John LeRoy, Kewa Tales. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985. Pp. 287. A$25.95 (paper).

John LeRoy, Fabricated World: An Interpretation of Kewa Tales. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985. Pp. 331. A$36.00 (cloth).

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John LeRoy (LR) began this collection of 81 K(ewa) stories in 1971, adding to them in 1972, and completing them in 1976-77. Kewa Tales (KT) contains the unabridged texts, as well as the notation for the analysis of the 11 sequences (i.e., sets of similar texts) found in the stories and the various functions (i.e. ordered events) found in the sequences. Fabricated World... (IKT) is an in-depth analysis of the tales.

Several of the tales were published earlier in Oral History (OH) 6.2-75 (1978), where they were called "Kewa Myths". In a later volume (OH 11, 1983) LR also published a series of "Kewa Legends". The 1978 versions are not titled (the story tellers' names appear at the head of each), but I have compared a few of them. At least a dozen of them are essentially the same as those in KT, although in the latter they are more polished. In one story, for example, (No. 11 in KT, called "Riawa and Tyame" and p.5-11 in OH, 1978) most of the K words and expressions are removed: there are 30 vernacular words, some repeated, 7 VPs, 8 NPs, and 8 miscellaneous expressions in OH, but only 12 nouns and 2 expressions in KT. Compare, for example, the editing in the two versions:

OH: "He knocked her down with his stone axe."

KT: "Angry with her, he struck her a blow with his axe."

OH: "Her brother could not find her;"

KT: "Her brother looked around, waited for her, but she did not return."

LR makes the point that the present collection are tales (lidi) and not myths, in that the K see them as a fictitious type of literature. His theoretical position is that the tales reflect "a close connection to the cultural circumstances of their origin, but they cannot be reduced to them" (KT, xix). They are models for interpreting and clarifying other parts of the culture (IKT, 257). By following the "structuralist method" LR is able to screen out considerations that do not suit the purpose of the analysis and identify their metaphorical nature, i.e., the K's fabrication of the world (IKT, 259ff).

The texts were recorded on magnetic tape in the vernacular, then translated into English, assited by a K man who knew both English and Tok Pisin (KT, xii). Elsewhere (IKT, 27), LR explains that he tape-recorded a Tok Pisin translation of the original K and then produced an English version of the tale. It seems, then, that LR translated from the Tok Pisin primarily and the assistant from the K.

As noted, LR claims that K tales (the lidi) can be distinguished from legends (remani or remaa) because the former are fictitious, but the latter are true. Part of his argument rests on the fact his recordings of K tales are all in the simple past tense and never in the remote past, which is largely reserved for legends.

I do not doubt that there is some difference between "tales" on the one hand and "legends" on the other. LR's gloss of "legend" for remaa or remani[1] may be better than "story" or "report", as we call them (Franklin and Franklin 1973:217). However, we call lidi (or itiR[2]) a "myth" or "ancient story" (ibid, p.141) partly because our recordings of these are always in the remote past, and not in the recent or simple past. LR acknowledges that "Tales are set in

an indefinite past" but says that "this is made evident only at the tale's close" (IKT, 248). I have recorded both "tales" and "stories" in either the regular or the remote past.[3]

In 1972 we (Franklin and Yapua) collected and edited 14 K stories, several of which are strikingly similar to those of LR. There was no Tok Pisin used in any of the recording process, and they are all told in the remote past.

This does not discount from the fine analysis which LR has done, but it does indicate that his arguments about the genre of the lidi cannot be on the basis that they occur in the simple past. In fact, the K tense for sentences such as "She became an ita hawk" (KT,54), or "The three of them flew away as puluma pigeons" (KT,65) would normally be the remote tense, where the tense marker may be followed by an aspect marker to indicate that the event was reported by someone else.

The observations which I make in this review are related mainly to the K language structure which the tales are meant to represent. There are numerous K vernacular forms throughout the tales, and I have examined these in particular. Before commenting on them, however, I will briefly describe the overall arrangement of the books.

KT contains 7 chapters, with named themes: on good and bad brothers, on improper brothers and sisters, on jealous spouses and siblings, on marriages to ghosts, tricksters, little-men and old men, on skin changing and other transformations, and on broken promises and angry ghosts. The titles of the tales within each chapters are supplied by LR and include (for the last chapter) The Husband Breaks His Word, The Sky Women and the Broken Promise, The Journey to the Underworld, The Angry In-laws, The Grandparents Outsmarted, The Father, the Son, and Their Good Dog, The Angry Ghostfather, The Old Man with Fire (two versions), and The Angry Ghostwife. The book concludes with a list of the narrators and a list of sequences and functions.

IKT is divided into 5 parts: I, the Introduction, which comments on theories of narrative as well as the tales and their culture; II, the Axis of Siblingship, which contains tales of siblings; III, Alien Affines, including ghost marriage; IV, Denial of Death, and V, Dimensions of the Test, which deals with the interdiction, the ends, and the meanings. An Epilogue and Appendixes concludes the book.

The Appendixes give an excellent overview of the contents of the book: Appendix 1 lists the sequences and functions, Appendix 2 is a list of the sequences in tales, including any chaining, embedding, or equivalence features, and Appendix 3 is a set of tables which give frame sequences for each of the sequences.

The frames are the formula for the tale types (IKT,265). For example, the frame for sequence 5 ("Abuwapale the Provider") outlines the following functions:

i: A young man unites with a woman of special status.
ii: The woman gives him wealth, but under a condition.
iii: He ignores the condition, and she dies as a result.
iv: There is an act of retaliation.

Below each of the functions there is a reference to the tale which illustrates it, e.g., for the final function in sequence 5 there are 5 tale variations which illustrate the act of retaliation.

Because LR has included may K terms and expressions, it is possible to examine some of his translations. In general, and as he notes (IKT,291), the spellings follow our own, but of course there are words which LR records for the SK that we have not listed.[4] One such word, potawe "red cordyline plant", figures in a number of stories because of the symbolic use of the leaves to signify the avenged death of an enemy (e.g., KT,3, 93, or 124 and 188 where the name is kalia). In WK this plant is called asala (a description of it is given in K. Yapua, K. and J. Franklin, 1974, p.52), but it

refers to the red cordyline leaves that are worn during special occasions and not simply to indicate that someone has, or intends to, revenge a killing.

Some of LR's glosses are context sensitive, so they are often generalized, but others are more precise than seems warranted. Some examples of the former are: "netbags" for kaipi, which in fact refers to specially woven head nets, net aprons, as well as net bags; pe (KT,43) is translated "payment", but this surely comes directly from Tok Pisin. There are a number of ways to indicate payment, but in this context abula "to repay, compensate" would be expected. Two different words are given for "wildman": alomogiali (Kt,60) and kiliapu (63), neither of which I have heard in the WK. Elsewhere karadoali is mentioned, which is closer to the well known kalado "bush spirit" or in Tok Pisin "masalai". In any event, LR records that these beings are visible in the stories. Generally, in my notes, they are a bad omen and seen only in one's dreams, imaginations, and so on.

Another general gloss is "courtship" for tome (actually rome), KT,67, a term that includes the general barter system as well. A similar expression is romani anga "lover's talk" (KT,224), which again is any kind of secret talk, including that of trade or barter, as well as courtship. Usually this is accompanied by the kunanaa "courtship song" (KT,163) where young and middle aged adults "turn heads" in the company of women chaperones.

There are instances of what appear to me to be incorrect translations. These are in a few stories where complete expressions or sentences are given, allowing a better examination of the linguistic contexts. For example:

> Ainya yalo wakia kili siri marari ipulu, ainya pono ra pa
> "Brother, I have come picking the Yaro river's wild wakia fruits; let me go." (KT,101)

LR has translated this such that the Iaro River is linked with the name of the fruit or tree wakia (here yalo-wakia) from which the

woman has been picking the small fruit. When the Iaro River is meant, we should expect some combination of ipa yalo (water Iaro), as in KT,153. The "thorny vines" in the preceding paragraph are the leaves from this tree, which is known for the thorns or splinters which it causes. This sentence is followed by a couplet meaning the same, a common literary device in K:

> Ainya adasu mapu koma wia pirawa, ainya pono ra pa.
> "Brother, I have been making a large garden; let me go."

What happens in expressions of this kind is that certain words and combinations are specially used in the legends to exaggerate (a function of the lidi as LR notes, IKT,140), so adasu mapu does not meant simply "a large garden"; rather it means roughly "acres and acres of gardens" and koma (komea), in the same manner, refers to one gigantic garden. What the woman is implying in both instances is this: "When I am dead I will go to the bush and look for these particular fruits (and I will not come home again)."

LR, gives the reader metaphorical interpretations throughout IKT, but does not report the significance of the metaphor in this case.

On p.118 (KT) another doublet occurs:

> Ayama yali wapu ropa ropa winya aya na ama,
> Ayama kili wapu ropa ropa winya aya na ama.,

which LR translates as:

> Aya ama yali-wapu ropa ropa winya aya naa ama,
> which means "Oh my mother, bows and arrows, having women's armbands, oh my mother".

These refrains are understood as sad words to commemorate the mother, but they have nothing to do with the mountains Ialibu or Giluwe. In the second sentence kili-wapu is only another way of saying yali-wapu. Again these are expressions especially constructed for legends and would be heard only in that genre.

Several time in both KT and IKT the word koda is glossed as "dance" or "dancing" (e.g. Kt 4, 38, 45, 51). Actually koda (oda or odea in WK) is a verb, generally used with the rupale or mortuary remembrance dance.

In a quick comparison of the words and expressions used in the first half of KT, there were a total of 320 proper nouns (names of people, places, clans), 278 simple nouns, 33 NPs, and 43 expressions (chants, sentences, and others). Of the simple nouns 110 referred to flora and 68 to fauna. The range of K forms varied from a high of 67 (T38) to as few as 3 (T12).

The general rationale on why or when a K form or expression is to be introduced into the text is not given, but generally it would seem that LR uses a K form to name a variety of a plant, animal, or some other object in the culture.

Several translations caught my notice: palapi winya (T33) "fearfully big woman", which comes from pala pia "to be afraid", plus "woman"; egaplulimida (T29) "wonderful house", which is actually from ega "fern" plus puluma "a type of bird", plus ada "house". Such houses are made in season especially for hunting the puluma birds; agapukupia (T27 and 31) "stinker" or "old stinker" is from aga "mouth" plus puku pia "to smell".

In T81 the "last words" of a woman are said to be kadipi, a word which often refers to any European, because of their light color. The usual term is moae or moyae (in EK) rather than the form nu-yapara (LR includes moke as part of the expression as well), which is given in T38.[5]

LR has had trouble with some of the translations because K tales are difficult to translate and interpret. I have been told that there are basic themes/characters in the stories, like the two brothers, the "queen" Abunu Wapalame[6], or the pig Puramenalasu.[7] Every story teller varies the characters and the event lines but includes the type of interdictions and results which LR mentions. LR has formalized his collection of tales, using oppositional

metaphors to symbolize them, for example male and female functions. In his analysis of one opposition, blood represents the female and bone the male, but I have recorded one tale where the opposite is true.[8]

The K storyteller may end with the "theme of separation" (IKT, 139), and in some versions Abuwapale may metaphorize the ideal of bridewealth (IKT, 129), but her function is not static: the story teller is free to create, to imagine, and to expand her work as he wishes. LR has apparently not recorded that same freedom in K tales as I have.

As a long-time student of Kewa I learned a great deal about K cultural metaphorical interpretations from reading these two books. Anyone interested in PNG cultures could profit from them. What is now needed is some linguistic analysis of the K stories as well. When, and if, the K vernacular versions are available, I would like to see K speakers involved in such a analysis.

NOTES

[1] remaa > remaNi, where **N > n/l**. See my comments (Franklin 1975) on Proto-Kewa endings. LR spells this ramani "legends/myths" and explains his understanding of this term and lindi "tales" in OH, 1983. He has a number of criteria, but basically the former are said to be "true" and the latter imaginary. He notes, however, that there can be confusion between the two categories (LeRoy 1983:68,n5).

[2] lidi > iti, where the prenasalized voiced stop becomes interdental, but not prenasalized in WK in WK (Franklin 1968).

[3] In McElhanon, ed. (1974), I give translations of both "tales" and "legends" (LR's terms), with no differentiation of tenses. The first two are in the siblingship category ("The brothers, Agadarai and Murai"; "Agema and Yalu"), but the last two are simply cultural interpretations of rainbows and earthquakes. There are 8 stories in

all, but only in English. I have not found that "legends" are told only by adult males and "tales" by anyone (LeRoy 1983:65).

[4] LR does not always spell or gloss consistently: ra "bush" occurs in T12, but raa in T59, and ra'alipu "strong vine" (raa alipu) in T50; ekepai "ceremonial staff" in T5 is ekepayo in T10 and 37, but ekapayo "ceremonial digging stick" in T55 and 72 (where it is "ceremonial stick"). Another gloss is "woman's ceremonial staff" in T4.

[5] We record ipunu yapara as a sacred or magic pouch (Franklin and Franklin 1973:140).

[6] One author, Nemola Kenoa (in Franklin and Yapua 1972:38) decides that the name refers to two women: abunu and wapalame, a pausible explanation based on the separate feminine name marking suffixes -nu and -me.

[7] Referred to in Tales 9,10,11,27,32,33,35,37,39,42,45,54,68,80, and 81, but not metaphorized by LR. According to my informants this pig thinks like a human, helps people, but is not real. The water buffalo is now commonly called by this name. What abunu Wapalame epitomizes in women, Puramenalasu does in pigs, viz., the miraculous, wonder source, ready to assist in K stories.

[8] See Franklin (1974:124-27), where two boys are regenerated out of the blood of Murai's wound.

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