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I Vocabulary Lists

Semantic classification of Kilmeri verbs

Chapter 3

(i) Motion verbs 93

Motion verbs constitute the largest class of verbs in Kilmeri, and here the monomorphemic verbs (53) outweigh the polymorphemic (40) ones; the latter consist of 22 deictic/directional verbs, 9 suppletive plurals, and 9 fused verbs. Both findings let us see that the verbalisation of motion is a strong cognitive concept in the language. The following list distinguishes controlled motion of living creatures and uncontrolled motion of natural phenomena.

### Motion of living creatures

- *buri* ‘to go ahead’
- *dori* ‘to turn back’
- *ina* ‘to hurry’
- *ireri* ‘to crawl (of children)’
- *kikami* ‘to run hither’
- *kike* ‘to run’
- *klene* ‘to hatch’
- *kumiake* ‘to dive’
- *kûne* ‘to go down’
- *kûni* ‘to come down hither’
- *kûpe* ‘to go down’
- *kûpi* ‘to come down hither’
- *kûpiye* ‘to bump against’
- *laine* ‘to seek/lose balance’
- *laui* ‘to dance’
- *le* ‘to go’
- *mole* ‘to go’
- *liluli* ‘to curl up’
- *lupuami* ‘to enter hither’
- *lupuane* ‘to enter thither’
- *malippu* ‘to spin’
- *maliye* ‘to go home’
- *maue* ‘to roam’
- *mini* ‘to come hither’
- *na* ‘to go inside’
- *napi* ‘to go inside’
- *ne* ‘to go thither’
- *nepi* ‘to go thither’
- *niniake* ‘to bend down’
- *noye* ‘to rest’
- *numupiye* ‘to shrink’
- *pare* ‘to clap hands or wings’
- *pini* ‘to come up hither’
- *piowe* ‘to jump’
- *piowake* ‘to jump down’
- *piowami* ‘to jump hither’
- *piowane* ‘to jump thither’
- *pomapi* ‘to stroll’
- *puane* ‘to stand up, to wake up’
- *pue* ‘to walk, to roam’
- *pueli* ‘to swim’
- *puelami* ‘to swim hither’
- *puelane* ‘to swim thither’
- *ppue* ‘to go up’
- *sape* ‘to shrink, to smudge’
- *sapalpi* ‘to shrink’
- *seki* ‘to fall from a height’
- *seli* ‘to slip’
- *sepue* ‘to stroll, to arrive’
- *sesiye* ‘to pass by’
- *siami* ‘to cross hither’
- *siane* ‘to cross thither’
- *soliye* ‘to crawl of critters’
- *suli* ‘to shrink of flesh’
- *susi* ‘to wriggle’
- *uleiane* ‘to fall over’
- *uleli* ‘to twist a body part’
- *usakopi* ‘to stretch oneself’
- *wale* ‘to disperse, to spread about’
- *wariye* ‘to fly’
- *wariake* ‘to dive from the air’
- *weli* ‘to approach’
- *weliake* ‘to run down of blood etc.’
- *weliane* ‘to hide oneself’
- *wi* ‘to turn’
- *wiami* ‘to turn hither’
- *wiane* ‘to turn thither’
- *wipilali* ‘to cramp’
- *wole* ‘to move further’
- *woli* ‘to be able to sit’
- *yeki* ‘to follow one’s traces’
- *yope* ‘to step’

### Motion of natural phenomena

- *î* ‘to recede’
- *kuke* ‘to rise of water’
- *lule* ‘to flow (between sand banks)’
- *niyeri* ‘to quake’
- *pappe* ‘to blow’
- *paupiye* ‘to shut completely’
- *pile* ‘to roar, to whirl’
- *payane* ‘to spread out’
- *reniye* ‘to slide’
- *reniyami* ‘to slide hither’
- *sile* ‘to drip’
- *ukalipami* ‘to wind hither’
- *ukalipane* ‘to wind thither’.
(ii) Existential-postural verbs 8

All existential-postural verbs have suppletive plurals; they are monomorphemic except for the plural papuli with partial reduplication.

lili ‘to be there’, ule PL ‘to be there’, poli ‘to be there’, papuli PL ‘to be there’, nake ‘to sit’, mape PL ‘to sit’, neki ‘to stand’, poye PL ‘to stand’.

(iii) Perception verbs 15

Kilmeri has 15 perception verbs that cover all of the five senses; however, the visual sense is subject to the most subdistinctions. These are achieved morphologically and so the polymorphic verbs (7) and the monomorphemic verbs (8) are almost equal in number. Note that perception can also be referred to by collocations consisting of the light verb pi and a noun denoting a sense organ. They are not included here.


(iv) Verbs of verbal and non-verbal communication 22

Verbs of verbal and non-verbal communication constitute the largest group within the class of verbs requiring person agreement; therefore these verbs should be regarded as a special (syntactico-semantic) class in Kilmeri. Positive communication grammatically includes person agreement, whereas negative communication like lying, deceiving, denying, or setting a taboo lacks agreement. The monomorphemic verbs prevail (13:9).


(v) Verbs of physical condition 29

Although physical condition is often expressed by collocations consisting of a noun or an adjective plus a verb in Kilmeri, we still find many verbs denoting those conditions; again monomorphemic verbs prevail in this class (18:11). The number of predicates denoting physical conditions in whole is 60.

aepsi ‘to fart’, beliye ‘to feel like vomiting’, duwale ‘to feel dizzy’, ire ‘to satisfy one’s mouth’, kemiye ‘to be limp’, leli ‘to irritate’, luwali ‘to have sexual intercourse’, mari ‘to
be sick’, *marmari* PL ‘to be sick’, *meniye* ‘to pant’, *mepsapopi* ‘to itch’, *monue* ‘to vomit intentionally’, *nosopue* ‘to vomit unintentionally’, *nowe* ‘to grow’, *pilili* ‘to feel hunger’, *popake* ‘to clear one’s throat’, *pûke* ‘to lose one’s straight physical condition’, *pulu* ‘to spit’, *pusupiye* ‘to stretch one’s body’, *ripi* ‘to split’, *rirepipi* PL ‘to get numb’, *rire* ‘to be stiff’, *sinei* ‘to be quiet’, *sipi* ‘to hurt’, *sui* ‘to die’, *supuli* PL ‘to die’, *suimaye* ‘to die of hunger’, *usakopi* ‘to scratch oneself’, *waki* ‘to scratch one’s whole body’.

(vi) Verbs of cutting, breaking and removing skin of plants etc. 26

Verbs of cutting etc. tend to lexicalise the whole action, and thus the meaning of the verbs often includes the type of the cut object and/or the type of instrument for cutting. Here we find 15 monomorphemic and 11 polymorphemic verbs.

*kisei* ‘to split lengthwise’, *kesapi* PL ‘to split lengthwise’, *luei* ‘to remove outer skin of nuts’, *maeli* ‘to cut wood’, *malalpi* PL ‘to cut firewood’, *moi* ‘to cut grass/trees, to fell trees’, *pisesi* ‘to cut in half’, *prei* ‘to split with one stroke’, *purapi* PL ‘to split/cut firewood’, *puenpi* ‘to cut meat’, *pûkeau* ‘to break completely’, *puluwei* ‘to break with force’, *pusopi* PL ‘to remove bark of sago palms’, *rupue* ‘to break’, *rupuane* ‘to interrupt’, *ruwe* ‘to break’, *saepi* ‘to peel skin of fruits’, *sepei* ‘to drill a hole’, *sepeiane* ‘to fragment’, *sili* ‘to cut into small pieces’, *sipei* ‘to divide up’, *sopisei* ‘to remove skin of coconuts’, *sueli* ‘to cut with one stroke’, *suke* ‘to cut’, *sukeli* PL ‘to cut several things’, *supopi* PL ‘to divide up (in portions)’.

(vii) Verbs of eating, cooking, and food-preparing activities 38

This class contains the only verb with two different suppletive plurals, namely the verb *ni* ‘to eat’: one plural refers to the quantity of eaters and the other plural refers to the quantity of consumed food. The ratio of monomorphemic to polymorphemic verbs is 21:17. Some of the verbs quoted here also occur in other than food-related contexts.

*ilopi* ‘to taboo food’, *ipiye* ‘to bucket’, *koli* ‘to shell crayfish’, *koniyë* ‘to swallow’, *konupi* PL ‘to swallow’, *kûnepei* ‘to be sour’, *kusei* ‘to shew’, *lauyaye* ‘to carve up and share’, *lulpami* ‘to stir sago’, *mappe* ‘to cook over a fire’, *mappeane* ‘to light a cooking fire’, *mewake* ‘to stir under’, *moli* ‘to boil’, *mupiye* ‘to crumble’, *muri* ‘to extinguish a fire’, *nawe* ‘to use up’, *ni* ‘to eat’, *ile* PL.A ‘several eat’, *konupi* PL.O ‘to eat a lot’, *nisi* ‘to cool down’, *pose* ‘to be spoiled’, *puliyepami* ‘to take off hither’, *puppe* ‘to pluck a bird’, *re* ‘to be done (of food)’, *sre* ‘to boil away’, *ripei* ‘to share food with sb’, *rupopi* PL ‘to share/distribute food’, *si* ‘to cook’, *sepi* PL ‘to cook in several pots’, *slali* ‘to sizzle, to bubble’, *wiake* ‘to turn down’, *wippi* ‘to stir up’, *wîye* ‘to drink’, *yani* ‘to knead coconut flesh’, *yowe* ‘to put on fire for heating’, *yuki* ‘to shred coconut flesh’.
Inventory of verbs attested in serial verb sequences

Chapters 9 and 10

In the following inventory the Kilmeri verbs attested in serial verb sequences are listed and roughly classified according to their major components of meaning. Motion verbs that constitute the bulk of serially attested verbs are subclassified; for transitive motion verbs it makes sense to distinguish them in terms of the referents that undergo the movement. Since the argument structure of the verbs is not sensitive to serialisation the arguments are only distinguished for the macro-roles actor and undergoer. The categorial delimitation to subgroup (iii) of the transitive motion verbs is certainly not clear-cut. The verbs in group 3 below may look rather divergent semantically. Altogether 171 verbs are attested in serial sequences.

1. Motion verbs

   a. intransitive 47

      *buri* ‘to go ahead’, *dori* ‘to turn back’, *ina* ‘to hurry’, *i* ‘to recede’, *kasiye* ‘to fall off’, *kepue* ‘to dive’, *kike* ‘to run’, *kulei* ‘to hang out’, *kuleli PL* ‘to hang out’, *kûne* ‘to go down’, *kûni* ‘to come down hither’, *kûpe PL* ‘to go down’, *kûwe* ‘to go down doubled’, *maliye* ‘to go home’, *masakai* ‘to fall in plenty’, *maue PL* ‘to stroll, to roam’, *mini* ‘to come hither’, *mipi PL* ‘to come hither’, *mole PL* ‘to go’, *moli* ‘to boil’, *le* ‘to go’, *lupuane* ‘to enter thither’, *na* ‘to go inside’, *napi PL* ‘to go inside’, *ne* ‘to go thither’, *pini* ‘to go up hither’, *ppue* ‘to jump’, *powole* ‘to burst’, *puane* ‘to stand up’, *pue* ‘to walk, to stroll’, *pui* ‘to emerge’, *pule* ‘to come’, *pulupi PL* ‘to come’, *ppue* ‘to go up’, *rupue* ‘to break’, *ruwe* ‘to break’, *sepue* ‘to stroll, to arrive’, *seki* ‘to fall’, *sesiye* ‘to pass by’, *siane* ‘to cross thither’, *sile* ‘to drip’, *unei* ‘to sway, to toss’, *wale* ‘to disperse’, *wariye* ‘to fly’, *weli* ‘to approach’, *wole* ‘to move further’.

   b. transitive 38

   (i) actor moves, translocational movement

      *lakiye* ‘to fetch people’, *liye* ‘to pass’, *paye* ‘to leave behind (a place)’, *rapiye* ‘to fetch sth’, *uliye* ‘to leave (a person)’, *wuli* ‘to follow’, *yiki* ‘to trace’.

   (ii) actor moves with undergoer, translocational movement

      *lali* ‘to carry in hanging manner’, *meli PL.O* ‘to carry svth’, *piye* ‘to take’, *sepieye* ‘to take away’, *wemini* ‘to bring’, *wili* ‘to carry’.

   (iii) undergoer is moved, typically small scale translocational movement

      *kopapi* ‘to pile’, *koliye* ‘to hang’, *kosiye* ‘to push’, *li* ‘to pick, to pluck’, *musiye* ‘to send people’, *laye* ‘to lay’, *neki* ‘to erect’, *none* ‘to toss’, *pake* ‘to throw’, *pakûne* ‘to throw down’, *pami* ‘to put hither’, *pane* ‘to put thither’, *pepe* ‘to put on top’, *piane* ‘to blow’, *piape* ‘to lift’, *pîpî* ‘to move up something from lower spot’, *piyi* ‘to throw away’, *pokûne*
‘to fill into’, *pula* ‘to push’, *puliye* ‘to take out’, *roye* ‘to put’, *siyi* ‘to throw’, *ulei* ‘to put into’, *unei* ‘to tip, to pour’, *wi* ‘to turn’.

2. Stative verbs 11

*kaliye* ‘to be flat’, *kaeli* ‘to be strong’, *kemiye* ‘to be limp’, *kiki* ‘to be firm’, *mape* Pl ‘to stay’, *nake* ‘to stay’, *neki* ‘to stand’, *lili* ‘to be there’, *poli* ‘to be wavy’, *poye* Pl ‘to stand’.

3. Verbs relating to an agent-caused change of state of a physical object 27

*kuppue* ‘to double upwardly’, *lelie* ‘to kill people’, *lole* ‘to shoot’, *luli* ‘to mix with water’, *malali* ‘to chop’, *moi* ‘to cut’, *nisei* ‘to let go’, *nopiwepi* ‘to tie together’, *noriye* ‘to fill in’, *paki* ‘to beat’, *paliye* ‘to open’, *paupiye* ‘to shut’, *pike* ‘to tear’, *piken* Pl ‘to tear’, *pilen* Pl ‘to tear’, *pisesi* ‘to cut in half’, *pukapi* ‘to weed’, *pusei* ‘to wash’, *rauye* ‘to wake’, *sepei* ‘to drill’, *sekap* ‘to press’, *sowe* ‘to cover, to hide’, *su* ‘to cut’, *wapi* ‘to collect’, *wepi* ‘to draw a bow’, *yasiye* ‘to spread’.

4. Verbs relating to (human and non-human) physis and nature 30

*beri* ‘to burn’, *ile* Pl ‘to eat’, *irae* ‘to clean one’s body’, *konie* ‘to swallow’, *mappe* ‘to light a fire’, *mari* ‘to be sick’, *meniy* ‘to gasp for breath’, *monue* ‘to vomit’, *(wo)mopi* ‘to cry’, *muri* ‘to extinguish’, *ni* ‘to eat’, *nisi* ‘to become cool’, *niyeri* ‘to quake’, *nosopue* ‘to vomit intensely’, *(eppi)nosei* ‘to rest’, *nui* ‘to sleep; to do intentionally’, *pappe* ‘to blow’, *piane* ‘to blow on’, *puli* ‘to shine’, *pulu* ‘to spit’, *pûke* ‘to lose one’s straightforward physical condition’, *re* ‘to become done (of food)’, *rip* ‘to become numb’, *seli* ‘to slip’, *sipi* ‘to hurt’, *suli* ‘to shrink’, *sumi* ‘to be short’, *ule* ‘to twist’, *usi* ‘to form a shell’.

5. Perception verbs 4+2

*ma* ‘to hear’, *reye* ‘to see sb’, *riye* ‘to see sth’, *ri* ‘to see several animate beings’, *plei* ‘to be open (of senses)’, *saye* ‘to touch’.

6. Possessive verbs 1

*maeu* ‘to belong to’.

7. Verbs of speaking 4+1

*moliye* Pl ‘to speak’, *mueli* ‘to talk to somebody’, *muli* ‘to speak’, *sai* ‘to ask’, *woni* ‘to call somebody’.

8. Verbs of giving 3

*na* ‘to give to somebody’, *poka* ‘to give angrily’, *ripei* ‘to give with somebody’.

9. Verbs of dressing 5

*kure* ‘to put on’, *la* ‘to put around’, *mulei* ‘to take off (a dress)’, *nepe* ‘to take off’, *poniye* ‘to wrap around one’s body’.
Inventory of attested serial verbs

Chapters 9 and 10

Aspect-related serialisation

ile_nake ‘to eat constantly’, male_nake ‘to hear constantly’, mari_nake ‘to be sick for a long time’, mekiye_nake ‘to keep helping’, mopi_nake ‘to cry for a long time’, mueli_nake ‘to tell somebody at every opportunity’, mui_nake ‘to keep saying’, nake_nake ‘to stay (attentive) continuously’, neki_nake ‘to keep standing’, ni_nake ‘to eat constantly’, noye_nake ‘to rest for some time’, papi_nake ‘to produce constantly’, pi_nake ‘to do for a long time’, poli_nake ‘to be there constantly’, pusiye_nake ‘to wash for a long time’, sa_ripei_nake ‘to keep asking several people the same question’, sekiye_nake ‘to rake for a long time’, sipi_nake ‘to hurt constantly’, wi_nake ‘to keep stirring’, wiye_nake ‘to keep beating of the heart (as the last and only perceivable organic function of the body)’, woni_nake ‘to keep calling’;

î_wole ‘to dry up’, kaeliye_wole ‘to be damaged’, kesiye_wole ‘to use up completely’, kire_wole ‘to clear the bush’, lili_wole ‘to be somewhere suddenly’, lipeli_wole ‘to search thoroughly’, lui_wale_wole ‘to have sexual intercourse with many women’, lui_wapi_wole ‘to break completely’, male_wole ‘to hear while moving further’, maue_wole ‘to stroll far around’, nini_kaeli_wole ‘to break into pieces’, niye_wole ‘to disclose’, pike_wole ‘to tear completely one thing’, pikeki_wole ‘to tear completely’, pileli_wole ‘to tear completely’, piye_wole ‘to take for good’, poli_wole ‘to really be there’, prei_wole ‘to split lengthwise’, pûke_wole ‘to lose completely’, reniye_wole ‘to slide heavily’, rupue_wole ‘to break entirely’, ruwe_wole ‘to peel off (of skin)’, sei_wole ‘to become light completely’, sepiye_wole ‘to take away completely, to lack completely’, si(yi)_wole ‘to splash over’, wale_wole ‘to disperse’, wape_wole ‘to put together several things’, wa(wi)_wole ‘to put side by side several things’, we_wole ‘to break completely’, wopiye_wole ‘to repair completely, to heal completely’.

Directional-topological serialisation


Reciprocal serialisation

meki_yaye ‘to help one another’, mosi_yaye ‘to hug one another’, mueli_laye ‘to argue amongst one another’, na_maye ‘to give to one another’, nake_naye ‘to sit opposite each
other’, neki_naye ‘to stand face to face to one another’, piye_paye ‘to share between one another’, poka_paye ‘to argue with one another’, rili_laye (relaye) ‘to look at one another’, sa_ripei_paye ‘to ask repeatedly one another’, usi_yaye ‘to hold one another with hands’, woni_mo_paye ‘to call at one another’.

Lexical serialisation
beri_re ‘to burn well’, î_lane ‘to go out of the way’, î_pami ‘to come outside hither’, î_pipî ‘to climb up’, kemiye_laye ‘to feel terribly tired’, komiye_maeu ‘to hide as one’s possession’, koniye_ni ‘to devour’, lili_pappe ‘to lift a motionless person’, lakiye_pappe ‘to lie motionless’, lui_maeu ‘to shoot as one’s possession’, lui_wapi ‘to catch with one’s hand’, maliye_pule ‘to come turning back to one’s house’, mape_pulupi ‘several come to stay’, mari_sui ‘to die of sickness’, maeu_ne ‘to put thither something as one’s very own possession’, meli_pule ‘to bring several things’, meli_pulupi ‘several bring several things’, meli_na ‘to carry inside several things’, meniye_koniye ‘to be jealous’, mini_mari ‘to come to be sick’, mipi_mo_paye ‘several stroll around while talking’, mipi_puane ‘several come to stand up’, moi_wole ‘to cut at a place further away’, moli_napi ‘to whirl like boiling water’, moliye_mapi ‘several talk here and there’, moliye_pue ‘several talk while approaching’, moliye_wole ‘several talk while moving further’, monue_nosopue ‘to vomit intensely’, mulei_piye ‘to take off the clothes of somebody’, musiye_piye ‘to take somebody by force’, nake_mini ‘to come to stay’, nake_neki ‘to sit and rise’, nake_pule ‘to come hither to stay’, neki_pue ‘to come to stand around’, neki_pule ‘to come to a place further away’, nui_pappe ‘to sleep motionless’, nui_weye ‘to lay a person down to rest’, numuroye_piye ‘to diminish’, paki_laye ‘to beat heavily’, pane_pue ‘to lay around’, paye_wili ‘to pass by’, pisesi_na ‘to cut in half and give to sb’, pisesi_piye ‘to crush’, piye_laye ‘to trample on’, piye_maeu ‘to take as one’s possession, to buy’, piye_wili ‘to take and carry’, poli_male ‘to be there hearing’, ponie_pue ‘to walk around wrapped (with a cloth)’, pue_laye ‘to let somebody have’, pule_nake ‘to come to stay’, rauye_wole ‘to wake up at a place further away’, pui_ne ‘to branch off thither’, pui_pule ‘to come to emerge’, pûke_piye ‘to pull off’, puli_laye ‘to shine brightly’, rapiye_wape ‘to fetch and put together’, riye_le ‘to go to see’, riye_pomapi ‘to stroll around while looking for something’, riye_pue ‘to watch, to look around’, riye_pule ‘to come to see’, royie_laye ‘to display for selling’, royie_na ‘to put for giving to sb’, royie_ni ‘to lay to be eaten’, royie_piye ‘to lay to take’, royie_piyi ‘to throw around’, royie_wole ‘to lay lining up’, ruwe_pule ‘to come to break in’, sa_ripei ‘to ask several the same question’, sape_le ‘to lose colour or shape’, seli_wole ‘to slip and fall over’, sesiye_piye ‘to take away’, sile_poli ‘to drip steadily’, sile_wapi ‘to drip and accumulate’, sili_lipi ‘to press a hot wet cloth onto the skin’, si_maeu ‘to cook as one’s possession’, s(yi)piyi ‘to empty’, sowe_laye ‘to cover thoroughly’, sueli_lui ‘to kill by cutting something’, sueli_piye ‘to cut away’, sueli_wili ‘to cut and carry’, sulei_piye ‘to
shrink of flesh, *unei_laye* ‘to tip spreading’, *unei_piye* ‘to tip away as rubbish’, *wale_pue* ‘to move about’, *wapi_laye* ‘to shoot with many arrows’, *weli_malalpi* ‘to approach (one’s ears) as noise of cutting wood’, *weli_male* ‘to approach audible’, *weli_pappe* ‘to approach blowing’, *weli_powole* ‘to approach stormily’, *weriye_poli* ‘to draw (a bow) and keep it drawn’, *woni_pappe* ‘to call blowing a conch’, *yasiye_laye* ‘to place spreading’, *yeki_pue* ‘to track along’.

Adverbial serialisation

*buri_kike* ‘to run ahead’, *buri_kûne* ‘to go down ahead’, *buri_lali* ‘to go ahead while carrying something over the shoulder’, *buri_le* ‘to go ahead’, *buri_paye* ‘to leave somebody/something behind oneself’, *buri_paye_wili* ‘to go ahead by passing by’, *buri_poli* ‘to begin, to start’;

*dori_kûne* ‘to go down again’, *dori_laye* ‘to lay back’, *dori_le* ‘to go back’, *dori_lole* ‘to tie again’, *dori_maliye* ‘to turn back to one’s house’, *dori_meli* ‘to carry several things back’, *dori_mini* ‘to come back hither’, *dori_mipi* ‘several come back hither’, *dori_mole* ‘several go’, *dori_mueli* ‘to repeat, to reply’, *dori_na* ‘to go back inside, to come back inside’, *dori_napi* ‘several go back inside, several come back inside’, *dori_ne* ‘to go back thither’, *dori_nepi* ‘several go back thither’, *dori_neki* ‘to stand upright again’, *dori_pami* ‘to put back hither’, *dori_paupiye* ‘to shut again’, *dori_pini* ‘to come back up hither’, *dori_piye* ‘to get back’, *dori_poye* ‘several stand upright again’, *dori_pule* ‘to come back’, *dori_pulupi* ‘several come back’, *dori_seki* ‘to fall back, to fall again’, *dori_siane* ‘to cross back thither’, *dori_sipi* ‘to hurt again’, *dori_wili* ‘to carry back’;

*ina_kike* ‘to run fast’, *ina_kûne* ‘to go down quickly’, *ina_le* ‘to hurry’, *ina_male* ‘to hear quickly’, *ina_mole* ‘several hurry’, *ina_pule* ‘to come quickly’, *ina_puliyé* ‘to take out quickly’, *ina_ppue* ‘to go up quickly’, *ina_saye* ‘to touch quickly’, *ina_sowe* ‘to hide quickly’, *ina_wemini* ‘to bring quickly’, *ina_wi* ‘to turn away quickly’.
Body part terms

Lexical supplement to Chapter 13

amul *n.* artery
   *amul lupi* main artery connected with the heart

an *n.* hand, arm
   *an aesi* fingernail
   *an dû* muscles of the hand
   *an epe* thumb
   *an lako* the other fingers
   *an peri* palm
   *an yul* wrist

appue *n.* sinew, hollow of the knee

ba *n.* female breasts
   *ba besi* nipple
   *ba kukuno* young breasts that begin to grow and are shaped like young mushrooms
   *ba boli* base of breasts

ber *n.* tongue

beske *n.* beard

bîsep *n.* saliva, spittle

bopop *n.* lips

bou *n.* leg, back limbs, thigh
   *bou dû* muscles of the leg
   *bou epi* inside of thighs, forward bend

busuk *n.* shin, calf

daplaï *n.* forearm

dob *n.* eye
   *dob bere* eye brows
   *dob epi sei* eye ball
   *dob pokoyo* iris
   *dob pul wisi* pupil

dop *n.* skin, body

dor *n.* foot
   *dor apui* sole of the foot
   *dor aesi* footnail, claw


dor epe big toe
dor kipi upper side of foot
dor lako toes except big toe
dor yul ankle

eku n. behind, buttocks
el n. belly
eli n. intestins, guts
emi n. navel
  emi lupi umbilical cord

emosi n. elbow
  emosi yul joint of elbow
eni n. stomach
epiye n. hip

epul n. ear
  epul bi eardrum, ear hole
  epul buar inner ear bones

eye n. arms, front limbs
iner n. armpit
im n. pudenda, vagina
  im re female pubic hair

ipol n. hip joint
kaeau n. cheek, face
kaepi n. kneecap
kaepul n. knee

kaepsi n. greasy part of the knee (anatomic)
kaeskui n. double chin, skin beneath the chin

kiki ~ kuki n. forehead
kili n. bone
kipi n. back
  kipi kili spinal column

klai n. nosebone
kuku n. heel
kupi n. kidney
lil n. blood
  lil ikori menstrual blood, young embryo

los n. thigh

lu n. tooth, incisor
  kemepi lu molars
  puaku lu upper incisors
  sappi lu lower incisors

luai n. upper arm

lûli n. fontanelle, pulse, brain

maepu n. anus

mek n. mouth, voice

moni n. (front) neck, throat

monpak n. gullet

nomoi n. ankle

om n. testicles
  om pul sperm, ejaculate
  om re male pubic hair

oni n. (back) neck

pakul n. shoulder

paui n. collarbone

pauwe n. chest, thorax, breast

pele n. ribs, rib cage

pon n. nose, face
  ponkaeau face

puaki n. bone marrow

puaku n. head
  puaku kili skull

puasi ~ ppasi n. bladder

pune n. intervertebral disc

puok n. belly

ppae n. blood vessel

re n. feathers, body hair of animals and human beings
  iner re hair of the armpit
samul n. chin, jaw
  samul kili jaw bone
sappi n. lower jaw
se n. placenta
seke n. hair
sisi n. lungs
so n. fist
soku n. small of the back, loin
su moniseso n. ovaries
u n. penis
  u besi mouth of penis
umul n. heart
upupu n. belly below navel
uro n. uterus
úli n. gall bladder, bile
waka n. shoulder, shoulder blade
wali n. neck (generic)
wei n. liver
wias n. amniotic fluid
yul n. joint
II Summary of Kilmeri word order properties

(Cf. Chapters 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, and 14)

A Rigid word order

1 Noun plus modifier: Group inflection supports phrasal structure of N MOD sequences
   noun plus adjective
   noun plus quantifier
   noun plus determiner
   noun plus appositional NP
   noun plus local noun \(\Rightarrow\) noun plus local postposition
      (syntactically, local nouns are postpositions)

2 Verbal negation plus verb: \(\text{NEG} \ V\);
   the verbal negation has to immediately precede the inflected verb,
   even in collocations, which then become discontinuous.

3 Interrogative word plus verb: \(\text{WH} \ V\);
   any interrogative word has to immediately precede the inflected verb,
   even in collocations, which then become discontinuous.

4 Adverb plus verb: \(\text{ADV} \ V\);
   all types of non-temporal adverbs immediately precede the verb.

5 Main clause plus complement clause: mainCL complCL;
   obligatory extraposition of complement clauses.

6 Tail-head linkage: the subordinated “head” clause (that repeats the propositional
   content of the “tail” clause) precedes the main clause.

B Flexible word order

1 Verb plus arguments: arguments precede the verb, their relative order depends on
   the desired informational focus. Clause-final position of the verb is usually
   maintained.

2 Verb plus adjuncts: adjuncts precede the verb when they bear the informational
   focus, otherwise they follow the verb. Clause-final position of the verb can be
   suspended.

3 Temporal nouns
   a) tempN + Proposition, wide scope construction as sentence adverb.
   b) Proposition + tempN, when temporal noun expresses
      the meaning of ‘do sth until TEMP’.
Clause-final position of the verb is suspended.
c) immediately preverbal, when bearer of focus.

4 Possessive NPs: two parallel types of ordering
a) possessum + morphologically marked possor:
   marked phrasal possessive NP in which the possessor follows the possessum
b) juxtaposition possor possessum:
   unmarked phrasal possessive NP in which the possessor precedes the possessum

5 Main clause plus subordinated clause:
Most often the order is chronologically iconic, but reverse order is also possible.
Note: The syntax of complex sentences is predominantly paratactic (juxtapositional), so situation-related, iconic order is the first choice for felicitous information conveyance.

6 Modifying component verb in serial verbs: two parallel types of ordering
a) “adverb”-like order:
   FRONT/BACK axis verb + main verb
   SPEED indicating verb + main verb  
   \[ \Rightarrow \] the structure MOD V resembles the sequence of
   modifying adverb and verb ADV V
b) “modifier”-like order:
   main verb + topological/directional verb
   main verb + aspectual verb
   main verb + reciprocal verb  
   \[ \Rightarrow \] the structure V MOD resembles the modificational structure found in NPs

C Morpheme order in verbs

1 TAM markers in the verb: they are suffixal, prefixal and circumfixal 16 : 5 : 5

2 Number/Person markers in the verb: they are suffixal (-we dual O, -wepi plural S/O, -mapi plural S/O, -mapi plural Event; person markers for Recipient object) and prefixal (i- dual S/A).
The accompanying, collective morpheme wo- is also prefixal.

D Morpheme order in nouns

Case operators in the noun: they are all suffixal.

E Clitics

Clitics follow their host.
In a few (unsystematic) instances the clitic precedes its host.
III Texts

Introduction

This text section provides six fully glossed and translated texts of three different narrators and covers the genres of traditional (ancestral) stories, stories relating to experiences of contemporary life, and one procedural text. Three texts were produced by Margaret Osi alone; one of the traditional stories is a co-operation between her and Susan Bisam. Susan is also the author of a short story about herself. The second traditional story was narrated by the late Andrew Wapi. Margaret’s narrative strength are real life stories, whereas Susan Bisam and Andrew Wapi have a strong knowledge of traditional stories. However, since both of them had shifted to Tok Pisin on practical grounds to a greater extent than Margaret, their command of the Kilmeri language had become less elaborate.

So the two women, Margaret and Susan, decided to jointly produce several traditional stories, and would take turns at narrating during the recording. Therefore the original recordings of these co-narrations are much longer than the resulting edited stories. In these cases edition means that the meta-talk of the two women is not reproduced; at times they discussed the most suitable story line, making sure that nothing would be left out. Thus, after recording, the text “Walpop bo” was retold by Margaret alone (without recording) and transcribed simultaneously. The same holds for the other two ancestral stories that the women produced together. But this procedure didn't affect the spontaneous nature of Margaret’s narration.

Andrew Wapi produced his narratives alone, but Margaret Osi would criticise that his speech and style were too poor to be taken over as they stood. In addition, due to his inarticulate pronunciation, some phrases could not be recognised anymore during transcription. Thus, some occasional editing by Margaret was inevitable, but she focussed mainly on avoiding undue repetition. Yet redundancies are still there; for instance, Sequences 5 to 8 of the text “Pu paek” below contain several repetitions. For one thing, the fact that his stories were taped always made Andrew Wapi a bit uneasy, but then again, repetitions might have been a feature of his style. He would also often use Tok Pisin words and expressions, which Margaret Osi wanted to substitute by Kilmeri. However, Andrew’s text “Pu paek” still contains all the Tok Pisin phrases he himself used while narrating. Altogether, less than 10% of this text was subject to editing by cutting out excessive repetitions and inarticulate phrases. However, the transcription of his speech does reproduce what he in fact uttered; so there is no doubt regarding spontaneity. The same holds for his other stories; in all he narrated five ancestral stories. In general, his recordings were most difficult to transcribe.

Needless to say, the fieldworker herself didn’t suggest any editorial amendments, but occasionally they might have been triggered by questions concerning vocabulary or grammar. So Margaret Osi would decide to change an expression she didn't like
anymore while transcribing a narrative of hers, or she would add a sentence to improve
the story line. Normally the narratives were told without a title; sometimes the content
was summarised in one or two sentences. That means that in general the titles of the
stories go back to the fieldworker, except for two of the stories reproduced here, namely
“Walpop bo” and “Bo Milipiro”, which were chosen by Margaret herself.

The texts selected for the Online Supplement of the grammar meet two criteria:
They illustrate special grammatical features particularly well or as a whole are subject
to grammatical analysis; this holds for “Walpop bo” (reference tracking), “Pu paek”
(reported speech as direct speech), and “Bo Milipiro” (very frequent occurrences of
benefactive Goal marking). Mili is the granddaughter of Margaret Osi, who back then,
in 2006, was five years old; so it made sense to include as well a story showing Margaret
herself as a girl of about this age: “Ko lelo piu no” narrates a vivid childhood memory
of hers. Susan Bisam’s narrative “Ko kipino ye” tells the story of a bad accident that
happened to her after coming home from the sago swamp. She is one of the most
industrious sago producers of Ossima; therefore it was fitting to let her speak about a
sago-related experience. The procedural text “Yaup ulyo moli” by Margaret Osi is a
recollection of what the preparation and technique of cooking was like in former times.

A note on the running Kilmeri text that precedes the sequenced and glossed text: The
running text, which is not split up morphologically, is given in the shape that emerges
via the morphophonological rules of vowel lowering in closed syllables, vowel elision,
and assimilation. The punctuation is due to the fieldworker and might have been chosen
differently had the storytellers decided on it; but being illiterate, they would have been
of little help.

1 Walpop bo

[Code: WALPOP; number of words: 573; recording 09-04-2004, duration ca. 10 min]

A turtle as a bush spirit. A young woman is tricked by a bush spirit but finally
released.

Susan Sumoi Bisam and Margaret Apai Osi, Ossima, September 2004.

Ako dari werino uki klokni piyoi, dari el piamu, weri el aska, weri ppili. Uki kiyopi kaikai
weliyoulipop, ki kama noulipop, bi wal ya solo noulipop. Ako dupua dari werino umul
nekpamui: “Nuko ile nuko pu riyepoi, pu ki ikori.” Ilo pu baiko; luika kililuipno saulno
yopi. Pu i, yelo solo wal solo mapap, waeus wamo waeripi waesepp weiop bi riyei. Wal
saul dupua layewe, dob bi riyei, walpop dor riyei, dor uppue. Riypuno weri dari muelno:
“De nakowap, de elno ko ppue.” – “Ari, ko ike ppue.” Dari loro sukupu yipyo paeau; weri
kleouro weri womop dupuni. Wal Saul dupua puyo unepana, woise yipyo lo. Uki muelno:
“De bi kama noulipop, dari kopi sepolo, walpop bi luppue yala sukupu noniri. Ko kleouro,


Lo seleyo, sele numuvelo polip, klapno yesi wapo.


Bo kuru.

(1) ako dari weri-no uki klokni piyo-i dari el_piamu
wife older.sister younger.sister-INS husband one take.PP-DU.A older.sister get.pregnant.PP
weri el_aska weri ppili
younger.sister not.pregnant younger.sister live.single

‘The women, two sisters, took one husband, the older sister got pregnant, the younger sister had no belly, she was living single.’
(2) uki kiyo-pi kaikai weliye-uli-pi-p ki kama ni-uli-pi-p bi
husband APH.DU-POSS food take.away.from-PROG-LV-PC APH alone eat-PROG-LV-PC meat
wal ya solo ni-uli-pi-p
fish sago only eat-PROG-LV-PC
‘Their husband usually took the food away (from them), he used to eat alone, it was only him who would eat meat, fish and sago.’
Literally: ‘... only meat, fish and sago he would eat’

(3) ako dupua dari weri-no umul_nekpamu-i nuko i-le nuko
wife two older.sister younger.sister-INS reflect.PP-DU.S we.INCL DU.S-go we.INCL
pu riye-pi-i pu ki i-ko=ro
we.INCL see.O-ANIM]-LV-DU.A river APH dry.up-RTS=EMPH
‘The two wives, the sisters, pondered: “We go, we look for the river, did the river dry up?” ’

(4) i-lo pu ba-î-ko luika k-lilu-i-p-no saul-no
DU.S-go.PP river FAC-dry.up-FAC downriver SUB-stake.off-DU.A-PC-CO scooping.vessel-INS
yopo-i
go.PP-DU.A
‘They went, the river has (almost) dried up, (and) when they had staked off (a spot) downriver, they scooped it (empty) with a pangal-shovel.’

(5) pu ì yelo solo wal solo mape-p waeus wamo waeripi waesepp
water dry.up ground only fish only stay.PL-PC shrimps kind.of.fish kind.of.fish kind.of.fish
weiop bi riye-i
kind.of.fish meat see.O-ANIM]-DU.A
‘The water dries up, only the ground (of the river is visible), there were only fish (left), (namely) shrimps, wamo-fish, waeripi-fish, waesopp-fish, weiop-fish, they see meat (for food).’

(6) wal saul dupua laye-we dob bi riye-i walpop dor
fish scooping.vessel two put-DU.O eye hole see.O-ANIM]-DU.A turtle foot
riye-i dor u-ppue
see.O-ANIM]-DU.A foot DFAC-go.up
‘They put two pangal-vessels (full) of fish (aside) and notice a hole, they see the footprints of a small turtle, right here the traces go straight up.’

(7) riyopuno weri dari mueli-no de nake-we-p de el_no ko
then younger.sister older.sister talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you stay-TER-IMP you pregnant I
ppue ari ko_ike ppue
go.up no I.myself go.up
‘Then the younger sister said to the older: “You stay here, you are pregnant, I go up.” – “No, I go up myself.” ’
(8) dari lo=ro sukupu yip-yo paeau weri ki le-ou=ro
older.sister go.PP=EMPH bush.spirit house-LOC arrive younger.sister APH wait-FRUS=EMPH
weri wo_mop dupuni
younger.sister cry.PP night
‘So the older sister went to the house of the bush spirit and arrived (there); the younger sister waited for her in vain, the younger sister cried until evening.’

(9) wal saul dupua pu-yo uneipana-we woise yip-yo lo
fish scooping.vessel two river-LOC tip.PP DU.O with.tears house-LOC go.PP
‘She tipped the two scooping vessels away across the river and went home crying.’

(10) uki mueli-no de bi kama ni-uli-pi-p dari ko-pi
husband talk.to-3SG.OR.PP you meat alone eat-PROG-LV-PC older.sister 1SG-POSS
sepolo walpop bi luppue yaluk sukupu no-ni=ro ko ke le-ou=ro
vanish.PP turtle hole go.up now bush.spirit AUG-eat=EMPH I TOP wait-FRUS=EMPH
de_eli kama ni-uli-pi-p bi de koy o ar ponini-pi-p
you.yourself alone eat-PROG-LV-PC meat you we.DU.EXCL NEG give.NSG.OR-LV-PC
‘She said to her husband: “You ate the meat always alone, my sister has vanished, she went up into the cave of a small turtle, now the bush spirit eats her, I waited for her in vain, you yourself would eat (everything) alone, you did not give us any meat.” ’
Comment:
In this context bi ‘meat’ refers to proteine-rich, valuable food of animals, which the husband did not share with his wives.

(11) uki wo_mopi-p de ke wo_k-mopi-m de kama ni-uli-pi-p sukei
husband cry-PC you TOP crying_PROH-cry-FAC you alone eat-PROG-LV-PC spirit
ro-ki wape-no
PROX.EMPH-APH put.together-3SG.OR.PP
‘The husband was crying (and his wife said to him): “Don’t even cry, you alone used to eat.” Her spirit focused (with sorrows) on her [i.e., the older sister].’
Literally: ‘... the spirit put this together for her [i.e., the older sister]’

(12) dari lo=ro sukupu yip-yo paeau de=pe arka pulo ko so
older.sister go.PP=EMPH bush.spirit house-LOC arrive you=Q where come.PP I believe
ke walpop=ro walpop arí ko=ro awe de epi ba-ka nake-p
APH turtle=EMPH turtle no I=EMPH come.IMP you side other-PATH live-IMP
‘The older sister went to the house of the bush spirit and arrived (there): “Where did you come from?” [she was asked] – “I assumed, he (is) a small turtle.” – “A small turtle, no, (it is) me [the bush spirit], come, you live on the other side (of the house).” ’
(13) **ako ruri nako roipi sukupu yip-yo dob reyo wolo dupua**  
wife child gave.birth boy bush.spirit house-LOC eye see.0[+ANIM,+SG].PP ladder two  
poli wolo ba sukupu kep wolo ba ako=ro  
be.there ladder other bush.spirit 3SG.POSS ladder other wife=EMPH  
‘The wife gave birth to a child, to a boy, in the bush spirit’s house, (the bush spirit) saw her; there are two ladders (there), one (belongs to) the bush spirit(’s room), the other one (belongs to) the woman(’s room).’

(14) **se seku emi_lupi suelo mi ki no mi k-ni-p-no**  
placenta fall.down.PP umbilical.cord cut.PP then APH eat.PP then SUB-eat-PC-CO  
eku-ka seku mi yelo-yo seku  
anus-PATH fall.down.PP then ground-LOC fall.down.PP  
‘The placenta fell down, he cut the umbilical cord, he ate it readily; then, when he had eaten it, it fell out of (his) anus, then it dropped on the ground.’

(15) **ako=ro dob reye eh o-ke sukupu ko so ono=ro**  
wife=EMPH eye see.0[+ANIM,+SG] eh PROX-APH bush.spirit I believe man=EMPH  
o-ke sukupu ko yala koniye_ni  
PROX-APH bush.spirit I soon devour  
‘The wife realises: “Oh, this one is a bush spirit, I assumed (he is) human, this one is a bush spirit; will he devour me soon?” ’  
Comment:  
When food comes out of a person’s anus undigested, this is a sign that the person is in fact a bush spirit.

(16) **umul_pole roise nake-p yala ko asa pi**  
be.sad with live-PC now I how do  
‘She lived on with a sad heart: “What am I going to do now?” ’

(17) **nake-p-no du-yo lo ono lu=ro bi lu=ro melpulo**  
live-PC-CO bush-LOC go.PP person shoot.PP=EMPH animal shoot.PP=EMPH bring.PL.O.PP  
yip-yo  
house-LOC  
‘While she was living (like this), he went to the bush, shot humans, shot animals, and brought them to the house.’

(18) **bi ako=ro ponamo ono=pe ki no ono d-komiyo**  
meat wife=EMPH give.3SG.OR.PP person=Q APH eat.PP person LKH-hide.PP  
‘He gave the meat (of the animals) to the woman; a human being, did he eat it? – He surely hid a human being (when eating it).’

(19) **so pi-uli-pi-p ruri ireri ruri puane dor-no le ikoi**  
as did-PROG-LV-PC child crawl child stand.up foot-INS go big  
‘He did it like this; the child crawls, the child stands up, walks on his feet, is big.’
Then the bush spirit decided: “I go to collect aibika-leaves”; he went to the garden, the garden was far away; when he had gone, he collected aibika-leaves.’

‘(At once) Bipep came and said to the woman: “Come, we go here, the bush spirit will soon eat you up; you together with your child, we go, come, I won’t eat you up, I will help you.” ’

The man called Bipep is introduced as the positive opponent of the bush spirit without mentioning him before.

‘The older sister with (her) child followed Bipep, they lived in Bipep’s house: “Here is your place”; he showed it to her.’

‘The bush spirit came and brought the aibika-leaves home: “Are you there?” – “Yes, I am here”, said Muem, the White Ant, to him.’

Muem, the White Ant, behaves as a friendly spirit who helps people against evil bush spirits. Actually, white ant is the name for termites.
(24) **Bipep Muem mueli-no de yala wapiye-m ou ko yala wapiye-m Muem**  
Bipep Muem talk-to.3SG.OR.PO you MOD deceive-POS yes I MOD deceive-POS Muem  
yip biyo nake-p Bipep Muem smep musi-no koyo i-le de yala  
house inside stay-PC Bipep Muem door lock-3SG.OR.PO we.DU.EXCL DU.S-go you MOD  
nake-we-ne-m ou deyo i-le-p  
stay-TER-3SG.OR-POS yes you.DU.S-go-IMP  

‘Bipep said to White Ant: “You should deceive him.” – “Yes, I will deceive (him).”  
White Ant stayed in the cave, Bipep closed the door (behind) Muem: “We go, you  
will stay here (to wait) for him.” – “Yes, you two go (now).” ’  

Comment:  
According to the proper course of events, Sequence 24 should come before Se-  
quence 23, but the narrator chose this order, which gives a postposed explanation  
for what is said in the preceding sequence.

(25) **rum kep-yo lo buar piye-ko wepulo yala Muem puluwei ko**  
room 3SG.POSS-LOC go.PO stone.axe take-RTS bring.PO now Muem break.with.force I  
wapiye-p oh ako arî ba-le-ko  
deceive-PC oh wife no FAC-go-FAC  

‘He [the bush spirit] went into his room, took the stone axe and brought it: “Now  
I will break White Ant into pieces, he deceived me, oh, the woman – no, she has  
gone.” ’  

(26) **dor-ka yek oh o-ki woko Bipep yip-yo**  
foot-PATH follow.one's.traces.PO oh PROX-APH go.together.with.PO Bipep house-LOC  

‘He followed their traces: “Oh, here he went together (with her), to Bipep’s  
house.”’  

(27) **sukupa Bipep sa-no deyo i-nake oh koyo pari de dupuapi**  
bush.spirit Bipep ask-3SG.OR.PO you.DU.DU.S-stay oh we.DU.EXCL NEG.COP you lie  
deyo=ro oh koyo pari de ko wapiye ko ba-reye-ko  
you.DU=EMPH oh we.DU.EXCL NEG.COP you I deceive I FAC-see.O[+ANIM,+SG]-FAC  
ere nake  
here stay  

‘The bush spirit asked Bipep: “Are you there?” – “No, we are not.” – “You are  
lying, it’s you two.” – “No, it’s not us.” – “You deceive me, I have seen her, she is  
here.”’  

(28) **sukupa yip-yo ppuo wor dupua puesu-i yelo-yo sekü puana**  
bush.spirit house-LOC go.up.PO dog two bite.PO.DU.A ground-LOC fall.PO stand.up.PO  
ko due_nui-p  
I sleep-PC  

‘The bush spirit went up to the house, two dogs bit (him), he fell on the ground,  
he stood up (again): “I was sleeping [he thought].” ’
(29) *Bipep mueli-no ko le yip-yo ko yip ikap-yo le dorilo*
Bipep talk.to-3SG.OR.PP I go house-LOC I house 1SG.POSS.EMPH-LOC go go.back.PP
*ba-le-ko*
FAC-go-FAC
‘He said to Bipep: “I go to the house, I go to my house”; he turned back, he has
gone.’

(30) *Bipep ako=ro mueli-no nuko i-le yilau de-pi-yo i-lo*
Bipep wife=EMPH talk.to-3SG.OR.PP we.INCL DU.S-go village 2SG-POSS-LOC DU.S-go.PP
*bi rop-no bepu rop-no suel par-no lolo ako*
meat basket-INS sago.grub basket-INS tobacco bark.mat-INS wrap.PP wife
*woko=ro yilau kep-yo*
go.together.with.PP=EMPH village 3SG.POSS-LOC
‘Bipep said to the wife: “We go to your village”; they went with meat in the basket
and with sago grubs in the basket, he wrapped tobacco with a bark mat; together
with the woman he went to her village.’

(31) *pewo boliyo le royo-we ruri kep roise i-neki-p dob pi-p*
banana at.the.foot things lay.PP-TER child 3SG.POSS together DU.S-stand.PC eye LV-PC
‘He laid the belongings at the foot of a banana tree, they stood together with her
child and looked.’

(32) *uki kep sele pi-p ako kep puap pulapana*
husband 3SG.POSS garden do-PC wife 3SG.POSS fruit.species release.thither.PP
‘Her husband was working in the garden, his wife threw puap-fruits (after him).’

(33) *uki dob riye puap ana pula-p lo=ro pewo boliyo ah*
husband eye see.O[-ANIM] fruit.species who release-PC go.PP=EMPH banana at.the.foot ah
*ako ko-pi an-no wiyo ruri kep roise ko so de ke sui-ko=ro*
wife 1SG-POSS arm-INS hold.PP child 3SG.POSS together I believe you TOP die-RTS=EMPH
‘The husband looks around: “Who was throwing the puap-fruits?” He went to the
foot of the banana tree: “Oh, my wife”, he put his arms around her and her/his
child: “I believed you died not long ago.” ’

(34) *ko ar sui ko u-nake ko Bipep mekiyo*
I NEG die I DFAC-live I Bipep help.PP
‘I did not die, I am alive, Bipep helped me.’
They fetched the things, they went to the house, she laid the things into the house; her younger sister came, put her arms around her, rejoiced and wept: “I believed you died.” – “I am alive, I didn’t die, Bipep helped me.”

She said to the family: “Come, come to my house, hear my words, do not kill Bipep, do not hold him, he helped me!”

“You have spoken to us, we have understood it, we won't hold (him) later [and won't punish him].”

The people went along the path, they went to the house of the bush spirit, they arrived at the house of the bush spirit.

They called up to him: “Are you there?” – “Who are you?” – He opened the door and went down to the ground.

The people stood in a line and peppered him with their arrows, (then) all the arrows stuck in his body, he is dead.’
‘They lifted (him) up and put him inside the house, then they sacked the house with fire; (afterwards) they went together to the village with the belongings (of the bush spirit).’

‘Later (his) gall bladder burst, the people heard it loudly; he doesn’t live (anymore), his gall bladder has burst.’

‘The story is finished.’

Riyopuno ruri woise lo yilauro. Yena kinyo ki muelen epe ke roise: “Ai kopi masalai bakongiyo, ine awe nuko mole! Masalai ono yenep depi bamalapoko. De ke mopso bo mui, bike lili de noro! Ai kopi bike luro, koyo wesip, mi ko so muelup. Bike lili, de noro, de ke duwuapi! De bo kopi epul ar male, masalai de puni kongiyo.”


Em tasol liklik stori.

(1) ruri ai-no du-yo woko kiyo kama woko
  child-father-INS bush-LOC go.together.with.PP APH.DU alone  go.together.with.PP
  ‘Father and son went together to the bush, the two of them went alone.’

(2) k-woke-p-no du-yo du-yo wo-nu
  SUB-go.together.with-PC-CO bush-LOC bush-LOC ACCOM-sleep.PP
  ‘When they had gone together to the bush, they slept in the bush in (each other’s) company.’

(3) ri-yo k-nui-p-no ai mueli-no ko du-yo le ko du pue
  DIST-LOC SUB-sleep-PC-CO father talk.to-3SG.OR.PP I bush-LOC go I forest roam
  ‘When they had slept there, the father said to him [his son]: “I go into the bush, I will roam the forest.” ’

(4) de ke nake-we de ri-yo ppue-we ri-yo ulei-pi-ko de dob ri-yo
  you TOP stay-TER you tree-LOC climb-TER tree-LOC put.inside-LV-RTS you eye  DIST-LOC
  pi-we
  LV-TER
  ‘ “You, you stay (here), you climb up a tree”; the father put him in the (chosen) tree:
  “You watch out from there attentively.” ’

(5) k-ulei-pi-p-no ai du-yo lo
  SUB-put.inside-LV-PC-CO father bush-LOC go.PP
  ‘When he had put (him) in (the tree), the father went into the [deep] bush.’
(6) **du-yo lo=ro du pue-p**
bush-LOC go.PP=EMPH forest roam-PC

‘He went into the bush, he was roaming the forest.’

(7) **ruri kep mueli-ko-no de dob pi-we de rileyo nake-no dob pi-we**
child 3SG.POSS talk.to-RTS 3SG.OR.PP you eye LV:TER you above stay-CO eye LV:TER

‘Before he had said to his son: “You watch attentively, while you are up there, you keep watching out attentively!”’

(8) **ai kep du-yo lo du-yo k-le-p-no du pue-p**
father 3SG.POSS bush-LOC go.PP bush-LOC SUB-go-PC-CO forest roam-PC

‘His father went into the bush, when he had gone, he was roaming the bush.’

(9) **ruri ki kama ri wuli-yo nake-p**
child APH alone tree tree.top-LOC sit-PC

‘The child was sitting alone in the tree top.’

(10) **raunwara yip pakiyo lili-p pu_paek**
pond house.next.to be.there-PC waterhole

‘There was a pond next to a house, a hole with water.’

(11) **pu_paek ikoiele yip-yo lili-p raunwara ri epeyo iwole-p**
waterhole very.big house-LOC be.there-PC pond wood visible dry.up-PC

‘The pond was very big, it was near the (bush)house, the pond was drying up, (at the bottom) wood was visible.’

(12) **masalai ri-yo nake-p ri-yo pini=ro**
bush.spirit DIST-LOC live-PC DIST-LOC come.up.hither=EMPH

‘A bush spirit lived there (at the bottom of the pond), from there he is coming up hither.’

(13) **ruri kep=ro sa-no de=pe rileyo bo nake ai de rileyo**
child 3SG.POSS=EMPH ask 3SG.OR.PP you=Q above what sit father you above
ulei-pi-ko ai de-pi arka lo
put.inside-LV:RTS father 2SG.POSS where go.PP

‘He asked his [the father’s] son: “What for do you sit up there, did your father put you up in (the tree), where did your father go?”’

(14) **ai ko-pi du-yo lo du pue yala pule-m**
father 1SG.POSS bush-LOC go.PP forest roam soon come-POS

‘“My father went into the bush, he roams the forest, he will come soon.”’

(15) **deyo kama wo-pulo**
you.DU alone ACCOM:come.PP

‘“The two of you came alone in (each other’s) company?”’
(16)  *ou koyo  kama wo-pulo*

yes we.DU.EXCL alone ACCOM-come.PP
‘“Yes, we came alone.”’

(17)  *yeni kep  ari o=pe  yeni ana-pi*

bed 3SG.POSS no PROX=Q bed who-POSS
‘“His bed, no, whose bed is this?”’

(18)  *yeni=ro  ere-ki  ko-pi  ai  ko-pi  yeni kep  ere-ki*

bed=EMPH PROX-APH 1SG-POSS father 1SG-POSS bed 3SG.POSS PROX-APH
‘“This bed is mine, (as for) my father, his bed is this.”’

(19)  *yeni kep  ko malapi  mak  koyo-pi  kopuala_dupua  yala  ko  dupuni*

bed 3SG.POSS I measure mark we.DU.EXCL-POSS two.times.the_same today I night
*pule ai  so  mueli-ne  ou*
come father so talk.to-3SG.OR yes
‘“I measure his bed, our measure is the same, later in the night I will come, tell it
to (your) father.” – “Yes (I will do).”’

(20)  *ai  du  k-pue-p-no  bike  wepulo  yip-yo*

father forest SUB-roam-PC-CO cassowary bring.PP house-LOC
‘When the father had roamed the forest, he brought a cassowary to the
(bush)house.’

(21)  *bike  k-lui-p-no  k-wepule-p-no  yip-yo  k-wo-puenpi-p-no*
cassowary SUB-shoot-PC-CO SUB-bring-PC-CO house-LOC SUB-ACCOM-cut.meat-PC-CO
*apla-yo  wo-royepepo  sù  mappeppue*
plank-LOC ACCOM-lay.on.top.PP fire light.go.up
‘When he had shot the cassowary and brought it to the (bush)house, and when
they had cut the meat together, they laid it on top of planks, the fire is going up.’

(22)  *sù  k-wo-mappeppue-p-no  puni-no  sù  wo-mappeppuo*

fire SUB-ACCOM-light.go.up-PC-CO evening-INS fire ACCOM-light.go.up.PP
‘When they had lit the fire, they kept the fire lit during the evening.’

(23)  *kaikai  bilil  k-wo-si-p-no  k-wo-ni-p-no  kiyo  kama*

food pieces.of.meat SUB-ACCOM-cook-PC-CO SUB-ACCOM-eat-PC-CO APH.DU alone
dupua i-nake-p
two DUS-sit-PC
‘When they had cooked and eaten food and pieces of meat, the two of them were
sitting alone.’

(24)  *k-wo-ni-p-no  due  wo-nui  ai  mueli-ne*

SUB-ACCOM-eat-PC-CO sleep ACCOM-do.intentionally father talk.to-3SG.OR
‘After eating they go to sleep together, (and the son) says to (his) father.’
(25) **ono ba pu ipi-yo pin ana arí pu-yo pin ana arí**
man other water clay-LOC come.up.hither PP who no water-LOC come.up.hither PP who no
*yení de-pí malapi-p*
bed 2SG-POSS measure-PC

‘“Somebody came up hither from the water bottom, (I do) not (know) who he is, he came up hither from the water bottom, (I do) not (know) who he is, he measured your bed.”’

(26) **yala ko puni pini yala ko puni koniye so muel**
today I night come.up.hither today I night swallow so say PP

‘“Today at night I will come up hither, today at night I will devour (your father)”, so he said.’

(27) **de ke dupuapi mopsi bo mui bike u-lili yala ko asa ni**
you TOP lie nonsense word talk cassowary DFAC-be.there.now I how eat
*bike de oso ni dob de riye-we=ro*
cassowary you more eat eye you see.O-[ANIM]-TER=EMPH

‘“You are lying, you are talking nonsense, here is the cassowary.” – “How do I eat now?” – “You eat more of the cassowary, (tomorrow) you watch out attentively.”’

(28) **ari duki=ro so muel**
no true=EMPH so say PP

‘“No, it is true, so he said.”’

(29) **ari de ke giaman-pi de ke dupuapi**
no you TOP lie-LV you TOP lie

‘“No, you are lying, you are lying.”’

(30) **dupuapi arí bo duki=ro dob ko reyo ono bekulu pu ipi-yo**
lie no word true=EMPH eye I see.O-[ANIM,+SG].PP man huge water clay-LOC
*pí nin dob ko reyo*
come.up.hither PP eye I see.O-[ANIM,+SG].PP

‘“I am not lying, it is true, I saw him, a huge man came up hither from the bottom of the water, I saw him.”’

(31) **bike lili yala ko asa ni bike de apai-na ni**
cassowary be.there now I how eat cassowary you greedy-ADV eat

‘“There is the cassowary.” – “How do I eat now?” – “You eat the cassowary with good appetite.”’

(32) **upuna=ro**
alright=EMPH

‘“Alright, alright.”’
(33)  wo-nu=ro  puni pin  puni kaepul  an  saye kaepul
    ACCOM-sleep.PP=EMPH night come.up.hither.PP night knee  hand touch knee
    k-saye-p-no  pu_paek  ke  mi  dopyo  lili
    SUB-touch-PC-CO waterhole APH again next.to  be.there
    ‘They slept together, at night he came up; at night the hand touches the knee,
    while it touches the knee, the waterhole is near by!’
    Comment:
    The sleeping posture of touching one’s knee expresses deep sleep. This passage
    relates that the waterhole is a source of danger for the people fast asleep.

(34)  puni k-pini-p-no  ai  kep  koniyo
    night SUB-come.up.hither-PC-CO father 3SG.POSS swallow.PP
    ‘When he had come up at night, he swallowed up his [the child’s] father.’

(35)  ai  solo  koniyo=ro  yeni rupue-wolo
    father ony  swallow.PP=EMPH bed  break-CPL.PP
    ‘Only the father he swallowed up, (his) bed he broke altogether.’

(36)  yeni roise  rupue-p  ruri  ba  koniyo  ruri  nake-p
    bed  together break-PC child NEG.EMPH swallow.PP child stay-PC
    ‘He broke him [the father] and the bed, (but) the child he didn’t swallow, the
    child stayed on (alive).’

(37)  ruri  ppulae-na  puana  masalai  ai  kep  koniyo
    child bad-ADV rise.PP bush.spirit father 3SG.POSS swallow.PP
    ‘The child rose (in a) bad (state of mind), the bush spirit had devoured his father.’

(38)  k-koniye-p-no  pu-yo  kûno  ruri  puni  k-le-p-no  ri_ipul-yo
    SUB-swallow-PC-CO water-LOC go.down.PP child night SUB-go-PC-CO tree.buttress-LOC
    nake-p  duruwa
    sit-PC  early.morning
    ‘When he had swallowed him up, he went down into the water; after running
    away at night the child was sitting between the buttresses of a tree until early
    morning.’

(39)  ai  sekim-po  piaune  ari
    father seek-LV.PP python  no
    ‘He searched for the father; a python? No.’
    [That means, it was not a python that killed the father.]

(40)  ai  masalai  koniyo  piaune  ari  o-ke  ono  sukupu  ba-koniye-ko
    father bush.spirit swallow.PP python  no  PROX-APH man bush.spirit FAC-swallow-FAC
    ‘[The child ponders:] “A bush spirit swallowed up (my) father, a python, no, this
    was a man, a bush spirit has swallowed him up.” ’
(41)  riyopuno  ruri  woise  lo  yilau-yo
      then  child  with.tears  go.PP  village-LOC
      ‘Then the child went tearfully to the village.’

(42)  yena  kinyo  ki  mueli-en  epe  kep  roise
      people  all  APH  talk.to-NSG.OR.PP  mother  3SG.POSS  together
      ‘He said to all the people including his mother:’

(43)  ai  ko-pi  masalai  ba-koniye-ko  ine  awe  nuko  mole
      father  1SG-POSS  bush.spirit  FAC-swallow-FAC  you.PL  come.IMP  we.INCL  go.PL
      ‘  “A bush spirit has swallowed up my father, you all come, we all go.” ’

Now the child repeats the whole dialogue with his father:

(44)  masalai  ono  yen-i  de-pi  ba-malapi-ko
      bush.spirit  man  bed  2SG-POSS  FAC-measure-FAC
      ‘  “The bush spirit, the man has measured your bed.” ’

(45)  de  ke  mopsi  bo  mui  bike  lili  de  ni=ro
      you  TOP  nonsense  word  talk  cassowary  be.there  you  eat=EMPH
      ‘  “You are talking nonsense, there is some cassowary, you eat.” ’

(46)  ai  ko-pi  bike  lu=ro  koyo  wo-si-p  mi  ko  so
      father  1SG-POSS  cassowary  shoot.PP=EMPH  we.DU.EXCL  ACCOM-cook-PC  then  I  so
      mueli-ipi-p
      talk.to-1SG.OR-PC
      ‘  “My father shot a cassowary, we were cooking it together, then he was talking to
      me like this.” ’

With sequence (46) the child changes the narrative level and gives some additional
information concerning the situation, before he continues to repeat the dialogue.

(47)  bike  lili  de  ni=ro  de  ke  dupuapi
      cassowary  be.there  you  eat=EMPH  you  TOP  lie
      ‘  “There is cassowary meat, you simply eat; you are lying.” ’

(48)  de  bo  ko-pi  epul  ar  male  masalai  de  puni  koniye
      you  word  1SG-POSS  ear  NEG  hear  bush.spirit  you  night  swallow
      ‘  “You don’t listen to my words, the bush spirit will swallow you up at night.” ’

The repetition of the dialogue is completed, and the main narrative line continues.

(49)  riyopuno  iki  kumune  mole  k-uke-pule-p-no  pu  riye
      then  APH.PL  all.COLL  go.PL.PP  SUB-jointly-come-PC-CO  water  see.0[-ANIM]
      ‘Then they all went, after jointly coming (there) they see the water(hole).’
(50) \text{ SUB-scoop-PC-CO then water dry.up-PP ground only}

‘When they had scooped (the pond) ... then the water (had) dried up, there was only the bottom.’

(51) \text{ wood visible dry.up-PC DIST-LOC live-PC people all.COLL arrow-INS shoot-PP}

‘The wood is visible (because the water) dried up, there he lived, all the people jointly shot with arrows (at him).’

(52) \text{ SUB-shoot-PC-CO be.dead bush.spirit PROX-APH FAC-shoot-FAC}

‘When they had shot at him: he is dead, they have shot this bush spirit.’

(53) \text{ SUB-lay-PC-CO bush.knife-INS cut-PP APH.PL village-LOC go.PL-PP}

‘When they had laid him (down), they cut (him to pieces) with (their) bush knives; (then) they went to the village.’

(54) \text{ APH only small story}

‘That’s it, the little story.’

3 Bo Milipiro

Mili’s sickness. Mili, the five year old granddaughter of Margaret, has to undergo surgery in Vanimo hospital.
Margaret Osi, Ossima, January 2007


Bo kuru.

(1) ai Mili-pi yila-yo pulo ope-no pulo lakiye-ko woko Vanimo-yo father Mili-POSS village-LOC come.PP car-INS come.PP fetch-RTS accompany.PP Vanimo-LOC ‘Mili’s father came to the village, he came by car, he fetched her and brought her to Vanimo.’

(2) ko mueli-ipi-p epe-e de ruri ko-pi woke-p haus_sik-yo aepu I talk.to-ISG.OR-PC mother-VOC you child ISG-POSS accompany-IMP hospital-LOC ulcer ikoï-na pi aepu kana po big-ADV do ulcer fast do.PP ‘He said to me: “Mother, accompany my child to the hospital, the ulcer is big, it grew very fast.” ’
(3) dokta mueli-en deyo yala haus_sik-yo wo-nake aepu bue-yo
   doctor talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you.DU now hospital-LOC ACCOM-sit ulcer sea-LOC
   pusiiye-ke-p
   wash-INGR-IMP
   ‘The doctor said to us: “The two of you stay together in the hospital now, you two
   go and wash the ulcer in the sea.” ’
   Comment:
   Salt water has disinfectant effects on wounds.

(4) ko Mili wepulo marasin pi-no aepu-yo lole-no dokta mueli-no
   I Mili bring.PL medicine do-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC tie-3SG.OR.PP doctor talk.to-3SG.OR.PP
   Fondes operesen-yo le de ni k-pi-m de yala le-m
   Thursday surgery-LOC go you eat PROH-do-PROH you MOD go-POS
   ‘I brought Mili (back), she got medicine on the ulcer, it became dressed, the doctor
   said to her: “Thursday you undergo surgery, you must not eat (anything), you just
   come.” ’

(5) Fondes punipino ten_klok-no lo aepu dûkû ikoiele dokta kiniyo
   Thursday morning ten.a.clock-INS go.PL ulcer smell very.big doctor all
   riyemayo ppulae sut ponamo
   look.carefully.PROH bad injection give.3SG.OR.PP
   ‘Thursday morning at 10 o’clock she went (to the treatment room), the ulcer smelled
   strong, the doctor looked carefully at everything, it’s bad, he gave her an injection.’

(6) yeniy-o wenepe nana-no puenpo sesiyepiyo aepu ppulae
   bed-LOC carry.thither.PL medicine do-3SG.OR.PP ulcer smell very.big doctor all
   puppuli poli-p marasin pi-no aepu-yo lole-no Mili
   fat be.there-PC medicine do-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC tie-3SG.OR.PP Mili
   wemipu yeniy-o yeniy koyo-pi
   bring.hither.PL medicine bed-LOC bed we.DU.EXCL-POSS
   ‘They [the nurses] carried her to the operation table, he [the doctor] cut with a
   lancet, cut out (the ulcer), the ulcer is bad, there are (depositions of) fat, he put
   medicine on the ulcer and dressed it; they brought Mili to her bed, to our bed.’
   [Margaret and Mili share a bed in the hospital.]

(7) yeniy-o nuweyekûpu yeniy-o nui-p aua klokni riyopuno puana ko
   bed-LOC lay.down.hither.PL medicine bed-LOC sleep-PC hour one then wake.up.PP I
   mueli-ypi-p bubu ko ni muli nes k-ni-m umul maki am-a-pi-ipe
   talk.to-1SG.OR.PC granny I eat want nurse PROH-eat-PROH mind good GRAD-IMP3-LV-ANT
   ‘They laid her down on the bed, she slept on the bed for one hour, then she woke
   up and said to me: “Granny, I want to eat”; the nurse (said): “She must not eat, first
   (her) mind should be clear.” ’
(8) **bubu ko el\_sui ni muli ko ni ponamo ya yûr dû yûr su roise**


(granny I be.hungry eat want I eat give.3SG.OR.PP sago chicken meat chicken egg with no ya kesiyo
eat.PP sago use.up.PP

‘“Granny, I am hungry and want to eat”; I gave her to eat, sago together with chicken meat and eggs, she ate, the sago she finished.’

(9) **aepu ikil am poli puppulli poli-p Tunde seken operesen lo nana-no**


(ulcer dirt still be.there fat be.there-PC Tuesday second surgery go.PP small.knife-INS puenpo sesiyepiyo aepu suelipiyo lole-no weimu yeni-yo cut.meat.PP take.away.PP ulcer cut.away.PP tie-3SG.OR.PP bring.hither.PL.A.PP bed-LOC

‘The ulcer is still dirty, there are (depositions of) fat, on Tuesday she underwent the second surgery; he [the doctor] cut with a small knife, cut along the ulcer, cut it out, dressed her wound, (then) they brought her to her bed.’

(10) **wemipu yeni-yo nuweyekûpu aua kloknî nui-p bo**


(bring.hither.PL.A.PP bed-LOC lay.down.hither.PL.A.PP hour one sleep-PC speech mulane-pi-p epo ko ni pili yasiye-p ekû-yo laye babble-LV-PC faeces I eat cloth place-IMP behind-LOC lay

‘They brought her and laid her down on the bed, she slept for one hour, she was talking confused things: “I eat faeces, spread a cloth, lay it on (my) behind.”’

(11) **puana ko ai-yo le mi due\_nu due\_nu=ro mi-puana bubu ko**


(wake.up.PP I father-LOC go again sleep.PP sleep.PP=EMPH ITER wake.up.PP granny I el\_sui ko ni pi bo mulane-pi layepana kuru puaku maki pi be.hungry I eat do speech babble-LV leave.behind.PP be.finished head good LV

‘She woke up: “I go to my father”; she slept again and was sound asleep, she woke up again: “Granny, I am hungry, I do eat”; she quit babbling nonsense, it came to an end, her head is fine.’

(12) **ni ko powai-p ko wal dû yûr su roise ya-no ponamo**


(eat I give.1SG.OR-IMP I fish meat chicken egg with sago-INS give.3SG.OR.PP ba-\_ni-ko ba-kesiye-ko

FAC eat-FAC FAC use.up-FAC

‘“Give me to eat”; I gave her fish and eggs with sago, she has eaten it up, she has finished it.’

(13) **uke\_nake-p yena kiniyo mape-p wot operesen-pi-yo aepu solo lole-uli-pi-p**


(jointly-sit-PC people many sit.PL.PC ward surgery-POSS-LOC ulcer only tie-PROG-LV-PC wis dupua aepu mi-lole-p mi-lole-p lole-uli-pi-p moon two ulcer ITER tie-PC ITER tie-PC tie-PROG-LV-PC

‘We stayed together, many people were staying in the surgery ward; (the nurses) only kept dressing the ulcer for two months, they redressed the ulcer again and again, they kept dressing it.’
(14) dokta aeppu riye-no  
 aepu de-pi  
 maki pepual-so  
 ba-pi-ko

doctor ulcer  
 see.0-[ANIM]-3SG.OR.PP ulcer  
 2SG-POSS good  
 sound.flesh-SIM FAC-LV-FAC

aeppu pon sul

t  
red  
nose close

‘The doctor looked closely at her ulcer: “Your ulcer is good, like sound flesh, it is  
red, (with) straight closing edges.”’

Literally: ‘... like the sides of the nose’

(15) dokta mueli-no  
 ko lil  
 de-pi  
 riye-ipe  
 lil  
 aska

doctor talk.to-3SG.OR.PP I  
 2SG-POSS see.0-[ANIM]-ANT blood none

‘The doctor said to her: “Before [you go home] I check your blood”; there is no  
blood.’

[That means, there is not enough blood and Mili needs a transfusion.]

(16) dokta Wi ko musiyo de  
 ko upuna wulimini-ipi  
 lil  
 riye

doctor Wi I  
 send.PP you I  
 kindly  
 follow.hither-1SG.OR blood see.0-[ANIM]

Mili-pi-so  
 upuna riye  
 solo pi dedukoyo  
 i-le

Mili-POSS-SIM  
 see.0-[ANIM]  
 only  
 LV we.DU.INCL DU.S-go

‘Doctor Wi sent me [for a blood sample]: “Please follow me kindly to check your  
blood, (in case) it is like Mili’s, alright, only to check it, (let) the two of us go.”’

(17) dokta lil  
 riye-no  
 lil  
 pi=ro  
 lil  
 Charles-pi  
 riye

doctor blood see.0-[ANIM]-3SG.OR.PP blood do=EMPH blood Charles-POSS see.0-[ANIM]

lil  
 de-pi  
 upuna Mili-pi-so  
 lil  
 wepulo

blood  
 2SG-POSS alright  
 Mili-POSS-SIM blood bring.PP

‘The doctor checked the blood for her [Mili’s] benefit, he takes blood; he checks  
Charles’s [her father’s] blood: “Your blood is alright, it is like Mili’s”; (later) they  
brought the blood (of him).’

(18) Mili yeniy-o  
 nui-yo  
 lil  
 sut-yo  
 po  
 lil  
 sut  
 mono na

Mili  
 bed-LOC  
 sleep-PC  
 blood injection-LOC do.PP  
 blood injection road  
 go.inside

ppae  
 mono na

blood.vessel road  
 go.inside

‘Mili was lying on the bed, they prepared the blood transfusion, the blood entered  
through the needle, it flowed through the blood vessel.’

Literally: ‘... it goes inside the needle road and the blood vessel road’

(19) ain ri-yo  
 koliyo  
 nes  
 lil  
 ri-yo  
 koliyo  
 lil  
 dop kep-yo  
 lo so

iron DIST-LOC hang.PP nurse blood DIST-LOC hang.PP blood body 3SG.POSS-LOC go.PP like

solo  
 nake-p  
 lil  
 le-p  
 am-a-kesiye-wole  
 ba-kesiye-wole-ko aska

only  
 sit-PC  
 blood go-PC GRAD-IMP3-use.up_move.further FAC-use.up-CPL-FAC none

‘The metal stand, she hung it there, the nurse hung the blood bag there; the  
blood went into her [Mili’s] body, she stayed like this only, the blood was flowing;  
it still has to be used up, it has been used up (now), none (is left).’
(20) *sut pûke an plata-no penei lil mi yala k-mini-m*

injection take.away hand bandage-INS press blood again now PROH-come.hither-PROH

‘(The nurse) takes away the needle and presses a bandage on the arm crook, now the blood must not come out again.’

(21) *koyo i-nake-p dokta mueli-en de operesen-yo le ko dop pili*

we.DU.EXCL DU.S-sit-PC doctor talk.to-NSG.OR.PP you surgery-LOC go I body skin
depi sre-ne pili moni-na sre-ne aepu-yo pi aepu-yo

2SG-POSS scrape.off-3SG.OR skin small-ADV scrape.off-3SG.OR ulcer-LOC do ulcer-LOC

*pane-pi-ne*

put.thither-LV-3SG.OR

‘The two of us stayed on, the doctor said to us: “You (need to) undergo surgery (once more), I will scrape off a piece of skin from you, scrape off a small piece, do it on the ulcer, put it on the ulcer for you (to heal).” ’

(22) *ko ba muli de-le-p de epemna upuna le-m umul kep nek ko*

I NEG.EMPH want you go-IMP you quickly kindly go-POS heart 3SG.POSS erect.PP I

*le operesen-yo*

go surgery-LOC

‘ “I don’t want to.” – “You go, please you should go quickly”; she thought about it: “I will go for the surgery.” ’

(23) *yip bîyo lupuana sut ponamo due_nui-p nes dupua nes*

house inside enter.thither.PP injection give.3SG.OR.PP sleep-PC nurse two nurse
depi dokta kini woni-no bo ar muel aepu nepei-no

one.PART doctor one.PART call-3SG.OR.PP speech NEG talk.PP ulcer undress-3SG.OR.PP

depi sre-ne aepu maki bou pili sre-no aepu-yo pi-no

wash-3SG.OR.PP ulcer good thigh skin scrape.off-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC do-3SG.OR.PP

‘She went into the treatment pavilion, they gave her an injection, she was sleeping, two nurses, a nurse and a doctor each called her, she did not talk [that means, the anaesthetics are working] - they undressed the ulcer, washed it, the ulcer is good, (the doctor) scraped off a piece of her skin from the thigh and put it on her wound.’

(24) *riyopuno aepu lole-no bou lole-no nes wemon yeni-yo nes*

then ulcer tie-3SG.OR.PP thigh tie-3SG.OR.PP nurse bring.hither.PP bed-LOC nurse

*klokni nuweye-ko numuelna nu=ro puana ko el_sui*

one lay.down.for.resting-RTS for.a.long.time sleep.PP=EMPH wake.up.PP I be.hungry

ni muli ko ya namo yûr su wal roise kesiye
eat want I sago give.3SG.OR.PP chicken egg fish with use.up

‘Then they dressed her ulcer and dressed her thigh, the nurse brought her to the bed, one nurse laid her down before she slept for a long time; she awoke: “I am hungry and want to eat”; I gave her sago with eggs and fish, she finishes (the food).’
(25) ko nes mueli-no aepu sipi-ne ikoi-na lol-e-no ikoi-na
I nurse talk.to-3SG.OR.PP ulcer hurt-3SG.OR big-ADV tie-3SG.OR.PP big-ADV
ki.ki.pi.yo mi-nepei-ne-p
hold.strong.PP ITER-undress-3SG.OR-IMP
‘I said to the nurse: “Her ulcer hurts, you dressed it tightly, it held very tightly, take off her bandage!”’

(26) nes ko bo malo auna lol-e-no upuna ar sipi aepu sipi kep as
nurse I word hear.PP carefully tie-3SG.OR.PP alright hurt 3SG.POSS none
nes mueli-en due an_baka dupua koyo due an_baka dupua
nurse talk.to-NSG.OR.PP night five two we.DU.EXCL night five two
i-nake-p
DU.S-sit-PC
‘The nurse listened to me, she dressed it carefully for her, alright, it doesn’t hurt, no hurting ulcer; the nurse said to us: “Seven days”; we stayed on for seven days.’

(27) Mili de awe uke aepu de-pi nepei k-nepei-p-no dob aepu
Mili you come.IMP we.EXCL ulcer 2SG-POSS undress SUB-undress-PC-CO eye ulcer
riye-no aepu de-pi maki aepu epi pusie-no marasin
see.O[-ANIM]-3SG.OR.PP ulcer 2SG-POSS good ulcer side wash-3SG.OR.PP medicine
penei-no aepu-yo lol-e-no
press-3SG.OR.PP ulcer-LOC tie-3SG.OR.PP
‘“Mili, come, we undress your ulcer”; when they had undressed it, they looked thoroughly at her ulcer: “Your ulcer is good”; they washed the edges of her ulcer, pressed medicine upon the ulcer and redressed it for her.’

(28) koyo yen-i-yo i-lo koyo i-nake-p dokta Wi pulo deyo yala
we.DU.EXCL bed-LOC DU.S-go.PP we.DU.EXCL DU.S-sit-PC doctor Wi come.PP you.DU MOD
Fraide-no i-le pulo muel de le-p kuru de yilau-yo le-p
Friday-INS DU.S-go come.PP talk.to.PP you go-IMP be.finished you village-LOC go-IMP
deyo yilau-yo i-le-p
you.DU village-LOC DU.S-go-IMP
‘We went to the bed, we stayed on, Doctor Wi came: “The two of you leave on Friday”; (some days later) he came and said: “You go, it is finished, go to (your) village, you two go to the village.”’

(29) koyo Waisan_Camp i-lo koyo due dupua i-nake-p ai
we.DU.EXCL Waisan.Camp DU.S-go.PP we.DU.EXCL night two DU.S-sit-PC father
kep ka hairim-po Mili mike lo yilau-yo
3SG.POSS car hire-LV.PP Mili first go.PP village-LOC
‘We went to Waisan Camp, we stayed there for two days; her father hired a car, and Mili went to the village first.’
(30)  

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I later go.PP three.days later-INS I Theresia-LOC car big-INS DU.S-go.PP Simon
we.DU.EXCL take.with.oneself.PP junction-LOC drop.off.PP we.DU.EXCL foot-INS DU.S-go.PP
dupuni
nighnt
'I went later, three days later, Theresia and I went on a big truck, Simon fetched us, at the junction he let us off, we went by foot until night.'
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(31)  

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Jerry disei ko-pi woni-no yilau kep-jo nake-p koyo
Jerry brother 1SG.POSS call-3SG.OR PP village 3SG.POSS-LOC sit-PC  we.DU.EXCL
ri-yo i-nu yip kep-yo ako kep yur si pewo
DIST-LOC DU.S-sleep.PP house 3SG.POSS-LOC wife 3SG.POSS chicken cook.PP banana
si ya aska yur pewo-no koyo i-no
cook.PP sago none chicken banana-INS we.DU.EXCL DU.A-eat.PP
'We called Jerry, my brother, we were in his village, we slept there, in his house, his wife cooked chicken, she cooked bananas, (there was) no sago, we ate the chicken with bananas.'
```

(32)  

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uke kumune due_sap yur bo mu yaep bo mu kukukuku
we.EXCL all.COLL sleep.PL.PP rooster sound say.PP kind.of.bird sound say.PP kukukuku
yipp bo mu nananana yopp bo mu kopokopo lolololo duruwa
wild.fowl sound say.PP nananana kind.of.bird sound say.PP kopokopo lolololo dawn
uke due-yo puana
we.EXCL sleep-LOC rise.PP
'We all slept; (then) the rooster crowed, birds called “kukukuku”, the wild fowl called “nananana”, birds called “kopokopo lolololo”, (it is) dawn, we rose from sleep.'
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(33)  

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su_mappo pewo si ipi-no waeupp si biper si puliy o ipi-no
light.fire.PP banana cook.PP pot-INS eel cook.PP possum cook.PP take.out.PP pot-INS
layo-we pupuol poli-p pupuol nisi wil-yo wapo
lay.PP-TER heat be.there-PC heat become.cool dish-LOC put.for.serving.PP
'She [Jerry’s wife] lit a fire, she cooked bananas, in a pot she cooked eel and possum, she took it off (the fire), she put (the cooked food) aside with the pot, the heat lasted, the heat ceased, she served it in a dish.'
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(34)  

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ko powa Theresia namo biper waeupp roise koyo
I give.1SG.OR.PP Theresia give.3SG.OR.PP possum eel with we.DU.EXCL
pewo-no i-no Theresia ruri kep roise Joanna
banana-INS DU.A-eat.PP Theresia child 3SG.POSS together Joanna
'She gave (some to) me, she gave (some to) Theresia, we ate possum and eel with bananas, me and Theresia together with her child Joanna.'
```
‘When we had eaten we walked along the path, we went to the river Pual, we took a bath, when we had bathed we were sitting and ate bananas, (then) we went on to the village, we walked and arrived at the village.’

‘The story is finished.’

4 Ko kipino ye

[Code: KIPI; number of words: 108; dictation 02-20-2006]

‘I fell on my back’. Susan fell down from the platform of her house.

Susan Bisam, Ossima, February 2006

‘I put the sago into the baskets, lifted them up, carried them home with a sling around my head and brought them to the house (walking) along the path.’

‘I went up the ladder to the porch of the house, I let the sago fall with a jerky movement, (and therefore) the sling (of the netbag) was winding itself around my neck.’
'I fell on the ground along with the sago, the sling had just wound itself around the neck, I fell over on the back, belly upwards.'

'Very badly my coccyx hurt, it would almost break.'

'Rita lifted me up, my eyes were like spinning, I felt dizzy, two women carried me up to the house and bedded me on the bed.'

'With my hurting back I cried, it hurt terribly, I turned (my back) up, turned it down.'

'Rita got a medication for my hurting back; when she had brought it, I took it.'

'Day and night the back and the coccyx bones hurt badly all over, day and night the pain in the back continued, for two months.'

'I went to the hospital, to Vanimo, I got some medicine and took it, no pain (anymore), (it feels) alright.'

'When I was staying (back home) in my house, the back hurt again.'
5 Ko lelo piu no

[I ate Geckos and frogs’. How to find something to eat in the sago swamp.]
Margaret Osi, Ossima, February 2007


(1) koyo due-yo i-lo epe ko ikap roise koyo due
we.DU.EXCL sago-LOC DU.S-go.PP mother I.myself with we.DU.EXCL sago
wo-soni-p epe ko-pi soni-p ko eku nake-p
ACCOM-pulverise.sago.pith-PC mother 1SG-POSS pulverise.sago.pith-PC I behind sit-PC
dob pi-ne-p
eye LV-3SG.OR-PC
‘We went to the sago swamp, I together with my mother, we pulverised sago pith together, my mother was pulverising, I was sitting down and watching her.’

(2) nek kau rop-yo lupi rop-yo lupiwapo
sago.pith full basket-LOC shovel.by.hand basket-LOC shovel.by.hand.a.lot.PP
yei-yo meli sepue royepana
kneading.trough.for.sago.washing-LOC carry.PL.O trough put.thither.PP
pekol-yo sepue apulyo lili-we-p
circle.of.wooden.sticks-LOC trough in.the.middle be.there-TER-PC
‘(There is) plenty of sago pith, she shovels it into a basket, she shovelled (into several baskets), she carries it to the kneading trough for sago washing, she put the trough in the circle of wooden sticks, the trough stood firmly in the middle of it.’
Then she put (sago pith) into a palm rib vessel, the pith went down into the trough, she bucketed water and poured it on the sago pith, she poured it down and was washing the sago; when she had washed it, the sago pith is used up; (then) she shovelled more sago pith, brought it and was washing it in the kneading trough.

'I feel hungry, I will seek geckos and frogs, I will look for them.'

'I climbed a numomo-sago palm, I looked for frogs and geckos, I climbed up and looked down (into a palm rib): Here is a frog; I caught it and threw it on the ground.' Literally: ‘... a frog is sitting here ...’ (analogously in sequences 6, 8, and 9)

Comment:
In standard linguistic semantics, constructions with seek are considered ambiguous due to a scope distinction: in the specific reading of x seeks y, y has wide scope over seek, meaning that there is some (specific) y such that x seeks it. The non-specific reading has this order reversed, in the sense of x seeking some or other y with a certain property. In Kilmeri, by contrast, there is no scope ambiguity involved at all. Instead, in the non-specific reading of some or other frog being sought the feature [-ANIM] is assigned via the verb form riye in the second clause, and once a specific frog is talked about, we find the feature [+ANIM] via the choice of the existential-postural verb nake, in the fourth clause of sequence (5).

'I looked down at the other side of the numomo-palm rib: Here is a gecko; I caught it and threw it on the ground.'
(7) ko kûno yelo-yo ko piu lelo piyo-we rupue-no lolo-we
I go.down.PP ground-LOC I frog gecko take.PP-DU.O leaf-INS wrap.PP-DU.O
‘I went down to the ground, I took the frog and the gecko and wrapped them in a leaf.’

(8) ko numomo ba ppuo numomo kwe do sekul piu u-nake ko
I sago.palm.species other climb.PP sago.palm.species palm.rib eye fall.PP frog DFAC-sit I
wiyo yelo-yo pakol
hold.PP ground-LOC throw.PP
‘I climbed another sago palm and looked down into the numomo-palm rib: Here is a frog; I caught it and threw it on the ground.’

(9) kwe epi baka do sekul piu dupua i-nake-p ko wiyo-we ko yelo-yo
palm.rib side other eye fall.PP frog two DUS-sit-PC I hold.PP-DU.O I ground-LOC
pako we
throw.PP-DU.O
‘I (also) looked down at the other side of the palm rib: Two frogs sitting (there); I caught them, (then) I threw them on the ground.’

(10) ko kûno yelo-yo piu rondupua_rokini rupue-no lolo meli
I go.down.PP ground-LOC frog three leaf-INS wrap.PP carry.PL.O
yei-yo
kneading.trough.for.sago.washing-LOC
‘I went down to the ground and wrapped the three frogs in a leaf to carry them to the kneading trough for sago washing.’

(11) piu lelo de luwapo ko ba-luwapi-ko ko sû_mappo-ipe ko rupue-no re
frog.gecko you catch.PP I FAC-catch-FAC I light.a.fire.PP-ANT I leaf-INS get.done
piyo sû-yo sû-yo re-p
take.PP fire-LOC fire-LOC get.done-PC
‘Did you catch frogs and geckos?” “I have caught some.” I lit a fire first, I took them in the leaves to get done in the fire, they were frying in the fire.’

(12) ko puliyo sû-yo ko piu rupue nepe epe ko-pi piu ko namo
I take.off.PP fire-LOC I frog leaf take.off.PP mother 1SG.POSS frog I give.3SG.OR.PP
dupua ko_ike piu dupua lelo-yo koyo i-no
two I.myself frog two gecko.LOC we.DU.EXCL DU.A.eat.PP
‘I took them off the fire, I took off the leaves (from) the frogs; to my mother I gave frogs, two (of them), I myself (had) two frogs and the gecko, we ate.’
due ba-pusiye-ko due_dû ep sipamu sepue piyamu
sago FAC-wash-FAC sago.flour rinsing.water tip.away.hither.PP trough take.hither.PP
due_dû roise rop-yo pokûno due_dû rop roise piapo puaku-yo
sago.flour with basket-LOC fill.in.PP sago.flour basket together lift.up.PP head-LOC
waka-yo puo yip-yo i-lo yilau-yo paeau
shoulder-LOC walk.around.PP house-LOC DU.S-go.PP village-LOC reach

‘The sago is washed, she tipped away the rinsing water of the sago flour, she took hither the trough together with the sago flour; (then) she filled it in a basket and lifted the basket along with the sago flour up on her head and shoulders, we walked, we went to (our) house and arrived at the village.’

(14) epe sû_mappo yaup yowo sû-yo yaup mol epe
mother light.a.fire.PP water.for.cooking boil.PP fire-LOC water.for.cooking boil.PP mother
ko-pi due piyo wil-yo ya_mappo ya_sui rupue-yo
1SG-POSS sago take.PP dish-LOC stir.sago.PP sago.become.ready leaf-LOC
supopo bese paepu roise si ipi-yo sikûno sû-yo yowo
cut.in.pieces.PL.O.PP tulip mushroom with cook.PP pot-LOC fill.in.PP fire-LOC boil.PP
paepu bese roise ba-re-ko
mushroom tulip with FAC-get.done-FAC

‘Mother lit a fire, boiled water on the fire, the water boiled, my mother took the sago and stirred it in a dish, the sago got ready, she cut it in pieces on leaves; she cooked tulip-leaves and mushrooms, filled them in a pot (for cooking) and boiled them in hot water on the fire; the tulip-leaves and mushrooms are done.’

(15) puliyoy wil royo rupopo uke roye-nen uke ilo
take.out.PP plate put.PP distribute.PL.O.PP we.EXCL give-NSG.OR.PP we.EXCL eat.PL.A.PP
uke ba-ile-ko rupue kesiyo
we.EXCL FAC-eat.PL.A-FAC food use.up.PP

‘She took them out (of the pot), put the plates (on the floor), distributed (the vegetables) and gave them to us, we ate, we have eaten, the food is eaten up.’

(16) bo kuru
story be.finished

‘The story is finished.’
6 Yaup ulyo moli

[Code: YAUP; number of words: 103; dictation 02-19-2007]

In former times: Boiling water and cooking vegetables in bamboo tubes.
Margaret Osi, Ossima, February 2007


(1) ko ul mo=ro ri malalpo=ro ul roise wepulo yip-yo
I bamboo cut_PP=EMPH wood cut.fire.wood_PP=EMPH bamboo together bring_PP house-LOC wapo
put.together_PP
‘I cut bamboo, I cut firewood, together with the bamboo I brought it to the house and put (everything) together.’

(2) ko ri pesoupo ri ba kaliyo ko pu ul-yo nororpo
I wood put.upright_PP wood other lay.horizontally_PP I water bamboo-LOC fill.up.PL.O_PP
‘I put some pieces of wood vertically, some I laid horizontally, I filled up the water into the bamboo tubes.’
Comment:
The wood forms a grid such that the bamboo tubes each can stand upright between supporting rods.

(3) ko sù-yo wauna sù mappo
I fire-LOC put.side.by.side_PP light.a.fire_PP
‘I put them [the bamboo tubes] side by side on the fire, I lit the fire.’

(4) ko due wîl-yo piyo yaup mol yaup bamlawepi-ko
I sago dish-LOC take_PP water.for.cooking boil_PP water.for.cooking FAC-boil-QUANT.S-FAC
‘I took sago in a dish, the water boiled, the water (in the bamboo tubes) has boiled.’

(5) yaup ul isiye ko sipako ko due wil roise ule ko due water.for.cooking bamboo together I pour.down.into_PP I sago dish with toss_PP I sago sul popi sul wisi poli-no due-yo
crumb take.away.PL.O crumb black be.there-CO sago-LOC
‘I poured down the water (from) the bamboo (into the dish), Iossed the sago in the dish, I take away the sago crumbs, the black crumbs that are in the sago.’
Literally: ‘I poured down the bamboo water (into the dish), I tossed the sago together with the dish ... ’
(6) ul yaup roise ko piyo sipako due-yo ya_sui
bamboo water for cooking take PP pour down into PP sago LOC sago become ready
ba-sui-ko ko rupue-yo supopo
FAC die FAC leaf LOC cut into pieces PP
‘I took the bamboo with the water and poured it down on the sago, the sago pudding gets ready, it is ready, I cut it into pieces on leaves.’

(7) pu ul-yo noriyo mi ko bese si bese k-si-p-no mi ko sû-yo
water bamboo LOC fill in PP again I tulip cook tulip SUB cook PC CO again I fire LOC
wolana ul isiye
set thither PP bamboo together
‘I filled water into the bamboo tubes, now I cook the tulip vegetables; after having cooked the tulip vegetables, again I set (water) on the fire in the bamboo tubes.’

(8) sû-yo rap k-moli-p-no bese ro ba-re-ko ko puliyo
fire LOC leafy vegetable SUB boil PC CO tulip get done PP FAC get done FAC I take off PP
ul roise
bamboo together
‘When the rap vegetables on the fire had boiled, the tulip vegetables (also) got done, it has become ready (to eat), I took it off together with the bamboo.’

(9) ul ko neppi-no kiso ko kisei-p-no wil-yo
bamboo I bush knife INS split lengthwise PP I split lengthwise PC CO dish LOC
uneipako
pour down PP
‘I split the bamboo tubes lengthwise with the bush knife, after splitting it I poured (the vegetables) down into the dish.’

(10) ko ya-no ni ko ba-kesiye-ko kuru
I sago INS eat I FAC use up FAC be finished
‘I eat it with sago, I have eaten it up, (the meal is) finished.’
IV Questionnaires

TRPS by Bowerman/Pederson

This pictorial questionnaire *Topological Relations Picture Series* (1992) can be found on the website of the MPI Nijmegen.

Link:

Here the reader can find the Kilmeri version of pictures 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 21, 22, 26, 29, 31, 34, 36, 45, 46, 54, 56, 58, 61, 65, 68, and 69 of the TRPS by Bowerman and Pederson. These are 27 pictures of the original 71 pictures; some of them are slightly adjusted to the Kilmeri environment. Cf. Chapter 14, Section 14.1.5.

1 sawo yeni-yo lili / the cup is on the table
2 elo wîl biyo lili / the sugar is in the bowl
3 stem pas-yo poli / the stamp is on the letter
8 buk yeni-yo lili / the book is (lying) on the board
9 sawo ri ini-yo lili / the cup is (hanging) on a wooden hook
10 apyo ko an_lako-yo kure-uli / I put the ring on my finger
11 kanu pu imiyo lili / the canoe is on the surface of the water
12 nana ikil pi / the knife is dirty (for: there is dirt on the blade of the knife)
15 yol epika poli yip apulyo poye / the fence is towards the sides, the houses stand in the middle
16 bal sia sikilyo lili / the ball is under the chair
21 su dor-yo poli / the shoe is on the foot
22 woppuo aeppu kiniyo nose-uli / many ripe woppuo-fruits are skewered
   > there are several ripe fruits on the skewer
26 sawo (moniseso) kaeliye_wole / the mug is (a bit) crazed
   > there is a crack in the glaze of the mug
29 pili yeni-yo yasiye-ulî / the cloth is spread over the table
31 pusî yeni sikilyo nake / the cat is sitting under the table
34 ono yip yie-yo neki / the man is standing on the roof
36a app ol-yo poli_küne / the cloud is over the mountain
36b ol app-yo poli_ppue / the mountain is below the cloud
45 pu kele pewo pele-yo poli / there are water drops on the banana leaf
46 pili lupi seke-yo poli / the hairband is (slung around) the hair
54 biper Lis-pi yol-yo nake / Lis’ possum sits in the cage
56 pili PNG-pi ri-yo koliye-ulî / the Papua New Guinea flag hangs on the pole
58  *ko wolo woli_ppue* / I stand the ladder (against something)
61  *ri an wiye-no smep-yo poli* / the wooden handle is (fixed) at the door
65  *ilppop ol puako-yo poli ~ neki* / the hibiscus shrub is ~ stands on top of the sand hill
68  *ono ponkaeau singlis-yo poli* / a person’s face is on the shirt
69  *apyo epul bî-yo ~ bîyo poli* / the ring is in the ear hole
Picture Series of Spatial Arrangements
by Gerstner-Link/Poellinger

Introductory note
The following series of pictures reproduces natural and artificial spatial arrangements that were used for elicitation during field sessions in Ossima in the years 2006 and 2007. Afterwards, Claudia Gerstner-Link described and sketched them and Roland Poellinger designed them for publication. They take over the basic FIGURE-GROUND relation found in the original Topological Relation Picture Series of Bowerman and Pederson (1992): every picture consists of a FIGURE entity and a GROUND entity. The entity meant to be the FIGURE is pointed at by an arrow. Note the following experimental difference: whereas the original TRPS of the MPI Nijmegen was presented to the consultants only as photos, my spatial arrangements consisted of real objects that were physically present.

The graphics with their Kilmeri responses
The Gerstner-Link/Poellinger Series consists of 36 spatial arrangements and their linguistic counterpart in the Kilmeri language. While the grammar of Kilmeri includes only six of these arrangements (see bold-faced numbers indicating chapter and number of example), here in the Online Supplement all configurations are presented. The Kilmeri versions found below the pictures are given in their morphological shape, thus enabling the reader of the grammar to understand their grammatical structure. Chapter 14 is the relevant chapter of the grammar, here especially Section 14.1.5.
1. **14.140** *bili sawo-yo lili* / the lid is on the mug

2. *dipsu wil-yo lili* / the rice is on the plate

3. *wip ipi-yo poli* / the taro is in the pot

4. *mat yeni-yo lili* / the mat is on the stool

5. *peks die-yo poli* / the pegs are on the skirt (to fix it on the clothes line)

6. *nil sipul-yo poli* / the nail is in the slat
7. *bopiapu_ppuli puele-yo poli* / there is a spider web at the wall

8. *seke (dop) imiyo poli* / the hair is on the surface of the body

9. *(13.159a) umul üliyo poli* / the heart is inside (the body)

10. *yaup moli üliyo slali* / the hot water is boiling, below it is sizzling

11. *(14.33) lait rileyo ri sikiyo lili* / the lamp is above and under the beam

12. *pilo puele epiyo lili* / the pillow is leaning against the wall
13. *ep yeni-yo roye_wole-p yeni epiyo wape_wole-p /* they put *ep*-leaves around the bed, they put them at the edge of the bed

14. *bopiapu_ppuli epiyo poli /* the spider web is beside a slat of the wall

15. *bopiapu_ppuli puele apulyo poli /* the spider web is in the middle of two wall slats

16. *bopiapu_ppuli epiyo poli /* the spider web is on the curvature of a slat of the wall

17. *bopiapu_ppuli puele kipi-yo poli /* the spider web is on the curvature of a slat of the wall

18. *(14.146)* *pepa dupua ri-yo koliye-uli /* two flypapers hang from the beam
19. *uro nil-yo laliye-uli* / the netbag is hanging on the nail

20. *pili ri-yo peliye-uli* / the curtain hangs on the curtain pole

21. *pili ko ri-yo kurane-uli* / I am putting the curtain on the curtain pole

22. *sipul puele-yo kaliye-uli* / the slat is fastened horizontally over the wall

23. *punop puele-yo peneiane-uli* / the mirror sticks thither at the wall

24. *pepa puele-yo penei-uli* / the paper sheet sticks at the wall
25. *apa palo-yo penei-uli* / the butterfly is sticking on the sago thatches

26. *dor ba ko sipul-yo pewe-uli* / the other leg I put on the slats (of the floor)

27. **(14.149)** *apa ri pele pane_papuli* / the butterflies are sitting on leaves

28. *ko suo pele ri boliyo waweane* / I put the coconut shells side by side at the foot of the tree

29. *ko bili sawo-yo pi_ppue* / I put the lid on the mug

30. **(14.113)** *ko elo pi_ppue sawo bili-yo* / I put the sugar(box) on top of the mug (covered by) a lid
31. *ko le kopape_ppe* / I pile up many things

32. *Margaret uro sikilyo nake_ppe* / Margaret is sitting below the net bag reaching it

33. *uro lapi pi_pake-ul* / the handles of the bag are hanging down

34. *de sawo moni sowe* / you hide the small mug (under the big mug)

35. *bairu bili kep ko kumaue* / the pen, I shut (it with) its lid

36. *dop ko-pi aeppu kles lûmi* / my skin is red, (there are) mosquito stings
V Photos: Impressions from Ossima