

LANGUAGE & LINGUISTICS IN MELANESIA

Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea ISSN: 0023-1959

Vol. 38, 2020



Finding PNG Culture and History in Narrative Texts

Joel Bradshaw, University of Hawai'i

Finding PNG Culture and History in Narrative Texts

Joel Bradshaw, University of Hawai‘i

The classic triad of language documentation consists of grammar, lexicon, and texts. Texts nowadays are primarily included to illustrate the language more than the history or culture of its speakers. But texts can often tell us quite a bit about cultural antecedents. This article provides examples from biographical and folkloric narratives from Morobe Province published in two Jabêm mission school readers in 1928 and 1955; from vernacular narratives collected in Morobe Province in 1975–76; and from more recent collections of stories about World War II experiences on Pacific Islands published in Hawai‘i, Australia, and Japan.¹

What Belongs in a Language Documentation Corpus?

Texts have always been an important component of documenting previously unrecorded languages, but their publication and dissemination have often lagged that of grammars and lexicons, which aim to capture and distill the major linguistic generalizations derived from analyzing texts and other elicited language data. Grammars and lexicons are generally of most interest to other linguists, but wordlists and texts are usually of greater interest to native speakers who want to document and preserve their languages. Texts were once very tedious to record, reproduce, and disseminate. They are still very tedious to process to current linguistic standards of time-aligned segmentation, transcription, and translation, but new technologies make digitally recorded texts the easiest to reproduce and share in audio and video file formats. New dictionary software has also made lexical data much easier to collect, organize, and share than it used to be.

Longer stretches of connected discourse are of course vital for understanding grammatical phenomena like the verb-serialization and switch-reference systems so widespread in Papua New Guinea languages, but texts can also play an especially important role in documenting otherwise unattested cultural and historical elements in endangered languages. That potential is what I would like to illustrate here. After all, as Ulrike Mosel (2018: 249) notes, the purpose of compiling textual corpora for endangered languages “is not exclusively to provide data for theoretical and applied linguistic research but also to document the speakers’ memory of the past, their oral literature, or *whatever they think is worthwhile* [emphasis added] to transmit to future generations in the form of annotated recordings and written texts.”

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea 52nd International Conference in Port Moresby on 23 September 2019, where comments and questions from the participants helped clarify several areas. I especially wish to thank LSPNG President Sakarepe Kamene, who is a speaker of Zia, a Binanderean language not far down the south coast of the Huon Gulf from my old Siboma village; and an anonymous referee, who among other helpful comments, called my attention to the valuable work of Japanese historian Hiromitsu Iwamoto (1999) and his large collection of oral interviews about PNG experiences in the Pacific War.

The original purpose of text collection was not just to illustrate language use, but to document endangered cultures during an era of “salvage ethnography” (Gruber 1970) in North America, where Franz Boas helped define the new discipline of ethnography. In those days, ethnography included language documentation, as the Boasian triad of grammar, lexicon, and text suggests. Over the years, linguistics and anthropology have drifted apart, so now “documentary linguists are mainly on their own when it comes to cultural documentation, because anthropology has for the most part already given up on this endeavor” Floyd (2018: 371–372). Schmitz (1960a, 1960b) was perhaps the last ethnographer of PNG to attempt coverage of a large culture area centered on the Huon Peninsula. (See Map.) Fortunately, in this era of widely available digital media, many more communities have the means to document and share elements of their own languages and cultures.



Map of Huon Gulf Area Languages

Publication of the First Jabêm Texts

In this light, it is instructive to peruse the list of topics covered in the first Jabêm reader published in 1928. (See Appendix 1: *Damalacnêŋ buku sêsamŋa* [Villagers' book for reading].) Jabêm was the lingua franca used in the Neuendettelsau Lutheran Mission's Jabêm Circuit, which included most speakers of Austronesian languages in Morobe Province—although the non-Austronesian, Binanderean-speaking Paiawa were included because of their close relationship with the Austronesian Siboma, as the Numbami were often called at the time. German missionary F. Bayer compiled and organized the texts, but most of the contributions were written by local people (Streicher 1982: 657), especially those in Part A, Our Land and Resources.

This reader used in Jabêm schools was a successful exercise in using local resources to build materials to promote literacy. During its heyday before and after World War II, about 30,000 people attended Jabêm elementary schools and as many as 70,000 people learned to read Jabêm (Streicher 1982: v). Even now, long after the demise of Jabêm schools, widespread familiarity with Jabêm liturgy and orthographic practices continues to influence communities aiming to design alphabets for their own village languages (Paris 2012, Schreyer 2015).

The early readings tell about cultural, economic, and historical lore of every major language group within the Jabêm Circuit at the time. One long story locates and names (in Jabêm) all the groups on the south coast of the Huon Gulf between Lae and Paiawa. Another describes the dispersal due to sickness of the southern Kala-speaking “Boaŋ” people from Lababia Island to settle along the coast to the south, in villages named (in Jabêm) Lababia, Buso, and Kuwi. A couple of short readings describe magic spells used by the Siboma to make their pigs grow faster, and spells used by the Kala to catch fish.

Myths and legends comprise another large set of readings. One tells the myth widely known around the Huon Gulf of how the hill Luamung uprooted itself from an island near Bombieng and moved to Lae because Bombieng ate all the best parts of the feasts that the Siboma and Paiawa provided the two islands.

There are many stories of conflicts between neighboring peoples, perhaps to remind readers about what life was like before the mission helped establish a Pax Germanica. Some of these stories apparently recounted events recent enough in the early 1920s that the names of key participants are cited. For instance, two stories apparently collected from Kuwi people name the Kuwi men who died fighting raiders from Morobe, and the Kuwi woman who was abducted by Siboma men. Another set of stories tells about first encounters with the Europeans. Such stories may have originated as personal narratives much like the Pacific War stories later told and retold after that traumatic era.

Two Major Cultural Watersheds

The people of Papua New Guinea experienced two major cultural watersheds within the space of just a few generations, and each provided countless stories that have been passed down to later generations. This phenomenon has been captured very succinctly by anthropologist Carl Thune (1989), who began his fieldwork in 1976, the same year I did my linguistic fieldwork in Morobe.

My introduction to recollections of World War II, and, indirectly, to what might be called ethnohistoriography, occurred during my first afternoon of fieldwork on Normanby Island in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea After I mentioned that I was interested in history, several older men gathered to talk about the past. To my surprise, the past they described contained only two clearly visible segments, the first associated with the arrival of W. E. Bromilow, the first missionary, on Dobu Island in 1891, the second with World War II. Why these two events were thought worth repeating to an obviously naive foreigner became clear during subsequent months of fieldwork on Normanby Island.

During my own fieldwork that year, I was fortunate to be able to attend a commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the arrival of Johann Flierl, the first Lutheran missionary in Morobe, and to be able to collect two stories of personal experiences during World War II. The first was a well-organized one from my host father, whose schooling was interrupted by the war. (He went on to teach in Jabêm schools after the war.) The other was a very lively tale by a locally renowned storyteller. Appendix 3 contains my translation of one passage from the latter story.

War Stories in Papua New Guinea

The Jabêm school reader was thoroughly revised and edited in 1955 by Matthias Lechner and Nêdeclabu Male, the latter a native speaker of Jabêm who had helped with Bible translation. (See Appendix 2: *Buku sêsamŋa II*.) The new edition included a whole new section (pp. 108–136) with 17 chapters about how the war affected New Guinea.² There was much fighting in Morobe Province and many people in the Jabêm Circuit were affected. The revised reader also included two sections with biographical sketches of the pioneering foreign missionaries and local evangelists since the arrival of the Lutheran Mission in New Guinea in 1886. It also considerably reduced its discussion of local food, flora and fauna, and foreign lands and customs.

Unfortunately, most English-language accounts of how the war affected local people in PNG are in unit histories written by Australians, which often emphasize the loyalty of locally recruited soldiers. White et al. (1988), White (1995), and Kwai (2017) present some indigenous perspectives on Solomon Islanders in World War II, but more indigenous perspectives on wartime experiences in PNG would be valuable. It is probably too late to collect any more firsthand accounts of events from eight decades ago, but Japanese historian Hiromitsu Iwamoto (1999) has assembled what would seem to be a gold mine of oral interviews (mostly in English) between 1992 and 2003 about the wartime experiences of 176 indigenous elders from eleven different provinces of PNG and Bougainville, although primarily from East New Britain, East Sepik, and Madang. A set of 50 DVDs containing these interviews is available at the UPNG Department of History, with a master set stored at the Centre for Asian Area Studies at Rikkyo University in Tokyo. A few other Pacific-area libraries may also have copies (see Notices 2008–2009).

War Stories in Micronesia

The islands of Micronesia were also very heavily affected by the Pacific War. After the U.S. defeated Spain and took control of the Philippines and Guam in 1898, Germany purchased the rest

² If I could find someone fluent enough in Jabêm to help translate those chapters into Tok Pisin, I would be happy to further translate them into English. Wagner and Reiner (1986: 176–186) provide a helpful timeline and many details of how the war affected Lutheran and Catholic missionaries working in Morobe, Madang, and a few other districts.

of Micronesia from Spain. But Japan occupied the former German colonies after 1914, when Germany went to war with Britain, Japan's ally at the time. The Japanese brought many settlers from Japan, Korea, and Okinawa to some of the islands and made the islands economically profitable. On a few islands, the Japanese population outnumbered the indigenous peoples. A whole generation of Micronesians grew up learning to speak Japanese and adapt to Japanese culture, so much so that the most comprehensive book about the colonial era was titled *Strangers in their own land* (Hezel 1995). When I did my first Pacific Islands fieldwork in Yap, Micronesia, in 1974, I could communicate in Japanese with people in their 50s. Micronesian languages also borrowed many, many Japanese loanwords that are still in common use.

The transition from Japanese to American administration during and after the war was a major cultural watershed, much more than the war itself on many of the islands that saw little fighting. Because Micronesia has far fewer languages and had many more foreign administrators, anthropologists, and linguists than PNG ever had, local languages and cultural traditions are much better documented than in much of PNG. Many firsthand memories of the Japanese era and the war years were recorded and later published in collections like White & Lindstrom's (1989) *The Pacific Theatre*, and Poyer, Falgout, & Carucci's (2001) *The Typhoon of War*.

Folklore

Myth is not history, as Australian attorney Peter Sack emphasized when the newly independent government of PNG asked him to determine who had the better land claim to the city of Lae in 1975, the coastal Bukawa or the inland Laewomba (Wampar). After surveying a wide range of scholarship and folklore, Sack concludes (1976: 115): "The strongest impression created by this survey may have been this: that traditional history in Papua New Guinea disintegrates the closer one looks ... so that only (very human) individuals remained, each occupying the centre of a complex network of changing personal relationships." He notes constant movement of peoples in what I later described as a "population kaleidoscope" (Bradshaw 1997). However, he does note a widely acknowledged distinction between coastal peoples and inlanders (called Kai in Jabêm). But even such distinctions are not permanent.

The account in the first Jabêm reader of all the groups living on the south side of the Huon Gulf (1928: 8–9) mentions that the coast below the last "Boaŋ" (southern Kala) village was empty all the way to Morobe. The story about Morobe warriors attacking Kuwi (1928: 114–115; 1955: 100–101) also mentions that the Siboma and Paiawa villagers were hiding in the forest, so Kuwi was the first coastal village they encountered. Another story (1955: 99–100) tells about how the Numbami used to live in the bush, how they fought with coastal Kuwi, and only became known as Siboma after they moved back down to the coast. In 1976 former Siboma village head Abu Bamo ('Big Grandfather') said his ancestors were inlanders from Bapi in the upper Waria River valley who had shared a village with the coastal Numbami for a time after the latter fled inland to avoid attacks by Morobe people from farther down the south coast. He said the Numbami came back down to the coast after getting attacked by gold prospectors who wanted the villagers to carry their cargo.

Examination of purely linguistic evidence also suggests that speakers of Oceanic languages once occupied much of the coast now occupied solely by speakers of Binanderean languages (Bradshaw

2017). Those villagers likely abandoned their ancestral languages for that of their more powerful neighbors and allies. Thus, evidence from personal narratives of old village conflicts or relationships sometimes supports or contradicts purely linguistic evidence. Despite conflicting points of view between accounts from different narrators, folk stories are extremely valuable in suggesting spheres of interaction in the past.

Creation Myths

Creation myths are even further removed from actual history. They cannot be taken literally, but they can also suggest depth of cultural contact. In the Huon Gulf, they suggest that shared culture transcends language-family boundaries, just as ancient Greeks and Romans once shared much of their mythology, despite different names for many of the gods and culture heroes they shared.

I recorded a Numbami origin story told so poorly that other speakers who helped me transcribe it could not refrain from retelling it in their own words. It was first told to me by an old man who had probably not rehearsed it for many years. My English translation is based on the Tok Pisin version translated by Leah Sawanga from my Numbami host family.

Long, long ago, Numbami villagers used to fear several kinds of monsters. Two were giant men called Ilimolo and Dolimolo. Others were the Sea Eagle, the Octopus, and the Moray Eel. These bad creatures would kill and eat people, so the Numbami were afraid and wanted to take refuge on a small island called Awayagi. All the men and women gathered at a canoe, but one young woman who wanted to go with them lacked a paddle, so one man told her to stay back. This man rose and said, "This is a bad time for all of us and we can't allow anyone to come along without a paddle." He said, "Everyone must have a paddle so that we can quickly paddle to the island." The mother of the young woman said, "All right, we two can stay while you all go." So all the people paddled to the island while the old woman and her daughter went back and stayed at a little point of land called Maito. The two of them built a village there for themselves. At this time, the daughter of the old woman was with child.

After the two lived there a while, the forest had covered up their house, so the people who went to Awayagi thought maybe the monsters had killed and eaten them. The two of them stayed there, and one day the old woman stayed home while her daughter went off to work in their garden. She trimmed the sugarcane and pulled weeds. As she was working, a sugarcane blade cut her hand. Blood gushed out. She got scared and dug two holes and drained her blood into them. After filling the two holes, she covered them up and carried food back home.

After that, the two of them didn't go back to the garden for a while. While they just stayed home, the girl's blood that filled the two holes turned into two little boys. Their names were Lefthand Man and Righthand Man. ...

This story may not be too useful for linguistic purposes, but it supports other evidence that Numbami speakers have dual origins, part coastal (Austronesian), part inlander (Binanderean). Stories of giant twin monsters in caves are more common among inlanders, while stories about giant sea eagles, octopuses, and moray eels are common among coastal peoples (Sack 1976: 111–113). Other similar origin stories, set in different locations near other villages, call the two heroes Weakboy and Strongboy.

Pomponio, Counts, and Harding (1994) have also published an insightful collection of articles about pairs of culture heroes found in creation myths from Northeast New Guinea, where the

relations between the two sons seem to echo early conflicts between Austronesians and Papuans, as well as more recently arrived Biblical tales of Jacob and Esau.

About twenty years ago, after examining a range of cultural as well as linguistic evidence from around the Huon Gulf, I came to the following conclusions (Bradshaw 2001: 299):

In the context of traditional New Guinea, political boundaries usually divide groups sharing a common language, while shared cultural complexes often unite groups speaking different languages. Moreover, all such boundaries shift constantly, as people physically relocate their residences or simply realign their allegiances. In the modern context, however, language boundaries have become increasingly salient primarily because people speaking mutually intelligible varieties of speech constitute a single market for vernacular literacy and Bible-translation efforts, not unlike Europe on the eve of its modern era. These efforts can turn language-defined markets into language-defined communities by creating a powerful new symbol of common identity: a vernacular language objectified and made tangible by reduction to writing, and standardized and legitimized by virtue of its educational and religious uses.

Handman (2015) describes the creation of just such a newly language-defined community now called Guhu-Samane, whose members now include people who lived in Kipu, Garaina, and other villages in the Waria River Valley and others who live on the coast at Paiawa. One of these inland villages, Bapi, at one time included many Numbami-speaking refugees from the coast.

Personal Narratives in Endangered Languages

Collecting reliable narratives is more difficult once a language has begun to go out of common use. People may not remember all the elements of old folktales they once heard, or old ways of hunting, gardening, or preparing food, clothing, and shelter. For instance, I mentioned above that I recorded a creation myth from an old man who was clearly long out of practice telling it. It is probably better to ask for stories about events that individuals personally experienced.

Fitzgerald & Lokosh (2016: 522) outline an approach to collecting texts in what they call a “narrative bootcamp” for the Native American language Chickasaw, “a severely threatened language ... no longer in common daily use.” They aim to collect narratives by elder fluent speakers, especially personal stories, where their memories of language use may be more reliable. In the words of Fitzgerald & Lokosh (2016: 529): “Autobiographical reminiscences are perhaps the most prevalent genre told today in oral storytelling The topics here are diverse, ranging from the misadventures of youth to traditional foodways to remembrances of boarding schools or traditional material culture, among other themes. Cultural practices including Chickasaw churches and medicinal traditions are also common themes.”

Another good reason for collecting personal narratives in local languages, it seems to me, is that stories about one’s actual ancestors are likely to be more interesting to descendants than stories about mythical ancestors. This may prompt people to put a little extra effort into preserving their ancestral heritage languages. When students in American schools are asked to choose a second language for study, heritage languages are among the most popular choices. Before World War I, German was a very frequent choice. Nowadays, Spanish is far more common. My daughter chose

Japanese because her high school had lots of students of Japanese heritage (she was the only redhead in her class), and her own family heritage includes many personal connections with Japan.

In my own efforts to document the language and ethnohistory of Numbami, I was motivated to learn quite a bit of Jabêm, which all the village elders had learned to read and write and speak, because of the wealth of local history and folklore already recorded in textbooks for the Jabêm schools. To learn more about the Jabêm language, I was motivated to improve my high-school German, since that was the language in which Jabêm had been most thoroughly described.

Narrative texts can thus be at least as important for documenting personal and family histories as they are for documenting the history and culture of larger ethnic groups. I would like to see more effort to collect and preserve narrative texts that tell stories unique to the speakers and to the communities whose languages are being documented. Stories with personal connections will help motivate descendants to investigate and preserve their own linguistic and cultural heritage. Multilingual speakers always have a choice about which languages to keep learning and which ones to let lapse.

Conclusion

Narrative texts provide far more than just grammatical data about connected discourse that might be of use to linguists, especially translators and educators. Personal histories often convey too-seldom documented indigenous perspectives on major social changes set in motion by local as well as global factors. They round out our knowledge of actual history. Accounts of local folklore can help document fading cultural practices, while local mythologies, whether grounded in actual events or not, can also suggest the erstwhile boundaries of spheres of shared cultural interactions, such as trade and kinship networks. They help identify prehistorical Kulturkreise, patterns of cultural diffusion over larger areas, rounding out our knowledge of regional cultures.

Appendix 1: *Damalacnêŋ buku sêsamŋa* (1928) table of contents³

- A. Our land and resources
 - I. This land's people and places (12): New Guinea, Melanesia & Papua, ... Sepik
 - II. Villagers' gardens and customs (25): washing sago, canoes, hooks for tuna, etc.
 - III. Old customs we still follow (6): reconciliation, compensatory feasts, games, etc.
 - IV. Old customs we have abandoned (12): curses, sorcery, casting spells, etc.
 - V. Admonitions/exhortations (10): shame, leaders, pig-hunting, gardens, etc.
 - VI. Prominent men (3): Old Obokoc, Old Wagaŋ, Old Malacsawa
 - VII. Legends (21): Righthand & Lefthand, Lôcwamuŋ & Bombijeŋ, etc.
 - VIII. Forgotten stories (7): Kêla men's house with ancestor carvings, etc.
 - IX. True stories (18): First encounters with Europeans, etc.
 - X. Stories of conflict (11): Kaiwa vs. sea people, Kuwi vs. Siboma, etc.
 - XI. Staple foods (6): manioc, sweet potato, yam, taro, rice, etc.
 - XII. Seasonal crops (14): betelnut, banana, cucumber, sago, sugarcane, tobacco, etc.
 - XIII. Birds (11): pigeons, cockatoos, cassowaries, seabirds, birds-of-paradise, etc.
 - XIV. Fish (12): tuna, Spanish mackerel, shark, crocodile, turtle, whale, etc.
 - XV. Animals (4): pig, dog, cuscus, wallaby
 - XVI. Biting land animals (5): wasp, scorpion, centipede, snake
- B. Foreign lands
 - I. Foreigners' lands (12): Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australia, etc.
 - II. Foreigners' stories (6): Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Alexander the Great, etc.
 - III. Foreigners' customs (7): European ships, cargo, airplanes, iron, coal, writing, etc.
 - IV. Foreigners' animals (7): cats, cattle, horses, camels, elephants, lions, etc.
 - V. Foreigners' fables (6): lion & mouse, eel & snake, mouse bells cat, etc.

Appendix 2: *Buku sêsamŋa II* (1955) table of contents⁴

- I. Customs we have abandoned (12): curses, sorcery, casting spells, etc.
- II. Village admonitions/exhortations (8): leadership, proper behavior for boys & girls, etc.
- III. Prominent men
 - A. Traditional leaders (3): Old Obokoc, Old Wagaŋ, Old Malacsawa
 - B. Church leaders (7): at Malaclo, Kaiapit, Lae; among Labu, Jabêm, etc.
- IV. Legends
 - A. Local (17): Righthand & Lefthand, octopus & breadfruit, ghost becomes pig, etc.
 - B. Some foreign (2): wasp vs. pigeon, king's confusion
- V. Old stories forgotten (15): about Buang, Yamap, wise old woman, etc.
- VI. True stories (22): Jabêm crisis, Kêla crisis, encounters with Europeans, etc.
- VII. Stories of conflict
 - A. Village conflicts (14): Kaiwa vs. sea people, Kuwi vs. Siboma, Morobe vs. Kuwi, etc.

³ According to Streicher (1982: 657), most of the readings in the 1928 volume were contributed by local people.

⁴ The 1955 edition was edited by Rev. M. Lechner and Nêdeclabu Male, the latter a native speaker of Jabêm, and the wording seems to be more sophisticated, with fewer typographical errors.

- B. European conflicts (17): stories from World War II in New Guinea
- VIII. The Mission:
- A. Some of our old missionaries (10): Flierl, Theile, Zahn, Lehner, Bayer, etc.
- B. Some mission stories (5): Flierl arrives at Simbang, catechists stay at Hote, etc.
- IX. Foreign lands (5): Australia, Asia, Europe, Africa, America

Appendix 3: The Schoolboy and the Japanese Straggler

The following story was told to me in 1976 by a Numbami man who was a noted traveler and storyteller whose nickname was “Samarai,” because he often told stories about his time in Milne Bay. The story is told in Numbami, but the Japanese straggler is quoted speaking his own pidgin. In my rough translation, I have tried to capture the storyteller’s idiom without presuming too much specialized knowledge on the part of readers. We can be sure the story has “improved” over countless retellings, but it nevertheless conveys a rare third-party perspective on the war.

We went and slept until the first crack of dawn when it was my time to sound reveille. So I went and struck the thing, you know, slitgong: “Kuing, kuing, kuing, kuing, kuing.” So then the boys woke up and bathed and washed their faces. When they finished, okay, the bell rang.

The bell rang and all the people went to school and were singing. As soon as they finished, I ran right up behind the school and stood atop a rock.

When I looked out, I could see as far as the Huon Gulf and, okay, it was completely dark.

I said, “Hey guys, come look at something. The boys said, “What is it?”

“Come look!” And when they looked, “Guys, let’s scatter!”

Okay, they went and gathered up their things and fled into the forest. Before we left, the guns started sounding, “Bum, bum, bum.” They were firing at the soldiers at Singkau and Kabwum and Lae and Salamaua. You could see fire and smoke all over the place.

Okay, all the Bukawa and Hopoi people went into the forest. I ran to my house and roasted some taro cakes under a tree. I planned to take two to eat in the forest.

I was doing that and our teacher Gidisai and his wife and kids came up. And just then a crazy Japanese man came up. He had no gun, no knife, just walking around empty-handed.

“E, Kapten!”

So I said, “What?”

“E, Kapten, Japan boi hangre, ya.”

“Oh, I don’t have any food.”

“A, banana sabis [= ‘free’], ya? Japan boi hangre, ya.”

The teacher said, “Are you crazy or what? You go fight!”

“O, nogat, ya. Japan boi sik na hangre, ya.”

“Oh.” I heard that so I stayed and thought, “Oh, if he stays there, the guns will kill our teacher for sure.” So I stood by and didn’t go into the forest.

I was standing there waiting and, suddenly, “Japan boi, yu mekim wanem?”

“Boi, hangre, a, imo [= ‘tuber’] sabis, ya? Imo sabis?”

“O, imo planti planti istap faia. Olgeta sabis [= ‘all free’]! Kam kaikai!”

He went and sat down and ate taro and I said to the teacher, “You all go quickly!”

So they ran way over into the forest and hid themselves in the rocks. And then I said, “Japan boi! Yu kaikai. Yu stap. Yu slip haus. Mi go.”

“Mm.”

Okay. I took my things and ran into the forest.

References

- Bayer, F., ed. 1928. *Damalacnêh buku sêsamŋa* [Villagers' book for reading]. Finschhafen: Lutheran Mission.
- Bradshaw, Joel. 1997. The population kaleidoscope: Another factor in the Melanesian diversity v. Polynesian homogeneity debate. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106: 222–249.
- . 2001. Language, culture, and community boundaries around the Huon Gulf of New Guinea. In *Archaeology, language, and history: Essays on culture history and ethnicity*, ed. by John Edward Terrell, pp. 283–306. Westport: Bergin & Garvey.
- . 2017. Evidence of contact between Binanderean and Oceanic languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 56: 395–414.
- . 2019. Review of *Critical Christianity: Translation and denominational conflict in Papua New Guinea*, by Courtney Handman (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015). *Oceanic Linguistics* 59: 147–151.
- Fitzgerald, Colleen M., and Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). 2016. Collecting texts in endangered languages: The Chickasaw narrative bootcamp. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 10: 522–547.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2018. Tools from the ethnography of communication for language documentation. In *The Oxford handbook of endangered languages*, ed. by Kenneth L. Rehg and Lyle Campbell, pp. 370–398. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gruber, Jacob. 1970. Ethnographic salvage and the shaping of anthropology. *American Anthropologist* (n.s.) 72: 1289–1299.
- Handman, Courtney. 2015. *Critical Christianity: Translation and denominational conflict in Papua New Guinea*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Hezel, Francis X. 1995. *Strangers in their own land: A century of colonial rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 13. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Iwamoto, Hiromitsu. 1999. *Nanshin: Japanese settlers in Papua and New Guinea, 1890–1949*. Canberra: Journal of Pacific History, Australian National University. https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/132632/1/JPH_Nanshin.pdf
- Kwai, Anna Annie. 2017. *Solomon Islanders in World War II: An indigenous perspective*. State, Society and Governance in Melanesia. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22459/SIWWII.12.2017>. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Lechner, Matthias, and Nêdeclabu Male, eds., 1955. *Buku sêsamŋa II* [Book for reading, 2d. ed.] Madang: Lutheran Mission Press.
- Mosel, Ulrike. 2018. Corpus compilation and exploitation in language document projects. In *The Oxford Handbook of Endangered Languages*, ed. by Kenneth L. Rehg and Lyle Campbell, pp. 248–270. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Notices. 2008–2009. Donation of DVDs on World War II in PNG. *South Pacific Journal of Philosophy and Culture* 10. <https://sites.google.com/view/spjpc/past-issues>
- Paris, Hannah. 2012. Sociolinguistic effects of church languages in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 214: 39–66.
- Pomponio, Alice, David R. Counts, Thomas G. Harding, guest eds. 1994. *Children of Kilibob: Creation, cosmos, and culture in Northeast New Guinea*. Pacific Studies Special Issue, vol. 17, no. 4. Laie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University—Hawai'i.
- Poyer, Lin, Suzanne Falgout, Laurence Marshall Carucci. 2001. *The typhoon of war: Micronesian experiences of the Pacific War*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Sack, Peter G. 1976. *The bloodthirsty Laewomba? Myth and history in Papua New Guinea*. Lae: The Morobe District Historical Society.
- Schmitz, Carl A. 1960a. *Historische Probleme in Nordost-Neuguinea: Huon Halbinsel*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- . 1960b. Verwandtschaftsnamen und Kulturschichten im Nordosten von Neuguinea. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 85: 1–16.
- Schreyer, Christine. 2015. Community consensus and social identity in alphabet development: The relationship between Kala and Jabêm. *Written language and literacy* 18: 175–199.
- Streicher, J. F. 1937. *Woerterbuch Deutsch–Jabêm*. Mimeo.
- . 1982. *Jabêm–English dictionary*. Series C-68. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. (First compiled by Heinrich Zahn in 1917; later translated and revised by J. F. Streicher.)
- Thune, Carl E. 1989. The making of history: The representation of World War II on Normanby Island, Papua New Guinea. In *The Pacific theater: Island representations of World War II*, ed. by Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, pp. 231–256. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 8. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Wagner, Herwig, and Hermann Reiner. 1986. *The Lutheran church in Papua New Guinea: The first hundred years, 1886–1986*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House.
- White, Geoffrey M. 1995. Remembering Guadalcanal: National identity and transnational memory-making. *Public Culture* 7(3): 529–555. doi.org/10.1215/08992363-7-3-529.
- , and Lamont Lindstrom, eds. 1989. *The Pacific theater: Island representations of World War II*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 8. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- , David W. Gegeo, David Akin, and Karen Watson-Gegeo, eds. 1988. *The Big Death: Solomon Islanders remember World War II [Bikfala Faet: Olketa Solomon Aelanda rimembarem Wol Wo Tu]*. Solomon Islands College of Higher Education and the University of the South Pacific. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Zahn, Heinrich. 1996. *Mission and music: Jabêm traditional music and the development of Lutheran hymnody*, trans. by Philip W. Holzknecht and ed. by Don Niles. Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.