



**Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea**

**ISSN: 0023-1959**

**Vol. 35, 2017**

## Two Kewa (Papua New Guinea) Story Genres

Karl J Franklin

SIL International Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics

I examine two primary Kewa (of the Southern Highlands, Papua New Guinea) story genres by reviewing several contributions by both anthropologists and native speakers. I explore how they have defined and illustrated the two genres, called, in Kewa, the *iti* and the *remaa*. I conclude with two appendices that give examples of additional Kewa ancestral stories, as well as those told elsewhere in the country (edited by McElhanon 1974, 1982). Materials in the appendices further demonstrate how extensive the ancestral genre is in PNG.

### Introduction

The Kewa people, with whom we lived and worked for many years, view stories as an integral part of their culture. Two particular genres are universal: 1) the *remaa*, relating to general tales or stories, with most of them personal and historical, and 2) the *iti*, which are particular tales passed down from ancestors and which therefore represent older events and myths. These retold “old” stories have specific people, as well as animals and objects in view, often indicating how they originated.

In our own storytelling work (Franklin, ed. 1972), I refer to the stories as ‘*iti remaa-nu*’, where the suffix *-nu* indicates that the stories form a collection. I generally gloss *iti* as ‘myths’, which LeRoy considers similar or parallel to ‘tales’<sup>1</sup>. Our dictionary (Franklin and Franklin 1978) provides additional information on how the words and their meanings occur in Kewa.<sup>2</sup>

As I shall demonstrate, West Kewa speakers refer to ancestral myths generally as *iti* (or *lindi* in EK; *rinda* in SK), and narrative accounts of what is interpreted as ‘history’ are called *remaa*.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The title *iti-remaa-nu* (myth/legend-story-collection) was suggested by the Kewa authors of the book—many who also illustrated their stories.

<sup>2</sup> For an on-line dictionary see [kewa.webonary.org](http://kewa.webonary.org) and, for a printed version, Franklin and Franklin (1978). My interest in storytelling developed during several years of teaching a course on the subject at the Graduate Institute of Linguistics, culminating in the publication of my book (2010).

<sup>3</sup> I give the meaning of the words from a West Kewa (WK) dialectal perspective, with other dialect forms (East Kewa or South Kewa, also called Pole) often added in parenthesis. A sub-genre of *remaa* would include personal autobiographic letters, such as analyzed by Franklin and Hardin (2012). See also footnote 22.

The two genres can also be referred to as factual (the *remaa*) and the fictional (the *iti*). With these preliminary distinctions in mind, I will now outline some storytelling features found in LeRoy, MacDonald, Josephides, Ari and Jebens, Franklin (ed.) and Slone (ed.).

### John LeRoy

John LeRoy began his collection of 81 Kewa stories in 1971, adding to them in 1972, and completing them in 1976-77. *Kewa Tales* (1985a) contains the unabridged texts (in English), as well as his notations for the analysis of 11 sequences (i.e., sets of similar texts), found in the stories, as well as the various functions (i.e., ordered events) found in the sequences. *Fabricated World* (1985b) is his in-depth analysis of the tales.

In Chapter two of *Fabricated World*, LeRoy goes into some detail in defining the two Kewa genres. He reports that the Kewa call their "tales" *lidi/lindi* (1985:xi, 1985b:4), or *iti* or *rida* (depending on the dialect), which are "fictions." He contrasts this genre with *remani* "legends," which are supposed to be true (1985b:24). He admits that "it is difficult for an outsider to distinguish between the two" if they use "[w]estern notions about truth and fiction." He does not use the word "myth" because he believes it "generally connotes a false narrative that is considered to be true" (ibid). So, in LeRoy's opinion, Kewa tales cannot be myths because the people recognize them as fictitious. Instead he uses the gloss "tales" to connote some degree of literature, and not, in his view, erroneous belief.

LeRoy first recorded the tales in the vernacular by tape recorder, then played each sentence back individually to re-record both the original and the translation of it into Tok Pisin (TP, that is, Highlands Melanesian Pidgin). He did not rely on any "native exegesis" (1985b:27) and there was no discussion with the raconteurs on whether the story was a *lidi* (EK) or *ramani* (EK). Without exception, he considered *Kewa Tales* to be of the *lidi* (*iti*) genre.

Several of the tales were published earlier (LeRoy 1983), where they were in fact called "legends." 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" (1985a:xix). They are models for interpreting and clarifying other parts of the culture (1985b:257). By following the "structuralist method," LeRoy is able to filter out aspects of the stories that do not suit his purpose of analysis, which is to identify their metaphorical nature - what he calls "the Kewa's fabrication of the world" (1985b:259ff).

Part of LeRoy's argument that the stories are "tales" rests on his contention that all of them are in the simple past tense and never in the remote past, which, he claims, is largely reserved for legends.<sup>4</sup> Leroy grants that "Tales are set in an indefinite past" but says that "this is made evident

---

<sup>4</sup> Leroy 1985b:26. This is the opposite of what I found: all of the fictional stories (*lindi/iti*) in the collection by Kirapeasi and me are in the Remote Past, which one would expect if they refer to exploits related by the ancestors.

only at the tale's close" (1985b:248). To summarize LeRoy (from chapter 2, 1985b), *lidi* 'tales' are<sup>5</sup>:

- Told in the simple past tense, not the remote past
- Fictitious and imaginary; always unreal
- Widespread and popular throughout the Kewa area
- Have knowledge equally available to all the people
- Timeless and repeatable
- Realistic and timely

In contrast with the *iti*, the *remani* are:

- Frequently told in the remote past tense
- They are true accounts
- Their exploits are of a previous generation
- However, they are linked to the present
- They are told close to the area where the event occurred
- Confined mainly to older men
- Not sacred or secret in their content
- They demonstrate authentic contacts with divine things, hence they are privileged

### Mary MacDonald

Mary MacDonald worked as a Catholic missionary among the *Mararoko* (also the title of her book, named after a village in the South Kewa area) from 1973-77 and returned to the area on visits from 1980-83. *Mararoko* is the result of her PhD studies at the University of Chicago and is based upon the analysis and interpretation of 188 stories related to her by numerous Kewa people. Of the stories, 104 were originally told in Kewa and 84 in Tok Pisin (p. 223).

There are two parts to *Mararoko*: Part One is about exchange and change and includes seven chapters; Part Two comprises the stories and is divided into 21 sections, according to the six locations where the stories were told. Each story was told either in Kewa or in Tok Pisin, with the author, date and cross references to similar tales also noted. The stories are translated from Kewa to Tok Pisin (TP) to English or directly from TP to English, but no transcriptions were made of the Kewa texts (p. 224).

---

However, either genre may have stories primarily in the Remote Past, a "past tense" that indicates the event took place two or three days earlier.

<sup>5</sup> See also LeRoy, 1983 for similar statements on the differences between the two genres. The 22 stories in his earlier collection are primarily about the origins of certain clans, death, fights, and even cooking. The stories are a mixture of both *iti* and *remaa*, but mainly the former.

MacDonald is concerned with both the Kewa insiders' interpretations of the stories and her own, as the scholar or analyst<sup>66</sup>. She claims that "Insiders tend to interpret through analogies and metaphors; outsiders, if they are scholars, use the categories of their disciplines. My task is to move between the two styles of language and analysis" (p. 3). In doing so, she moves back and forth between the traditional and the Christian (mainly Catholic) forms of Kewa religion. Her methodology is one of participant observation, not so much of Kewa traditional ritual, but of indigenous storytelling.

MacDonald relies upon elucidation because Kewa people often talk in a hidden manner (for a summary of 'hidden talk,' see Franklin 2012), as do birds, insects and musical instruments (p. 88). Most often the metaphorical nature of communication is revealed not only in songs and dances, but also in mourning, courting and trade negotiations. The text is therefore "situated in a social, cultural, linguistic, historical and psychological environment" (p. 121). MacDonald spends some time commenting upon the plausibility of psychological interpretations of the symbols recounted as themes in the stories. This internal structure of the text and its external references are the "idiom of exchange and change" (p. 128).

MacDonald further notes that words and work are combined in magic, taboos, spirit cults, healing and sorcery (p. 133). Spirit cults and healers have been readily transferred over into the Christian context. Sorcery is another matter: it "belongs to a worldview in which those outside one's own group are not credited with the same rights" (p. 161). It therefore acts as a social sanction and a process of justice. However, she records only two stories that embrace sorcery.

Pigs, both male and female, form the main "carrier of meanings" (p. 179), as exchange objects, in ritual, marriage, and in competitive festivals. They often form the central attraction in storytelling, for example in, "How pigs lost the power of speech." Their importance is repeated by narrators in *Menakiri* (p. 297) and *Kagopoiya* (p. 307), as well as in stories that mention *Puramenalasu*, the wonder-pig that talks. Later in her book (p. 201), MacDonald establishes that pigs, along with other animals, are metonymic human beings.

MacDonald attempts to unite Kewa tradition and Christian practice by noting that Christian stories and rituals are exchanges as well, but there is a "dilemma of interpretation" (p. 218). She concludes that we must be satisfied with partial understanding.

The stories are both traditional stories and historical or personal accounts. Sometimes they are mixed. MacDonald attempts to clarify the two genres by examining the Kewa words that are used to describe certain speech events. The traditional stories or tales are called *tida* (*lindi/lidi* in EK and *iti* in WK), and these involve both common interpretations and imaginative creations. The

---

<sup>66</sup> In other words, there is an emic and etic perspective. On emic and etic views of/in stories, see Franklin 2009.

*ramani* (*remaa* in WK) are said to be accounts of true or real events and are historical or cultural in content.

The 188 stories generally show: 1) interaction of people with ghosts; 2) ritual participation of people (usually men) with cult spirits; 3) interaction of brothers, enemies, spouses and their affines; 4) hunters and their encounters with snakes, possums, cassowaries and flying foxes; and 5) comments on the origin of people, animals and clans.

MacDonald outlines the basis for her methodology of interpretation using a story about a woman and a snake (p. 115ff). She demonstrates how the structural analyst position (from Levi-Strauss) allows one to determine "patterns of opposition between elements in a text and to arrange them in a master code which represents the deeper meaning of the text" (p. 118). From these patterns MacDonald suggests a metatext of relationships that are represented by metaphors. For example, the snake is not only a symbol of renewed life (p. 125) but also, with the eel, a phallic symbol (p. 126). Her work complements that of LeRoy, whom we have already noted.

To summarize, MacDonald defines three categories of storytelling:

- *Tida* (*iti* or *lidi* in other dialects), which are stories that talk of an earlier community that interacted with "distant, putative ancestors", such as when sky people and animals interacted with people (p. 103).
- *Ramani* (*rema* and *remaa* in other dialects) are accounts of what is believed to have actually happened (p. 104).
- *Ya agele* (*yaa agaa* or *yaa agale* in other dialects) "are short tales, often of a cautionary nature, told to amuse children" (p. 104). As MacDonald indicates, the literal gloss for this genre is "lies."

MacDonald considers that both *rida* and *ramani* are true (*ora agele*), but represent different kinds of truth, the former metaphorical and the latter literal. The *rida* do not belong to anyone's recent experience and are imaginary, handed down through the generations, although both genres "address issues of social and cosmic significance" (p. 105).

In my analysis of the 188 stories reported by MacDonald, 69% are *iti* (*rida* in the South Kewa dialect), 24% are *remaa* (*ramani* in the SK dialect), 6% are in a new genre I identify as *yasa* (roughly "songs", although there are several varieties of them). I don't identify what MacDonald calls "lies" as a genre because it simply contrasts with "truth" and either/both are found in the *rida* and *ramani*. I also found two stories that are about dreams (*upaa* in the West Kewa dialect), which may be regarded as a separate genre.

Animals and insects figure predominantly in the *iti*: snakes are the most common—21 stories are about snakes being hunted, swallowed, someone turning into one, being tricked by one, or fighting with one. Birds are also common: there are 9 stories in which birds play an important

part, usually by someone or some object turning into a particular kind. Other animals and insects in stories are: pigs, flying foxes, dogs, possums, frogs and singular stories about a bush rat, bandicoot, lizard, wild duck, cockatoo, and butterflies.

*Iti* stories also have exploits that involve plants and foods in particular ways; taro, mushrooms, sugar cane, ginger (and its power), and sweet potato are mentioned.

As we would expect, many *iti* stories involve ghosts (9) and spirits or *masalai*<sup>7</sup> (8).

Origin stories are also a category within *iti*: about clans, languages, body parts, stars, fire, the sun, death and compensation, language, black and white people, certain taboos, magic, and the division of areas – these, therefore, require a current knowledge of geography, and what lies to the “east” and the “west.”

Other *iti* stories tell of cannibals, marriages, sky women, spirit houses, siblings, and occasional transformations of one kind of “human” or substance into another.

Turning now to the *remani* category: stories on the first appearance of the “red men” are common (7 stories), as are instances of battles and fighting: 10 stories, 3 of which tell of the exploits of *Nankeya*. Other themes include: certain customs and rituals, cannibalism (one story), being hit by lightning, pig kills (5 stories), marriage (and divorce), sorcery (2 stories), and murder (3 instances), as well as stories about clans and ancestors. Two stories claim that the Erave people came from the direction of Kikori.<sup>8</sup>

There are 12 instances of *yasa* ‘songs’: on courting, garden magic, women, crickets, and 8 examples of mourning songs. Based on MacDonald’s work, I therefore add one, possibly two, new Kewa genres of storytelling:

- *Yasa*, ‘songs,’ which of course may be included within an *iti* or *remaa* but in MacDonald are given separately (numbers 60, 61, 64, 73, 80, 84, 94, 95, 96, 113, 143, 96 and 169)<sup>9</sup>.
- *Upaa*, ‘dreams,’ as in stories 63 and 88.

---

<sup>7</sup> The TP word *masalai* refers to “bush spirits” that are thought to inhabit places of danger, such as caves, streams, rocks, and so on (Mihalic 1971:131).

<sup>8</sup> This seems unlikely, unless there was some integration of renegade (run away) groups. In my study of Kewa dialects (Franklin 1968) I demonstrated the likelihood of an early movement out of Enga proper to the South Kewa area.

<sup>9</sup> In our dictionary (Franklin and Franklin 1978), we have listed several subtypes of songs: funeral, compensation, divining, magic/spells, love/courtship, fertility, mission/church, and, of course general dance or sing-sing varieties. Some of these varieties are most often chanted (see also [kewawebonary.org](http://kewawebonary.org)).

## Josephides

Lisette Josephides began her fieldwork among the South Kewa in 1979, resulting in a number of publications, some of which (1982 and 2008) have some relevance to this study of stories. Her Kewa publication of stories and songs are all in English and Tok Pisin.

Josephides recorded and transcribed the Kewa accounts most often from Tok Pisin, although she seems to sometimes rely on Kewa as well.<sup>10</sup> She uses the word “threnody” to translate the Kewa word *temali* (2008:14), but also translates it as “dirges” (pp. 82; 97; 119). I have recorded the word *remani* in WK most often as a courting song; however, in her observations *temali* seems to represent a broader category, such as prose stories, funeral dirges and even songs.

*Melanesian Odyssey* (2008) is a collection of personal stories from three generations of Kewa speakers: 1) those who refer to days of pre-contact (the old people); 2) those that are more contemporary, yet traditional (the middle-aged people); and 3) those of the younger generation who are part of the “changing world.” Each set of stories is represented by from four to five different storytellers, mainly men, but a few women as well.

Because the stories have been transcribed from either Kewa or Tok Pisin, a few phrases in both languages are occasionally interspersed, but the data are mainly from Josephides notes. Her book is a theoretical examination of the stories, which is based on her earlier Marxist and present feminist viewpoints.

Because the “stories” are freely translated, I have not been able to accurately analyze them - in particular, how they begin or end. I mention them here as examples of how the Kewa report and reflect on their lives.

Chief among her informants and storytellers is *Rimbu*, who assisted throughout her fieldwork. He is the interpreter and the revealer of messages that are *siapi* “hidden talk”<sup>11</sup> (2008:4).

In commenting on the pre-contact stories, Josephides “weave[s] the ethnographic story...from the maximal narratives of...five elderly people...which together establish a minimal cultural, historical and traditional basis for the Kewa” (p.67). Consequently, these should be noted as *remaa* accounts.

However, when the older generation tell stories about courtship, marriage, magic gardens, spirit houses, pig kills, warfare and pacification, they may represent both *iti* and *remaa* accounts.

---

<sup>10</sup> Josephides represents her knowledge of Kewa by claiming to understand Rambuame’s Kewa better than her interpreter’s English (2008:82). In other instances, she seems to rely almost exclusively on Tok Pisin.

<sup>11</sup> *Saa pi agaa* in West Kewa. I have written and published extensively about this aspect of Kewa “talk”, but apparently Josephides is unaware of my work. (most recently in 2012, but in several earlier publications as well).



Nevertheless, all of the “stories” in *Melanesian Odyssey* seem to be in the *remaa* (*rema* in her orthography) genre, that is, ones that have some historical basis. They are not ancestral stories (*lindi* in EK; *iti* in WK), handed down through generations. Rather, they are personal, albeit now public accounts, since they are retold in her book. They are examples of “everyday life,” replete with marriage and courtship problems<sup>12</sup>, magic, gardens, pig kills and warfare.

## Ari and Jebens

The most recent publication of Kewa stories was collected by Alex Yapua Ari<sup>13</sup> and edited by Holger Jebens (2015). Jebens visited and did fieldwork in *Pairundu* village (WK) three times: December 1990 to October 1991; December 1995 to March 1996; and, again, in March 2008.

The *Pairundu* consists of 62 stories, all collected by Ari and written by him in Tok Pisin. According to his classification, 27 are *iti* and 35 are *remaa*.<sup>14</sup>

There is some discrepancy in defining the difference between an *iti* and a *rema* (as spelled by Ari and Jebens), but the authors generally agree that the former genre relates to a tale or a story passed down from the ancestors. It is told, with alterations, throughout the Kewa language, but is not something that can be historically verified—as the *remaa* pre-supposes.

There is a number of formal characteristics of the *iti* (also spelled *eiti* by Ari and Jebens in some places), showing how the story begins. For example, those stories that start with a phrase indicating the story is very old would normally use the Remote Past Tense. Note, however, that a number of *remaa* begin with a similar phrase, and have the following additional defining features:

- They start with the phrase “a long time ago”, or something similar: 5, 8, 11, 20, 20, 21, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45 46, 51,52, some 18 stories in all.
- They begin by referring to particular persons: 1, 12, 13, 15, 19, 43, 57, or 7 stories in all.
- They begin with specific dates (usually the year something happened): 39, 41, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 55, 56, some 10 of the stories in all.
- They begin by mentioning particular places: 54, 62.
- They mention particular people, sometimes in a general way: 1, 6, 12, 13, 15.

---

<sup>12</sup> Josephides glosses *rome* as a “courting session” (2008:87) and *romeali* as a “courting partner”. However, in an earlier work (1985:223), she glosses *kunana yaisa* as a “courting song”, which is similar to what I have found in West Kewa. The general meaning of *rome* in West Kewa is a “trading partner” (*-ali* simply means ‘man’ in East and South Kewa.) In addition, *rome* can also refer to any kind of “secret” exchange.

<sup>13</sup> Alex Ari is a Kewa speaker and resident of *Pairundu* village, who wrote (in Tok Pisin) the stories that Jebens edited. Jebens reports Ari as saying, “I saw you collecting stories and writing them down, and I wanted to try and see if I can do that too” (Ari and Jebens 2015:3). He wrote 62 stories that are in the collection.

<sup>14</sup> Jebens cross-refers to a number of similar features between some of Ari’s stories and those of LeRoy (1985), MacDonald (1991), Josephides (1985), Beier (1977), as well as our own (Franklin, ed. 1972).

Although the ‘water buffalo’ is mentioned as part of a story that happened “a long time ago,” it was not, as I recall, introduced by the Karia (Kagua) Catholic mission until the 1960s or even later. When the *remaa* include actual dates, the earliest one is 1971. In other words, what is considered as “old” in the *remaa* is not the same as the conception of “old” in the *iti*. There is, of course, no dates given for the latter, but the inclusion of the water buffalo indicates that at least part of it could have been classified by Ari as a *remaa* and not an *iti*.

Judging by the way the stories begin, there is often no difference between the two genres. However, if the story contains a specific date, it is supposedly factual and, therefore, a *remaa*. Some characteristics in this collection that are particular to the *iti* include:

- Origin stories for birds, mountains, etc.
- The mention of an ancestor (a *tumbuna* in TP)
- Pointing to something existing today as proof for the story
- Often, some kind of trickery
- Animals and humans interacting in strange ways

Consequently, the formal differences between the two genres are not always easy to distinguish. In fact, Ari, who is classifying them based on his insider (or emic) viewpoint, claims a story involving *Abuwapale* and *Sumi Sama* (story 14) is “true.” However, the former is said to occur in both the “legends” (*remaa*, no. 14) and “tales” (*iti*, no. 23).

*Abuwapale* also figures prominently in both the stories collected by LeRoy (1985a:165-167) and myself (1972:31-34) as a kind of Kewa wonder-woman. In this respect, she is similar to the wonder-pig that occurs in some stories (*puramenalasu*), or even the wonder-pearl shell (*kubapinale*), that Kewa story tellers mention.<sup>15</sup>

The endings of the two genres sometime overlap but, generally speaking, in the *iti*:

- Humans often morph into birds, insects, other animals, or even plants
- There is trickery by ancestors or, in particular, their spirits
- Reasons for the trickery are revealed
- Specific battles, village fights, etc. occur, but no dates are mentioned
- A man or woman may go into the sky (heaven)<sup>16</sup>
- Spirits of the dead may appear
- Nature spirits (the *masalai*) may act in some malevolent manner
- The origin of certain plants, animals, birds, or villages is often given

---

<sup>15</sup> There is also a mythical wonder-shepherd of wild dogs in the Mt Giluwe area named *Kita-Meda* and the mythical wonder-water snake *ipapagiali*. All of these indicate that the story is an *iti*.

<sup>16</sup> When Ari refers to heaven, it is obviously because of SDA (or Catholic) influence; hence, it is a modern interpretation inserted into an old tale. In story 24, *Abuwape* turns into Job’s tears, while in story 36, a woman’s body turns into Job’s tears.

- Sorcery is mentioned only once (in story 61)<sup>17</sup>
- Reasons for certain actions are given<sup>18</sup>
- Snakes are common, often as phallic symbols (as mentioned by MacDonald as well)

On the whole, Ari is fairly consistent in his judgments of what constitutes a “tale” (*iti*), on the one hand, and a “legend” or “*stori tasol*”, on the other (the *remaa*). However, elements of modern culture are introduced in the *iti*, e.g., an “iron-roofed house” (58), people going to “heaven” (30, 59) and perhaps *iti*-like features appear in the *remaa*: such as the *masalai* (which figures predominantly (e.g., 20, 40, 49, 57), if it is considered as fiction by Ari. Notice some of the general inferences about the *remaa*:

- Specific dates of time are often given
- Birds sometimes send messages
- Bush spirits (*masalai*) are common and malevolent
- Some instructions and taboos are given
- Instances of stealing and inappropriate actions are common
- Fighting is common
- Church relationships are specifically spelled out
- Superstitions, such as announcing death, may occur
- Certain customs are referred to

From his emic point of view, Ari judges whether the story seems possible and is therefore a *remaa*, or whether it seems imaginary, and is, therefore, an *iti*. As a cultural insider, he is aware that there is a difference between the two genres, but that some of their features may sometimes overlap and, if so, he is then not sure to which category the story belongs.

### Franklin (1972)

We now comment on the Kewa stories we collected, outlining some lexical forms and phrases used in them.

There are certain prized stories, depending on what people like to hear, which are often told, with variations. The following examples are from a collection of 14 stories that I recorded in the village of Usa in 1968. I unite the contents by giving only the beginning, ending and peak for each story. The beginning statement is a stative sentence or clause, outlining the topic of the story.

---

<sup>17</sup> This seems surprising, because sorcery stories are rampant among the Kewa. Yet, although the *iti* has been a part of Kewa culture since the ancestors started telling stories, sorcery seems to have a more recent history. In MacDonald stories, however, there are instances of sorcery.

<sup>18</sup> This is more common in the *remaa*, but in the *iti* told by Ari, we learn the reasons for not dancing at certain places (33), why certain birds can't fly (4), and why dogs are not eaten (18), except at Wasuma (15).

The endings provide the general rationalization for the story, while the peak of the story outlines the particular action or actions that generally form the center of attention of the story.

How the 14 stories begin:

1. There was a very long house and there were many men living in it.
2. There were two brothers who lived in their house.
3. There were two small men.
4. There were many young women who worked in their gardens and stayed in that area.
5. There were two men named *Yope* and *Kapasi* who lived on top of Mt *Malue*.
6. There were two brothers, named *Agadarai* and *Murai*.
7. There were several young women who lived together.
8. There was a cricket *Dali* and a bug *Ayaamu* who lived in a garden.
9. There was a man who was making himself an armband along the Kagua River.
10. There were two men, one was small and other large.
11. There was an especially beautiful wonder-woman named *Abunu Wapalame*.
12. There were two brothers, named *Agema* and *Yalu*.
13. There was once an old man and a young boy.
14. There were many women who lived in a long house.

How the same 14 stories end:

1. The target leaf was red like the liver of the other man and so it killed him.
2. The two of them fought and both were killed.
3. You can see this if you look at the mountains.
4. They liked the girl and when he gave them a marsupial, they let him take her.
5. *Yope* said that *Kapasi* had killed his brother *Aripaaki*, so he killed him.
6. His head was broken in two pieces, one became Mt *Ialibu*, the other Mt *Giluwe*.
7. The girls were very happy about the son and gave him many gifts and cared for him.
8. *Daali* and *Ayaamu* fought, separated and went to different places, just like today.
9. As a result, pigs are now OK.
10. You didn't listen to me, so you will die now. And he died.
11. In their happiness, they kept on eating pig.
12. They fought each other but the *Yalu's* two good women came and killed *Agema*.
13. They changed into marsupials and frogs and still live in the bush.
14. Otherwise we could not marry the women we have with us today.

What happens in between (the peak of the story):

1. There is an argument and fight between one of the men and an old man in the bush.
2. An old woman gives advice, which one brother follows, and the other does not.
3. An old man shows up with two dogs and wants to eat the two men, but they kill him by splitting his head open [the collected blood later becomes two men].
4. A poor man shows up and takes the beautiful girl with him in exchange for a possum.
5. A brother shows up and *Kapasi* kills him; *Yope* retaliates with a trap and kills *Kapasi*.

6. One brother cuts his leg (as in No. 3 above) and collects the blood that changes into two large men; an old man comes and wants to kill the brothers, but their father kills him.
7. A beautiful girl is sleeping when assaulted by a man; the other women rescue her and look after the son that the woman bears.
8. The insects argue over pork stolen from a woman, then separate.
9. A man, searching for his pig, is eaten by a crocodile; while inside it, he wounds and kills it, thus saving others from a similar fate.
10. The two men argue and the big one traps the small one, taunts and kills him.
11. A beautiful woman bears a son as the result of drinking from a spring; this happens again because the first (and second) sons are lost; she eventually finds the sons and they are overjoyed.
12. An old woman steals possums from two brothers, but a bird warns them; they go to the house with the old woman, who provides one of them with a young woman; the other is jealous, so they fight and *Agema* is killed.
13. The young boy goes to live with the old women and finds possums, then steals a pig for the women; he, upon the advice of a bird [*remoya*] turns into a fly and causes pain and conflict to the women; they change into possums and frogs.
14. A woman insults an old man who desecrates her food; the women do various tricks on the old man who frightens the women, thus taming them into the kind they are today.

### Some General Conclusions (on all the stories)

Turning now to some general conclusions based on all the stories that I have described, the following themes seem global:

- Certain regular characters and events occur in the *iti*, such as wonder-people (for example, the woman *Abuwapale*), wonder-animals (such as the pig *Puramenalasu*), objects (a talking taro, for example), ogres and fiends
- In *iti* stories, the authors specify the origins of birds and other animals
- The formation of the mountains Ialibu and Giluwe to the north and Murray to the south are part of the *iti* lore
- Transformations take place in the *iti*, e.g., blood may turn into a boy, a woman into a spirit
- However, every-day events and common knowledge are always a measure of the *remaa*
- Actual dates indicate a *remaa*
- Named battles/fights are a characteristic of the *remaa*.

Note that two brothers, the “wonder-woman” *Abunu Wapalame*, or the wonder-pig *Puramenalasu* are referred to in a number of the stories provided by LeRoy and MacDonald, as well as our own.<sup>19</sup> According to my assistants, *Puramenalasu* does not refer to a real pig because

---

<sup>19</sup> See LeRoy’s tales numbered 9-11, 27, 32, 22, 35, 37, 39, 42, 45, 53, 54, 68, 80, and 81.

it thinks like a human and helps people. (However, more recently, as I have indicated, the water buffalo has been called by this same name.) What *Abunu Wapalame* is to women, *Puramenalasu* is to pigs, namely the miraculous wonder-source, ready to assist in stories. Such super-characters or objects abound in such tales.<sup>20</sup>

The storyteller varies the events, but includes an interdiction and ends up with a result. LeRoy has formalized his collection of tales, using oppositional metaphors to symbolize, for example, male-female functions. In his analysis, blood and bone represent the regeneration of male and female, respectively, and in another recording (the brothers, *Agadarai* and *Murai*, in Franklin and Kirapeasi 1972:12-13), two boys are regenerated out of the blood of *Murai's* wounds.

The Kewa storyteller may end with the theme of separation (LeRoy, *Interpreting Kewa Tales*, 139), and in some versions *Abunu Wapalame* (*Abuwapale* in LeRoy) may metamorphose into the ideal of bridewealth (*Interpreting Kewa Tales*, p. 129), but the function is not static: the story teller is free to create, imagine or expand within the story. For example, in our collection (Franklin 1972:38), the teller, *Nemola Kenoa*, told me the name refers to two women, *Abunu* and *Wapalame*, a plausible interpretation based on the feminine name marking suffixes *-nu* and *-me* on the names.

### Appendix A: Kewa Ancestral Stories Listed by Thomas H. Slone

Slone (2001) edited two volumes of PNG traditional stories, based on those which first appeared in the *Wantok* newspaper.<sup>21</sup> The stories were all published in Tok Pisin and translated into English by Slone. He indexed each story according to author, village, language, flora and fauna, and motif. Slone also includes a glossary with pictures, a bibliography, a gazetteer of villages, and a map with the story numbers given for each Province.

In my examination of the volumes, Slone has 17 stories that seem definitely from “Kewa” (p.991), as follows: East Kewa (6: 77, 339, 605, 863, 893, and 972); West Kewa (6: 477, 574, 773, 784, 912, and 1018); and South Kewa (5: 101, 104, 138, 250—but not identified as Kewa, and 328). There is also one or, possibly two, stories that are from Wiru (360 and perhaps 764b); two stories from Mendi dialects (168 and 1112); and two stories that I can’t positively identify their area (638 and 1052), but seem like genuine Kewa stories. Kewa speakers, who were working on plantations or with companies outside their Kewa areas, told five of the stories. Also, although I have identified one story as East Kewa (863), it may actually be from the neighboring Ialibu language of Mbongu, but told with a Kewa mixture.

<sup>20</sup> In English consider the “Jack tales” for heroes of this sort (see Pavesic 2005, for example).

<sup>21</sup> Current examples of the newspaper can be found online at: <http://www.png-online.com/wantok-niuspepa-boroko>. Last accessed October 20, 2017.

I now list the stories according to the volume and page number where they occur, including the storyteller's village or area, the principle characters, what was particularly marvelous or spectacular within the story, and how the story ended. Slone considers the genre represented throughout as ancestral stories, i.e. as *iti*, in that they are so designated in *Wantok* newspaper. I conclude with some observations about the stories, clarifying what is necessary for a story to be classified in the *iti* genre, that is, for it to be included in the taxonomy of "ancestral stories/legends".<sup>22</sup>

**Story number 77, p.16** has its source as Kagua, a main government center in East Kewa. It involves a boy, an old woman and a magical flying fox to "explain" how the cockatoo originated.

In the next three stories the tellers are identified as from Erave, the government center for South Kewa:

**Story 101, p.32** involves three men, and includes a series of "wonder" items: a tree, dogs and a vine. The result of their actions are the mountains Lalibu and Giluwe, which are featured in stories 339 and 360 as well.

**Story 104, p. 34** has the title "The marsupial that struck the woman's breast." The main characters are two cross-siblings who own a large pig (the wonder-pig *Puramenalasu*). In a common contrastive frame, the sister cooked, and the brother hunted. Besides the wonder-pig, other notable characters are a maternal relative; a marsupial (*loke*), and a large old man. The story features cannibalism; collecting blood that renovates into the brother. The peak of the story occurs when the sister is struck in the breast by a marsupial and goes home in tears to her brother. He attempts to find relatives of the sister, but is tied up by an old man and gets eaten; however, an old woman collects his blood in a bamboo tube and it transforms into the brother again. In the end, the brother and sister argue, and he turns into wind, she - into birds, and the child of the brother becomes a small bird.

**Story 138, p. 56**, takes place in a big village on top of a mountain with a big pig. Using fire/ smoke as a signal, a man orders a woman to come, who then cooks a taro that can talk. The man kills the woman and cuts her up, but cassowaries find her body parts and kick the woman's belly such that she comes back to life. When a man sees smoke and goes to investigate, the cassowaries kill him. The revenge of the cassowaries results in women now painting their necks (with cassowary colors) for decoration—before they had none.

---

<sup>22</sup> There are undoubtedly other possible genres or sub-genres in Kewa, such as: *arere pi agaa* 'arguments'; *betene agaa* 'prayers'; *imaa niti* 'taboo talk'; *remani agaa* 'courting language'; *ribu raguna agaa* 'ribu hat talk' (now archaic); *rumula agaa* 'ritual pandanus language'; *saa pi agaa* 'hidden speech/ parables'; *yaina pi agaa* 'spells'; *tata ne agaa* 'incoherent/ baby talk'; and more recently *pipaa tape agaa* 'letters'. On the latter see Franklin and Hardin, 2012.

**Story 168, p. 78**, takes place in an area identified by Slone as Kewa, but the story is told by a man from Nipa, which is west of Mendi and, therefore, not Kewa. It is a Highlands story about how coconuts originated—there are, of course, none in the Highlands. Two brothers go to investigate where the sun is located and find two houses and a beautiful woman. The elder brother has sex with the woman—the sun darkens, and there is an earthquake, both of which are omens. Their father suspects something, but eventually both the sun and father get old. The father asks his son-in-law to cut off his head after he dies and, when planted, it becomes a coconut tree—but this, we are told, happens only in hot places.

**Story 250, p. 134**, also from the Erave (South Kewa), is about a large flood and the descendants of two groups of people, one good and one bad. The bad group fish and find a fish that is like a snake. The good group don't eat fish, but instead, chicken, pigs and dogs. When the flood came, they climbed a large coconut tree and stopped the flooding by throwing coconuts (three times) into the water. All descendants are said to have come from the “two” groups of people in the coconut tree. This has elements of the Biblical Genesis flood and parts of the story may be derived from it. It seems to be is a curious combination of an ancestral *iti* and a Bible story.

**Story 328, p. 192**, also told by a man from Erave, is entitled “We are children of the snake.” It begins with a man, his wife and a beautiful daughter. The young woman, left alone, sees a large, glowing light and a huge snake, with a mouth as big as a “water tank.” After a series of incidents involving pigs and cooked food, the snake is eventually charmed by a man playing a flute and transformed into a man, hence the snake becomes the “clan's marking.”

**Story 339, p. 201**, whose storyteller is from Muli (in East Kewa), concerns a talking taro that is responsible for the creation of the Ialibu and Giluwe mountains. The main characters are a brother and his sister, a super-fish, a super-taro (that talks) and a *masalai*-man. The boy kills the *masalai* but the taro breaks into two pieces and blood flows out of them. They become the mountains and the blood becomes two lakes, named *Buna* and *Walumi*.

**Story 360, p. 219** is a lengthy tale told by a man from *Pangia* (adjacent to the East Kewa language area) and is therefore most likely a Wiru, not Kewa, tale. It is also about how the mountains *Ialibu* and *Giluwe* were formed (by bashing the twin heads of a wild man).<sup>23</sup>

**Story 477, p. 334**, sketches a reoccurring hero in Kewa tales— *Sumi Sama* and a star-woman whom he tries to “marry.” *Sumi* hears music coming from the mountain that bears his name and goes to the source. The star-woman comes with other women for white clay, used for decorations. *Sumi* captures her and takes her to his village. He then goes off to a dance, but the star-woman attaches a vine to him, so that she can keep track of him. He deceives her, and the

---

<sup>23</sup> Story 357 is also about Mt. Giluwe, but is about a super-dog and how it led to “Giluwe Dog Trading” (p.218).



star-woman leaves. He follows her and tries to get her back, as they ascend a tree. However, he falls to the ground, dies, and his bones are now used for magic spells. The result: because he ruined things, men must now pay bride prices.

**Story 574, p. 465**, told by a man from the West Kewa village of *Kira*, concerns two brothers, named *Alo* and *Rabae*, who are not “ordinary men.” On a hunting expedition into the deep forest, an old woman and her husband confront them. *Alo* cuts the heads off the man and woman and they become ghosts. However, *Alo* is trapped in a huge net bag and taken to the home of the ghosts, where they put him above the fire. The children are left to guard *Alo* but he escapes and cuts up the children. *Alo* then hides in a huge gourd and when the ghosts find him he punches out their eyes and burns their house. *Alo* returns to his village and relates his story to *Rabae*, who is angry about the ghost couple. The ghosts return but, while on a bridge, the brothers cut its supporting vines and the old couple (ghosts) fall into the river where they become fish. The brothers become the *puluma* birds that never fly close to the ground.

**Story 605, pp. 503-504**, is told by a Kewa man who is working on a plantation in the North Solomon Province. There are three main characters: a single, hard-working man, a large cat and a woman. The large cat is a fiction introduced into the story—there were no “cats” in the Southern Highlands until the mid-1950s. The cat and the man live peacefully together, the man gardening and the cat hunting in the forest. One day it comes upon women bathing and entices one back to the home of the man, who had not seen a woman before. The man marries the woman. The cat speaks Kewa and its “*meo, meo*” is interpreted by the story teller as meaning “fetch me” (which, in Kewa, would be *mea, mea* “fetch it for me”).

**Story 638, p 539**; is told by an unidentified Kewa man. It is about a little boy and his mother, who sends the boy out for firewood. He is tired and hot and tries to find a stream with fish, but instead finds parts of a butchered pig. He discovers a huge (super) old man with a hole in his head, but no eyes, ears, or mouth. The man eats by letting the food drop down through the hole in his head. The boy returns home and tells his mother what he has seen. Despite his mother’s warning, the boy goes back to where the old man lives and, because the man cannot see, the boy picks up extra scraps of food lying about. The old man realizes food is missing and sets a trap for the boy. The trap is a number of net bags that enclose the boy, but he breaks out and is found by a group of flying foxes. They rescue the boy, and he eventually kills the old man by dropping a heated stone down through the hole in his head.

**Story 649, p. 553**, is told by a man from the *Yame* (northwest Kewa) area.<sup>24</sup> There were many people living there, who had a large spirit house. A man called *Ninah* from another village who

---

<sup>24</sup> The phoneme /h/ occurs in Mendi and its dialects, but not in Kewa. In addition, a “new” pig, *Omabarara* is introduced.

worked there, got tired and went to the base of a tree where he fell asleep. He awoke in a part of the forest unknown to him and saw a gigantic dead pig. He rubs the pig and it comes alive and speaks to him. The pig's name is *Omabarara* and it tells *Ninah* of a forthcoming pig feast, where men are building long houses and putting in pig stakes. *Omabarara* tells *Ninah* to prepare 200 stakes, but when he does so, he is ridiculed by other men because he has no pigs. However, *Omabarara* tells *Ninah* to tie her to the 199<sup>th</sup> stake and then disappears. When the men come to slaughter the pigs, they are amazed at the number and are so happy, they make *Ninah* their leader.

**Story 764b, p. 683**, is actually a Wiru story, told by a man from *Pangia*. It is how a certain, well-known stone in *Pangia* is there because of a python snake.

**Story 773, p. 693**, is about a man who lived (long, long ago) in a village called *Sumi* and eventually involves *Sumi Sama*, who appears frequently in stories. He leaves his village and goes to the forest, where he finds a big hole. He sees paint called *ambu* [yellow] on leaves, a signal of a forthcoming festival. He also sees handprints, then makes a hut and returns to his village. At sunrise, he goes back to the hut to wait, but gets sleepy. He hears a sound and sees women coming down from a huge tree. When the women go to gather the clay for paint, he sees a particularly beautiful woman, whom he grabs. However, she turns into a snake. He holds on and she gives up, becomes a woman again, and he takes her back to his village. She has magical ways: she tells him to get house posts and, in the morning, there is house standing; she tells him to make a pigsty, and in morning, there are many pigs packed in it; she enlarges a garden, so that is filled with food.

Later, there is a festival, and he wants to go. She warns him not to dance with other women or everything she has done will disappear, and she fastens a string to his target leaves to keep track of him. However, he dances with other women, so she is furious and leaves him. Once she does, things return to their former state: there are no pigs, etc., just bush. It turns out that she lives at the top of *limbum* (wild palm) tree. The man returns and tries to find his wife and sees a reflection in the water of a woman making a net bag. It is the woman on top of the tree, so he makes a ladder and tries to ascend the tree. However, he falls and dies. The man was *Sumi Sama* and his bones are still there and are used as repository for sorcery diviners. If sick men go to this place they will become well again.

**Story 784, p. 705** is about the formation of the *Kipurepa* "tribe," which today comprises seven villages. The seven villages were the result of a snake that the main character, *Kipu*, cut into seven pieces, which became "white men." The head of the snake turns into a lizard that *Kipu* helps when it has fruit stuck in its throat. It eventually turns back into a snake and helps *Kipu* after he is wounded with an arrow.

**Story 863, p. 779**, is about four brothers, three of whom are tricked and eaten by an old man who is a cannibal and a *masalai*. The fourth brother learns from a dream the real intent of the old man and tricks and kills him, then flees to his own village.

**Story 893, p. 799**, is about a man named *Paru*, a marsupial, a dog, and a pig. All of them live together and the man decides he needs a woman. The dog and marsupial go off to find one and they trick her into going back to *Paru's* village. He and the woman are married, and things work out well, until he kills the pig. This frightens the dog and marsupial, who flee, respectively, to the deep forest and to a cave, where they still live.

**Story 912, p. 814**, is about a man named *Pulupapi* (literally, "I am going, I am stopping") who is a bachelor. He would like to marry, but no woman will have him. However, by hunting marsupials and giving them to a woman and her daughter, he tricks the woman into letting her daughter marry him. It is actually a crude story of trickery involving the use of the young woman's feces. It may not only be an *iti*, but also the kind of crude story men might tell one another in the men's house.

**Story 972, pp. 854-5**, is about two unmarried old men and their dog *yana* (which, in Kewa, means "dog"). Late in the day, after successfully hunting marsupials with their dog, they decide to sleep in a cave while the dog continues hunting. Unbeknownst to them, a *masalai* lives in the cave, smells the cooked (and eaten) marsupials and finds the men. It eats them, leaving only their bones. The dog returns and finds the bones, which it takes back to the village. The village people show their sorrow by putting mud on their faces and mourning.

**Story 1018, p. 884**, is again about *Sumi Sama*. But, at the beginning of the story, he is a "worthless man." True to form, however, he captures a beautiful woman who comes down from a tree to get red soil. She persuades him to build a house for them in the forest and, because of the magical properties of the woman, his gardens and house are better than anyone else's. This provokes jealousy and, after arguing with other men, he inadvertently reveals that he has married "a forest woman." When he discloses this, the woman disappears and goes back to the top of the tree.

**Story 1052, pp. 904-5**, is probably a Kewa story, but the location of the village is uncertain, and the story is told from *Lae*, in the Morobe Province. Four brothers go into the forest to hunt. The first three are tricked by a small man cutting down a tree, who induces the men, one by one, to stick their hand in the tree and pull out insects. When they try to do this, they are trapped and the small man, who turns into a giant, kills and eats them. However, the last brother is not tricked and, instead, tricks the giant who turns back into a small boy. Nevertheless, the last brother kills him and runs back to his village.

**Story 1112, pp. 918-19**, is from the *Mendi* (not *Kewa*) area. It is about two brothers—one a gardener, the other a hunter - who are eaten, in turn, by an old woman "with long teeth," who

had been changed from being a marsupial. The maternal kin mourn for the brothers and, as a result of their deaths, no one lives in that area today.

It is clear that the Kewa stories Slone collected represent common *iti* themes, such as:

- Some “wonder” people, such as *Abunu Wapalame* and *Sumi Sama*
- A “wonder” pig (*Puramenalasu*) or even a “wonder dog” (most often a wild dog)
- Other wonder animals: marsupials, fish, snakes, flying foxes and special birds
- Even an unnamed “wonder” person, like an ogre, giant, or cannibal
- Pairs of individuals: brothers, a brother and a sister, an old man and his son, and so on.
- Contrastive pairs: one brother is a gardener, the other a hunter, is the most common
- Tall trees with women who ascend and descend
- Individuals and objects that miraculously transform into something else, e.g., blood into individuals or lakes; taro or men’s heads into mountains (specifically mts. Ialibu and Giluwe)

However, a story that refers to a *masalai* does not always need to be an *iti*, in that people say they are as common today (and have stories concerning them) as in the days of the ancestors.

In addition, and as mentioned previously, an *iti* may have modern day references: white (or red) men, water buffalo, iron roof houses, a water tank, and so on. This is, perhaps, a blend of an *iti* and a *remaa*. Both genres may (or may not) start out with the phrase “a long, long time ago.”

I have not examined all of Slone’s stories from the Highlands to see if they have similar themes or motifs to the Kewa. However, it is obvious that storytelling excels in Papua New Guinea and is a common form of entertainment.

## Appendix B: Ancestral Stories in McElhanon, ed. (1974, 1982)

To give some idea of the range of the themes and topics that occur in PNG vernacular ancestral stories, I examine briefly the two volumes of 245 stories edited by McElhanon.<sup>25</sup>

In the following summary, I portray the **themes with bold face headers**, followed by the individual languages representing the themes and the names of their stories: For Kewa, for example, see Section 1, 1d:49, 50; Section 4l:52, and Section 7f:56. I have divided the stories into 8 sections, according to their themes/motifs, although there is some overlap between sections.

### 1. **Two brothers, two cousins or two sisters**

- a. Anggor: 7: The brothers that became bats
- b. Awa 14: Two brothers separate
- c. Gadsup 34: The two brothers

---

<sup>25</sup> To find more information about the languages, consult [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com).

- d. Kewa 49, 50: The brothers, *Agadarai* and *Murai*; *Agema* and *Yalu*
- e. Omie 61: The two cousins
- f. Selepet 75, 76, 119: The brothers and the old man; The two brothers; The brothers and the cannibal
- g. Tairora 83: Two brothers
- h. Urii 84: The brothers
- i. Au 17: The two brothers
- j. Barai 31, 35: Two pairs of cousins; Two cousins go hunting
- k. Kamano-Kaf 78: The two brothers
- l. Patep 102: The two brothers
- m. Rawa 111: The brothers and the spirits
- n. Timbe 127: The sisters and their brother
- o. Vasui 132: The two brothers

## 2. The Cassowary

- a. Abelam 1: The cassowary
- b. Daga 31: Why the cassowary cannot fly
- c. Wantoat 88: The cassowary
- d. Yareba 94: The cassowary and the crocodile
- e. Iatmul 73: The cassowary's child
- f. Managalasi 94: The cassowary
- g. Patep 107: The cassowary and the red-capped flower pecker

## 3. Origin Stories

- a. Abelam: coconuts, cucumbers, pigs, spears
- b. Awa: lice, reeds
- c. Baruya: bamboo knives, thorny palms, thunder, two lakes
- d. Buang: the first house, pandanus palm
- e. Daga: bananas, yams, and taros
- f. Gawigl: the spirit *Peamo*
- g. Iduna: sugar cane, taro
- h. Omie: fire and evil
- i. Rossel Island: coconuts
- j. Rotokos: garden, Jew's harp, coconut
- k. Selepet: pigs
- l. Wantoat: Jew's harp
- m. Ampeli-Wojokeso: thunder and lightning; Pleiades and spiny anteater; food
- n. Au: wind; sacred kingfisher
- o. Buin: coconut
- p. Bukiyip: coconuts
- q. Kwoma: women; fire; moon; eagle
- r. Managalasi: the *Managalasi* people
- s. Salt-Yui: salt

- t. Timbe: the cliff at *Hemon*
- u. Barai: *Birarie* people

#### 4. Animal Conflicts

- a. Ampeli 7,9: The cockatoo and the hornbill; The opossum and the anteater
- b. Au 19: The rat and the lizard
- c. Buin 47, 49, 52, 53: The red ant and the lizard; The snake and the dog; The kingfisher and the hornbill; The eagle and the flying fox
- d. Dobu 62, 67: The shark and crab; The ant and the lizard
- e. Kamano76: The owl and the white bird
- f. Kwoma 87: The flying foxes and the roosters
- g. Managalasi 93: The turtle and the cockatoo
- h. Muyuw 95: The opossum and the sting-ray
- i. Patep 107: The cassowary and the red-capped flower pecker
- j. Vasui 135-37: the dog and the opossum; The cat and the opossum; The opossum and the pig
- k. Anggor 10: The cockatoo and the blackbird
- l. Kewa 52: The cricket and the bug
- m. Yareba 93, 94, 96, 101-104: The bat, the ant, and cockatoo; The cassowary and the crocodile; The eagle and the crocodile; The snake and the rat; The parrot and the blackbird; The wallabies and the dogs

#### 5. Snakes, dogs and other animal stories

- a. Abelam 7: pigs
- b. Anngor 10: cockatoo and blackbird
- c. Awa 17 opossum with toe missing
- d. Buang 27, 28: eel, pig and man
- e. Daga 32, 33: crow, hornbill
- f. Rossell: black python
- g. Selepet 80: pigs
- h. Tairora 82: parrot loses a toe
- i. Urii 86: snake man
- j. Ampele 5: dogs fight back
- k. Au 18: sacred kingfisher
- l. Auyaana 24, 28, 30: eels; wallaby, python
- m. Buin 49: snake and dog
- n. Bukiyip 57, 59: lizard, wild dogs
- o. Dobu 68: the rat
- p. Kwoma 86: the eagle
- q. Muyuw 97: the snake in the canoe
- r. Salt-Yui 117: the *Miaba* snake
- s. Selepet 122: wild pigs
- t. Vasui 133-35, 138: dog stories, bats

**6. X changes into Y (transformation stories, often embedded in other stories)**

- a. Anngor 9: brothers > bats
- b. Buang 26: children > flying foxes
- c. Daga 32: crow > black
- d. Iduna 44: *Koliya* > fish
- e. Omie 64: village > lake
- f. Au 14, 16: spirit > man; tulip tree > clouds
- g. Auyaana 27: man loses skin
- h. Boiken 43: man changes skin
- i. Kamano 74, 80: boy > bird; boy > parrot
- j. Managalasi 90: woman marries a flying fox

**7. “Natural” and manufactured phenomena**

- a. Abelam 8: spears
- b. Anngor 11: moon
- c. Baruya 20, 21, 23, 24: earthquakes, panpipes, thunder, lakes
- d. Buang 25: house
- e. Iduna 45: mountain
- f. Kewa 56: earthquakes
- g. Lakalai 58: flood
- h. Rotokas 70, 71, 72: bottle, garden, Jew’s harp
- i. Urii 87: sky and dirt
- j. Wantoat 89, 90: creation, Jew’s harp
- k. Yareba 97, 98: falling star hot springs,
- l. Ampeli 4, 6, 8: mango tree, sand from sky; food
- m. Au 10: wind
- n. Boiken 41: darkness
- o. Dobu 61, 69: giant stories
- p. Kamano 75: water at *Fomu*
- q. Kwoma 84, 85: fire, moon
- r. Salt-Yui 116: moons
- s. Selepet 120: the cavern
- t. Vasui 139 thunder
- u. Awa 16 reeds and arrows

**8. Spirits, ghosts and weird people/ places**

- a. Abelam 6: the place where only women lived
- b. Anngor 9, 12: the brothers who became bats; two women
- c. Buang 26: children who turned into flying foxes
- d. Gadsup 35: why only men play musical instruments
- e. Gawigl 38, 39: origin of the spirit *Peamo*; the tunnel story
- f. Iduna 44, 45: *Koliya* became a fish; a mountain that went away
- g. Lakalai 57: a boy who tricked a monster

- h. Omie 60, 63: a bush spirit exchanges babies; origin of fire and evil
- i. Rossell 67: death of *Muo*, the cannibal
- j. Selepet 78: about a mouthless man
- k. Tairora 82: the parrot loses a toe
- l. Urii 85: the insects rescue a man

### Appendix C: A Note on Enga cognates

Enga is the largest language group within the Engan Family, of which Kewa is also a member. The following Enga words related to “story” are from Lang (1973), where there are a number of cognates that refer to what we call “stories or myths” in Kewa:

- *rema-ne (pii)*: “fable, story” (p. 102); Kewa cognate is *remaa*<sup>26</sup>
- *tindi (pii)*: “fable” (p.103); Kewa cognate is *lindi* in EK or *iti* in WK<sup>27</sup>
- *túdú*; (p. 184): “story, fable” (p.108); Kewa cognate is probably *lindi*

We can see from both the Lang and Drapers’ dictionaries that there is considerable overlap in the meanings suggested for the entries.

### References

- Ari, Alex Yapua, collector and Holger Jebens, ed. 2015. *Storibuk Pairundu: Tales and legends of the Kewa (Southern Highlands, Papua New Guinea)*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Beier, Ulli, ed. 1977. *Kewa stores from the Southern Highlands: collected by Stephen Rambli and Frank Nimi*. Port Moresby: The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.
- Draper, Norm and Sheila. 2002. *Dictionary of Kyaka Enga: Papua New Guinea*. Pacific Linguistics 532. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Franklin, Karl J., ed. 1972. *Akuanuna iti remaanu buku*. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Franklin, Karl J. 1994. Synchronic and diachronic observations on Kewa and Proto-Engan deictics. In G.P. Reesink, ed. *Topics in descriptive Papuan linguistics*. Semaian 10. Valgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, pp. 1-40.

<sup>26</sup> Compare EK: *rema-ni*; SK: *rama-ni*; *rema-ni* in WK, all which refer to a courting song (also *rema-li* in SK); See also Franklin and Franklin 1978:217. The hyphen marks what I consider relic suffixes (Franklin 1997).

<sup>27</sup> \**lindi* > *iti*, where *l* >  $\emptyset$  and *-nd-* > *t.*; Kyaka cognate of Enga *tindi (pii)* is *sinju (pii)* ‘tale, story, legend, myth, folklore’ (Draper and Draper 2002:393). Drapers also list *arome (pii)* as ‘folklore, story, history’ and “tales of long ago, traditionally believed to be true (p. 91).



- Franklin, Karl J. 1997. Engan pronouns and their old endings. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, Volume 17.185-217.
- Franklin, Karl J. 2009. Etic and emic stories. *GIALens* 3(2).  
<http://www.gial.edu/images/gialens/vol3-2/Franklin-Etic-Emic-Stories.pdf>
- Franklin, Karl J. 2010. *Loosen your tongue: An introduction to storytelling*. Revised edition. Dallas, TX: The Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics.
2012. Kewa figures of speech: Understanding the code. In *Endangered Metaphors*, Anna Idström, Elisabeth Piirainen, and Kendra Willson (eds.), 185-204 [In the series *Cognitive Linguistic Studies in Cultural Contexts*]. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Franklin, Karl J and Joice Franklin, assisted by Yapua Kirapeasi. 1978. *A Kewa dictionary: with supplementary grammatical and anthropological materials*. Pacific Linguistics, C-53. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Franklin, Karl J. and Karol J. Hardin. 2012. Complaints in Kewa Letters. *Oceanic Linguistics* 51:34-57.
- Josephides, Lisette. 1983. Kewa stories and songs. *Oral History* 10(2).
- Josephides, Lisette. 1985. *The production of inequality: gender and exchange among the Kewa*. London and New York: Tavistock.
- Josephides, Lisette. 2008. *Melanesian Odysseys: Negotiating the self, narrative and modernity*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books
- Lang, Adrienne. 1973. *Enga dictionary: with English index*. Pacific Linguistics, C-20. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- LeRoy, John. 1983. Kewa legends. *Oral History* 11(1): 54-119.
- LeRoy, John. 1985a. *Kewa tales*. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press.
- LeRoy, John. 1985b *Fabricated world: An interpretation of Kewa tales*. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press.
- MacDonald, Mary N. 1991. *Mararoko: A study of Melanesian religion*. New York: Peter Lang (University Studies Series 11: Anthropology and Sociology 43).
- McElhanon, Kenneth A., ed. 1974. *Legends from Papua New Guinea*. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- McElhanon, Kenneth A., ed. 1982. *From the mouths of ancestors*. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Mihalic, F. 1971. *The Jacaranda dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Milton, Queensland: The Jacaranda Press.

Pavesic, Christine. 2005. *Ray Hicks and the Jack tales: A study of Appalachian history, culture and philosophy*. New York: iUniverse, Inc.

Slone, Thomas H., trans. and ed. 2001. *One thousand one Papua New Guinea nights: Folktales from Wantok newspaper. Volume 1: Tales from 1972—:1985. Volume 2: Tales from 1986—Indices, Glossary, References and Maps*. Oakland, CA: Masalai Press.