is not clearly marked, the breath groups are prolonged, and the whole piece is soft in terms of volume. Note the contrast between the song and the goo-laba music which is very loud and has a fast tempo by comparison.

Note too that the melody of the song consists of three segments which are repeated. The first segment is the opening unit and 1.B repeats 1.A with a slight modification; the second segment is the refrain (2.A,B,C) and the solos (3) repeat part of the refrain, i.e. 2.B. The third segment is the closing unit (4) and 4.B repeats 4.A, while 4.C consists of repetitions of the melody marking the phrase *miu tei go sei*.

To conclude, it should be pointed out that the length of the whole piece, the Song of the Indigo Rooster, is eight minutes and fifty seconds. The song was recorded on tape at the house of Mr. J. Demusua, one of my main informants in the field, at Vatujaji village, on January 5, 1979. The singers are from the Vatujaji and Bovejo villages.

The music notation is not complete and is largely impressionistic; it is offered as an illustration and invitation for further research.

Seu Lalu - Sebbha

do = E

1. A.
Bhee



O mora messe- go vekki rote e vali mu le modhe dhole - . Die!

B.
renngo



'o e — o ja'o da dere — da geddhi geddhi e 'o raba



me hoga keddhi gha o ho-ga keddhi gha. Die!

2. A
DUALO

E o ————— lalu sebbha —————

(X 2.)

go — ma nu la — u i ——— si Sa vu .

B.

0 robha poa e ————— e io ————— robha poa e —————

C.

o poa Loza ma'e e — bho nonga —.

3.
Tolu

- (solo):
- 1.(a) o — davi tangi e — davi da rale tangi e —;
 - (b) o da lese vali e azi vado da lese vali e —.
 - 2.(a) Ao da kadhi ngali e azi vado da kadhi ngali e —;
 - (b) o raba go ka'e-axi e azi raba go ka'e-axi e —.
 - 3.(a) o go ka'e-axi e — napa go ka'e-axi e —;
 - (b) o — mu — kadhi e gote ngali azi mu kadhi e —.
 - 4.(a) o — Ngadha gedha e o zeta go Ngadha gedha e —;
 - (b) o — sau teva e ne'egoeko neninga sau teva e —.

(After solo 1.(a) repeat 2.C.
After solo 1.(b) repeat 2.C. then repeat 2.A, B, C,
etc.)

4.
sebbhe

A

o Dhone!

B

o ei!

C.

mi-u te-i go sei o go sogā mori zu-a

nemga je je-obe je-obe

Lae nengadhuhengo 'ame.

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