

INTRODUCTION

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This volume, in a sense, forms a sequel to *Studies in Irian Languages, Part 1*, which was published as *NUSA* Volume 40, 1996. That volume presented grammatical sketches of some languages, a study of tones in Mpur, and an overview of morpho-syntactic features found in the languages of the Bird's Head peninsula of the eastern-most Indonesian province Irian Jaya, since January 2000 known as Papua. Now that more detailed publications on some languages have become available, it seemed appropriate to present data from all the languages studied, in the form of analyzed and annotated texts. A conversation I had with Dr. Bambang Kaswanti Purwo in October 1999 was instrumental in shaping this volume. We felt that it would be beneficial to both linguists and anthropologists to have a collection of texts from the oral traditions of these languages. Each text is preceded by a short introduction giving some general information about the language. Alternative names, in some cases actually referring to a certain dialect, which have been used in the literature are listed, as well as other publications dealing with the particular language.

The contributions are arranged, roughly, from west to east throughout the Bird's Head peninsula (see map). The first eight languages are all West-Papuan. That is to say, in earlier classifications most of them were said to belong to the West-Papuan Phylum, to which also the Non-Austronesian languages of North-Halmahera belong, while Hatam was considered a phylum-level isolate. The languages along the south coast, which have Inanwatan as representative, are considered to belong to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

To what extent such branching classification for the languages of this area is valid is still a matter for debate and further research. Thus, at this moment I refrain from identifying lower order family classifications, although it is clear that Moi and Tehit in the western Bird's Head are rather closely related, given the shared feature of ablaut in (some) verb stems indicating plurality. Likewise, the genetic relationship between Meyah and Sougb in the eastern half is evident, given the shared constraint on certain vowels as verb-initial elements. Such definite statements cannot yet be made for the other languages presented in this volume, although general typological similarities are easily seen from the brief introductions and the actual text materials.

One of the main difficulties is that clear correspondences in the various vocabularies are rather sparse. Another problem is presented by the evidence for centuries-old contact between these languages among themselves as well as with linguistic outsiders, so that possible loans are not easily distinguished from genetic remnants. More detailed discussion of these issues can be found in other publications (Reesink 1996, 1998, 2000, De Vries 1998).

One thing that has become clear from the more recent research is that all kinds of features have spread from and to neighboring Austronesian languages. In the texts, the more recent loans from

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Indonesian (or rather, the local Malay variants) have been marked in **bold** print, while occasionally footnotes discuss other kinds of possible links.

We have tried as much as possible to use the same glossing conventions for grammatical morphemes, and thus only one list of **abbreviations** for the whole volume is given.

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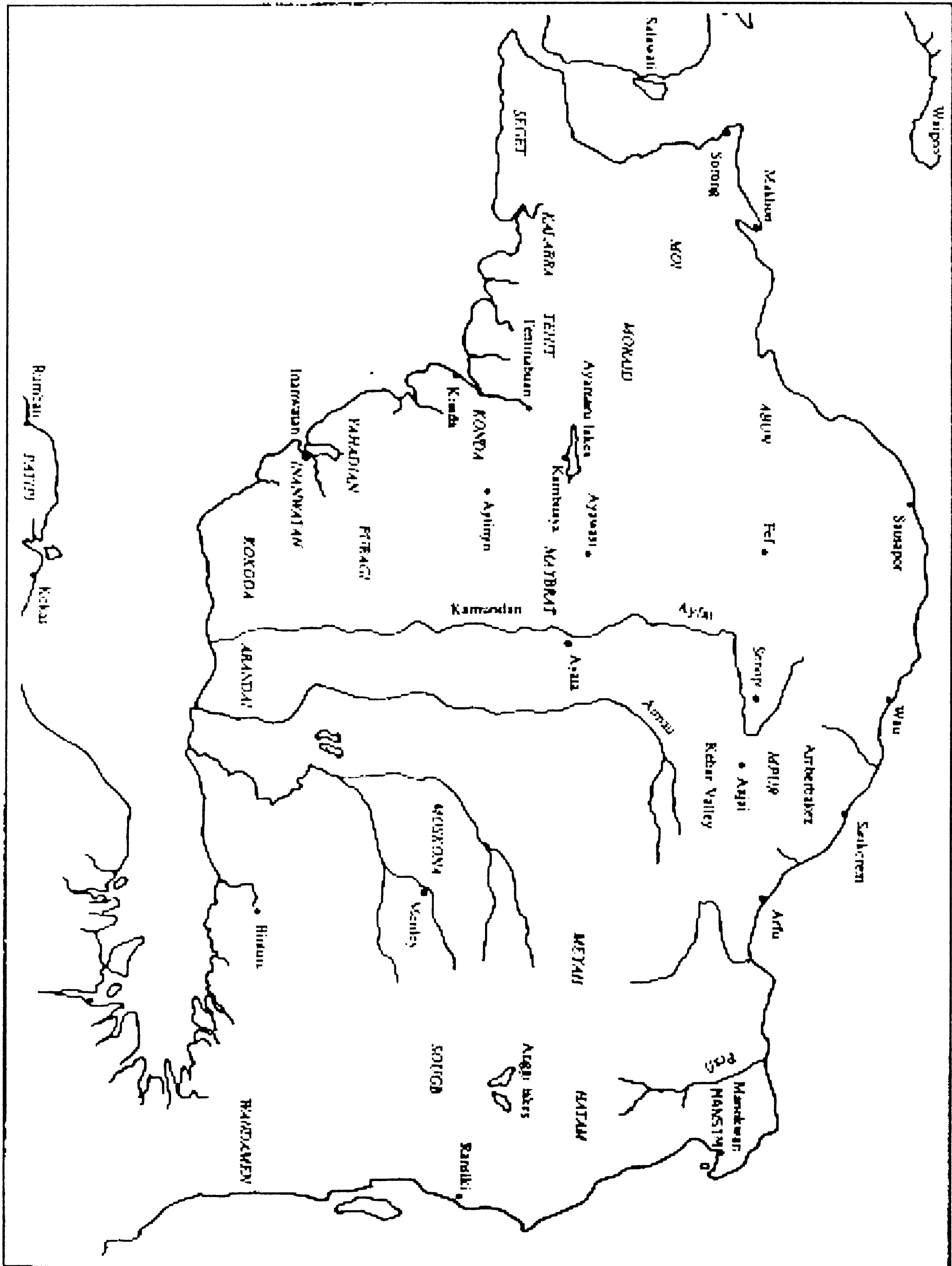
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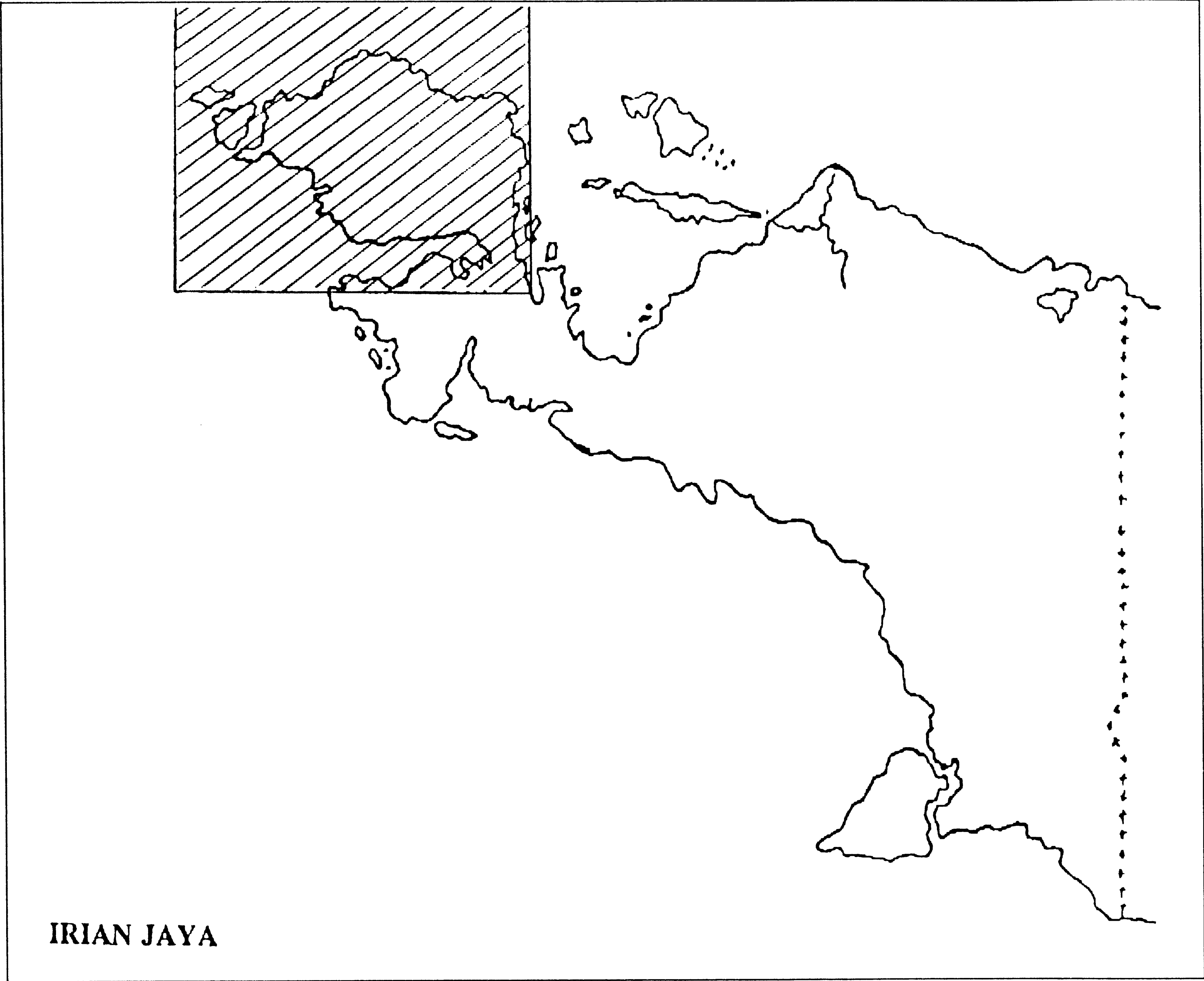
Abbreviations

ϕ	zero morpheme (3SG)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADV	adverbialiser
ANA	anaphoric
ART	article
CAM	completive aspect marker
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
CIT	citation marker
CL	clitic
CLF	classifier
COM	complementizer
COMP	completive
CONN	connective
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMP	emphatic
ENT	entreaty
ENUM	enumerator
EXC	exclusive
F	feminine
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
GENR	general
H	human
HAB	habitual
HES	hesitation
HORT (M)	hortative (mild)
INC	inclusive
INCEP	inceptive
IND	indicative
INS	instrument
INT	intensifier
IRR	irrealis
LNK	linker
LOC	locative
MEAS	measure noun
MOD	modal

NEG	negative
NH	non-human
NOM	nominaliser
PAST	past tense
PART	particle
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
POS	possessive
PRED	predicate marker
PRES	present
PRESTT	presentative
PRO	protest
Q	question marker
QUOT	quote marker
RC	relative clause
RE	realis
RECIP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REF	reflexive
REL	relative marker
RES	resultative connective
SF	singular feminine
SG	singular
SM	singular masculine
SPEC	specific
SUBJ	subject
TR	transitional sound
U	unmarked
VBL	verbaliser
VOC	vocative

Language groups in the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya





MOI

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Moi is spoken by approximately 4000 people (Grimes 1992:578) in the *kecamatan*s (subdistricts) Salawati, Sorong, and Makbon of the *kabupaten* (regency) Sorong in the West Bird's Head of Irian Jaya (Silzer and Heikkinen 1991:64). To what extent the Moi language is still spoken on the island of Salawati is not clear. Van der Leeden (1993:11) reports: "The language map of East Salawati is complex because of the influx of several variants of the Moi language from the opposite coast of the Bird's Head. Moi people have since times immemorial settled on Salawati [...] They still possess traditions which connect them with the continent, but they freely intermarry with the eastern Salawatis. They have become integrated into the latter's communities and speak Butleh or Kawit."

The Moi people themselves distinguish two main dialects in their language: *Moi asli* and *Moi Segin*. *Moi Segin* is spoken in the villages Kalasaman, Aimas, Mariat Pantai, Kalamono, Yeflio, Segun and Gisim. *Moi asli* is spoken in Makbon, Batulobang, Malaumkarta, Asbaken, Dela, Mega, Kalayili and Sayosa.

Moi has fourteen phonemic consonants: voiced and voiceless contrasts at three points of articulation: p, b, t, d, k, g; two nasals: m and n; two fricatives: f and s, two liquids: r and l, and two semi-vowels: w and y. Only the voiceless velar stop *k*, the two nasals *m* and *n* and the trill *r* can occur in word-final position. The latter phoneme does not occur word-initially.

There are fourteen vowel phonemes in Moi: five short and five long vowels: i, ii, e, ee, a, aa, u, uu, o, oo and four diphthongs: ei, ai, ou, au.

Morphology in Moi is relatively simple. Verbs must take a prefix agreeing in person and number with the subject. Nouns can also take a prefix to indicate possession. Nouns denoting kinship terms and body parts must be prefixed to indicate inalienable possession. The verbal prefixes are identical to the nominal prefixes and the form of this prefix is similar to the form of the free pronoun. In the Moi pronominal system a three way distinction is made in the third person singular: masculine, feminine and non-human. In the third person plural only a distinction is made between human and non-human. Furthermore, inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished in the first person plural.

A demonstrative is always morphologically complex. The constituents indicate the position in space (optional), distance and number/gender. An example is given in (1).

- (1) *Aali-ki-ow*
 below-FAR-3SM
 He/it down there.

The unmarked structure of a clause is Subject-Verb-Object and of a noun phrase it is Noun-Adjective-Numeral-Demonstrative. A striking characteristic in Moi syntax is the occurrence of sequences of verbs. Prepositional, directional and aspectual notions are or may be expressed through verbs.

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With regard to prepositional verbs a distinction can be made between same-subject verb sequences and different-subject verb sequences. In a same-subject verb sequence the subject prefix of both the main verb and the prepositional verb refer to the same subject, as in (2).

- (2) *Eeges Bainkete p-oolom p-au a Madele pu-tuk*
 earth Bainkete 3S.NH-sit 3S.NH-at.SG LNK Madele 3S.NH-bay

The Bainkete area lies at the Makbon bay.

In a different-subject verb sequence the subject of the prepositional verb refers to the zero-object of the main verb, as in (3).

- (3) *Aa-y-ei n-oosu man-ow*
 DU-3PL.H-pull 3PL.NH-to seawards-3SM

The two of them pulled them (=boats) to the sea.

Deictic directional marking is expressed through the verbs *-aana* (sg.)/ *-iini* (pl.) 'to go' and *-aama* (sg) / *-iimi* (pl.) 'to come', as in (4) and (5). There is no intonational break between the two verbs.

- (4) *Miye po-solo p-aana le*
 child 3S.NH-jump 3S.NH-go landwards

The child jumped onto the land

- (5) *Nee-laagi m-aalim m-aama*
 person-woman 3SF-go.up 3SF-come

A woman went up in this direction.

Perfective aspect can be indicated by the verb *-ein* 'to finish', and may occur in combination with the clitic *s* indicating perfective. Verb sequences of this kind be may be of the type same subject (6) or different subject (7) and (8).

- (6) *Te-miye ow se p-aagi p-ein se*
 1SG-child 3SM PERF 3S.NH-dead 3S.NH-finish PERF

My child, it is already dead.

- (7) *M-ei kiiyouk p-ein ma-saak aliwe*
 3SF-pull k.o. rope 3SG:NH-finish 3SF-tie snare

After she had pulled a *kiiyouk*-rope, she made a snare.

- (8) *Yu-guyuk p-ein y-oosu keik*
 3PL.H-burly 3S.NH-finish 3PL.H-to house

After they had burried it, they went home.

For some further details on Moi, see Menick (1996). A more detailed description is still in preparation.

Ligin eeges Bainkete

The story of Bainkete

Told by Nico Kuatolo (+), Makbon, 15 September 1994

- (1) *Ta-sasini ligin eeges Bainkete.*
1SG-story word earth Bainkete

I tell the story of the Bainkete area.

- (2) *Eeges Bainkete p-oolom p-au a Madele*
earth Bainkete 3S.NH-sit 3S.NH-at.SG LNK Madele

pu-tuk p-oosu moo-sauk p-oolo
3S.NH-bay 3S.NH-to wind-south 3S.NH-origin

p-au desa Makbon kecamatan Makbon.
3S.NH-at.SG village Makbon subdistrict Makbon

The Bainkete area lies at the Makbon bay, to the southwind's origin, at the village Makbon, subdistrict Makbon.

- (3) *Bainkete p-ai ligin Moi pa-mana a*
Bainkete 3S.NH-with word Moi 3S.NH-say LNK

Bainkete p-ai ligin Biyek pa-mana a Baingete.
Bainkete 3S.NH-with word Biak 3S.NH-say LNK Baingete

Bainkete in the Mooi language it is said Bainkete, in the Biak language it is said Baingete.

- (4) *Ne a m-oolom m-ai Bainkete a*
person LNK 3SF-sit 3SF-at.SG Bainkete LNK
- m-aamu ton m-e me-keedi se a Seben*
3SF-go first 3SF-EMP 3SF-name PERF LNK Seben

The first woman who lived at Bainkete, her name was Seben.

- (5) *Me-miye-dala meele pe-keedi se a Amis*
3SF-child-man one 3S.NH-name PERF LNK Amis

Her only boy was called Amis.

- (6) *Kedi meele koolu se Amis w-aali ma a aalam ow.*
time one INDEF PERF Amis 3SM-follow ART LNK raid 3SG.M

At a certain time Amis went with a raid.

- (7) *Y-uumu y-oosu a Beraur*
3PL.H-walk 3PL.H-to LNK Beraur

They went to Beraur.

- (8) *Y-iini a ya-kafam.*
3PL.H-go LNK 3PL.H-war

They went, they held a war.

- (9) *Y-iini yi-sik ma aalam p-ein*
 3PL.H-go 3PL.H-do ART raid 3S.NH-finish
y-oosu se Amis y-uumu ketek
 3PL.H-to PERF Amis 3PL.H-walk leave.behind
w-aafi w-ai a Raam.
 3SM-stay.behind 3SM-at.SG LNK Raam

After they had gone and carried out the raid, and when they went back, Amis they left behind, he stayed at Raam.

- (10) *Aalam p-oosu p-ilik ma a Bainkete.*
 raid 3S.NH-to 3S.NH-arrive ART LNK Bainkete

The raid went as far as Bainkete.

- (11) *Dime a me-keedi Seben m-e mi-wiunik wai te-miye*
 mother LNK 3SF-name Seben 3SF-EMP 3SF-ask to 1SG-child
ow se p-aagi p-ein se
 3SM PERF 3S.NH-dead 3S.NH-finish PERF

The mother whose name was Seben asked: My child, has it died?

- (12) *Awe p-oolom p-ai se w-a*
 or 3S.NH-sit 3S.NH-at.SG PERF 3S.NH-Q

Or where is it?

- (13) *Aalam pa-mana eh ne-miye ma mam-uumu*
 raid 3S.NH-say eh 2SG-child ART 1EXC-walk
ketek p-au a ees Raam ow
 leave.behind 3S.NH-at.SG LNK island Raam 3SM

The raid (people) said: Eh, your child, we left it behind at Raam island.

- (14) *Mu-waani ligin ow se ma-lan po-bok duwo ow-s*
 3SF-hear word 3SG PERF 3SF-stomach 3S.NH-good NEG 3SM-PERF

After she had heard these words, she felt not good anymore.

- (15) *Dewe lauk se m-aamu*
 sun morning PERF 3SF-go
mu-wain ma a labosa-kedi ow sin-keedi ow
 3SF-load ART LNK axe-? 3SM knife-? 3SM
kawak-yuuk ow yawawilin p-aabok ow
 stone-dipper 3SM sago.flour 3S.NH-rest 3SM

mi-sik ma ni lun
3SF-take ART till inside

The next morning, she went, she loaded the old axe, the old sword, the polish-stone, the rest of sago flour, she took it inside.

- (16) *M-aana ma bain pi-gik man-ow*
3SF-go ART sand 3S.NH-mouth seawards-3SM

She went to the beach.

- (17) *Me-pelek m-ai mafen*
3SF-turn.over 3SF-with sea.turtle

She changed into a sea-turtle.

- (18) *Me-teefe ma m-ein ow*
3SF-dive ART 3SF-from 3SM

She dived from there.

- (19) *Ma-sa-feden pe ow kawak sabaalak*
3SF-head-arrive at 3SM stone bald
p-oolo m-aalin m-aana laan m-eegen-toobo
3S.NH-origin 3SF-go.up 3SF-go above 3SF-look-?

She appeared at a bald stone, she went up, she looked.

- (20) *M-eegen me-miye dau koolu*
3SF-look 3SF-child not INDEF

She didn't see her child.

- (21) *M-iisik ke ma suk ow me-feden*
3SF-hide.in.water to² ART again 3SM 3SF-arrive
pe ma suk k-ow kawak Fir.
at ART again NEAR-3SM stone Fir

She dived there again, she came again at the stone Fir.

- (22) *M-aalin m-aana laan m-eegen won se*
3SF-go.up 3SF-go above 3SF-look try PERF
ni m-eegen dau a kam a kolu.
till 3SF-look not LNK thing LNK INDEF

After she had gone up and tried to see, she didn't see anything.

² Perhaps *ke* is a variant of *pe* 'to' or a Malay loan, with the same meaning?

- (23) *M-iisik ke ma suk ow me-feden ke*
 3SF-hide.in.water to ART again 3SM 3SF-arrive to
suk ow Mikir
 again 3SM Mikir

She dived there again, she came again at Mikir (Tanjung Batulobang).

- (24) *M-aalim m-aana laan m-eegen m-eegen*
 3SF-go.up 3SF-go above 3SF-look 3SF-look
dau a kam a koolu.
 not LNK thing LNK INDEF

She went up, she went up above (the water), she looked, she didn't see anything.

- (25) *M-iisik ke ma suk ow me-feden ke*
 3SF-hide.in.water to ART again 3SM 3SF-arrive to
ma k-ow kawak Munmoolo.
 ART NEAR-3SM stone Munmoolo

She dived there again, she came there at the Munmoolo stone.

- (26) *M-aalin m-aana laan m-eegen m-eegen*
 3SF-go.up 3SF-go above 3SF-look 3SF-look
dau a kam a kolu.
 not LNK thing LNK INDEF

She went up, she went (out of the water), she looked, she didn't see anything.

- (27) *Me-teefe ma suk m-ein ma ow me-feden ma*
 3SF-dive ART again 3SF-from ART 3SM 3SF-arrive ART
k-ow Tanjung Kasuari.
 NEAR-3SM Tanjung Kasuari

She dived again from there, she came at Tanjung Kasuari (= Cape Cassowary).

- (28) *M-aalin m-aana laan ma-sa-solo se*
 3SF-go.up 3SF-go above 3SF-head-jump PERF
me-pelek mu-suwoo p-oosu a Raam le-ki-w
 3SF-turn.over 3SF-eye 3S.NH-to LNK Raam land(wards)-FAR-3S.NH

She went up, and when she had come out of the water, she turned her eyes to Raam there.

- (29) *M-eegen ma a me-miye a w-aamu ma a*
 3SF-look ART LNK 3SF-child LNK 3SM-go ART LNK
bain pi-gik le-ki-w.
 sand 3S.NH-mouth land(wards)-FAR-3S.NH

She saw her child that walked on the beach there.

- (30) *Mo-lowok se.*
3SF-happy PERF
She was satisfied³.
- (31) *Me-teefe ma suk m-ein ma ow*
3SF-dive ART again 3SF-from ART 3SM
ma-sa-feden ma a bain pi-gik ma a Raam
3SF-head-arrive ART LNK sand 3S.NH-mouth ART LNK Raam
She dived again from there, she appeared at the beach at Raam.
- (32) *Ma-sa-feden wook m-ai ma se a me-miye*
3SF-head-arrive exactly 3SF-at.SG ART PERF LNK 3SF-child
p-aamu p-oke ma ow
3S.NH-go 3S.NH-follow ART 3SM
She had already appeared exactly there (where) her child walked there.
- (33) *Miye aana-k-ow p-ibili*
child go-NEAR-3SM 3S.NH-get.up
p-atok p-oka mafen kam-peelee koolu ma s-ow.
3S.NH-startled 3S.NH-assume sea.turtle thing-big INDEF ART PERF-3SM
The child got up, startled, thinking that it was a big sea-turtle.⁴
- (34) *Wi-sik ma a lete aana-k-ow*
3SM-get ART LNK fish.spear go-NEAR-3SM
wa-mana we-kalak won matu.
3SM-say 3SM-stab try EMP
He took the spear, he wanted to stab (it).⁵
- (35) *W-atok pe dime k-om a*
3SM-startled because mother NEAR-3SF LNK
m-ibili ma m-ein ma a taasik aali-ow.
3SF-get.up ART 3SF-from ART LNK sea below-3SM
He was startled, because it was his mother who stood up from the sea down there.
- (36) *Me-ben ma a ma-sakolok k-ow*
3SF-hit ART LNK 3SF-hair.bun NEAR-3SM

³ The word *lowok* is also used in contexts where 'arrogant' seems appropriate, as the Malay gloss *sombong* suggests.

⁴ Note the alternation between 3S.NH *p-* and 3SM *w-* in the verbal prefixes! Both have the same referent, *miye*, which, although referring to a human, normally cross-references with 3S.NH.

⁵ Notice the typical (Papuan) usage of the verb 'to say' for intention. During the transcription the speaker identified the form *won* as Malay *mau* 'want'.

She hit her hair bun.⁶

- (37) *Ma-mana matu na-kalak suk tamena?*
 3SF-say EMP 2SG-stab again why

She said: Why do you stab me?⁷

- (38) *Te-feden kemaina t-aamu-san nin om.*
 1SG-arrive because 1SG-go-accept 2SG EMP

I came because I (want to) meet you.⁸

- (39) *Yah w-ai dime a-y-oosu ma*
 yes 3SM-with mother DU-3PL.H-to ART
le-ki-w a-y-oolom
 land(wards)-FAR-3S.NH DU-3PL.H-sit

Yes, he and his mother they both went to land, they both stayed (= lived together).

- (40) *Aa-y-oolom p-au ma ow e p-ein-aak kiyem.*
 DU-3PL.H-sit 3S.NH-at.SG ART 3SM EMP 3S.NH-from-long little

The two of them lived together for quite a long time.

- (41) *Dime ma-mana matu aa-wa-fasos kama*
 mother 3SF-say EMP DU-1INC-make boat
aa-wa-fasos kama sa fee
 DU-1INC-make boat CLF ten

The mother said: Let's make a boat, let's make ten boats.

- (42) *Yah w-ai dime aa-ya-fasos ma a kama.*
 yes 3SM-with mother DU-3PL.H-make ART LNK boat
aana-k-en kama sa fee.
 go-NEAR-DEM.PL.NH boat CLF ten
aana-k-en n-aaguk.
 go-NEAR-DEM.PL.NH 3PL.NH-ready

Yes, he and his mother the two of them made those boats, the ten boats were ready.

- (43) *Aa-y-oon ma a poolos en*
 DU-3PL.H-make.paddle ART LNK paddle DEM.PL.NH

They made the paddles.

⁶ It is not clear what this means.

⁷ *tamena* was explained to mean 'why'. Perhaps its morphological make-up is *t-ai we-ma* '1SG-at because-ART'

⁸ *kemaina* alternates with *p-ai main a* and *pe main a* or with *pe*, all glossed as 'because'.

- (44) *Masaagu a aa-y-ei n-oosu man-ow*
 then LNK DU-3PL.H-pull 3PL.NH-to seawards-3SM
aa-ye-saak.
 DU-3PL.H-tie.up
 Then, they pulled them to the sea, they tied (them) up.
- (45) *Aa-ya-saak na-kaata*
 DU-3PL.H-tie.up 3PL.NH-hard
 They tied them firmly.
- (46) *Miye aana-k-ow w-uunuk wai*
 child go-NEAR-3SM 3SM-think about
p-au ma se wa-lan ow keh iteme
 3S.NH-at.SG ART PERF 3SM-stomach 3SM INT mother
ma-mana a aa-ma-fasos kama sabuuk kediye
 3SF-say LNK DU-1EXC-make boat many thus
 The child thought by himself: Hey, why did mother say the two of us make many boats?⁹
- (47) *Aa-mo-poolos taik nak na*
 DU-1EXC-paddle alone ? Q
 We row just alone, right?¹⁰
- (48) *Kedi meelee koolu se miye k-ow wi-wiunik wai*
 time one INDEF PERF child NEAR-3SM 3SM-ask to
Iteme na-mana ma se a aa-wa-fasos kama sabuuk kediye?
 mother 2SG-say ART PERF LNK DU-1INC-make boat many how
 At one time the child asked: Mother, why did you say this we make many boats.
- (49) *Aa-wa-fasos taik nak na?*
 DU-1INC-make alone ? Q
 The two of us just row by ourselves, right?
- (50) *Dime me-pelek dau a ligin koolu.*
 mother 3SF-return not LNK word INDEF
 The mother didn't answer a word.
- (51) *Dewe a w-ai a y-uunuk-mana y-uumu ma ow se*
 sun LNK 3S.NH-for LNK 3PL.H-think-say 3PL.H-walk ART 3SM PERF
 The day of their planned departure had come.

⁹ The form *kediye* probably means Malay *begini* 'thus'. Or is it a classifier here? Not quite clear.

¹⁰ The form *nak* is not clear? It could include the prefix for 3PLNH *n-*, but what is *-ak*?

- (52) *Dime ma-fai ma a ligin p-oosu ma a*
 mother 3SF-speak ART LNK word 3S.NH-to ART LNK
me-miye w-ai t-amo nin dewe aa-w-uumu matu
 3SF-child 3SM-at.SG 1SG-anak 2SG sun DU-1INC-walk EMP

The mother said to her child: My child, you, tomorrow the two of us go.

- (53) *Lauk aa-w-ei dadi ma a kama ni ma a*
 morning DU-1INC-pull all ART LNK boat till ART LNK
bain pi-gik.
 sand 3S.NH-mouth

In the morning we pull all the boats onto the beach.

- (54) *Aa-w-awuk ma a poolos n-uu dadi ma a*
 DU-1INC-put ART LNK paddle 3PL.NH-at.PL all ART LNK
gelek kama p-odor aa-wa-neesek w-aana.
 middle boat 3S.NH-inside DU-1INC-arrange.in.a.row 3S.NH-go

The two of them put all the paddles down in the middle of the boats, they placed them in a row.

- (55) *Aa-w-awuk ma a poolos-ban aana-k-en*
 DU-1INC-put ART LNK paddle-backseat go-NEAR-DEM.PL.NH

They put them in the back of the boat.¹¹

- (56) *Maasagu n-aana n-ei kii-yuugu masaagu no-koolo*
 then 2SG-go 2SG-pull rope-? then 2SG-cut
tik no-koolo ma t-ein nu-su ma a te-kem en
 1SG 2SG-cut ART 1SG-finish 2SG-stab ART LNK 1SG-meat DEM.PL.NH
e te-kem aali n-uu kii-suwe meelee
 EMP 1SG-meat two 3PL.NH-at.PL rope-ko.rope one

Then, (the mother said): you go, you pull the *kiiyuugu* rope, then you cut me, you cut me completely, you thread my meat, my two (pieces of) meat on one *kiisuwe* rope.

- (57) *Masaagu ni-sik p-ein ne-wiyek ma*
 then 2SG-do 3S.NH-finish 2SG-hang ART
n-uu ma se a polos ma n-iini n-ein
 3PL.NH-at.PL ART PERF LNK paddle ART 3PL.NH-go 3PL.NH-finish
dik biti.
 all EMP

Then, after you have done that, you hang it there, the paddles there, (they all are finished).

¹¹ It is not clear whether *polos-ban* is perhaps *polos n-uu ban* 'paddle 3PLNH-at.PL backseat'.

- (58) *Te-kaasi ow e n-auk p-au kam-saser*
 1SG-heart 3SM EMP 2SG-put 3S.NH-at.SG thing-small.mat

My heart, you put it on a saser mat.

- (59) *Ni-sik ma sabak ni-sik ma a dee*
 2SG-take ART tobacco 2SG-take ART LNK betelnut
ni-sik ma kutum ni-sik ma a faalas
 2SG-take ART leaves 2SG-take ART LNK lime
n-auk p-au ma se a kama-magam
 2SG-put 3S.NH-at.SG ART PERF LNK boat-ko.matoa.tree

p-odor ma ow
 3S.NH-inside ART 3SM

You take tobacco, you take betelnut, you take betel leaves, you take lime, you put it there, inside the matoa-boat there.

- (60) *Masaagu n-aalim n-aana laan n-oolom ma*
 then 2SG-go.up 2SG-go above 2SG-sit ART
a kama w-ulun ma ow.
 LNK boat 3S.NH-stern ART 3SM

Then, you go up. You sit at the stern of the boat.

- (61) *Ni-sik ma poolos k-ow p-ein*
 2SG-take ART paddle NEAR-3SM 3S.NH-finish
ne-wein pan-keedi meelee pan-keedi aali pan-keedi tooluk ke ow.
 2SG-fan ?-time one ?-time two ?-time three ? that

After you have taken the paddles, you fan, one time, two times, three times.

- (62) *Baru na-kaabas n-eele se k-en waru leen.*
 then 2SG-shout 2SG-sing PERF NEAR-DEM.PL.NH waru night

Then, you shout, you sing this: 'waru night'.

- (63) **Nanti** *n-eegen kam sa koolu pe-feden a ow a?*
 soon 2SG-look thing head INDEF 3S.NH-arrive LNK that Q

Later, you'll see something coming?¹²

- (64) *Dewe lauk se miye aana-k-ow*
 sun morning PERF child go-NEAR-3SM
pa-fasos p-ono ma se a dime ma-mana ma ow.
 3S.NH-make 3S.NH-like ART PERF LNK mother 3SF-say ART 3SM

¹² The question marker may suggest some prediction.

The next morning, the child did like his mother had told (him).

- (65) *Dime aana-k-om me-pelek m-ai mafen.*
 mother go-NEAR-3SF 3SF-turn 3SF-with sea.turtle

The mother changed into a sea-turtle.

- (66) *Miye aana-k-ow wo-koolo.*
 child go-NEAR-3SM 3SM-cut

The child cut (her).

- (67) *Po-koolo ma ni m-ein.*
 3S.NH-cut ART till 3SF-finish

He cut her up (= till she was finished).

- (68) *Wu-su ma a me-kem aali n-uu kii-suwe meelee.*
 3SM-stab ART LNK 3SF-meat two 3PL.NH-at.PL rope-ko.rope one

He threaded her two pieces of meat on one *kiisuwe* rope.

- (69) *Wu-su me-kem aali n-uu kii-suwe meelee.*
 3SM-stab 3SF-meat two 3PL.NH-at.PL rope-ko.rope one

He threaded her two pieces of meat on one *kiisuwe* rope.

- (70) *Masaagu we-wiyek n-uu ma se a polos aana-en n-iini.*
 then 3SM-hang 3PL.NH-at.PL ART PERF LNK paddle there-3PL 3PL.NH-go

Then, he had already hung it at the paddles there.

- (71) *Wi-sik dadi ma na-kaata wi-sik ma a dime ma-kaasi ow*
 3SM-take all ART 3PL.NH-hard 3SM-take ART LNK mother 3SF-heart 3SM
p-au ma a kam-saser ow dee en
 3S.NH-at.SG ART LNK thing-small.mat 3SM betelnut DEM.PL.NH
kutum en sabak en faalas en n-uu
 leaves DEM.PL.NH tobacco DEM.PL.NH lime DEM.PL.NH 3PL.NH-at.PL
ma a kam-saser ow.
 ART LNK thing-small.mat 3SM

He took everything, they were hard¹³, he took the mother's heart, it was at a *saser* mat, the betel-nut, the betel leaves, the tobacco, the lime, they were on the *saser* mat.

- (72) *Masaagu a miye k-ow p-aalin a*
 then LNK child NEAR-3SM 3S.NH-go.up LNK

¹³ Presumably *na-kaata* '3PLNH-hard' means that all the parts had dried up and materialized as the gifts his mother had promised would sprout from the sea turtle's body.

pa-dayu poolos pan-keedi meelee aali tooluk.
 3S.NH-move.forward paddle ?-time one two three

Then, the child went up, he moved the paddle a little bit forward, one, two, three times.

- (73) *Pa-kaabas waru leen*
 3S.NH-shout waru night

He shouted: *waru* night!

- (74) *Wa-kaabas p-oono k-en se kem a*
 3SM-shout 3S.NH-like NEAR-DEM.PL.NH PERF meat LNK

n-uu ma a kii-suwe aana-en n-iini
 3PL.NH-at.PL ART LNK rope-ko.rope go-3PL 3PL.NH-go

ne-pelek dadi ma ne-molo
 3PL.NH-turn become ART person-very

After he had shouted like this, the meat that was on the *kiisuwe* rope there, it changed into a human being.

- (75) *Masaagu yo-poolos.*
 Then 3PL.H-paddle

Then, they paddled.

- (76) *Yo-poolos saaluk ma y-ein ma a Raam saaluk ma*
 3PL.H-paddle continue ART 3PL.H-from ART LNK Raam continue ART

ni y-iilik ma a Bainkete.
 till 3PL.H-arrive ART LNK Bainkete

They kept rowing from Raam till they reached Bainkete.

- (77) *Y-iini se ya-kaba se ya-kafam pilik se*
 3PL.H-go PERF 3PL.H-fight PERF 3PL.H-war each.other PERF

They had gone, they had fought, they were already in war with each other.

- (78) *Miye po-soolo p-aana le.*
 child 3S.NH-jump 3S.NH-go land(wards)

The child jumped, he went to land.

- (79) *Pi-sik ma a solon-koolum-las ow*
 3S.NH-take ART LNK ko.spear-ko.bamboo-leaf 3SM

pa-kaalak ma a dime ow.
 3S.NH-stab ART LNK mother 3SM

It took a bamboo spear and stabbed the mother.

- (80) *Pa-kaalak dime om se dime m-oodun.*
 3S.NH-stab mother EMP PERF mother 3SF-run

When it stabbed the mother, the mother ran away.

- (81) *Dime m-oodun matu m-aana ma a fawuulu*
 mother 3SF-run EMP 3SF-go ART LNK middle
m-oo ma a kala ow.
 3SF-drink ART LNK water 3SM

The mother ran, and on her way she drank water.

- (82) *Kala ow e ye-beten saluk ma pe-keedi*
 water 3SM EMP 3PL.H-call continue ART 3S.NH-name
ma se a Seben-m-oo-kala.
 ART PERF LNK Seben-3sF-drink-water

That river is called 'Seben drank water'.

- (83) *Dime m-oodun saaluk ma ni Kalatiigi*
 mother 3SF-run continue ART till Kalatiigi
me-pelek m-ai kawak ma se a ye-beten
 3SF-turn 3SF-with stone ART PERF LNK 3PL.H-call
me-keedi Duwunmoolo.
 3SF-name Duwunmoolo

The mother kept running till the Kalatiigi river, she changed into a stone, called Duwunmoolo.¹⁴

- (84) *Miye k-ow w-oodun.*
 child NEAR-3SM 3SM-run

The child ran.

- (85) *P-oodun busuk p-ein ma ow*
 3S.NH-run also 3S.NH-from ART 3SM
pe-pelek p-ai kawak p-au Kalasoodos
 3S.NH-turn 3S.NH-with stone SNH-at.SG Kalasoodos
ye-beten ma pe-keedi ma se a Kawaksafuun
 3PL.H-call ART 3S.NH-name ART PERF LNK Kawaksafuun

It ran again from there, it changed into a stone at the Kalasoodos river, which is called Kawaksafuun.

- (86) *Solon-kolum-las ow w-aana le pa-las.*
 ko.spear-ko.bamboo-leaf 3SM 3S.NH-go land(wards) 3S.NH-leaf

¹⁴ Note that the stone is cross-referenced on the verb with 3SF, presumably the humanness of the mother is still in the speaker's mind.

- (87) *Pa-las* *p-ein* *se* *pitili* *Waranda* *w-oolom*
 3S.NH-leaf 3S.NH-finish PERF time Dutch 3SM-sit
- ow* *w-aana* *w-oyuk* *ne* *y-aak* *gok*
 3SM 3S.NH-go 3SM-order person 3PL.H-dig ditch
- n-uu* *a* ***kampun*** *ow* *se.*
 3PL.NH-at.PL LNK village 3SM PERF

After it had grown, when the Dutch lived there, he had ordered the people to dig ditches in the village.

- (88) *Y-otu* *ma* *w-ein* *ow* *bein*
 3PL.H-pull ART 3S.NH-finish 3SM sugarpalm
- pa-las* *pu-suwun* *matu* *ma* *se* *a* *p-idin* *saaluk*
 3S.NH-leaf 3S.NH-replace EMP ART PERF LNK 3S.NH-touch continue
- ma* *a* *dewe* *le-k-ow.*
 ART LNK sun land(wards)-NEAR-3SM

They pulled it completely, a sugarpalm grew there instead until today.

- (89) *Bein* *saluk* *ma* *se* *a* *pa-las* *p-au* *aana-ki-w.*
 sugarpalm continue ART PERF LNK 3S.NH-leaf 3S.NH-at.SC go-FAR-3SM
- The sugarpalm kept growing there.

- (90) *Kama-magam* *p-aana* *pe-pelek*
 boat-ko.matoa.tree 3S.NH-go 3S.NH-turn
- p-ai* *ma* *a* *Bainkete* *eeges* *Bainkete.*
 3S.NH-with ART LNK Bainkete earth Bainkete
- The matoa-wooden boat there, it changed into Bainkete, the land Bainkete.

- (91) *Ya-mana* *dau* *pe-keedi* *a* *kama-magam*
 3PL.H-say not 3S.NH-name LNK boat-ko.matoa.tree
- nanti*** *eeges* *pe-pelek.*
 Soon earth 3S.NH-turn

They (= people) don't mention the name of the matoa-wooden boat, otherwise the earth will turn around.

- (92) *Kam-saser* *ow* *pe-pelek* *p-ai* *a* *guyu* *p-aalak.*
 thing-small.mat 3SM 3S.NH-turn 3S.NH-with LNK ko.shell 3S.NH-shell
- The *saser* mat changed into a *guyu* shell.

- (93) *Kama* *sa* *matenanfak* *koolu* *ma* *en* *n-oosu*
 boat CLF nine INDEF ART DEM.PL.NH 3PL.NH-to

ma a kofok Kalasuwon n-eeli ma a
 ART LNK taboo.place Kalasuwon 3PL.NH-follow ART LNK
ne ma ei ma se a ne-pelek Kalasuwon
 person ART 3PL.H ART PERF LNK 3PL.NH-turn Kalasuwon
n-ei ma a kofok ma a aana-en.
 3PL.NH-with ART LNK taboo.place ART LNK go-DEM.PL.NH

The nine boats went to a taboo place Kalasuwon, they brought the people with them, they (people and boat) changed into the taboo place Kalasuwon.

- (94) *Duwunmoolo ow e **biasa** ya-saa Kalatiigi.*
 Duwunmoolo 3SM EMP usually 3PL.H-stab Kalatiigi

The Duwunsoolo used it to ‘stab’ Kalatiigi.¹⁵

- (95) *Yi-sik ma a sin-keedi labosa-keedi*
 3PL.H-take ART LNK knife-? axe-time
y-awuk n-uu ma se a kawak p-aa ma
 3PL.H-put 3PL.NH-at.PL ART PERF LNK stone 3S.NH-bottom ART
ow pa-kaafu y-aintou ma a kalinkala
 3SM 3S.NH-with 3PL.H-fold ART LNK ko.song/gong
kala pe-kedibu y-ele-fik ma se a
 water 3S.NH-back 3PL.H-sing-? ART PERF LNK
ne-kaun ma om
 person-old ART 3SF.

They took old swords, old axes, they put them there, at the bottom (= under) of a stone, it was together with (= while) they broke the song of the river’s back, they sang for the old woman.

- (96) *Y-eele ma se k-en kaun m-ak miye ma.*
 3PL.H-sing ART PERF NEAR-DEM.PL.NH old 3SF-eat child ART

They sing this, (about) the old woman eating her child.

- (97) *N-aa-kilin ow kaun m-oobo miye ma.*
 2SG-hole-lift 3SM old 3SF-swallow child ART

You lift your bottom a little bit, the old woman swallow her child.¹⁶

- (98) *N-aa-kilin ow n-aa-soolo ow.*
 2SG-hole-lift 3SM 2SG-hole-jump 3SM

You lift your bottom a little bit, you move your bottom.

¹⁵ To ‘stab a river’: to stab poles into the river, make a raft, crush tree-bark with poison and throw it into the water. The fishes become unconscious and can be taken out the water easily, During crushing the tree-bark the men sing.

¹⁶ In lines (97)-(99) the content of the song is given. *N-aa-kilin* was explained as ‘lift up your bottom a bit’, but what this spell means is not clear.

- (99) *Kaun me-ben miye ma n-aa-ilin ow.*
old 3SF-hit child ART 2SG-hole-lift 3SM

The old woman hit her child, you lift your bottom a little bit.

- (100) *P-ein matu ne-kaun ye-larang*
3S.NH-finish EMP person-old 3PL.H-forbid
ni-sik dau ma se a kii-yuugu nu-su
2SG-take not ART PERF LNK rope-ko.rope 2SG-stab
p-ai a mafen
3S.NH-for LNK sea.turtle

Since then, the old people forbid, you don't take *kiiyuugu* rope for stabbing a sea-turtle.¹⁷

- (101) *Nu-su n-ai Bainkete na-kaabas dau n-eele*
2SG-visit 2SG-at.SG Bainkete 2SG-shout not 2SG-sing
en waru leen.
DEM.PL.NH waru night

(When) you visit Bainkete, you don't shout, you sing: *waru leen*.

- (102) *Na-mana dau a Bainkete w-e keewi ow e*
2SG-say not LNK Bainkete 3SM-EMP place 3SM EMP
pe-pelek p-ein a kama-magam.
3S.NH-turn 3S.NH-from LNK boat-ko.matoa.tree

You don't say Bainkete because that place, it changed from a matoa-wooden boat.

- (103) ***Kalau*** *na-mana ow se nanti a lugu lek*
if 2SG-say 3SM PERF soon LNK thunder lightning
samas ow eeges ow a pe-pelek matu.
catastrophe 3SM earth 3SM LNK 3S.NH-trun EMP

If you say that, then (there will be) thunder, lightning, catastrophe, the earth will turn upside down.

- (104) *Yah ligin kaabu en p-ein-aak p-oono*
yes word short DEM.PL.NH 3S.NH-from-long 3S.NH-like
ma s-en.
ART PERF-DEM.PL.NH

Yes, this short story, it is from long time ago, it's like this.

¹⁷ The last clause was corrected by the speaker to:

ne yu-suu dau mafen p-ai kii-yuugu
person 3PL.H-stab not sea.turtle 3S.NH-with rope-yuugu

People do not thread sea turtle on a *kiiyuugu* rope.

- (105) *Molo* *ma* *s-ow*.
very ART PERF-3SM
This is true.

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TEHIT

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Tehit is spoken by approximately 12,000 people, who live mainly in the subdistricts of Teminabuan and Sawiat, about 100 kilometers southeast of the district capital, Sorong, in the western part of the Bird's Head peninsula of Papua (Irian Jaya). Tehit, together with Kalabra to the west and Moraid to the north, form the West Bird's Head Stock, which when combined with Seget and Moi further to the west and north, comprise the West Bird's Head Family, also known as the Toror language group (Voorhoeve 1975, Wurm and Hattori 1981, Silzer and Heikkinen 1984, Flassy 1991). Tehit is composed of eight major dialects: Jit, Mbol Fle, Saifi, Imian, Sfa Riere, Fkar, Sawiat, and Salmeit (Flassy and Stokhof 1979), which exhibit extensive geographic lexical chaining. (This analysis for the Tehit general language group is mainly based on the Imyan Tehit dialect.)

The inventory of Tehit phonemes includes nineteen consonants and four vowels. The stops include voiced and voiceless bilabial /p, b/, alveolar /t, d/, and back /q, g/ stops, along with their prenasalized counterparts. Continuants include bilabial and alveolar fricatives /f, s/, and the laryngeal /h/. The sonorants consist of the bilabial and alveolar nasals /m, n/, and two liquids, the lateral /l/ and flap /r/. Tehit vowel phonemes are /i, e, a, o/. Orthographically, semivowels 'y' and 'w' are derived from corresponding high vowel phonemes /i, o/ depending on syllable structure.

Tehit has a maximal syllable template of CCVVC, but the majority of syllables are CV, followed in frequency by CVC. Onsets are obligatory everywhere except word-initially (e.g. *o.mos* 'vine'). Complex onsets may only consist of a voiced stop (b, d, g) followed by a liquid (l, r), e.g. *ta.bra* 'forest'. If a nucleus is complex, it takes the form of a rising diphthong iV, e.g. *dlien* 'ironwood', or rarely the falling diphthong /au/, *saun* 'mist'. Codas are restricted to liquids (l, r) word-internally, e.g. *fol.ti* 'overgrowth'. Word-finally, however, simple codas may consist of any non-laryngeal consonant (i.e. voiced stops and /h/ are excluded). Word-final complex codas take the form yC, e.g. *hnait* 'worm'. Consonant clusters not conforming to the above rules are broken up phonetically into short degenerate CV syllables with epenthesis of non-phonemic schwa, e.g. *krmok* (k.r.mok) 'moss'. See for a more detailed phonological description, Hesse (1995).

All Tehit words have lexical stress. Stress in polysyllabic non-compound words is relegated to a single syllable, usually the penultimate, but word-ultimate stress is not uncommon. If a word contains a syllable having complex structure, whether due to a complex onset, nucleus or coda, then that syllable always carries the word stress. Degenerate syllables never carry stress and are restricted to pretonic position. Consequently, they are not found word-finally or in monosyllabic words.

Tehit is a SVO language with relatively simple morphology, almost entirely dedicated to the tracking of person-number-gender of referent nominals. This pronominal agreement is marked on a wide variety of word classes, including verbs, adjectives, possessives, quantifiers, inalienable nouns (partitives and kin terms), prepositions, relativizers, and even conjunctions. The agreement prefixes, made up of an efficient set of single-consonant phonetic signals, are invariant regardless of word class usage or referent case role:

- (1) 1SG *t-*
- 1INC *f-*
- 1EXC *m-*
- 2 *n-*
- 3SF *m-*

3SM *w-*
3PL *y-*

As seen above, gender is manifest only in third person singular forms. First person plural explicitly includes or excludes the hearer. Ambiguity that results from homophonous forms, *m-* for both ‘1EXC’ and ‘3SF’ and under-differentiation of number in the second person, is most often resolved either by the number of a suppletive root, or by anaphoric context. Plural is usually indicated by increased height in a suppletive root’s first vowel, see (2) and (3).

- (2) *Om m-ase m-ak biele*
3SF 3SF-sleep:SG 3SF-at:SG garden

om m-a.
3SF 3SF-POS:SG

She lives at her garden.

- (3) *Mam m-ese m-ik biele*
We:EXC 1EXC-sleep:PL 1EXC-at:PL garden

mam m-i.
1EXC 1EXC-POS:PL

We live at our garden.

Occasionally, a noun phrase will be marked with an agreement enclitic that draws from the same set given in (1). If the last word of a noun phrase ends in a vowel, that word may include an enclitic denoting the gender and number of the third person head noun, as in (4), (5) and (6).

- (4) *wi hra Nago w-ase-m*
place REL God 3SM-sleep-3SF
where God lives

- (5) *T-nok dait na trar o-u w-kedi-m.*
1SG-know NEG person old DET-3SM 3SM-name-3SF
I don’t know the parent’s name.

- (6) *Korik bol oko-m w-natehla kat / m-aheit.*
pig house DEM-3SF 3SM-leave.behind INT 3SF-stay
The domestic pig he left behind, it stayed.

Also, if a transitive verb phrase ends in a vowel and no nominal object is expressed, the verb phrase may include the enclitic, denoting the number and gender of the fronted, missing, or understood object, as in (7).

- (7) *Wa-wet o-u w-lok oli m-aka / w-hitung oli-m.*
3SM-child DET-3SM 3SM-pick.up again 3SF-come 3SM-count again-3SF
His child again picked up another (grub) and again distributed (it).

Origin of the Se Bra River

Max Saflembolo, March 1995

- (1) *T-rana fe se-kmas / se-kmas hra w-athri se bra-u #*
 1SG-tell about water-flood water-flood REL 3SM-cause river blue-3SM

I will tell about the flood outbreak, the flood outbreak that caused Blue River.

- (2) *Tet t-to t-adien Srer / la mam m-kain se oko / ha #*
 I 1SG-say 1SG-with Srer DU 1EXC 1EXC-own river DEM but

I say that I (my clan) along with the Srer (clan), we both own this river, however.

- (3) *Tet t-kain w-ahin wa-sa ago / t-ahin Katrik / m-hok*
 I 1SG-own 3SM-from 3SM-head above 1SG-from Katrik 3SF-come.out

m-ak... kla m-kdein m-ak... kni Natak #
 3SF-at river 3SF-boundary 3SF-at log.bridge ko.tree

I own (the area) from the headwaters, from Katrik, it comes out at...the river boundary is at...
 'Natak' Log Bridge.

- (4) *W-ali aidi ou w-a le ou w-a se-kmas oko #*
 3SM-to down.there 3SM 3SM-POS COP 3SM 3SM-POS water-flood DEM

ha tet t-a le-u se wa-sa ago #
 but 1SG 1SG-POS COP-3SM river 3SM-head above

The lower part of the flood is his, but mine is the upper headwaters.

- (5) **Kejadian** *se-kmas oko / w-adien wa-wet /*
 origin water-flood DEM 3SM-with 3SM-child

w-kafe wet wa-dla-u /
 3SM-carry.on.shoulders child 3SM-male-3SM

t-nok dait na trar o-u w-kedi-m #
 1SG-know NEG person old DET-3SM 3SM-name-3SF

w-adien mkan / y-ein y-thok afan nak /
 3SM-with dog 3PL-go 3PL-split.out grub breadfruit

m-ak le kni Far #
 3SF-at be log.bridge ko.tree

The origin of this flood: he and his young child, he was carrying his son on his shoulders, I forget the father's name, along with the dog, they went to split out breadfruit tree grubs near 'Far' log bridge.

- (6) *W-thok w-ak aidi m-fot / wa-wet o-u w-dik #*
 3SM-split.out 3SM-at down.there 3SF-finish 3SM-child DET-3SM 3SM-put

ou w-ak bet-alit #
 3SM 3SM-at mud-wallow

When he finished chopping out a grub, his child would set it down. He (the child) was by a boar mud wallow.

- (7) *W-leli w-ak bet-alit o-m ha / w-ono w-thok*
 3SM-sit 3SM-at mud-wallow DET-3SF but 3SM-father 3SM-split.out
afan o-m #
grub DET-3SF

He was sitting near the mud wallow, but his father was chopping out grubs.

- (8) *W-thok afan o-m m-aka fo / ou w-na-ber #*
 3SM-split-out grub DET-3SF 3SF-come then he 3SM-arm-toss.aside
w-dik m-ak bet-alit o-m #
 3SM-put 3SF-at mud-wallow DET-3SF

Splitting out a grub, he took it and tossed it aside, (and his child) set it down by the mud wallow.

- (9) *W-dik m-ak bet-alit de / w-sel kat #*
 3SM-put 3SF-at mud-wallow then 3SM-toss.onto.pile INT
ma-fuon m-aka fo / w-sel kat m-ak
 3SF-seed 3SF-come then 3SM-toss.onto.pile INT 3SM-at
bet-alit o-m # w-sel kat /
 mud-wallow DET-3SF 3SM-toss.onto.pile INT
w-sel kat kayi de...
 3SM-toss.onto.pile INT CONT until
wa-wet o-u w-lok oli m-aka / w-hitung oli-m.
 3SM-child DET-3SM 3SM-pick.up again 3SF-come 3SM-count again-3SF

He (the child) would set it down by the mud wallow; he (the father) would toss (another grub). As each grub became available he tossed it over near the boar wallow; he continued tossing (another one), tossing (another one)... and his son would pick it up and redistribute it.

- (10) *W-aher w-to / Fguo ko m-an t-eme-m #*
 3SM-count 3SM-say this.one DEM 3SF-for 1SG-mother-3SF
W-sel kat / w-dik m-de-ke.
 3SM-toss.onto.pile INT 3SM-put 3SF-like-this

He counted saying: This one, this is for mother. (His father) tossed it over, and he set it down like that.

- (11) *W-lok oli m-an o m-ahin bet-alit m-aka*
 3SM-pick.up again 3SF-REL DEM 3SF-from mud-wallow 3SF-come
fo / w-to / m-an ko m-an t-ate-u #
 then 3SM-say 3SF-REL DEM 3SF-for 1SG-grandparent-3SM
W-dik kat m-de-ke #
 3SM-put INT 3SF-like-this

He picked another one up from the boar wallow and said: This one is for grandpa. And he set it down like that.

- (12) *W-asen oli / w-lok kat / w-to / M-an ko*
 3SM-stand.up again 3SM-pick.up INT 3SM-say 3SF-REL DEM
m-an korik bol # w-dik kat m-de-ke #
 3SF-for pig house 3SM-put INT 3SF-like-this

He stood up, got (another grub) and said: This one is for the domestic pig. He put it down like that.

- (13) *M-an ko t-lok kat m-an t-fe mkan ko-u #*
 3SF-REL DEM 1SG-take INT 3SF-for 1SG-POS dog DEM-3SF

This one I'm taking for my dog here.

- (14) *M-an ko m-an tet #*
 3SF-REL DEM 3SF-for 1SG
M-an ko m-an t-ono #
 3SF-REL DEM 3SF-for 1SG-father

This one is for me. This one is for father.

- (15) *Oko m-an t-eme m-kmat #*
 DEM 3SF-for 1SG-mother 3SF-abdomen

This is for mother who's pregnant.

- (16) *W-leli w-an aidi w-sot fo afan hra w-ono*
 3SM-sit 3SM-at¹ down.there 3SM-see and.then grub REL 3SM-father
w-kafla / wkoit o-m m-ba-roro / m-kaka m-ain #
 3SM-split log DET-3SF 3SF-strike-turn.around 3SF-tail.end 3SF-go

He was sitting there when he saw: the grub (tree) that his father was splitting, the log swung around, and the stump end began moving. \c water was already swirling up, carrying the log along

- (17) *M-ahin ma-sa m-ba-roro / ma-sa m-ali ago /*
 3SF-from 3SF-head 3SF-strike-turn.around 3SF-head 3SF-to above and.then
ofo m-kaka o-m m-ak sa #
 and.then 3SF-tail.end DET-3SF 3SF-at head

From its top end (the log) was turning around, the top end pointing upstream, and then the trunk end pointing upstream.

- (18) *Bet-alit aidi m-asin / m-ska-hilis #*
 mud-wallow down.there 3SF-rise 3SF-thrust-encircle
m-ska-hilis / m-ska-hilis / m-ska-hilis / m-aka/
 3SF-thrust-encircle 3SF-thrust-encircle 3SF-thrust-encircle 3SF-come
fo m-ba-roro m-alin #
 and.then 3SF-strike-turn.around 3SF-go.ahead

¹ The form *-an* is a prepositional verb, translatable as 'for, to, toward, at, in, on, etc.', it also occurs in (21), (25), (27) and (36).

The mud wallow down there rose up, and (the flood) began to swirl around. It swirled around and around and around, and (the log) swung around and headed off.

- (19) *W-ono w-asen w-lok kat wet o-u /*
 3SM-father 3SM-stand.up 3SM-pick.up INT child DET-3SM
w-kafe w-ak ago #
 3SM-carry.on.shoulder 3SM-at above

His father stood up, snatched up his son, and set him up on his shoulders.

- (20) *W-to / Ahh n-siga / buon m-a n-sese korwain tet #*
 3SM-say ahh 2-bad impossible 3SF-that 2-run follow me

He said: Hey you scuz, there's no way that you can run after me.²

- (21) *W-lok wet o-u w-an w-kafe-u /*
 3SM-lift child DET-3SM 3SM-so.that 3SM-carry.on.shoulder-3SM
w-fe mkan o-u w-be-u #
 3SM-POS dog DET-3SM 3SM-call-3SM

He picked up his child to carry him on his shoulders, his dog he called.

- (22) *Ou w-sese / w-sese w-ak sa / w-ak sa w-ain #*
 3SM 3SM-run 3SM-run 3SM-at head 3SM-at head 3SM-go

He ran, ran up the path, up the path going (home).

- (23) *W-kro w-ak aidi ha / se... w-to w-kro fo /*
 3SM-stand 3SM-at down.there but water 3SM-say 3SM-stand then
se oko w-ska-hilis w-ak aidi / w-to w-dik-si
 water DEM 3SM-thrust-encircle 3SM-at down.there 3SM-say 3SM-put-sink
ou #
 3SM

He stood still down there but, the water... whenever he stopped, the water swirled around him there, wanting to drown him.

- (24) *W-asen w-ain sros #*
 3SM-stand.up 3SM-go continue

He got up and kept on going.

- (25) *W-si m-an w-sibiele / w-sot fo ha /*
 3SM-face 3SF-to 3SM-back 3SM-see then but
se oko w-sese korwain #
 water DEM 3SM-run follow

He faced around to his back and looked, but the water was rushing right after him!

- (26) *N-siga buon n-sese korwain tet #*
 2-bad impossible 2-run follow 1SG

² He said this to the flood coming out.

You no-good, there's no way you can catch me.

- (27) *W-lok w-an w-kafe-u / ou w-ses / w-ses /*
 3SM-pick.up 3SM-so.that 3SM-carry.on.shoulder-3SM 3SM 3SM-run 3SM-run
w-ses / w-ses / w-ses kawuak de... w-ak.. w-to ah #
 3SM-run 3SM-run 3SM-run CONT until 3SM-at 3SM-say Ah

He pickup up (his child) to carry him and ran, ran, ran, ran, ran on and on, until... he got (there) and he said: Ah! (he arrived home).

- (28) *Wa-wet w-to / La f-sot la #*
 3SM-child 3SM-say DU 1INC-see please³
t-eme le y-ese bol angko-m #
 1SG-mother COP 3PL-sleep house down.here-3SF

His child said: Please, let's see! Mother and the others are sleeping at the house down here.

- (29) *La f-sese kat / f-hok f-ek fo / f-lok kat*
 DU 1INC-run INT 1INC-arrive 1INC-at then 1INC-take INT
korik bol aidi / ni aidi / se f-ein #
 pig house down.there thing down.there so.that 1INC-go

Let's run fast, get there, grab the pig and other stuff down below, so we can go!

- (30) *W-sese w-ak ra fo / umhh w-sot w-ak w-eme oko-m*
 3SM-run 3SM-to inside then umh 3SM-look 3SM-to 3SM-mother DEM-3SF
m-a m-kmat oko-m / mam m-leli m-ak bol #
 3SF-REL 3SF-pregnant DEM-3SF 3SF 3SF-sit 3SF-at house

He ran on inside and then, oh no... he (the child) saw his mother, who was pregnant, she was sitting at home.

- (31) *W-smit m-al aidi fo / se o-u w-sese korwain #*
 3SM-look 3SF-to below then water DET-3SM 3SM-run follow

When he looked down (he saw that) the water was flooding after them.

- (32) *Y-ek ale fo / na y-to knwata-m / w-sma oko-m*
 3PL-at down.there then person 3PL-say cave-3SF 3SM-spouse DEM-3SF
w-natehla kat m-ak oko # korik bol oko-m /
 3SM-leave INT 3SF-at DEM pig house DEM-3SF
w-natehla kat wa-heit #
 3SM-leave INT 3SM-remain

They were down there, people call it the cave, his wife, he left her behind there; and the domestic pig, he left that behind there.

- (33) *Ou w-sese sros #*
 3SM 3SM-run continue

He kept on running.

³ *la* at the end of a command indicates respectful request.

- (34) *W-kafe* *wet* *w-an* *ago /* *w-de* *w-sese*
 3SM-carry.on.shoulder child 3SM-at above 3SM-until 3SM-run
kawuak de... w-teit m-drik m-ak samkam m-taiyi #
 CONT until 3SM-leg 3SF-enter 3SF-in catfish 3SF-hole

He was carrying his kid on his shoulders and running on and on until... his leg entered a catfish hole (in the rock).

- (35) *W-teit o-m m-drik m-ak samkam m-taiyi /*
 3SM-leg DET-3SF 3SF-enter 3SF-at catfish 3SF-hole
de w-kro kawuak #
 until 3SM-stand CONT

His leg entered a catfish hole, and so he kept on standing. (His leg was caught, and he couldn't get it out.)

- (36) *Tmak ou w-kafe m-an ago / wet ou*
 axe 3SM 3SM-carry.on.shoulder 3SF-at above child 3SM
w-kafe w-an ago / w-kro kawuak w-ak ko #
 3SM-carry.on.shoulder 3SM-at above 3SM-stand CONT 3SM-at DEM

With his axe on his shoulders, his child on his shoulders, he continued to stand right there.

- (37) *W-owor wet w-ak w-amak ago / ou mmhh...*
 3SM-carry.on.neck child 3SM-at 3SM-neck above 3SM mmhh
ou w-kein oli w-teit aidi-m mmhh m-hok dait #
 3SM 3SM-pull again 3SM-leg below-3SF mmhh 3SF-come.out NEG

He was carrying his child sitting around his neck, he, oh no... he pulled his leg again, oh no... it wouldn't come out.

- (38) *Se oko w-aka w-ska-hilis / kawuak de*
 water DEM 3SM-come 3SM-thrust-encircle CONT until
te-te-te-te-te-te w-flie #
 until.. 3SM-cover

The water rushed around him, rising, rising, rising, until....it covered (them).

- (39) *W-kro kawuak w-ak oko ha / wi oko na*
 3SM-stand CONT 3SM-at DEM but place DEM people
y-wit y-to / Na-u w-kro #
 3PL-name 3PL-say person-3SM 3SM-stand

He's still standing there, and the place is called, 'The Standing Man'.

- (40) *Hra w-agia bait le w-oko #*
 REL 3SM-culprit self COP 3SM-DEM
Ou w-kro kayi de hrake ko / w-abe kawuak amak #
 3SM 3SM-stand CONT until present DEM 3SM-become CONT rock

He himself was the culprit. And he continues to stand to this day, turned into stone.

- (41) *M-de ni-rana m-afe Se Bra-u w-ak le oko #*
 3SF-so NOM-tell 3SF-about river blue-3SM 3SM-at COP DEM
ou w-di w-ali sifie le w-ko #
 3SM 3SM-fall 3SM-to sea.shore COP 3SM-DEM

And that's the story of Blue River; it fell into the salt water shore right there.

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ABUN

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The Abun language is spoken in the subdistricts of Sausapor and Mega, in the northern area of the Bird's Head peninsula. It is bordered by several other languages: to the east, Amberbaken (also known as Mpur or Kebar); to the south, Karon Dori (also known as Mare, a dialect of Maybrat) and Moraid; and to the west, Moi.

There are approximately 3,500 Abun speakers who live in eighteen villages, eight on the coast and ten interior. The Abun language is spoken in the northern area of the Bird's Head, as well as in isolated hamlets. There are four identifiable dialects all of which are mutually intelligible, although intelligibility decreases when greater geographic distance is involved. The names given to the dialects are those used by the speakers themselves and concern the variation in terms for the first person singular pronoun. So the dialects are referred to as Abun Tat (eastern), Abun Ye, Abun Ji, and Abun Tat (western).

Abun is the name given to the language by the people themselves, *a* means 'language', and *bun* means 'bush, jungle'. They call themselves the **Yenden** people, *ye* 'person' and *nden* 'interior, land'. Sometimes they refer to the name of their language as *Anden*, but more commonly *Abun*. Rarely do they call themselves the **Yembun** people; rather they say that they, the Yenden people, speak the Abun language. The Abun language has been known by various names including Karon Pantai, Madik and Yimbun. The name Karon Pantai, as it is listed in Voorhoeve (1975:48), is the name given to the Abun speaking people by the Biak people. The Moi people to the west call them Madik, the meaning of which is uncertain. Voorhoeve (1975:48) listed the name Madik as a separate language for what has since been analysed as the Abun Ji dialect (Berry and Berry 1987). The Amberbaken to the east call them the Yimbun, or Yembun, a name which they obviously acquired from the Yenden themselves. The name Abun has now been introduced into linguistic literature by Silzer and Clouse 1991, Grimes 1992 and Berry and Berry 1999. Technically, it should be referred to as the Bun language, or Abun, but the people themselves insist that the Indonesian translation is *bahasa Abun*, not *bahasa Bun*.

The sound system of Abun is relatively simple and consists of 20 consonants, 5 simple vowels and seven diphthongs. Also there are three distinct tones, high/rising, low and falling. The inventory of phonemic consonants comprises plosives, including prenasalised voiced plosives at four points of articulation (with the exception of *c*, which is used in free variation with the palatal fricative *sy*), and nasals, fricatives and glides at three points of articulation. Voicing contrast for plosives is only found in the onset of stressed syllables. Thus, Abun has 20 consonants: *p, b, t, d, j, k, g, mb, nd, nj, ngg, m, n, ny, f, s, sy, w, r, and y*; five phonemic vowels, *i, e, a, o, u*, and seven complex syllable peaks (diphthongs): *ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou* and *ui*.

Tone in Abun has a low functional load and may be disappearing as a useful contrastive feature. There are very few minimal pairs in the same word class. Tone is used to indicate unspecified number plurality, for example, tone is used to differ between the singular and plural forms of the third person pronoun, in which '3PL' is /*án*/ with a rising tone, while '3SG' is /*an*/ with a low tone. It also distinguishes *ré* 'this, here' with a high pitch from the perfective marker (PERF) *re*, which has a low pitch.

Abun has a basically monosyllabic word structure. A sampling of a typical story reveals that about 80% of the words are monosyllabic, about 15% have two syllables and only 5% have three or more.

Abun is an isolating language which makes little use of affixation in its grammatical system. Affixation is frequently a means whereby other languages indicate such things as tense, aspect and mood. Also affixation is often present to signify grammatical relations such as Subject, Object, Indirect Object etc. However, all affixation in Abun is derivational in nature and is mainly concerned with class changes. Therefore when it comes to grammatical relations or the variations of tense, aspect and mood to be found in Abun there are two key strategies which express these concepts: *word order* and *particles*.

The Abun language, like all languages of the West-Papuan Phylum has SUBJECT VERB OBJECT word order. This word order is inflexible, insofar as the position of an entity in relation to the verb will encode what its grammatical relation is. The grammatical relations of subject and object are encoded by word order alone, with the subject always that constituent which immediately precedes the verb, and if there is an object it will immediately follow the verb.

In Abun the constituent termed 'mood' is unmarked for the indicative and marked for other types. It is indicated by means of a clause final particle. One interesting feature of the mood particles is that in two instances, that of interrogative and indicative negative **two** particles may be used to indicate these moods. In Abun, the strategy of using **two** particles (as opposed to one) is mainly for the purpose of delineating the scope of the mood. Thus, in negated sentences the clause-final *nde* is always present, while the negation may be emphasized or focussed on a particular predicate by the particle *yo*, which is placed immediately preceding the predicate.

In Abun, concepts concerned with tense are carried by time words or phrases and sequential conjunctions. In the case of complex sentences there are two subordinate conjunctions which convey tense concepts. These two conjunctions are described as being 'realis', where a preceding clause refers to events already past, or 'irrealis', where a preceding clause refers to events that have not actually occurred, being either in future time or hypothetical.

Abun distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienable possession is used when referring to parts of the body, 'whole-part' relationships (such as 'tree-leaf', 'bird-feathers'), but not when referring to kinship terms. Inalienable possession is unmarked. The word order of the phrase is: POSSESSOR + POSSESSED. No form of marking whatever marks either possessor or possessed. When the possessor is indicated by a pronoun no distinctive possessive pronouns are used. Juxtaposition is sufficient to indicate the possessive relationship.

Alienable possession is used to describe all other possessive relationships. In these cases Abun uses the possessive word *bi*. It is not possible to say that *bi* marks either the possessor or the possessed in the possessive phrase. *Bi* joins the two as a linker (Croft 1990:28-32). Thus, the alienable possessive phrase has the order of POSSESSOR + *bi* + POSSESSED.

The Abun language is classified as a Papuan language by Wurm (1982:206). It belongs to the small West Papuan Phylum. Wurm's classification of Abun as a language of Papuan type seems to be based mainly on its lexical inventory, with special reference to its set of personal pronouns, belonging to Wurm's set III (Wurm 1982:40). However, Abun has a number of Austronesian features. Most notable is the rigid word order of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (SVO) as distinct from the Papuan SOV word order (Wurm 1982:64). Other significant Austronesian features include: a very simple derivational morphology; with very little inflectional affixation; the common use of particles where verb affixation would be used in Papuan languages; the use of prepositions instead of postpositions; no special sentence medial verbs; a decimal numbering system as compared to the Papuan binary, trinary or quinary systems, and the existence of reduplicated adverbs.

For a fuller description of Abun refer to Berry and Berry (1999).

Pa Gu Ndam Syor

told by Yemina Yesawen in 1997

- (1) *Ndam syor gato ketke pe yetu wis mwa ne.*
bird cassowary REL first give.birth.to people tribe many DET

(About) the cassowary that in the beginning gave birth to the many tribes/kinds of people.

- (2) *Ndam syor ré ku bi pa yebris dik.*
bird cassowary this get POSS child male one

This cassowary had one male child.

- (3) *Or pa ne kem sor, pa ne sye.*
finish child the live continually child the big

Then the child lived (there) until he grew up.

- (4) *Pa sye, or-ge pa ki do,*
child big finish-that child say QUOT

Bot wa an kon suk et
fire for 3SG cook thing HORT(M)

The child grew and asked for fire to cook on.

- (5) *Ndam syor nyak su bot, bot sit*
bird cassowary defecate with fire fire coals

or-o pa kon suk mo.
finish-also child cook thing on

The cassowary defecated fire, and coals. Then the child cooked food on it.

- (6) *Pa ki do, nyom wa an ben suk et,*
child say COM machete for 3SG do thing HORT(M)

sane ndam syor nyak su nyom su mbam,
so bird cassowary defecate with machete with axe

suk mwa, ndam syor nyak su suk mwane sino.
thing many bird cassowary defecate with thing many DET all

The child asked for a bush knife/machete to work with, so the cassowary defecated with a machete and an axe and many things. The cassowary defecated with all these many things.

- (7) *Or pa ré sye.*
finish child this big

The child grew up.

- (8) *Pa ré sye or sa, ndam syor ki nai pa*
child this big finish when.RE bird cassowary say IO child

do Nan kem more yo, nan go nu, nan
 COM 2SG stay here when.IRR 2SG build house 2SG
gwa nggwe, nan gwa nggwe sye.
 fell garden 2SG fell garden big

When the child had grown up, the cassowary said to the child: If you stay here, build a house, make a garden, a big garden.

- (9) *Nan go nu sye.*
 2SG build house big

Build a big house.

- (10) *Nu ne nggumwak munggwwo.*
 house the room eight

The house (is to have) eight rooms.

- (11) *Nan ben suk mwa ne or yo, nan syeret ji.*
 2SG do thing many those finish when.IRR 2SG look.for 1SG

When you have finished doing all of these many things, look for me.

- (12) *Sane ndam syor ré mu re.*
 so bird cassowary this go PERF

So this cassowary went away.

- (13) *Ndam syor mu nde tó an ki nai*
 bird cassowary go NEG yet 3SG say IO
pa ré do, Nan meret ji mó pe
 child this COM 2SG look.for 1SG at place
ga ji ón mó subere nan ku ji.
 REL 1SG defecate at so.that 2SG meet 1SG

Before the cassowary went she said to this child: Look for me following the places where I defecate so that you will find me.

- (14) *Sane pa ben suk mwa ne.*
 so child do thing many those

So the child did everything.

- (15) *Pa syeret sa, pa ku ndam syor*
 child look.for when.RE child found bird cassowary
nyak su bei nggwe gro.
 stools with sago garden seeds

When the child was looking for the cassowary, he found the cassowary's stools with sago palm seeds in it.

- (16) *Pa ku bei ne yo, kom syu re.*
 child find sago that when.IRR grow long PERF

When the child found the sago, it had grown tall.

- (17) *Or-o pa mu, pa mu ne, pa ku do-gato*
 finish-also child go child go DET child find that-REL
nat gon sa-re ne.
 leaf short like-this DET

Then the child moved on again, and on further, and the child found (sago) which had small leaves like this.

- (18) *Or-o pa ku do-ga be ne, ón ga kam tó,*
 finish-also child find that-REL new DET stools REL hot yet
ón sim.
 stools recent

Then the child found stools which were new, the stools which were still hot, recent stools.

- (19) *Pa ké it ne, "Boo o o o o o ..."*
 child call COMP DET Booooo

The child called out, "Boo o o o o o ..."

- (20) *Pa ké, pa ké ne sa, ndam syor jam,*
 child call child call DET when.RE bird cassowary hear
or-ge ndam syor kas ma.
 finish-that bird casso wary run DIR

The child called and called, and the cassowary heard then it came running towards (the child).

- (21) *Ndam syor do ma ge, pa nyu.*
 bird cassowary PRED come that child fear

And when the cassowary got there the child became scared.

- (22) *Pa it kwe kadit.*
 child climb tree from

The child climbed a tree to get away from the cassowary.

- (23) *Pa it kwe kadit or an ki do,*
 child climb tree from finish 3SG say COM
Nan nyu nde.
 2SG fear NEG

The child climbed the tree to get away from (the cassowary) and then it said: Do not be afraid.

- (24) *Nan bi im ko.*
 2SG POSS mother only
 I am only your mother!
- (25) *Nan ma sor.*
 2SG come just
 Just come to me!
- (26) *Sane pa si ndam syor ne mu-kom mo nu.*
 so child and bird cassowary DET go-until at house
 So the child went with the cassowary to the house.
- (27) *An ki nai pa do, Nan gu ji.*
 3SG say IO child COM 2SG hit 1SG
 She said to the child: Hit me.
- (28) *Nan gu ji kwop.*
 2SG hit 1SG die
 Kill me.
- (29) *Nan mit wa nan ku yetu mwa it yo*
 2SG want for 2SG find people many COMP when.IRR
nan gu ji kwop et.
 2SG hit 1SG die HORT(M)
 If you want to meet many people, then you must kill me.”
- (30) *Pa ki do, Ji yo gu nan nde.*
 child say COM 1SG NEG hit 2SG NEG
 The child said: I will not kill you.
- (31) *Ndam syor ki do, Nde.*
 bird cassowary say QUOT NEG
 The cassowary said: No.
- (32) *Nan gu ji sor, be nan ku ye mwa.*
 2SG hit 1SG just then.IRR 2SG meet people many
 Just kill me and then you will meet many people.
- (33) *Sane kom mo rut sa, pa gu ndam syor kwop.*
 so until to end when.RE child hit bird cassowary die
 So in the end, the child killed the cassowary.

- (34) *Tep-su gato ndam syor yo kwop nde tó, an ki do,*
 equal-with REL bird cassowary NEG die NEG yet 3SG say COM
Pa grem ji umsu mbrak ré dik yo mo
 child put 1SG knee cap this one INDEF in
nggumwak dik yo, o-ro pa grem dik yo o
 room one INDEF then-also child put one INDEF also
mo nggumwak dik yo.
 in room one INDEF

Before the cassowary had died, she had said: Child, put one of my knee caps in one room, and the other in another room.

- (35) *Or, pa grem ji gro dik yo mo*
 finish child put 1SG eye one INDEF in
nggumwak yo, or-o, ji gro dik yo o mo
 room INDEF finish-also 1SG eye one INDEF also in
nggumwak yo.
 room INDEF

After that, the child put one eye in one room, and then the other eye in another room.

- (36) *Or-ete pa go an ku ne, an ku e,*
 finish-then child cut 3SG flesh DET 3SG flesh and
an go ne pa bare daret mo nu mit neya.
 3SG hair DET child throw.away random in house inside around

Then the child cut her flesh, her flesh and her hair (= skin) (and) threw it all around inside the house.

- (37) *Or pa am an go gato mo an su ré*
 finish child throw 3SG feather REL on 3SG head this
mo de gato kam dum tak.
 on side REL sun light.up side

Then the child threw her feathers from her head into the (room) on the side where the sun rises.

- (38) *Or yo, an ki do, Pa, nan mu sane*
 finish when.IRR 3SG say COM child 2SG go like.that
wade kre et.
 until afternoon HORT(M)

After that, she had said: Child, go away until the afternoon.

- (39) *Kre kam kem ya sare ete pa ma.*
 afternoon sun stay level like.this then child come

In the afternoon, when the sun is level (with the horizon) come back.

- (40) *Pa do mu ne sa, kre, pa ma ge,*
 child PRED go DET when.RE afternoon child come that
yetu mo pe ré ge wis yo, wis yo,
 mankind at place this CL clan INDEF clan INDEF
wis yo, wis yo mo bur ré iwedewe mone sino.
 clan INDEF clan INDEF on earth this all.over there all

The child went, when it was afternoon he came back. Then he saw all the many different tribes of peoples from all over the world in that place.

- (41) *Pa ma pa ki suk sú.*
 child come child say thing with

The child came and spoke with (them).

- (42) *Pa ki a-Dagam, pa ki a-Bun, pa ki*
 child say language-Indonesian child say language-Bun child say
a-Kron pa ki a-Re, pa ki a-Ra,
 language-Kron child say language-Re child say language-Ra
pa ki a-Bijat, pa ki a yo a yo.
 child say language-Biak child say language INDEF language INDEF

The child spoke Indonesian, Bun, Kron, Re, Ra, Biak and lots of other languages.

- (43) *A-Cina ré, pa yo nggi mo nde it.*
 language-Cina this child NEG able exist NEG COMP

The child was not able to speak Chinese at all.

- (44) *Sane pa nai bukor bado suk gane-yo grem wa*
 so child take bowl or thing ANA-INDEF put for
nogi mó, ete pa syogat ye ne si-bot nogi
 rain in then child command person that follow-along rain
gwa bukor ne ba.
 hit bowl the noise

So the child got a bowl or something like it and put it down for rain to fall into. Then he told that person to make noises just like to rain hitting the bowl.

- (45) *Wo su ketke pa ma ne, or, pa ti*
 but with beginning child come DET finish child stood
mo nden, pa nyu.
 at outside child afraid

But in the beginning after the child got there, he stood outside, he was afraid.

- (46) *Pa nyu, pa ti mo nden sane, pa bi om*
 child afraid child stand at outside like.that child POSS auntie
an ké do, an umsu mbrak we ré ne,
 3SG call COM 3SG knee cap two these DET
tepsu pa bi nyam we, an gro we ne
 like child POS uncle two 3SG eye two DET
tepsu pa bi om we.
 like child POS auntie two

While the child was afraid and standing outside like that, the child's auntie called out that the two knee caps are like the child's two uncles, and the two eyes are like the child's aunties.

- (47) *Sane an ki do, Nan nyu nde, nan ma sor.*
 so 3SG say COM 2SG afraid NEG 2SG come just
 So she said: Don't be afraid, just come in.

- (48) *Nan ma we nan bi om anare re, nan*
 2SG come because 2SG POSS auntie is.here PERF 2SG
ma we nan bi nyam anare re.
 come because 2SG POS uncle is.here PERF

Come because it is your aunties, and your uncles who are already here.

- (49) *Nan ma sor.*
 2SG come just
 Just come.

- (50) *Sane pa ma ku mo-ne, ete, pa ki suk su*
 so child come meet at-there then child say thing with
ye mwa ne.
 people many DET

So the child went and met the many people there, and talked with them.

- (51) *Sane anato ye ki do men ye-nden ré*
 so CAUSE people say COM 1PL people-interior here
yo, go ga mo gurit mo i-su ré.
 INDEF hair REL on neck on its-head this

So as a result people say that we 'Yenden' (interior people tribe) here, well we are the hair which was on its neck and head.

- (52) *Go miten mo ndam syor muk gwar miten ne*
 hair middle on bird cassowary trunk chest middle DET

anato ye-bijat ne.
 FOC people-bijat DET

The hair in the middle of the cassowary, on the middle of its chest are the Biak people.

- (53) *Go ga mo i-sum ne anato ye-su-go-far e,*
 hair REL on its-bottom DET FOC people-head-hair-curly and
ye-kwo e ne su-go-i syu ne.
 people-white and DET head-hair-POS long/straight DET

The hair that is on its bottom are the Indonesians (curly hair) and the white people whose hair is straight.

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MAYBRAT

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Maybrat is a Papuan language which is spoken in the central area of the Bird's Head. The total number of speakers is approximately 22,000 (Brown 1991:1). Maybrat has originally been classified as a family-level isolate of the West Papuan Phylum (Voorhoeve 1987a:717), but subsequent research has indicated that this classification may well be untenable (Reesink 1996). The name Maybrat is morphologically a compound noun, consisting of two members. The first is *may*, a noun meaning 'sound'. The second part, *brat*, seems to refer to the type of sound, in other words, the particular language variety. However, in isolation the form *brat* is unattested. The people who speak Maybrat refer to themselves as *rae ro Maybrat*, lit. 'man REL 'sound *brat*'. Maybrat is spoken in six dialects, namely *Mayhapeh*, *Mayasmaun*, *Karon*, *Maymare*, *Maymaru* and *Mayte*. Speakers of these dialects all refer to themselves as *rae ro Maybrat*.

Previous work on Maybrat includes work by the anthropologists J.-E. Elmberg and H. Schoorl, and by the linguist B. Brown. Both Elmberg and Brown worked in the Ayamaru area, while Schoorl worked in the Ayfat area. A complete grammar in the form of a PhD thesis was completed in 1999 by the present author. Apart from a grammar and texts, this work also gives the background information and references on previous research on the Maybrat.

Maybrat has five vocalic phonemes, /i, e, a, o, u/. In word-final position [j] and [w] occur as allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively. There are eleven consonantal phonemes: /p, t, k, m, n, l, s, x, r, w, y/. Sequences of consonants are invariably broken up by an epenthetic [ə]. Monomorphemic words mostly consist of one or two syllable. Stress usually falls on the first syllable of a word, unless this syllable contains [ə].

Verbs and inalienably possessed nouns (i.e. kinship terms, body parts and spatial nouns) receive an obligatory person prefix, which is coreferent with the subject of the clause or with the possessor of the noun. The phonological realisation of this prefix is determined by the form of the verb or noun: bisyllabic forms in which the first and the second syllable are C-initial receive a covert person prefix Ø-. All other forms receive an overt person prefix according to the following paradigm: *t-* '1SG'; *p-* '1PL'; *n-* '2SG and 2PL'; *y-* '3M'; *m-* '3U', the unmarked prefix indicates third person singular feminine and third person plural. Gender is only distinguished on 3SG.

Demonstratives are morphologically complex: a demonstrative base *-f-* 'very near'; *-t-* 'near' and *-n-* 'far' indicates distance from the point of view of the speaker, and prefixes mark specificity, attributive or adverbial use and, in some cases, the nature of what is described such as 'area' or 'side'. Suffixes may indicate gender. Location markers and question words are partially derived from these demonstrative morphemes.

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Maybrat has four (and in some dialects five) unique terms for numbers. The rest is based on body-parts, which is a typically Papuan feature (Laycock (1975) and de Vries (1992; 1993)).

Word order is fairly rigidly SVO, and in the NP the adjective, numeral and demonstrative follow the head noun, in this order. In possessive constructions in which the possessed is an inalienable noun the order is possessor-possessioned, whereas in the case of an alienable noun the word order is possessioned-possessor, where the possessor is marked by *ro*, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) *Tfo ro-Yan y-atia*
machete POS-Yan 3SM-father
Yan's father's knife.

The restrictive relative clause, which follows the head, is also marked by *ro*, as in (2).

- (2) *Eok ro m-hu amah m-aim po-it*
two REL 3U-stay house 3U-cook NOM-eat.PL
The two who stay home cook food.

Negation occurs by placing the negator *fe* in clause-final position. In 'yes/no' questions, the interrogative marker *a* is placed in sentence-final position. Content questions are formed with question words, which take the position of the constituent being questioned.

Syntactically, one of the most striking features of Maybrat are sequences of verbs, which can be classified into a number of different types of sequence. A problematic category are sequences which include verbs of position, motion, and which have shared arguments. These resemble coordinating constructions, but at the same time also seem similar to so-called 'serial verb constructions'. An example is given as (3), see further Dol (1999).

- (3) *Aof ro y-fat Ø m-tie m-ai tapam m-anes oh*
sago REL 3M-fell (it) 3U-break 3U-hit ground 3U-old already
The sago tree that he felled and it broke and hit the ground, was already old.

The story below was written by Didimus Bame, a fifteen year-old boy who often helped to write out recorded Maybrat stories told by other people. At some point, Didimus said that he knew many Maybrat stories which his father had told him, and asked me if he could simply write out a few stories instead of recording them first. Eventually, other people also occasionally brought in written stories.

Po mna Tehaya

The story of Tehaya, written by Didimus Bame in Ayawasi, 13 November 1994

- (1) *Po mna Tehaya*
thing fairy.tale Tehaya
The story of Tehaya.

- (2) *Pi ait y-sia y-fain y-sia y-are s-au ro ano*
man he 3M-with 3M-wife 3M-with 3M-child one-3U POS² female

² It is unclear whether the marker *ro* in this context is a possessive marker or a relative clause marker. The same applies to *ro* in *ku ro sme* 'boy' in line 63. For a discussion see Dol (1999:105).

ana m-ana tuf m-hu ora r-ana s-au
 3PL 3U-head three 3U-stay garden POS-3PL one-3U

A man and his wife and their one daughter, the three lived together in their garden.

- (3) *Ana m-hu ora r-ana re-t-o nene*
 3PL 3U-stay garden POS-3PL location.SPEC-near-U near

aya m-api s-au
 water 3U-big one-3U

They stayed in their garden there near a big river.

- (4) *Ana m-hu m-kah ora r-ana re-t-o*
 3PL 3U-stay 3U-burn garden POS-3PL location.SPEC-near-U

m-hu m-ait ora r-ira re-t-o
 3U-stay 3U-eat garden REL-just.now location.SPEC-near-U

m-ake r-au to
 3U-fruit POS-3U LOC³

They stayed and burned their garden there, they stayed and they ate from the garden (mentioned) just now, and the garden bore its own fruit.

- (5) *Ana m-ait m-hu mpair r-ana re-t-o*
 3PL 3U-eat 3U-stay place POS-3U location.SPEC-near-U

They ate and they stayed in their place there.

- (6) *Ana m-hu ewa to pi⁴ re-f-i y-kias*
 3PL 3U-stay always LOC man location.SPEC-very.near-M 3M-tell

ana y-awe anu n-mo n-teh asah⁵ suek⁶ m-siar war
 they 3M-say 2PL 2-go.PL⁷ 2PL-feel shrimp well 3U-many very

They stayed there as usual, and this man told them, he said: You go and catch shrimps well until you have very many.

- (7) *N-po n-ma, k-tuo Ø-tawer aya*
 2PL-hold 2PL-come.PL EMP⁸-1SG Ø-fish.with.rod water

³to 'LOC' refers to location (Dol 1999:130-131; 184-187), but is normally left untranslated to avoid a tortured English translation.

⁴*pi* 'man' in this context refers to the father of the family, although *pi* is normally used to refer to a man in the general sense of the word, or to 'mister'.

⁵*-teh asah* lit. 'feel shrimps' refers to fishing with hands. In the dry season shrimps (and also other fish) are manually fished out of the water by feeling and groping for them. In the free translations, *-teh asah* is translated as 'catch shrimps' or 'fish' to accommodate a more fluent translation.

⁶*suek* means 'well' when used as a manner adverbial, and 'immediately' or 'straight away' when used as a temporal adverbial.

⁷A few verbs, *-amo* 'go' is one of them, substitute the initial *a* by [ə], when prefixed for first or second person plural. Similarly *-ama* 'come' in (7).

⁸The prefix *k-* before a first person singular pronoun *tuo* is in some northern dialects used for emphasis. The author of this story, at the time a sixteen-year old boy, grew up in Konya, 10 km to the north of Ayawasi.

sa aro m-afit po fi-t-o p-muah po-it
 fish other 3U-bite thing similar.to-near-U 1P-cook thing-eat.PL
*po p-ka*⁹.
 thing we-mix

You take it and come, I will fish with a rod in the river, fish and other things will bite like this, and we will cook food and we will have things to mix with it.

- (8) *Ana m-ari na m-amo m-ros m-teh asah*
 3PL 3U-hear and.then 3U-go 3U-stand 3U-feel.fish shrimp
f-o m-siar war
 very.near-U 3U-many very

They listened and went and stood (in the river) and they caught these large amounts of shrimps.

- (9) *M-po m-ama m-e pi*
 3U-hold 3U-come 3U-give man

They brought them and gave them to the man.

- (10) *Ait y-amo Ø-tawer aya*
 3M 3M-go Ø-fish.with.rod water

He went to fish with a rod in the river.

- (11) *Mti mah¹⁰ o na fi-t-o teruuuuuuus¹¹*
 night tomorrow ENUM and.then similar.to-near-U continuously

Night and day and then like this aaaaaaall the time.

- (12) *Ou¹² hrim s-au pi re-fi y-kias ana*
 Ow! time one-3U man location.SPEC-very.near-M 3M-tell 3PL
m-amo a fi-t-o m-teh asah
 3U-go again similar.to-near-U 3U-feel.fish shrimp

Now, one time the man told them to go again like this, and catch shrimps.

- (13) *Um ro ana m-amo m-teh asah to pi ait*
 moment REL 3PL 3U-go 3U-feel.fish shrimp LOC man he
y-amo si Ø-tawer aya
 3M-go also Ø-fish.with.rod water

When they went to fish, the man went too and fished with a rod.

⁹The expression *po p-ka*, lit. 'things we mix' is used to refer to fish, meat and vegetables which are used to mix with staple food such as taro, cassava and, nowadays, rice.

¹⁰ The expression *mti mah* is adequately translated as 'night and day'

¹¹ The adverb *terus* 'continuously', here with a long vowel to mark emphasis, is a loan from Indonesian.

¹² This exclamation marks the beginning of a change in the story.

- (14) *Fai f-o m-sia m-aku eok m-amo m-teh asah*
 woman very.near-U 3U-with 3U-small two 3U-go 3U-feel.fish shrimp

The woman with her child, the two went and fished

- (15) *Eok m-teh asah m-teh asah m-teh asah*
 two 3U-feel.fish shrimp 3U-feel.fish shrimp 3U-feel.fish shrimp
war tipuo m-he m-siar
 very immediately 3U-see 3U-many

The two fished for a long time, they caught many shrimps, until they saw they had a lot.

- (16) *Eok m-ros m-o Ø-fais m-ae pron m-apoh suek mat*
 two 3U-stand 3U-take Ø-fill 3U-at bamboo 3U-dry well five

The two got up and filled (the shrimps) well into five dry bamboos.

- (17) *Um r-ira ana m-teh to ana fi-ra*
 moment REL-just.now¹³ 3PL 3U-feel.fish LOC 3PL similar.to-PART¹⁴
m-teh m-kai parir o sa ati o kpai
 3U-feel.fish 3U-meet shrimp ENUM fish real ENUM crab
o po fi-t-o to
 ENUM thing similar.to-near-U LOC

Now this time when they were fishing, they felt like this and they found shrimps, real fish¹⁵, crabs and things like this.

- (18) *Ø-Hatet Ø-fais pron tiyit si¹⁶ na asah Ø-fais pron*
 Ø-choose Ø-fill bamboo four also and.then shrimp fill bamboo
mat si fi-t-o
 five also similar.to-near-U

They selected (the fish) and they filled four bamboos, at the same time they filled the shrimps into a bamboo and so they had five bamboos.

- (19) *M-ros m-e u m-amo to ara na¹⁷ ti-puo*
 3U-stand 3U-return again 3U-go LOC k.o.tree immediately

They got up and they returned again and they immediately went to the 'Buah Raja' tree.

¹³ The modifier *ira* 'just now' linked to the head noun by the POS/REL marker *ro* indicates an item just mentioned. In this line and many following lines it is sufficiently implied by the English definite article, because a more explicit translation would only make it sound awkward.

¹⁴ This is a dialectal variant: in Ayawasi this particle appears as *-re*. The syntactic position of *fi-ra* in this context is also strange: one would expect the manner adverb *fi-t-o* 'similar.to-near-U' to occur following *m-teh* to express 'they felt like this'.

¹⁵ *saa ati* 'real fish' refers to all kinds of fish that do not include shrimps and crabs.

¹⁶ The occurrence of the adverb *si* twice in this sentence expresses simultaneity of the events described in each clause which *si* follows (Dol 1999:266).

¹⁷ In Indonesian *ara na* is 'Buah Raja', an edible fruit.

- (20) *M-he pi r-ira f-o y-amo oh*
 3U-see man REL-just now very.near-U 3M-go already
 Ø-tawer aya
 Ø-fish.with.rod water

They saw that the man had already gone to fish in the river with a rod.

- (21) *Ana m-he pi y-arak na ana m-ros m-ko tafoh*
 3PL 3U-see man 3M-empty and.then 3PL 3U-stand 3U-roast fire

They saw that the man was not there, and then they got up and they made a fire.

- (22) *Tipuo na fai f-o m-kias ku au kpet*
 immediately and.then woman very.near-U 3U-tell child 3U just
m-aim pron r-ira m-kah a¹⁸ parir o sa
 3U-cook bamboo REL-just.now 3U-with mmm shrimp ENUM fish
o kpai o
 ENUM crab ENUM

Then the woman told the child to just cook the bamboo with the shrimps and the fish and the crab.

- (23) *Po r-ira ana Ø-fais pron to*
 thing REL-just.now 3PL Ø-fill bamboo LOC

The things that (they had) just (caught) they put into the bamboos.

- (24) *Fai f-o m-kias ku au kpet m-aim pron*
 woman very.near-U 3U-tell child 3U just 3U-cook bamboo

The woman told the child to just cook the bamboos.

- (25) *Na fai au m-aut ara m-hu akah u¹⁹*
 and.then woman 3U 3U-climb tree 3U-stay above up

And then the woman climbed into a tree and stayed up there.

- (26) *M-hu akah u komando²⁰ ku au r-ira m-aim*
 3U-stay above up command child 3U REL-just.now 3U-cook
pron fo²¹
 bamboo INCEPT

She stayed above and ordered the child to begin cooking the bamboos.

¹⁸ *a* is an interjection that expresses hesitation by the speaker, Dol (1999:138).

¹⁹ In the sequence *akah u*, *u* intensifies the meaning of *akah*, Dol (1999:131).

²⁰ *komando* is a loanword from Indonesian.

²¹ The demonstrative form *fo* can either be an attributive demonstrative meaning 'this' (also expressed as *re-f-o*, where *re* is an attributive demonstrative prefix), or it can mark the beginning of an action, here called 'INCEPTive' (Dol 1999:107, 178).

- (27) *Fai m-itah m-itah²² na ku au m-aim pron*
 woman 3U-order 3U-order and.then child 3U 3U-cook bamboo
f-o Ø-samer Ø-prut²³
 very-near-U Ø-cooked Ø-everything

The woman ordered and ordered and the child cooked the bamboos until they were all done.

- (28) *Fai m-he Ø-samer m-itah tipuo ku au m-o*
 woman 3U-see Ø-cooked 3U-order immediately child 3U 3U-take
sa r-ira m-kah pron f-o
 fish REL-just.now 3U-with bamboo very.near-U

The woman saw it was done and she immediately ordered the child to take the fish with the bamboo.

- (29) *M-o m-e au akah u ara ti-au m-hu*
 3U-take 3U-give she above up tree side-U.DIST 3U-stay
akah ara m-apo
 above tree 3U-eat.meat

She took it and gave it to her up on the side in the tree, she stayed above in the tree, she was eating (there).

- (30) *Ku au m-o sa f-o m-kah pron tuf m-o*
 child 3U 3U-take fish very.near-U 3U-with bamboo three 3U-take
m-e fai au na pron eok m-awe m-hu
 3U-give woman 3U then bamboo two 3U-say 3U-stay
si au
 also DIST.U

The child took this fish with three bamboos, she took them and gave them to the woman, and she said that the other two bamboos should stay here (i.e. on the ground with the child).

- (31) *M-fe na fai au m-awe wa m-atak, m-awe fe*
 3U-NEG and.then woman 3U 3U-say hey! 3U-angry 3U-say No!

It was not allowed,²⁴ and then the woman said: hey! She was angry, and she said: No!

- (32) *Ku au m-o m-e Ø-prut*
 child 3U 3U-take 3U-give Ø-everything

²² Repetition of words is often used to intensify the meaning, Dol (1999:277-278). See also lines 37, 63.

²³ Words that express quantifying notions are formally verbs in Maybrat, Dol (1999:79-82).

²⁴ In Dol (1999:190) I argued that an accurate translation of predicative *m-fe* in sentence-initial position is 'it is not the case', making explicit that the content of the previous utterance does not apply. An example:

rae s-ait y-per m-ana eok. M-fe na y-per m-ana s-au
 person one-3M 3M-educate 3U-head two 3U-NEG and.then 3M-educate 3U-head one-3U

One man educates two (boys). If that is not the case, he educates one (boy).

However, in the context of (31), 'it is not allowed' would seem a better translation.

The child took it and gave everything.

- (33) *Ø-Soh*
Ø-deceive

She (i.e. the woman) deceived (her).

- (34) *Ku au ira Ø-fais o m-aim o po*
 child 3U just.now Ø-fill ENUM 3U-cook ENUM thing
we-t-o Ø-prut-prat²⁵ ira
 location.GENR-near-U Ø-everything-RED just.now

The child, just now she filled and cooked all the things in a messy manner.

- (35) *M-nan na fai au m-e fe sa aro m-kah*
 3U-enough and.then woman 3U 3U-give NEG fish other 3U-to
ku au fe²⁶
 child 3U NEG

Then the woman, she did not give the fish and other things to the child.

- (36) *Ku au m-he fai m-itah fi-t-o fi-t-o*
 child she 3U-see woman 3U-order similar-to-near-U similar-to-near-U
na ku au m-o m-e Ø-prut m-ae fai au
 and.then child 3U 3U-take 3U-give Ø-everything 3U-at woman 3U

The child saw the woman order like this and that, and then she took and gave everything to the woman.

- (37) *Ku au m-he fai au m-apo Ø-prut na m-ros*
 child 3U 3U-see woman 3U 3U-eat Ø-everything and.then 3U-stand
m-awia m-awia m-awia m-awia m-awia m-awia suek
 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry well

The child saw that the woman ate everything and then she got up and cried hard for a very long time.

- (38) *M-he fai f-o m-apo²⁷ sa f-o Ø-prut*
 3U-see woman very.near-U 3U-eat.meat fish very.near-U Ø-everything
ku au m-awia m-awia m-awia
 child 3U 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry

She saw that the woman had eaten all this fish, and she cried for a very long time.

²⁵The function of reduplication is to intensify the meaning of a word, adding an element of randomness (Dol 1999:63).

²⁶It is unclear why the negator *fe* is used twice in this sentence. Possibly this creates extra emphasis.

²⁷Normally the form *-apo* refers to eating meat, while *-tah* is used to refer to eating small meat or, as in this case, fish. Possibly here *-apo* is used because large amounts of fish are eaten.

- (39) *Fai au m-he ku au m-awia yom yom*
 woman 3U 3U-see child 3U 3U-cry continuously continuously
na m-roh m-o tfo Ø-saraf ku au m-amuom
 and.then 3U-descend 3U-take machete Ø-cut child 3U 3U-neck
Ø-ktus Ø-saraf ku m-ana Ø-ktus tipuo m-ros
 Ø-break Ø-cut child 3U-head Ø-break immediately 3U-stand
m-o ku f-o m-asom m-amo Ø-peyak
 3U-take child very.near-U 3U-carry.on.shoulder 3U-go Ø-throw.away
war m-ato²⁸
 reject 3U-hole

The woman saw that the child cried continuously and then she descended and she fetched a machete and cut the child's neck loose. She cut the child's head off and then she stood and she took the child and carried her on her shoulder and she went and threw her away in a hole.

- (40) *Fai au m-e u m-hu au amah Ø-ste pi*
 woman 3U 3U-return again 3U-stay DIST.U house Ø-wait man
ait y-ama
 3M 3M-come

The woman returned and stayed at the house and waited for the man to come.

- (41) *Pi ait Ø-tumuk y-awe ku mi-yo*
 man 3M Ø-ask 3M-say child PRESTT-Q

The man asked: Where is the child?

- (42) *Fai au m-kias m-awe ku m-amo m-teh aya*
 woman 3U 3U-tell 3U-say child 3U-go 3U-feel.fish water

The woman answered saying: The child has gone to feel fish in the river.

- (43) *Pi ait y-kias y-awe a ku au m-amo m-teh aya*
 man 3M 3M-tell 3M-say eh child 3U 3U-go 3U-feel.fish water
fi-t-o m-kias k-tuo t-har
 similar.to-near-U 3U-tell EMP-1SG 1SG-know

The man answered saying: If the child goes to feel fish in the river, like this she tells (me) so that I know.

- (44) *Na pi Ø-tumuk u ku mi-yo*
 and.then man Ø-ask again child PRESTT-Q

Then the man asked again: Where is the child?

²⁸*m-ato* 'hole' is a spatial noun. Spatial nouns refer to relational parts of objects. In Maybrat, spatial nouns are formally inalienably possessed nouns, which means that they receive a person-prefix, see Dol (1999:95ff).

- (45) *Fai m-kias m-awe ku m-amo Ø-saraf am*
 woman 3U-tell 3U-say child 3U-go Ø-cut raincape

The woman said: The child went to cut a raincape.²⁹

- (46) *Na pi ait y-kias y-awe a ku au m-amo Ø-saraf*
 then man 3M 3M-tell 3M-say eh child 3U 3U-go Ø-cut
am fi-t-o mi³⁰ m-kias k-tuo t-har
 raincape similar.to-near-U so.that 3U-tell EMP-1SG 1SG-know

Then the man answered saying: If the child goes to cut a raincape, like this she tells (me) so that I know.

- (47) *Pi ait Ø-tumuk fi-t-o terus terus*
 man he Ø-ask similar.to-near-U continuously continuously

The man continuously asked like this.

- (48) *Fai au m-he m-fe na m-ros m-kias m-awe*
 woman 3U 3U-see 3U-NEG and.then 3U-stand 3U-tell 3U-say
ku m-awia parir o sa o kpai o po
 child 3U-cry shrimp ENUM fish ENUM crab ENUM thing
r-ira k-tuo t-no wo-f-o
 REL-just.now EMP-1SG 1SG-do location.GENR-very.near-U

The woman saw that it did not work, and she got up and said: The child cried for shrimps, fish, crab and things I made here.

- (49) *K-tuo t-haf.ko³¹ t-ros t-o tfo Ø-saraf*
 EMP-1SG 1SG-stomach.not.want 1sg-stand 1SG-take machete Ø-cut
m-ama
 3U-head

I got angry and I got up and fetched a machete and cut her head.

- (50) *T-tor t-amo t-ruk war m-ato*
 1sg-carry.on.shoulder 1SG-go 1SG-submerge reject 3U-hole

I carried her on my shoulder and threw her away in a hole.

- (51) *Pi ait y-ari fi-t-o na y-ros y-o*
 man 3M 3M-hear similar.to-near-U and.then 3M-stand 3M-take
tfo y-toh m-ae fra suek y-he m-aon
 machete 3M-sharpen 3U-at stone well 3M-see 3U-sharp

²⁹*am* 'raincapes' are made from pandanus leaves. They are also used as mats to sleep on.

³⁰It is unclear why here *mi* 'so that' is used while in line 43, which is parallel in syntactic structure and meaning *mi* is absent.

³¹The form *ko*, which here together with *-haf* 'stomach' refers to 'anger', is derived from *-ako* 'not want'. In Maybrat, many forms expressing emotion are formed in this way, e.g. *t-haf fri* 'I feel for', lit. '1SG-stomach.meet'.

The man heard it (was) like this, and then he got up and fetched a knife and sharpened it well on a stone until he saw it was sharp.

- (52) *Y-ros y-kias y-awe t-ano n-yum tafoh*
 3M-stand 3M-tell 3M-say 1SG-sibling.opposite.sex 2-improve fire
m-ait re p-im po-it o p-im
 3U-burn in.order.to 1PL-cook.PL thing-eat.PL ENUM 1SG-cook.PL
sa o po p-it ke p-hai awiah³²
 fish ENUM thing 1PL-eat.PL because 1PL-die taro

He got up and he said: My sister, you improve the fire and it burns, so that we cook food and we cook fish and things to eat because we are hungry.

- (53) *Fai au m-ari na m-ros m-yum tafoh*
 woman 3U 3U-hear and.then 3U-stand 3U-improve fire

The woman heard it and then she got up and she improved the fire.

- (54) *Pi ait y-ros y-o tfo Ø-saraf tipuo m-amuom*
 man he 3M-stand 3M-take machete Ø-cut immediately 3U-neck
 Ø-ktus m-amo ete poh
 Ø-broken 3U-go below ashes

The man got up and fetched a knife and immediately cut her neck off and it fell down in the ashes.

- (55) *Pi y-ros y-ko tipuo tafoh na y-ros*
 man 3M-stand 3M-roast immediately fire and.then 3M-stand
y-o fai f-o Ø-smoh tipuo
 3M-take woman very.near-U Ø-roast immediately

The man got up immediately and burned the fire and then he got up and took the woman and roasted her over the fire straight away.

- (56) *Y-ros Ø-safa tipuo m-siar na y-ros Ø-fais*
 3M-stand Ø-cut immediately 3U-many and.then 3M-stand fill
pron m-siar suek Ø-frok³³ mat
 bamboo 3U-many well Ø-emerge five

He got up and cut (the flesh) immediately until there was a lot and then he got up and filled many bamboos well (with the flesh) until there were five.

- (57) *Sa f-o Ø-fais si pron eok*
 fish very.near-U Ø-fill also bamboo two

He also filled two bamboos with the fish.

³²The form *-hai awiah*, lit. 'die taro' is accurately translated as 'be hungry.'

³³The form *frok* 'emerge' is in many contexts adequately be translated as 'arrive'.

- (58) *Y-ros y-aim tipuo y-he Ø-samer na y-ros*
 3M-stand 3M-cook immediately 3M-see Ø-cooked and.then 3M-stand
y-seh tipuo y-kai pruo
 3M-cut.in.half immediately 3M-smoke rack.over.fireplace

He got up and cooked it (the fish) until he saw they were done, and then he got up and immediately cut (the bamboo) in half and he smoked them on the rack over the fireplace.

- (59) *Y-he Ø-srak na y-ros y-o y-fau yu³⁴ s-au*
 3M-see Ø-cooked and.then 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-fill bag one-3U
na y-ros y-amo sasus y-kit y-atia o
 and.then 3M-stand 3M-go coast 3M-towards 3M-father ENUM
y-me o ana to sasus
 3M-mother ENUM 3PL LOC coast

He saw that it was cooked, and then he got up, took a bag and filled it and he got up and went to the coast to his father and his mother and the others at the coast.

- (60) *Y-amo Ø-frok ana na ana Ø-tumuk m-awe, ku pi*
 3M-go Ø-emerge they and.then 3PL Ø-ask 3U-say child man
Ø-soh e
Ø-deceive eh

He went and arrived (at them) and then they asked saying: The child, you (lit. the man) deceive eh?³⁵

- (61) *Finia o ku*
 woman ENUM child

The woman and the child.

- (62) *Fai m-o tfo Ø-saraf m-amuom Ø-ktus na*
 woman 3U-take machete Ø-cut 3U-neck Ø-break and.then
m-asom m-amo m-ruk m-ato na fai au
 3U-carry.on.shoulder 3U-go 3U-submerge 3U-hole and.then woman 3U
k-tuo t-o tfo Ø-saraf m-amuom Ø-ktus na
 EMP-1SG 1SG-take machete Ø-cut 3U-neck Ø-break and.then
m-hai si ou
 3U-die also ouw!

The woman fetched a knife and cut the (child's) neck off and then carried (the child) and went and submerged it in a hole, and then the woman. I took a knife and cut the neck off and then she also died.

³⁴*yu* is a traditional bag woven from pandanus leaves, with a long strap, carried over the head.

³⁵This part of the sentence is not entirely clear. A possible interpretation is that this is an exclamation by the parents of the man, expressing surprise at the fact that he has arrived alone, without his family.

- (63) *Ku ro sme f-o y-ari r-ira y-atia y-kias*
 child POS male very.near-U 3M-hear REL-just.now 3M-father 3M-tell
fi-t-o na ku fo y-awia y-ros Ø-safo
 similar.to-near-U and.then child INCEPT 3M-cry 3U-stand Ø-angry
y-amo Ø-safo y-amo Ø-safo y-amo Ø-frok iso suf
 3M-go Ø-angry 3M-go Ø-angry 3M-go Ø-emerge path middle
papoh³⁶ m-hu ao m-afit ku ait y-hai
 white.snake 3U-stay DIST.U 3U-bite child 3M 3M-die

The son heard what his father just now told like this, and he began to cry and got up very angrily and went and he arrived at the middle of the road and a white snake was there and bit the child and the child died.

- (64) *Pi f-o y-awe y-rof re y-sof-sof ku ait*
 man very.near.U 3M-say 3M-follow in.order.to 3M-chase-RED child he

The man wanted to follow so that he could chase the child.

- (65) *Papoh r-ira f-o m-hu ao na m-afit*
 white.snake REL-just now very.near-U 3U-stay DIST. and.then 3U-bite
pi ait iye y-hai
 man 3U also 3M-die

The white snake was there it bit the man and he also died.

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³⁶*apan papoh* is a very poisonous white snake with black dots, which is found in the Bird's Head of Papua.

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MPUR

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Mpur is a Non-Austronesian tone language with ca. 5000 speakers in Kebar and Amberbaken (North-East Bird's Head of West Papua). These geographical names are sometimes used in the literature to indicate the Mpur language. For a brief description of Mpur morphology, the reader is referred to Odé (forthcoming). The lexicon is of Non-Austronesian origin, but many loans entered the language from Numforese, Irianese Malay, Standard Indonesian and some also from Dutch. Mpur morphology and syntax show Austronesian features (Reesink 1998:603ff.), such as subject-verb-object word order and the absence of heavy verb morphology. The following brief survey of Mpur phonology and morphology presents some features that are relevant for understanding the interlinearized text below.

Mpur phonology is described by Kalmbacher (1996). The language has five vowel phonemes /i, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, and twelve consonant phonemes: plosives /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/; fricatives /f/, /s/, /j/; nasals /m/, /n/; semivowels /w/, /y/. Nasals can be syllabic. Consonant elision on morpheme boundaries, vowel elision between consonants and semivowel insertion between vowels is a frequent phenomenon.

Mpur has four lexical tone contrasts: high, midrising, mid/midfalling and low, indicated on vowels and syllabic nasals with the marks ´ ˘ ˆ ˘, respectively. Examples are: wóp 'masses.of.water', wǒp 'resin', wôp 'k.o.palm', wòp 'harden.of.sago'. A final description of tones and intonation is still in progress; a discussion about the experimental-phonetic analysis of tones and intonation in Mpur can be found in Odé (1996; 1997a,b; 1998).

There are free and bound pronouns; bound pronouns are subject markers prefixed on verbs (1) and on inalienable nouns (2).

- (1) *A-jap beraw do-musim do-f(i)-rokir²*
3SM-live with 3D-woman 3D-CLF-two

He lived together with the two women.

- (2) *Im-ber n-prek n-(w)om ka-(a)mbram*
1SG-tie 3SF-foot 3SF-arm that-at.the.side

I tied her feet and arms spread out sideways.

On verbs, subject prefixation is obligatory with human subjects, except with *(mi)nton* 'child' and *mamir* 'person', unless gender is stressed. The word order in verbal clauses is SVO. A verbaliser *bi-* can be used to change loans or words from other word classes into a verb: *bi-tutup* VB-close 'close', *bi-sik* 'VB-be.unable' from *sik* 'not.possible'. In sequences, verbs are obligatorily inflected, as in (3):

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²Note that in a number of cases classifiers are required in combination with numerals.

- (3) *De-jap de-frur de-tar bain.*
 3PL-live 3PL-make 3PL-possess garden

They live and work in their garden.

Verbs are not inflected for the marking of Tense-Mood-Aspect. A general question-marking particle *-e* indicates the interrogative (4) in clauses without question word; the imperative mood is expressed by the second person, sometimes followed by the clause-final demonstrative *ka* (5); the prohibitive is expressed by *jan* ‘not’ (6).

- (4) *An-un si jan-e?*
 2SG-go to house-QM

Are you going home?

- (5) *Nen-dokwa njep na nen-kapet! Jan! An-dokwa ka!*
 2PL-carry firewood for 2PL-cut no 2SG-carry that

You must carry the firewood and cut it! No, you must carry (it)!

- (6) *An-wandar jan!*
 2SG-shame not

Don’t be ashamed!

Alienable nouns are possessed with the possessive pronouns *-tar* and *-bi* (*de-tar jan* 3PL-POS house ‘their house’) and inalienable nouns by means of bound pronouns (*n-prek* 3SF-foot ‘her feet’). The noun *bar* ‘thing’ occurs frequently with other nouns or as nominaliser with words from other word classes: *ba(r)-bwa* thing-leaf ‘vegetables’, *ba(r)-kotot* thing-laugh ‘funny’. Nouns referring to human beings and names are marked for gender: *nton-a* child-3SM ‘boy’, *Flora-n* Flora-3SF ‘Flora’.

Adjectives follow the noun and can be further specified with the relative marker *ma* (*iw mafun* bird beautiful ‘a beautiful bird’ vs *iw ma mafun* ‘the bird that is beautiful’). In predications, adjectives can occur as verb and take subject prefixation: *a-umfrum* 3SM-yellow ‘he looks yellow’. Adjectives such as *kwaik* ‘strong, hard’ can also be used as adverbs: *de-jap kwaik* 3PL-sit strong ‘they are firmly seated’.

Some spatial prepositions have an aspectual meaning with verbs of motion as illustrated in (7-9). *Ku* ‘to, in, at’ may be prefixed with *a-*, which I have glossed as ‘3SM’.

- (7) *In-aw si Manokwar.*
 1SG-go.home to Manokwari

I go home to Manokwari.

- (8) *An-un ma Anja.*
 3SM-go to Anjai

He has gone to Anjai (and is there now).

- (9) *Saji n-un ku Anja.*
 once 1SG-go to Anjai

Once I have been to Anjai.

In this brief survey of Mpur morphology only a few words can be said about the deictic system, which requires extensive research since it is not very well understood yet. Spatial deictics are expressed by the basic demonstratives *ki* ‘here/this’, *ka* ‘there/that’ and *mek* ‘over there’. The demonstratives occur with the prefix morpheme *n-*, probably ‘3SF’ and, if used attributively, with relative pronoun *ma* and *n-* ‘3SF’ as shown in the following examples:

- (10) *Aka dwaw det bain ma-n-ki.*
and.then pig eat garden REL-3SF-this

And then the pig will eat up this garden.

- (11) *A-mim bapu ma Amtur a-na-mek.*
3SM-arrive far.away at Amtur 3SM-come-there

He arrived far away at (the river) Amtur there.

The anaphoric *ta* and focus/topic marking *ni* indicate textual deictics. They are shown in examples (12, 13):

- (12) *A-wot ka nton ni tut nton mafun mim.*
3SM-see that child FOC because child beautiful so

He looked after that child because it was so beautiful.

- (13) *Aka n-jat a-ta kin.*
and.then 3SF-wound 3SM-ANA healthy

And then her wound was cured.

The anaphoric elements can be prefixed by *a-* ‘3SM?’ and *ba(r?)* ‘thing?’: *a-ta*, *ba-ta*, *ba-ni*. My consultant insisted that in the forms with *a-*, initial *b-* is omitted and that it comes from *bar* ‘thing’. They may be combined with the demonstrative *ki* ‘this’ and *ka* ‘that’.

In narrative texts, the conjunctions *min-ta-ki* like-ANA-this, *min-ta-(a)re* like-ANA-so and some other combinations with *min-* ‘like-’ with the meaning ‘having arrived at this point, things were like that’ (in short: ‘like that’), occur very frequently in clause-initial as well as clause-final position. Finally, an interesting feature in Mpur is the frequent occurrence of clitics, which function in discourse as interrogative, continuation, focus, temporal marker, vocative, and as the expression of emotive emphasis (see also Odé 1997a; 1998). Though some clitics, like interrogative clitic *-e* and clitic *-o* in enumerations, have a clear meaning of their own, it is not easy to explain differences between the clitics. I will gloss all of them as CL.

The text for this contribution is told in the coastal dialect of Saukorem, Amberbaken, in which for example Mpur *wóp* ‘masses.of.water’ is realized as *op*. Notational conventions, apart from the abbreviations listed at the beginning of this volume, are the following. Semivowel insertion between vowels is indicated by *Y*; vowels and consonants that are not pronounced are presented in parentheses. Stem-initial /d/ preceded by a prefix ending in a vowel is pronounced as [r]; this may also occur in connected speech if a preceding word ends in a vowel. In the text I spelled according to the actual pronunciation of /d/ as [d] or as [r]. Likewise I followed in the spelling the actual pronunciation of word-initial /n/ before bilabials as [m], of word-initial /b/ as [w, β] in for instance the deictic elements *(a)bata* and *bani* and in *bar* ‘thing’ and of word-initial /p/ which is sometimes pronounced as [w, b, β].

Op ti wa

‘Masses of water washed things away’

told by Markus Wabia (ca. 40 years old) Saukorem, March 1994

- (1) *Sabon-i a-ku sor ma muk Birwaw/*
before-CL 3SM-at mountain REL name Birwaw

It was in the mountains called Birwaw (near Imbuan, Amberbaken),

a-ku nek Abwa a-tow#
3SM-at earth Abwa.river 3SM-flow

in the land where the river Abwa (in Biak language: Wesaoeni) flows.

- (2) *Put a-ta-k(a) mwam/ pa-pet-o jan/*
day 3SM-ANA-that hot.season rain-fall-CL not

On that day during the hot season, when there is also no rain,

pu(t)-m(a)-tat ba(r)-(y)ep kaku#
day-REL-hot thing-dry very

it was hot and everything was very dry.

- (3) *Are ma nkan (f)i-ti/ a-un na a-m(in)sa-wa(r)/*
So REL old.man CLF-other 3SM-go to 3SM-hunt-thing

So a certain old man went to hunt,

a-m(in)sa-war-e min-ta-(a)re a-jik dwaw fi-tu#
3SM-hunt-thing-CL like-ANA-so 3SM-kill pig CLF-one

he hunted till he had killed one pig.

- (4) *Dwaw a-ta-ka a-bep/ na a-a(w) si jan*
pig 3SM-ANA-that 3SM-carry to 3SM-go.home to house

He carried the pig in a cloth to return to the house

ma de-kon ku-i#
REL 3PL-live at-CL

they lived in.

- (5) *A-mim a-ku jan ma de-kon ku-i#*
3SM-arrive 3SM-at house REL 3PL-live at-CL

He arrived at the house where they lived.

- (6) *De-kuri yet/ na de-kep dwaw wa(r?)-ni#*
3PL-strike fire to 3PL-roast pig thing?-FOC

They made a fire to roast that pig.

- (7) *Dwaw wa-ni de-kep-e bari bwam mim a-ku fraru-i#*
 pig thing?-FOC 3PL-roast-CL from head till 3SM-at middle-CL

They roasted the pig from its head to its very middle.

- (8) *Mamir a-ta ma a-jik dwaw-a keki/ a-non-a#*
 man 3SM-ANA REL 3SM-kill pig-3SM just 3SM-child-3SM

The man who just killed the pig had a son.

- (9) *A-non a-ta-ki jadi minton-e#*
 3SM-child 3SM-ANA-this so child-CL

His son, so the child...

- (10) *Minto(n) ba-ta-ka deka ni kubwiw#*
 child thing?-ANA-that hold wood without.bark

That child held a bare stick.

- (11) *Deka ni kubwiw ku wom ba-ni#*
 hold wood without.bark at hand thing?-FOC

It held a bare stick in its hand.

- (12) *Are a-wom are a-wom ku dwaw breimen*
 and.so 3SM-stab and.so 3SM-stab in pig body

Then he stabbed, then he stabbed it into the body of the pig,

dwaw ma de-kep ku yet-i#
 pig REL 3PL-roast in fire-CL

the pig that they roasted in the fire.

- (13) *A-wom min-ta mek-i a-bwa min-ta-(a)re/*
 3SM-stab like-ANA there-CL 3SM-say like-ANA-so

He stabbed like that in there and said like that,

minto(n) a-ta bwa min-ta-(a)re:
 child 3SM-ANA say like-ANA-so

that child said like that:

- (14) *Nan ba(r)-ma n-a a-y-andir-an put-(t)ot seremn-da-ka#*
 2SG thing-REL 1SG-father 3SM-Y-look.for-2SG day-night all 3SF-ANA-that

You are something that my father looks for all day and night.

- (15) *A-bwasi nto(n) wa-ni bwasi bwa min-ta-ka#*
 3SM-want child thing?-FOC want say like-ANA-that

He wanted, the child wanted to say all this, like that.

- (16) *Dwaw wa-ni fo parrap bari yet-a ma/*
 pig thing?-FOC start suddenly³ from fire-CL REL
 This pig suddenly got up from the fire that
- Mwak ma wor sar a-ta-ne(k)-y-a#*
 glow REL flame tongue.of.fire 3SM-ANA-there-Y-CL
 was burning there with glowing coals and tongues of fire.
- (17) *Dwaw parrap bari yet min-ta-ka#*
 pig suddenly from fire like-ANA-that
 The pig suddenly got away from the fire, like that.
- (18) *De-wa de-fon ma de-kep dwaw a-ta-ka*
 3PL-REL 3PL-many REL 3PL-roast pig 3SM-ANA-that
 There were many of them roasting that pig,
- de-y-(w)ok-o de-y-(w)ok-o de-y-(w)ok-o/ de-ip jan#*
 3PL-Y-hold-CL 3PL-Y-hold-CL 3PL-Y-hold-CL 3PL-strong not
 they tried to stop (it), (but) they were not strong (enough).
- (19) *De-bot bor na de-kwar/ de-kwar-o sik#*
 3PL-bring lance to 3PL-stab 3PL-stab-CL no.result
 They took long lances in order to pierce (it), they pierced without result.
- (20) *Dwaw wa-ni parrap mambere min-ta-(a)re aw si niraw#*
 pig thing?-FOC suddenly too like-ANA-so run to forest
 Too suddenly that pig ran off to the forest.
- (21) *Put a-ta kopem ma mwak a-ta-ka*
 day 3SM-ANA hot.sun REL burn 3SM-ANA-that
 That day the sun was like glowing coal.
- (22) *ka-tip non jan-i bajur⁴ #*
 ?-while little not-CL heavy.rain.causing.flood
 Not much later there was heavy rain causing a flood.

³Literally *parrap* means ‘suddenly beginning to convulse’. Note that in Numfor the verb *sapararerer* means ‘to convulse (of a dying animal), to flounder’. It was suggested by my consultant to translate it as ‘suddenly’.

⁴The more common pronunciation of *bajur* is *bajar* from *bar-jar* ‘thing-evil.spirit’, a word also used in Amberbaken to indicate the watergod, better known as *Wop*, lit.: ‘mass.of.water, lake’ in Kebar, but also in Amberbaken (cf. Miedema 1984: 174, 233ff.). Because of the different pronunciations of initial /w/ and /b/, I am not sure whether here the word *wajar* from *war-jar* ‘water-fluid’ is meant. *Bajur* was originally translated as ‘heavy rain causing flood that washes away people’. The common word for a flood is *war-(d)at* ‘water-to.flood’. See also note 6.

- (23) *Bwansan bi-tutup/ sor a-ta-k(a)#*
raincloud VB-close mountain 3SM-ANA-there
Rainclouds hid the mountains.
- (24) *Tip non pa-pet/ ti(p) no(n) kadadu⁵ / ti(p) no(n) ferep#*
while little rain-fall while little thunder while little lightning
Somewhat later there was rain, then thunder, then lightning.
- (25) *Bi-re min-ta-(a)re/*
VB-till like-ANA-so
Finally it was like
(w)op⁶ ti wa(r) ku-ta-ka#
mass.of.water wash.away thing at-ANA-there
masses of water that washed everything away.
- (26) *Bo(t) bajar.*
bring heavy.rain.causing.flood
(It) brought heavy rain causing a flood.
- (27) **Jadi** *minto(n)-(m)a (w)om dwaw-a keki dwaw (m)a*
so child-REL stab pig-CL earlier pig REL
So the child that just stabbed the pig, the pig that
de-kep-a keki/ fo na aw/
3PL-roast-CL? earlier get.up to run
they just roasted and that got up to run away,
- (28) *omfriw terus terus mim a-ku-a/ Birwaw bwam#*
run continually till 3SM-at-CL? Birwaw top
(the child) ran continually till it arrived at the top of the mountain Birwaw.
- (29) *Mim ba-ku Sinka-y-a#*
till thing?-at Sinka-Y-CL?
It arrived at (mountain) Sinka (near Imbuan).
- (30) *De-wa de-jap a-ku Sinka a-ta-ka de-now-e tek#*
3PL-REL 3PL-live 3SM-at Sinka 3SM-ANA-there 3PL-drown-CL down
The people who lived there in Sinka drowned.

⁵In contrast to the usual pronunciation of non-initial /d/ as [r], the speaker clearly pronounces [d]. This is said to be common in the Saukorem area, where, in contrast, initial /d/ can also be pronounced as [r].

⁶*Op* or *wop* means ‘mass.of.water, lake’, but is also the name of the watergod *Wop* or *Wuob* as it is spelled and described by Miedema (1984:174ff.). See also note 4.

- (31) *Op ti de-now#*
 mass.of.water wash.away 3PL-drown
 Masses of water washed (them) away and they drowned.
- (32) *Nto(n) wa-ni aw fari terus#*
 child thing?-FOC run across continually
 The child ran and ran across (the mountain?).
- (33) *Aw fari terus-terus mim ba-ku-a Bukot-a#*
 run more continually arrive thing?-at-CL Bukot-CL
 It ran and ran further and arrived at Bukot (near Imbuan).
- (34) *De-wa de-jap a-ku Bukot a-ta de-now#*
 3PL-REL 3PL-live 3SM-at Bukot 3SM-ANA 3PL-drown
 The people living there in Bukot had drowned.
- (35) *Minto(n) wa-ni aw fari terus terus-e mim ku Babunar-a#*
 child thing?-FOC run more continually-CL arrive in Babunar-CL
 The child ran further continually and arrived in Babunar.
- (36) *Ey Babunar-a-o a-now/*
 CL? Babunar-CL-CL 3SM-drown
 Babunar had (also) drowned,

karena bajar a-ta wop a-ta-ka#
 because heavy.rain 3SM-ANA mass.of.water 3SM-ANA-there
 because of those heavy rains and the masses of water there.
- (37) *Karena aw terus minton mim ku Nuwrer#*
 because run continually child arrive in Nuwrer
 Because it ran on and on the child arrived in Nuwrer.
- (38) *Nuwrer a-ta-ki Nuwrer-o de-now#*
 Nuwrer 3SM-ANA-here Nuwrer-CL 3PL-drown
 Here in Nuwrer they had (also) drowned.
- (39) *Ma minton-o ut ku-ta-ka#*
 REL child-CL dead at-ANA-there
 The child (also) died there.
- (40) *Dwaw ma aw keki/*
 pig REL run earlier
 The pig that ran away earlier

mwan kanik bit/ bit se bari pokram/
 kind like stone stone fall from heaven

fell down from heaven like a kind of stone,

ma ut ma-ta-mum to#
 REL stay at-ANA-inside still

that is still there inside (the forest).

- (41) *Bit a-ta-ka koron bari bwam/ mim a-ku fraru#*
 stone 3SM-ANA-that clean from head till 3SM-at middle

That stone is polished from top to middle.

- (42) *Un bari fraru aw si muk-i/ bot kanik mwap#*
 go from middle run to tail-CL make like grit

From middle to tail it is like grit.

- (43) *Jadi bit a-ta bari put a-ta-ka mim put-a pu(t)-nuni#*
 so stone 3SM-ANA from day 3SM-ANA-that till day-CL day-this.day

So from that day on till today the stone is there.

- (44) *Jadi sor a-ta-ka/ de-ron muk bi(t)-rwaw a-bwam#*
 so mountain 3SM-ANA-that 3PL-call name stone-pig 3SM-head

So that mountain they called Birwaw, the stone-pig's head.

- (45) *Jadi sabon-i bajar a-ta-ki/ waktu a-ta-ka/*
 so long.ago-CL heavy.rain 3SM-ANA-here time 3SM-ANA-that

So long ago heavy rain was here, at that time,

atau put a-ta-ka/
 or day 3SM-ANA-that

or that day,

injil unkrem ba-ku nek ma(m)-k(e)sam a-ta (j)jan-to/
 Gospel enter thing?-in land person-big.forest 3SM-ANA not-yet

the Gospel had not yet entered Papua land,

atau Mafun⁷ a-kwap unkrem a-ku ma(m)-k(e)sam a-ta jan#
 or God(good) 3SM-voice enter 3SM-in person-big.forest 3SM-ANA not

or the Word of God did not enter Papua.

- (46) *Jadi de-nkan de-nkan kiar wa(r)#*
 so 3PL-old 3PL-old believe thing

⁷*Mafun* lit. means *ma-fun* REL-live 'good, beautiful'.

So old people, old people believed things.

- (47) *Waktu a-ta per-o e-pin⁸ jan#*
time 3SM-ANA dog-CL 1PL-disrespect not

At that time we also didn't disrespect dogs.

- (48) *Dwaw-o e-pin jan#*
pig-CL 1PL-disrespect not

We also didn't disrespect pigs.

- (49) *Kam ete-ma⁹ bitur bwat*
meat.of.living.animal some-REL leg four

Four-footed animals

- ma ni-tir n-jun ek-o¹⁰ jan#*
REL wood-tip 3SF-top there-CL not

that live in trees we also didn't (disrespect).

- (50) *Kam te u(t)-ma niraw be-nek ek-o jan#*
meat.of.living.animal that live-in forest LOC-earth there-CL not

Four-footed animals that live down in the forest we also didn't disrespect.

- (51) *Be femuk a-ta-ki/ kutut injil ma unkrem/*
but nowadays 3SM-ANA-here because Gospel REL enter

But nowadays here, because the Gospel has entered,

- atau Mafun a-kwap a-kwap unkrem a-ku nek a-ta-ki/*
or God(good) 3SM-voice 3SM-voice enter 3SM-in land 3SM-ANA-this

or the Word of God, the Word has entered this land,

- ba(r) a-ta-k(a)-ek¹¹ srami ku jan pa#*
thing 3SM-ANA-that-there other at not already

all those things do not exist anymore.

- (52) *Ba(r) ma de-nkan kiar ya/*
thing REL 3PL-old believe ART

Things that the old people believed in,

⁸The verb *pin* means 'curse, abuse'. Thus, here it implies that at that time "we still revered animals, we still worshipped them with offerings", as suggested by line (52).

⁹According to my consultant the form *ete-ma* or *te-ma* means 'some are' and is equivalent to *atima*, probably *a-ti-ma* 3SM-ANA-REL 'some are'.

¹⁰My consultant suggested the form *a-y-ek-o* 3SM-Y-there-CL and translated it as 'all that also'. The full form for all is *masek*. But after careful listening in both cases only *ek-o* there-CL 'there also' was perceived.

¹¹In previous articles I analysed this form as *a-ta kek* 3SM-ANA all 'all that'. Since also a form *ek* 'there' was found to exist, I now suggest to analyse the form as presented in this text.

de-nkan te(r) wa(r) na dwaw¹² ya/ ku jan#
 3PL-old put thing for pig ART at not

the old people put down things for the pig, it doesn't exist anymore.

- (53) **Jadi** *m-bwer a-ta-ki tut/*
 so 1SG-tell 3SM-ANA-this about

So I tell this about

kekuatan/ atau/ *ba(r)-tiw-a sabon-i#*
 force or thing-taboo-CL long.ago-CL

the (magical) forces or taboos of long ago.

- (54) *Op-a abon-i na ma m-bwer subwe a-ta-i#*
 mass.of.water-CL long.ago-CL for REL 1SG-tell follow 3SM-ANA-CL

It is the huge flood long ago that I told about.

- (55) **Jadi injil atau** *mafun a-kwap mim*
 so Gospel or God(good) 3SM-voice arrive

So the Gospel or the Word of God arrived

- (56) *a-ku nek a-ta-ki/ ba(r) a-ta-k(a)-ek srami ku jan#*
 3SM-in land 3SM-ANA-this thing 3SM-ANA-that-there other at not

in this land and all those other things don't exist anymore.

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¹²In the recording this word is pronounced like [wuw]. In this context it makes sense to suppose that *dwaw* was meant. This particular speaker tends to swallow bilabials and fricatives.

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MEYAH

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The Meyah language is spoken by approximately 20,000 people. They live in traditional villages and government *Desa*² along the coastal plains of the Northeast Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya, including sections of the Amban peninsula in Manokwari, and in the northern and southern slopes of the Arfak mountains. Other names and spellings that have been used for Meyah are: Mansibaber³ (Wirz 1923), Meah, Meax and Meakh (Grimes 1984). The current spelling of Meyah is according to the orthography proposed by Gravelle (1990 and 1991). Meyah is classified as a Papuan language and part of the East Bird's Head Phylum (Voorhoeve 1977).

Although there are several local varieties of Meyah spoken within the regions defined above, the only distinct dialect is Moskona. There are approximately 8,000 Moskona living on the lower slopes of the southern Arfak mountains. Meyah and Moskona have a 90% cognacy and a nearly identical grammar and phonology. However vast differences in the pronunciation of words makes the two dialects mutually unintelligible (Gravelle 1999). The name Meyah is most likely derived from the Mpur (Kebur) word *ma-ye* 'those who are outside' (Odé 1999). Meyah and Moskona speakers do not generally refer to themselves by those respective names. They are a clan oriented society therefore what they consider to be their clan name and language name is often synonymous. Meyah shows close genetic relations with its Sougb neighbor, and has a cognacy rate of about 30% with Sougb (Reesink 1996). The Hatam and Mpur languages that border Meyah to the southeast and west respectively, are more distant with a cognacy rate of about 5%.

The inventory of Meyah phonemes includes fourteen consonants and five vowels: b/, t/d, c/j, k/g, /m/ and /n/. There is no voiceless bilabial stop /p/. The fricatives include bilabial /f/, /s/ and velar /x/ with occasional lenition to [h]. Flap [r] and the lateral [l] freely vary in all environments. Meyah vowel phonemes are /i, e, a, o, u/. The vowel /e/ is a front open-mid vowel. Diphthongs are /ei/, /ai/, /ou/ and /au/. Epenthetic semi-vowels /y/ and /w/ are used intervocalically as in: *efeya* 'wet' and *okowu* 'debt'. Vowel sequences include /ie/, /ia/, /ua/, /ui/ and /uo/ as in: *ebiedi* 'relate', *ariawun* 'medicine', *rua* 'they', *oduis* 'stab', *juomu* 'third'. Meyah is a pitch accent language using two phonemic pitch levels [+High] and [-High]. In polysyllabic words only one syllable carries the distinguishing pitch accent. The placement of accent is not predictable: *èg* 'hear' / *ég* 'smell', *mòs* 'rain' / *mós* 'frog' (Gravelle 2000).

The Meyah grammatical system is not highly complex, but it does have a greater number of verbal inflections than its East Bird's Head neighbors. Meyah is a SVO language with person-number agreement on possessed nouns and verbs. Alienable nouns are generally marked by the fossilized alienable noun class marker *m-* as in: *mek* 'pig', *meg* 'tree', *mod* 'house'. Adjectives and inalienable noun stems can function as predicates in that they can take the same person-number, aspect, and mode inflections that verb stems take and can be negated by sentence final negative *guru* 'not': *di-en-eteb* [*dineted*] *guru* '1SG-DUR-large not' (I am not big). Adjectival stems function attributively following noun heads. However, verbs do not function attributively.

Meyah does have a rather complex morphophonemic system involving coalescence between prefix vowels and stem vowels. The prefixes indicating person-number, aspect, mode, and instrument are all (CV) structures. Meyah verb, adjective, and inalienable nouns stems have an

¹The data in this text was collected under the auspices of a cooperative agreement between SIL International and the Department of Social Affairs, Republic of Indonesia.

²Government organized population centers.

³Mansibaber is a derogatory name used by Biak/Numfor language speakers.

initial vowel limited to /e, a, o/. When a person-number prefix is attached to one of these stems, its final vowel coalesces with a front or back vowel [-Low] of the stem or intervening prefix. The resulting vowel then becomes [+High Front] or [+High Back] as in (1-2).

- (1) *bi-et* [bit] *bi-en-et* [binet] *bi-e-n-t* [bint] *bi-em-et* [bimet]
 2SG-eat 2SG-DUR-eat 2SG-PERF-eat 2SG-MOD-eat
 You eat. You are eating. You have eaten. You might eat.
- (2) *di-ofij* [dufij] *di-en-ofij* [dunofij] *di-o-m-fij* [dumfij] *di-em-ofij* [dumofij]
 1SG-help 1SG-DUR-help 1SG-PERF-help 1SG-MOD-help
 I help. I am helping. I have helped. I might help.

The vowel -a is dominant and does not coalesce. Therefore, if the stem vowel is -a, the prefix vowel is elided, and if the prefix vowel is a-, then the stem vowel is elided as in (3).

- (3) *Bi-agot* [bagot] *Na-ofij* [nafij]
 2SG-speak 1DU.INC-help
 You speak. We two help.

The time of an event is indicated through the use of temporal adverbs that usually occur initially in the sentence as in (4), but can occur at the end. Verbal inflections include durative *en*, perfective aspect infix -N- (nasal), inceptive aspect *ej-*, modal *em-*, and instrument *er-* as illustrated in (4-6).

- (4) *Monog* *di-em-eja* *jah* *Manokwari*
 tomorrow 1SG-MOD-go to Manokwari
 Tomorrow I might go to Manokwari.
- (5) *Bua* *bi-n-t* *mat* *insa* *ke-uma*
 you 2SG-PERF-eat food ANA NOM-that
 S/he had eaten that food.
- (6) *Era* *meiteb* *er-of* *mega*
 use machete INST-fell tree
 S/he uses a machete to fell the tree.

Meyah uses a three term system for demonstrative and spatial deixis. The deictic stems are prefixed by nominalizer *ke-* or adverbializer *si-* as in (7).

- (7) *ke-if* [kef] 'this' *si-if* [sif] 'here'
ke-uma [koma] 'that' *si-uma* [suma] 'there'
ke-unj [konj] 'that yonder' *si-unj* [sunj] 'there yonder'

The uninflected stems in (7) function as clitics attaching to nouns or prepositions such as:

- (8) a. *orka meic-if* *eker* *gij mod-uma*
 bring ladle-this sit in house-that
 S/he brings this ladle. S/he sits in that house.
- b. *ojuj-if* *eja jah-uma*
 descend-here go to-there

S/he descends here. S/he goes there.

Meyah locative deictic constructions include demonstrative and locative adverb stems that denote elevational orientation to the deictic center such as:

- (9) *ke-imba* this below *si-imba* there below
 ke-inda this above *si-inda* there above

Movement toward or away from the deictic center is indicated by *en* ‘come’ and *eja* ‘go’, as in (10). When these stems function adverbially they remain unmarked as 3SG.

- (10) *Di-ecira* *jah* *mei* *okoka* *ke-imba* *eja*
 1SG-travel to river okoka NOM-below go

I travel going (away) to Okoka river village down below.

Mahteyi Itur Wam gonu Ekergud

Ancient tale about Itur Wam and Ekergud, told by Mesak Tibiyai

- (1) *Didif* *di-efesij* *mahteyi* *osok* *gij* *Ekergud* *ge-onu*⁴ *me-ahina* *Itur Wam* #
 I 1SG-tell ancient.tale jump in Ekergud 2/3DU-with 3SG-husband Itur Wam

I am telling an ancient story about Ekergud and her husband Itur Wam.

- (2) *Goga* *ge-eker* *gu* *monuh* *mei* *Meska* *efej* *Wam* *owohoh* *inda* #
 they 2/3DU-sit at place river Meska lower Wam underneath upward

They lived up at a place beneath lower Meska river, up there below Wam.

- (3) *Ekergud* *eker* *gu* *Inska* *eitofu* #
 Ekergud sit at Inska forehead

Ekergud lived at Inska Forehead (village).

- (4) *Ofa* *eker* *jah* *si-uma* *beda* *eyajga* *Ekergud* #
 s/he sit at ADV-there then look Ekergud

While he (Itur Wam) lived there he had looked at (knew about) Ekergud.

- (5) *Tina* *Itur Wam* *me-okosa* *Iskuruk* *Wam* *me-eyera*⁵ *Arod Minj* *ge-onu*
 but Itur Wam 3SG-sibling Iskuruk Wam 3SG-sibling Arod Minj 2/3DU-with

Ockoj Minj *ri-ah* *gu* *rerin* *mei* *Meska* *efej*⁶ *inda* #
 Ockoj Minj 3PL-lie at they.possess river Meska lower above

But Itur Wam’s younger male sibling Iskuruk Wam, (and) his sisters Arod Minj and Ockoj Minj lived up at their village of lower Meska river.

- (6) *Beda* *rua* *ri-of* *mekeni* #
 then they 3PL-fell garden

⁴The committative ‘gonu’ is only used when coordinating dual human nouns.

⁵Younger sibling opposite sex.

⁶In its usage here, *efej* ‘dry’ also refers to the lower area of a river. The term *oforga* ‘headwater’ can also refer to the upper area of a river. These two terms help to define the elevational position of a village in relation to the deictic center, hence many village names include the terms *efej* or *oforga* such as: *Meyekiba Ofogra* ‘upper Meyekiba’ and *Meyekiba Efej* ‘lower Meyekiba.’ Also, nearly all mountain villages are on a river, therefore it can be assumed that the name of the village is also the name of the river, even if the term *mei* ‘water/river’ is left implicit in the text.

Then, they would cut down trees in the garden.

- (7) *Rua ri-edi mekeni merc eteb #*
they 3PL-strike garden virgin.forest large

They made a garden out of a large part of the virgin forest.

- (8) *Beda ri-of mekeni #*
they 3PL-fell garden

They cut down (trees) in the garden.

- (9) *Beda ri-es mah-ij #*
then 3PL-light fire-into

They burned off (the garden).

- (10) *Mah efeb edgebin mei Meska inda #*
fire smoke envelop river Meska upward

Smoke (from the) fires spread upward towards Meska river.

- (11) *Eja beda ej-ot [ojot] rot⁷ Wam Ofog inda #*
go then INCEP-stand concerning Wam off.shoot upward

(The smoke) went up and began entering Wam Ofog (village).

- (12) *Beda nou mona noba motu rua ri-em-en gu mod #*
Then for day and night they 3PL-MOD-come to house

Then early in the morning (they went to work) and came back to the house at night.

- (13) *Beda mah tein eja gij mega efaga #*
then fire also go in tree body

Then the fires (from the garden) burned the tree trunks.

- (14) *Mega efej ej-ei gij moskusefi onnga a-ng-h tumu*
tree dry INCEP-build.up in moss which PERF-lie on.face.of
mega memaga me-osu inda eja⁸ #
tree mountain 3SG-mother upward go

The dry trees had grown moss on the surface in the upper mountain ranges.⁹

- (15) *Beda mah eisa egigir efes #*
Then fire shine sparks bright

Then the burning fires sent up cinders and shined brightly.

- (16) *Motu beda Itur Wam eker rot mar etma efeb #*
night then Itur Wam sit concerning thing hand string

At night Itur Wam sat making string.

⁷The primary meaning of connector *rot* is 'concerning/about,' but it also functions as an anaphoric demonstrative referencing participants, events, and props that are retrievable in the text.. It also expresses 'in order to' in (16) and (18).

⁸In this construction *eja* 'go' functions adverbially to indicate that movement is away from the deictic center.

⁹The build-up of moss on the burning trees explains the amount of smoke moving up the valley.

- (17) *Beda ofa eij gu majmeg noba eij mogra ofou¹⁰ gij #*
 then s/he twist at porch and twist belt round into

Then he weaved on his porch and made g-strings.

- (18) *Me-eyera Arod Minj ge-onu Ockoj Minj ge-oru mah*
 3SG-sibling Arod Minj 2/3DU-with Ockoj Minj 2/3DU-burn fire

eisa rot #

bright concerning

(Itur Wam's) siblings Arod Minj and Ockoj Minj burned a bright fire for (Itur Wam's work).

- (19) *Beda Itur Wam eij mogra ofob #*
 then Itur Wam twist belt round

Then Itur Wam made waist string-belts.

- (20) *Eij mar efeb erek ke-uma¹¹ orofosu-tut mona-mona #*
 twist thing string like NOM-that every-RED day-RED

He weaved string belts like that each and every day.

- (21) *Mona beda rua ri-ef mekeni noba motu beda Itur Wam*
 Day then they 3PL-work garden and night then Itur Wam

en beda eij mogra ofob #

come then twist belt round

During the day they worked in the garden and at night Itur Wam made string belts.

- (22) *Eij mar efeb mona beda ef mekeni #*
 twist thing string day then work garden

He made string (at night) then during the day he worked in the garden.

- (23) *Itur Wam ok mejga os mekeni noba motu beda en noba*
 Itur Wam carry fence.material sweep garden and night then come and

eij mogra ofob #

twist belt round

Itur Wam carried fence material, swept the garden, and then at night he came and made string belts.

- (24) *Eij mar efeb erek koma #*
 twist thing string like that

He made string like that.

- (25) *Beda Ekergud eker gu Inska eitofu imba #*
 then Ekergud sit at Inska forehead downward

Then (at that time) Ekergud was living below at Inska Forehead (village).

¹⁰String specifically made to hold up loincloth.

¹¹Due to the numerous occurrences of *ke-uma* 'NOM-that', it will be transcribed as [*koma*] throughout the remainder of the text. See (7) under section 2 for an explanation of the morphemic structure.

- (26) *Beda ofa eyajga tina mah em-eisa erek koma #*
 then s/he look but fire MOD-bright like that

Then she looked but there was a bright fire like that (just mentioned).¹²

- (27) *Beda odou ecira-cira fob #*
 then liver travel-RED already

Then she became very curious.

- (28) *Tina guru jefeda osujohu oida di-osok mei inda eja jeskaseda*
 but no therefore think QUOT 1SG-climb river upward go in.order.to
di-ek mah eisa inda #
 1SG-see fire bright upward

But no (she didn't know whose fire it was) so she began to think, I will climb upward to see (whose) bright fire it is up there.

- (29) *Jeskaseda di-eja di-ek fog #*
 in.order.to 1SG-go 1SG-see first

(she went up) in order to take a look.

- (30) *Erek koma beda Ekergud e-n-ja fob eris mosuska #*
 Like that then Ekergud PERF-go already cut bamboo

(Having departed) then Ekergud had already gone (to) cut bamboo.

- (31) *Eris mosubga bera-if #*
 cut sugarcane COP-this

(That is), she cut some sugarcane.

- (32) *Beda orka egeka koma era erek moskur beda oroubsib #*
 then carry two that using like stick then lean

Then she carried those two (sugarcanes) (and) used them like (walking) sticks then leaned (on the sticks).

- (33) *Beda ofa osok mei Yes inda eja #*
 then s/he climbs river Far upward go

Then she climbed and went up to the Far river.

- (34) *Beda eja esaga gu mei Meska Miyou ofoka¹³ #*
 then go reach at river Meska Miyou junction

Then going (there) she reached the Meska Miyou river junction.

- (35) *Beda ofa ec aki gij mei Meska Miyou #*
 then s/he dip foot in river Meska Miyou

Then she dipped her foot into the Meska Miyou river.

¹²Verbs of perception may be followed by *tina* 'but' introducing the object to convey a sense of surprise, as also in lines (82), (84), (97), (105), (153), (155), and (178).

¹³*Ofoka* means 'river mouth or estuary, but it is also used as 'river junction' where one smaller river flows into a larger river. Also, *ofoka* with a high pitch on the second syllable means 'river estuary', and *ofoka* with a high pitch on the final syllable means 'name'.

- (36) *Tina mei Meska Miyou eyej noba mei Meska ofoufem #*
 but river Meska Miyou cold and river Meska hot

But the Meska Miyou river was cold and the Meska river was hot.

- (37) *Beda ofa oku aki jeska mei Meska Miyou*
 then s/he pull foot from river Meska Miyou

noba osok mei Yes inda eja #
 and climb river far upward go

Then she pulled her foot out of the Meska Miyou river and climbed upward going (to) Far river.

- (38) *Beda eja esaga gu mei Jingga ofoka #*
 then go reach at river Jingga junction

Then going (there) she got as far as the Jingga river junction.

- (39) *Beda ofa ec aki gij mei Jingga tina mei Jingga eyej*
 then s/he dip foot in river Jingga but river Jingga cold

noba mei Yes ofoufem #
 but river Far hot

Then she dipped her foot into the Jingga river, but the Jingga river was cold and the Far river was hot.

- (40) *Beda ofa osok inda eja noba eja esaga mei Jeriba ofoka #*
 then s/he climb upward go and go reach river Jeriba junction

Then she ascended going upward as far as the Jeriba river junction.

- (41) *Beda ofa ec aki gij mei Jeriba tina mei Jeriba eyej noba*
 then s/he dip foot into Jeriba river but river Jeriba cold and

mei Yes ofoufem #
 river Far hot

Then she dipped her foot into the Jeriba river, but the Jeriba river was cold and Far river was hot.

- (42) *Beda ofa oku aki jeska mei Jeriba noba osok mei Yes #*
 then s/he pull foot from river Jeriba and climb river Far

Then she pulled her foot out of the Jeriba river and ascended (to) Far river.

- (43) *Beda eja esaga gu mei Meska Irum ofoka #*
 then go reach at river Meska Irum junction

Then going there she reached the Meska Irum river junction.

- (44) *Beda ofa ec aki gij mei Meska Irum #*
 then s/he dip foot into river Meska Irum

Then she dipped her foot into the Meska Irum river.

- (45) *Irum eyej noba mei Yes o-m-foufem #*
 Irum cold and river Far PERF-hot

(But) the Irum (river) was cold and the Far river was getting hot.

- (46) *Beda ofa osok mei Meska inda eja #*
 then s/he climb river Meska upward go

So then, she ascended going up (to) the Meska river.

- (47) *Beda eja esaga gu mei di-ojuj [dujuj] ofoka #*
 then go reach at river 1SG-descend junction

Then going (there) she reached (a place called) *I Descend* river junction.

- (48) *Beda ofa ec aki gij tina eyej noba mei Yes o-m-foufem #*
 then s/he dip foot in but cold and river Far PERF-hot

Then she dipped her foot into (that river), but it was cold and the Far river was becoming hot.

- (49) *Beda ofa oku aki jeska noba osok mei Yes #*
 then s/he pull foot from and climb river Far

Then she pulled her foot out of (the river) and ascended to Far river.

- (50) *Osok osuwu¹⁴ egens-uma eja #*
 climb reach one-that go

(She) ascended going along reaching that one (river).

- (51) *Beda eja esaga gu mei Meska Wam ofoka #*
 then go reach at river Meska Wam junction

Then she went along further reaching as far as the Meska Wam river junction.

- (52) *Tina mei Meska Wam bera moswa efen mosu o-n-juj-if*
 But river Meska Wam COP dry.season possess mother PERF-descend-here
en keingg¹⁵ mei Meska Wam toumou #
 come ADV river Meska Wam silent

But as for the Meska Wam river, its main tributary (mother) during the dry season had descended here flowing (into) the Meska Wam river quietly (in a small stream).

- (53) *Ofa en-ek mei Meska Wam ofoka guru #*
 s/he DUR-see river Meska Wam junction NEG

She could not see the Meska Wam river junction.

- (54) *Jefeda aki ekirsa beda ofa osok mei Yes inda eja #*
 Therefore foot exceed then s/heclimb river Far upward go

So she walked faster then ascended going along up to the Yes river.

- (55) *Ofa osok mei Yes inda eja tina mei Yes o-m-foufem ai-grogra #*
 s/he climb river Far upward go but river Far PERF-hot DIM-boil

She went up to the Far river but the Far river was already a little bit boiling hot.

¹⁴*Osuwu* is synonymous with *esaga* 'reach at' in (51)

¹⁵The units *keingg* and *joug* function as grammatical morphemes directly following verbs. In general, they allow intransitive verbs to take direct objects.

- (56) *Beda eja esaga gu mei Eisbira ofoka #*
Then go reach at river Eisbira junction

Then she reached the Eisbira river junction.

- (57) *Erek koma ojgomu beda ofa ec aki gij mei Yes tina mei Yes eyej noba*
like that only then s/he dip foot in river Far but river Far cold and
mei Eisbira o-m-foufem ai-grogra #
river Eisbira PERF-hot DIM-boil

Just after that, then she dipped her foot into Far river, but Far river was cold and Eisbira river was already getting a little bit boiling hot.

- (58) *Ofa osok mei Eisbira inda eja beda eja esaga ahah Moufor inda*
s/he ascend river Eisbira upward go then go reach front Moufor upward
beda ec aki gij tina em-eyekita #
then dip foot in but MOD-cool

She ascended (to the) Eisbira river going along then reached the front of the Moufor (river) above, then dipped her foot (in) but (the water) might have been getting cool.

- (59) *Tina guru jefeda oksons fob #*
But no therefore return already

But no (it wasn't hot), so (she) decided to proceed.

- (60) *Ofa ot jah si-uma beda osujohu #*
s/he stand to ADV-there then think

She stood there thinking (about it).

- (61) *Tina guru jefeda er-efa mosuska jah si-uma #*
but no therefore INS-plant bamboo at ADV-there

But no (she couldn't figure it out) so she planted the thick kind of bamboo there.

- (62) *Ofa er-efa mosuska beda er-ocunc jah si-uma #*
s/he INS-plant bamboo then INS-point to ADV-there

She planted the thick bamboo then using that pointed it to (the river) there.

- (63) *Ekerjud esma gu ejmeg beda oksons inda en¹⁶ fob #*
Ekerjud drop¹⁷ at back then return upward come already

Ekerjud had already turned around and returned upward coming back.

- (64) *Ofa oksons ojgomu inda en beda esaga gu mei*
s/he return just upward come then reach at river
Meska Wam ofoka koma #
Meska Wam junction that

She just continued going upward reaching back to that Meska Wam river junction.

¹⁶In this structure *en* 'come' is used adverbially to indicate that movement is *toward* the deictic center – the place Ekerjud had left.

¹⁷*Esma* is the transitive verb 'drop'. However, here and in (77) and (80) it is also used figuratively to mean 'return'. In (274), (276), (277) the tree dropping (it's chopped up parts) is implicit.

- (65) *Erek koma beda ofa efnif beda ebes moswa efen*
 like that then s/he glance.back then separate dry.season possess
mokusmaga efen jeska #
 grass possess from

After that then she glanced back and separated the (dead grass of) dry season and the tall grass (from the river).

- (66) *Tina se mei ofoka en-ah-if mei ofoka di-en-ekirsa*
 But [exclamation] water junction DUR-lie-here river junction 1SG-DUR-exceed
ai-jah #
 DIM-to

But (she thought), hey, here is a river junction, a river junction I almost passed by.

- (67) *Erek koma beda Ekergud ec aki gij mei Meska Wam onnga ofoufem*
 Like that then Ekergud dip foot in river Meska Wam which hot
ebeskreini-meni onnga konosa efet aki #
 scorching-INT which nearly burn foot

Because of that then Ekergud dipped her foot into the Meska Wam river which was scorching hot (and) which nearly burned her foot.

- (68) *Erek koma beda erek mok insa ke-if #*
 Like that then like cup aforementioned NOM-this

So then it was like this cup (of hot tea).¹⁸

- (69) *Tina guru jefeda ofa osok mei Meska Wam inda eja koma #*
 but no therefore she climb river Meska Wam upward go that

But no (still not sure), so she went along ascending that Meska Wam river.

- (70) *Beda ofa eja esaga gu mei Ineibi ofoka #*
 Then s/he go reach at river Ineibi junction

Then she went along reaching the Ineibi river junction..

- (71) *Erek koma beda ofa ec aki gij mei Ineibi tina mei Ineibi eyej noba*
 like that then s/he dip foot in river Ineibi but river Ineibi cold and
mei Meska Wam ofoufem #
 river Meska Wam hot

After (arriving there) then, she dipped her foot into Ineibi river, but the Ineibi river was cold and the Meska Wam river was hot.

- (72) *Beda ofa osok mei Meska Wam #*
 then s/he climb river Meska Wam

Then she ascended (to) the Meska Wam river.

- (73) *Ofa osok inda eja ojgomu beda ec aki gij mei ofoka #*
 s/he climb upward go just then dip foot in river junction

¹⁸The story teller is pointing to the hot cup of tea that he was drinking from while telling the story.

She just went along ascending (to there) then dipped her foot into the river junction.

- (74) *Tina mei Mosum Ofon eyej noba mei Meska Wam ofoufem #*
 but river Face tooth cold and river Meska Wam hot

But Face Tooth river was cold and the Meska Wam river was hot.

- (75) *Beda ofa osok inda eja beda ej-esaga gu Makowu tina*
 Then s/he climb upward go then INCEP-reach at Makowu but
ekirsa Makowu #
 exceed Makowu

Then she went along ascending, then began reaching the Makowu (river), but passed by the Makowu (river).

- (76) *Beda eja esaga jah mei Meska efej-uma eja tina mei Meska em-eyej #*
 then go reach to river Meska lower-that go but river Meska MOD-cold

Then she went as far as that lower Meska river, but the Meska river might be cold.

- (77) *Beda ofa esma gu ejmeg oksons #*
 Then she drop at back return

Then she turned around (and) went back.

- (78) *Ofa eja er-efa mosubga jah si-uma oisoska onnga*
 s/he go INS-plant sugarcane to ADV-there until which
e-n-ej-oksons [onjoksons] si-uma#
 PERF-INCEP-return ADV-there

She went and planted sugarcane there until (the time) which she decided to start going back.

- (79) *Noba oksons #*
 and return

And she returned.

- (80) *Esma gu ejmeg inda en oksons #*
 Drop at back upward come return

She turned back coming upward back (to the earlier spot).

- (81) *Beda esaga gu makowu¹⁹ si-uma #*
 Then reach at tree ADV-there

Then she reached the bamboo stand there.

- (82) *Ofa ek tina moroju en-ah-if gu mei ofoka #*
 s/he see but path DUR-lie-there at river junction

She looked (there), but there was a path there at the river junction.

- (83) *Tina guru beda en-osoka moroj inda en inda en #*
 but no then DUR-jump path upward come upward come

¹⁹Type of tree with edible leaves.

But no (doesn't know whose path) then she followed that path coming upward.

- (84) *Beda ofa orogna tina mei m-efesi²⁰ onnga ri-o-ng-k mejga gij #*
 then s/he emerge but river NOM-inside which 3PL-PERF-carry bush.fence in

Then she emerged (to a place), but there was a pond where they had planted a bush fence.

- (85) *Beda mei efen a-ng-h fogora ri-e-n-j keingg gij a-ng-h*
 then water possess PERF-lie hence 3PL-PERF-throw continuous in PERF-lie

Then, there had been a pond (there), hence people had planted (things around the pond) there.

- (86) *Tina guru beda ofa osok mega mei Seki #*
 but not then s/he climb tree river Seki

But no (she didn't see any people), so she climbed a tree (above) Seki river.

- (87) *Osok mei Seki ai-insa jah mei efej #*
 climb river Seki DIM-ANA to river tributary

She climbed (a tree above) that river tributary mentioned earlier.

- (88) *Ofa osok beda eker toumou gu mei Seki esta jah mei efej*
 s/he climb then sit silent at river Seki branch to river tributary
erek neda tera mei efen noba mei efen ah gu mebi #
 like cockatoo above river possess and river possess lie at ground

She climbed the (tree) branch then sat silently (above) that river tributary like a cockatoo above the pond with the surface of the water below her.

- (89) *Erek koma beda abja-irga si-uma ge-es mah gij mekeni #*
 Like that then girl-2/3DU ADV-there 2/3DU-burn fire in garden

After that then the two girls were there burning off a garden.

- (90) *Erek koma beda mowa edi-irga jijiji beda magon en onnga er-eikeya #*
 like that then sun strike-2/3DU on-and-on then thirst come which INS-suffer

So then, the sun shone on the two girls for a long time, then they began to suffer from thirst.

- (91) *Tina guru beda Itur Wam oubk-irga oida abja-irga ge-ageya mei but no*
 then Itur Wam send-2/3DU QUOT girl-2/3DU 2/3DU-scoop water
egema jeskaseda di-ej fog #
 some in.order.to 1SG-drink first

But no (relief) then Itur Wam ordered the two girls, you two girls, scoop some water so that I can drink, first.²¹

- (92) *Goga ge-onggobur²² beda ge-eja ge-ageya mei noba ge-orka*
 they.two 2/3DU-run then 2/3DU-go 2/3DU-scoop water and 2/3DU-carry

²⁰*Mei efesi* is probably the reduced form *mebi efesi* 'ground inside' which means 'standing body of water' or 'pond'.

²¹Sentence final adverb *fog*, 'first' is used here as a imperative.

²²*Onggubur* seems to be synonymous with *ofof* 'run'.

meic Itur Wam orka #
 ladle Itur Wam carry

They ran off then went to scoop up water and carry it (back) in a ladle that belonged to Itur Wam.

- (93) *Ge-oga ge-o-n-juj rot beda ge-er-ageya mei #*
 They.two 2/3DU-PERF-descend concerning then 2/3DU-INS-scoop water
 They had descended for (the water) then they used (the ladle) to scoop the water.

- (94) *Beda ge-orogna koma jah noba ge-ougif keingg mei #*
 then 2/3DU-appear that to and 2/3DU-bend ADV water
 So then, they appeared at that (river) and bent over the water (to scoop some up).

- (95) *Beda ge-egema ge-eker jah-unj en #*
 then 2/3DU-other 2/3DU-sit to-there come
 Then one of them came over there (near the water) and sat down.

- (96) *Ge-egema ge-eker jah-if en ge-ageya mei tina ei #*
 2/3DU-other 2/3DU-sit to-here come 2/3DU-scoop water but huh
 The other one came over here (this side of the pond) and sat down to scoop up some water, but huh? (she noticed something).

- (97) *Goga ge-eyajga tina se meidu bera ri-efena²³ egema en-efeni*
 they.two 2/3DU-look but [exclamation] what COP 3PL-spirit other DUR-reflect
gu mei efen-if-o #
 at water possess-this-ENT²⁴

They looked (at something) and were surprised, because there were spirits/reflections reflecting on the pond, what could they be!

- (98) *Meidu bera en-eker-if-o #*
 what COP DUR-sit-here-IMP

As for this here, what was it!

- (99) *Ri-efena era meidu bera en-eker gu mei efen-o #*
 3PL-spirit or what COP DUR-sit at water possess-ENT

As for these spirits/reflections or what, what were they doing on the pond!

- (100) *En-oufa masusur²⁵ gu mei efen guru #*
 DUR-good useless.thing at water possess NEG

It wasn't good for useless things to be on the pond.

- (101) *En-oufa masusur gu mei efen guru #*²⁶

²³In this text, and in others too, the 3SG unmarked form *efeni* 'spirit' and the 3PL form *ri-efeni* 3PL-spirit are used interchangeably as in (97) and (108).

²⁴Meyah uses mood clitics to indicate speaker attitude, /-a/ emphatic, /-o/, entreaty, and /-i/ complaining (also see 107).

²⁵*Masusur* literacy means 'not eatable' or 'useless thing'. It is also used as a derogatory term when addressing humans.

²⁶Line (101) is a restatement of (100).

DUR-good useless.thing at water possess NEG

It's wasn't good for useless things to be on the pond.

- (102) *En-es gegan mei efen #*
DUR-sweep 2/3DU.Possess water possess

One of them swept the (surface) of the pond (to rid of the spirits/reflections).

- (103) *Tina guru beda goga ge-esiri gij beda ge-ageya mei koma beda*
but no then they.two 2/3DU-fall to then 2/3DU-scoop water that then
ge-ebir mei rot #
2/3DU-brush water concerning

But no (the spirits/reflections remained), then they fell down (on their knees) then scooped out (all) that water, then brushed (the remainder) away.

- (104) *Ge-ebir mei rot mei si-uma jeska noba ge-er-os*
2/3DU-sweep water concerning water ADV-there away and 2/3DU-INS-rub
mebi onnga ah eher #
dirt which lie dry

They swept the water away (to rid of the spirits/reflections on) the water there, (and) using their hands they rubbed (or erased away) the dirt which was (nearly) dry.

- (105) *Ge-eyajga tina en-ah guru #*
2/3DU-look but DUR-lie NEG

They looked but (the spirits/reflections) were not (there).

- (106) *Beda ge-ot joug #*
then 2/3DU-stand ADV

Then they stood there watching the pond (to see if they returned).

- (107) *Goga ge-ot joug tina mei em-eya o-n-juj ke-if*
they.two 2/3DU-stand ADV but water MOD-flow PERF-descend NOM-this
en oksons fogora em-en-i em-en-i kwokwa oksons fogora
come return hence MOD-come-PRO MOD-come-PRO fully return hence
a-ng-h gu oka oksons #
PERF-sit at foot.print return

They stood there watching the water flowing back, descending it returned coming fully back to its original position.

- (108) *Erek koma beda ge-eyajga tina efena a-ng-h gu mei koma oksons deika #*
like that then 2/3DU-look but spirit PERF-lie at water that return again

After (doing) that then they looked, but the spirit/reflection had already returned there on the pond.

- (109) *Beda goga ge-esiri keingg beda ge-ageya mei koma rot #*
then they.two 2/3DU-fall ADV then 2/3DU-scoop water that concerning

Then they fell (down) towards the pond then scooped up that water (to rid of the spirit).

- (110) *Beda ge-ageya mei koma oksons-sons-sons #*
 then 2/3DU-scoop water that return-RED-RED
 Then they scooped up that water again, and again, and again.
- (111) *Beda ge-ageya mei noba ge-otkinaja #*
 then 2/3DU-scoop water and 2/3DU-pour
 They scooped up the water and poured it out.
- (112) *Goga ge-ageya mei noba ge-otkinaja jeska #*
 they.two 2/3DU-scoop water and 2/3DU-pour away
 They scooped up the water and they poured it out away (from the pond).
- (113) *Beda ge-ebir mei rot tina en-ah guru-i #*
 then 2/3DU-brush water concerning but DUR-lie NEG-PRO
 Then they rubbed (the dry ground) to (rid of the spirit/reflection) but it was no longer there!
- (114) *Er-os mei oforga joug jah tina en-ah guru #*
 INS-rub river head.water ADV at but DUR-lie NEG
 One of them (using their hands) stirred up the water but (the spirit/reflection) wasn't there (anymore).
- (115) *Erek koma beda goga ge-ot joug mei em-eya oksons fogora*
 like that then they.two 2/3DU-stand ADV water MOD-follow return hence
em-en-i kwokwa fogora e-m-fen osok #
 MOD-come-PRO fully hence PERF-possess climb
 After (doing) that then they stood (watching) the water flow back, hence it just fully returned filling the pond again.
- (116) *Erek koma beda efena orogna beda eker gij oksons deika #*
 like that then spirit come.out then sit in return again
 After that then the spirit/reflection appeared again sitting there (at the pond)
- (117) *Ri-ah ri-ah ri-ah jiji beda ge-odou eskes #*
 3PL-lie 3PL-lie 3PL-lie over.and.over then 2/3DU-liver lazy
 The spirits/reflections just kept returning, then they (the two girls) become tired of (trying to rid of the spirits/reflections).
- (118) *Tina guru jefeda ge-ageya mei jeskaseda ge-e-n-ja rot*
 but no so 2/3DU-scoop water in.order.to 2/3DU-PERF-go concerning
koma tina ge-ebes ge-ebirfaga #
 that but 2/3DU-avoid 2/3DU-head
 But no, (they just gave up) so they scooped up some water in preparation to leave that place, but they turned their heads away (for a moment).
- (119) *Beda meidu bera Ekergud e-ng-ker gu mei Seki esta fogora ofa e-ng-ker*
 then what COP Ekergud PERF-sit at river Seki branch hence s/he PERF-sit

*jah ge-ebirfaga neida*²⁷ #
to 2/3DU-head above

Then what was this, as for Ekergud, she had been sitting on a branch above the Seki river, so she had been sitting above their heads.

- (120) *Tina guru jefeda goga ge-emesa beda ge-ejei ge-oga rot* #
but no therefore they.two 2/3DU-afraid then 2/3DU-curse 2/3 DU-voi ceconcern

But no (they didn't know that) therefore they became afraid (when they noticed her) and they cursed at (her).

- (121) *Beda ge-agot oida masusur noba bi-eseisefa bi-eja jeska mega esta* #
then 2/3DU-say QUOT useless.thing and 2SG-lost 2SG-go from tree branch

Then they said, you useless thing!, and, go away from the branches.

- (122) *Magef mafman-if* #
we.two possess-this

We own this (water).

- (123) *Tina Ekergud agot gu-irga oida didif tein masusur guru* #
but Ekergud say to-2/3DU QUOT I also useless.thing NEG

But Ekergud said to them, I am also not a useless thing.

- (124) *Didif tein di-osnok* #
I also 1SG-person

I am also a human.

- (125) *Didif Ekergud* #
I Ekergud

I am Ekergud.

- (126) *Di-en jeska Inska ke-imba en Makinbos Inska* #
1SG-come from Inska NOM-below come Makinbos Inska

I came from Inska below, from Makinbos Inska.

- (127) *Di-eiseisa mah eisa Wam mah gij-uma* #
1SG-curious fire bright Wam fire in-that

I was curious (about) the bright fire, that fire in Wam (village).

- (128) *Ekergud agot erek koma* #
Ekergud say like that

Ekergud talked like that.

- (129) *Erek koma beda abja-irga koma ge-agot gu Ekergud erek koma* #
like that then girl-2/3DU that 2/3DU-say to Ekergud like that

So then, the two girls talked to Ekergud like that.

²⁷The spatial noun *neida* appears to be synonymous with *skida* 'above'.

- (130) *Beda goga ge-ois ofa ge-efebesa #*
 then they.two 2/3DU-call him/her 2/3DU-sister.in.law

Then they (decided) to call her their sister-in-law.²⁸

- (131) *Erek koma beda Ekergud ojuj jeska mega esta inda en #*
 like that then Ekergud descend from tree branch upward come

So then, Ekergud came down from the tree.

- (132) *Beda ereb mebi #*
 then land ground

Then she landed on the ground.

- (133) *Erek koma beda goga ge-eita meic Itur Wam orka insa onnga akseij*
 like that then they.two 2/3DU-take ladle Itur Wam bring ANA which long
beda ge-eita gu #
 then 2/3DU-give to

After that then they (the two girls) took Itur Wam's ladle, that one that was mentioned earlier, which is long and gave it to (Ekergud).

- (134) *Goga ge-agot oida bi-orka meic si-if rot mei-if #*
 they.two 2/3DU-say QUOT 2SG-carry ladle ADV-here concerning water-this

They said (to her), carry this ladle here with this water.

- (135) *Erek koma beda goga ge-eja rot ge-efebesa beda*
 like that then they.two 2/3DU-go concerning 2/3DU-sister.in.law then
ge-eja esaga gu mod #
 2/3DU-go reach at house

After that then they left (to make plans) concerning their (future) sister-in-law, then they reached the house.

- (136) *Erek koma beda ge-ej-orom beda Ekergud eker toumou gu mer*
 like that then 2/3DU-INCEP-plan then Ekergud sit silent at room
ke-unj efesi moucku efesi #
 NOM-there inside basket inside.

After (arriving at the house) then they started to make plans for Ekergud to sit silently inside a room over there, inside a basket.

- (137) *Beda ofa eker toumou noba ge-es meidibi ni megej ni*
 then s/he sit silent and 2/3DU-put.up sleeping.mat and fire.word and
beda ge-es joug #
 then 2/3DU-put.up ADV

Then she was to stay silently (hide) and they would put sleeping mats and firewood on (the basket) then obscure (the basket).

²⁸This means they want her to marry their brother Itur Wam.

- (138) *Beda goga ge-es erejrej beda ge-ofor toumou #*
 then they.two 2/3DU-put.up around then 2/3DU-construct silent
 Then they would put up (things) around (the basket) then construct (things) in a stealthy fashion.
- (139) *Erek koma beda mowa edi jijiji beda mowo-roru #*
 like that then sun strike on.and.on then afternoon-RED
 After that then the sun continued to shine hot until the late afternoon.
- (140) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam orogna-uma en #*
 like that then Itur Wam come.out-there come
 It was like that, then Itur Wam came along and appeared there.
- (141) *Beda ofa ejeka me-eyera-irga oida abja-irga mei insa*
 then s/he ask 3SG-sibling-2/3DU QUOT girl-2/3DU water ANA
ge-n-ja ge-ageya egema jeskaseda di-ej #
 2/3DU-PERF-go 2/3DU-scoop some in.order.to 1SG-drink
 Then he asked the two girls, girls, can you give me some of the water you went to get so that I can drink some.
- (142) *Beda abja-irga koma insa ge-osos Ekergud fob #*
 then sibling-2/3DU that ANA 2/3DU-convince Ekergud already
 (At that time) those two girls, mentioned earlier, had already convinced Ekergud (to hide in the basket).
- (143) *Ge-agot gu oida bi-agei meic-if ahais-mes #*
 2/3DU-say to QUOT 2SG-hold ladle-this strong-INT
 They had said to (Ekergud), hold this ladle (Wam's) strongly.
- (144) *Bi-a-n-gei meic ahais ojgomu beda mona onnga bi-ek Itur Wam*
 2SG-PERF-hold ladle strong just then time which 2SG-see Itur Wam
em-en noba o-ng-kub meic beda bi-edebecki #
 MOD-come and PERF-pull ladle then 2SG-stand.up
 Just hold that ladle strongly, then when you see Itur Wam about to come and pull on the ladle, then you stand up.
- (145) *Bi-edebecki esij meic koma jah #*
 2SG-stand.up on ladle that towards.
 Stand on that ladle facing (Itur Wam).
- (146) *Erek koma beda ge-osos erek koma fogora en-eker toumou #*
 like that then 2/3DU-convince like that hence DUR-sit silent
 (They said) that then they convinced (Ekergud) like that, so (she) sat quietly (in basket).
- (147) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam eja-uma eja beda agot noba ager-irga*
 like that then Itur Wam go-there go then speak and yell-2/3DU

rot mei #
concerning water

After that then Itur Wam came along there and then spoke and shouted at the two girls for some water.

- (148) *Tina goga ge-agot oida bi-ek bebin meic insa koma*
but they.two 2/3DU-say QUOT 2SG-see you-possess ladle ANA that
gu bebin mer efesi koma #
at you-possess room inside that

But the two girls said, you can see your own ladle inside that room over there that belongs to you.

- (149) *Beda bi-esinsa bi-eita mega koma #*
then 2SG-self 2SG-take wood that

So then, get the wooden (ladle) yourself.

- (150) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam eja-uma eja ojgomu #*
Like that then Itur Wam go-there go just

After that then Itur Wam just went over there.

- (151) *Beda ofa agot oida osk etma jeskaseda okub meic egens insa*
Then s/he say QUOT reach hand in.order.to pull ladle one ANA
rot mei en #
concerning water come

Then he said (thinking to himself) that he will reach out to pull out the earlier mentioned ladle for some water towards him.

- (152) *Tina ofa okub rot asok²⁹ koma tein #*
but s/he pull concerning girl that also

But he also pulled out the unmarried girl.

- (153) *Beda bi-ek tina Ekergud edebecki jeska mer efesi-uma jah #*
then 2SG-see but Ekergud stand.up from room inside-there to

Then you look (expecting to see the ladle), but Ekergud stood up from inside the room facing (toward Itur Wam).

- (154) *Beda ofa osok gu mersa inda eja #*
then s/he climb to floor above go

Then she climbed up going onto the floor.

- (155) *Beda Itur Wam koma emesa beda bi-ek tina aha meic koma esij*
then Itur Wam that afraid then 2SG-see but put ladle that on
asok koma etma #
girl that hand

²⁹Usually refers to an unmarried younger woman.

Then Itur Wam became afraid, then you see (the ladle), but he had put that ladle on that unmarried girl's hand. (Or the ladle is in the girl's hand).³⁰

- (156) *Beda meic esiri jah si-uma noba Itur Wam oku jeska jah mer*
 then ladle fall to ADV-there and Itur Wam flee from to room
igers-unj ojuj noba agot oida mar onnga e-n-t-id #
 bachelor-there descend and say QUOT thing which PERF-bite-1SG.

Then the ladle fell there and Itur Wam ran away from (Ekergud) to the male's sleeping room there and he said, something has bitten me.

- (157) *Tina abja-irga ge-agot oida mar onnga eiseisa bi-ofoka eiseisa bi-efeni*
 but girl-2/3DU 2/3DU-say QUOT thing which curious 2SG-name curious 2SG-spirit
eiseisa bi-ofoka #
 curious 2SG-name

But the two girls said, (she) was curious (about) your name, curious about your spirit, curious about your name.

- (158) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam otkonu oska beda aha meic koma jah noba eja #*
 like that then Itur Wam stomach bad then put ladle that at and go

So then, Itur Wam became angry and put the ladle down and left.

- (159) *Beda ofa eja eker #*
 then s/he go sit

Then he went away and stayed (somewhere else).

- (160) *Erek koma beda ofa eja eita mei enjineg beda ej #*
 like that then s/he go take water other then drink

After that then he went and got some other water to drink.

- (161) *Erek koma beda abja-irga ge-ocunc gu Itur Wam fob #*
 like that then girl-2/3DU 2/3DU-point to Itur Wam already

After that then, the two girls had already pointed out (Ekergud) to Itur Wam.

- (162) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam ri-ah #*
 like that then Itur Wam 3PL-lie

So then, Itur Wam (and the three girls) they stayed there.³¹

- (163) *Erek koma beda rua ri-os mekeni insa #*
 like that then they 3PL-sweep garden ANA

It was like that, so they (all) worked to clean the earlier mentioned garden.

- (164) *Beda ri-o-ng-k mejga #*
 then 3PL-PERF-carry fence.wood

Then they carried wood (to make) a garden fence.

³⁰This act signifies that Itur Wam and Ekergud must now get married.

³¹Itur Wam accepted his fate to marry Ekergud.

- (165) *Itur Wam ok mejga beda eradgodu jeskaseda oisa ebeirens fob #*
 Itur Wam carry fence.wood then hurry in.order.to finish fast already
 Itur Wam hurried, carrying fence wood, hurrying to finish quickly.
- (166) *Beda ofa ok mejga oisa ebeirens fob #*
 then s/he carry fence.wood finish fast already
 (After that) then he had already quickly finished carrying (the) fence wood.
- (167) *Erek koma beda ofa ecira rot mei #*
 like that then s/he travel concerning cloth
 (So), after that then he (left and) traveled (to find some) cloth.³²
- (168) *Beda eja fob #*
 then go already
 So then, he had already gone.
- (169) *Ofa eja jah mebi Morum³³ #*
 s/he go to land Mpur
 He went to the Mpur (Kebur) area.
- (170) *Itur Wam eja jah mebi Morum ke-imba eja #*
 Itur Wam go to land Mpur NOM-down go
 Itur Wam went away to that Mpur area down below.
- (171) *Ofa eja ecira rot mei tina eja gu mesta cinja jeska #*
 s/he go travel concerning cloth but go to moon five away
 He went (in search of) bride price cloth, but he was gone for five months.
- (172) *Erek koma beda ri-er-efa marsi ri-okub mekeni #*
 like that then 3PL-INS-plant seeds 3PL-burn garden
 Next, (after Itur Wam had gone) then they (the woman) burned off a garden and planted seeds.
- (173) *Iskuruk Wam eisisi-ir onnga em-eij mes egema ojgomu #*
 Iskuruk Wam encourage-PL which MOD-throw dog some just
 Iskuruk Wam trained (dogs) which he would then send out (hunting).³⁴
- (174) *Erek koma beda mek ei / mowodu #*
 like that then pig [pause] tree.kangaroo
 It was like that, (he would get) pigs / and tree kangaroos.
- (175) *Erek koma beda ofa orka mek ni mowodu ni #*
 like that then s/he carry pig and tree.kangaroo and.

³²Because he has to marry Ekergud he now goes in search of bride price cloth (*kain timor* in Indonesian) as a dowry for her male kinsmen.

³³Since the male can only collect bride price cloth from his own consanguinal relatives this indicates that either he is a Mpur person or has relatives among the Mpur.

³⁴Line (173) is an idiomatic expression for a person who hunts with dogs.

So he would bring pigs and tree kangaroos (to eat) .

- (176) *Erek koma ojgomu beda mona juens mes ej-orka³⁵ mek yar-eteb*
 like that just then time once dog INCEP-bring pig INT-big
jah mejga ebic inda en gu Iren efej inda eja #
 to fence center upward come to Iren lower upward go

It was like that, that then one day a dog began to chase a very large pig upward coming into the center of the fence area to lower Iren village.

- (177) *Ofa eja era mesigeb er-edi mek gu Iren efej inda en #*
 s/he go use bow INS-strike pig at Iran lower upward come

He (Iskuruk Wam) went and got a bow (and arrow) to shoot the pig coming up at lower Iren (village).

- (178) *Ofa agot bi-eyajga tina mes orka mek beda oku #*
 s/he say 2SG-look but dog bring pig then flee

He said (to Ekergud), look out, but the dog was bringing the pig (and the pig) was fleeing.

- (179) *Ofa ahafij gu-ir gu mofrena ke-imba eja #*
 s/he wade to-3PL to new.garden NOM-down go

He waded across (a stream) going downward towards (them) at the new garden.

- (180) *Erek koma beda Iskuruk Wam ofof-uma en beda ofof*
 like that then Iskuruk Wam run-there come then run
otoij mek-uma en #
 after pig-that come

After that then Iskuruk Wam ran to there (the garden) coming after that pig that was coming (toward the woman).

- (181) *Beda ofa esinmouk gu oida abja-irga-o i-osok mega-o i-eifef mega*
 then s/he cry.out to QUOT girl-2/3DU-IMP 2PL-climb tree-IMP 2PL-get.on tree
efaga-o i-osok mega-o jeska mek em-eska-i-o jeska mek
 body-IMP 2PL-climb tree-IMP because pig MOD-bite-2PL-IMP because pig
en-ok-uma eja-o #
 DUR-flee-there go-IMP

Then he cried out to (the girls), girls, climb a tree, get on a tree trunk, climb a tree because a pig might bite you, because a pig is fleeing there (toward you)!

- (182) *Iskuruk Wam ois erek koma #*
 Iskuruk Wam call like that

Iskuruk Wam cried out like that.

- (183) *Erek koma beda abja-irga ri-osok mega-unj ri-osok mega-if #*
 like that then girl-2/3DU 3PL-climb tree-there 3PL-climb tree-here

So then, the girls climbed up trees over here and there.

³⁵Phonemic form is [ojorka] 'begin bringing'.

- (184) *Beda abja-irga bera ge-osok mega-unj #*
 then girl-2/3DU COP 2/3DU-climb tree-there

Then, as for the two girls (sisters), they climbed a tree way over there.

- (185) *Ge-osok mega efaga ojgomu #*
 2/3DU-climb tree body just

The two (sisters) just climbed up a tree trunk.

- (186) *Noba Ekerud bera osok mega efaga tina aki egema er-edi mega*
 and Ekerud COP climb tree body but foot one INS-strike tree
efaga erek ke-unj #
 body like NOM-there

And as for Ekerud, she climbed up a tree trunk, but one of her feet was on the tree trunk over there.

- (187) *Noba aki egema er-edi mongga onnga em-er-oh*
 and foot other INS-strike planting.stick which MOD-INS-put
mou efesi #
 sweet.potato inside

And her other foot was on a planting stick which is used to place sweet potatoes inside (the ground).

- (188) *Beda efen maini ogub jeska #*
 then possess loincloth drop from

Then her loincloth dropped away (from her body).

- (189) *Fogora Iskukur Wam aga ofon gij oida mek eska-ib fob*
 Hence Iskukur Wam hang teeth in QUOT pig bite-2SG already
mek eteb eska-ib fob #
 pig big bite-2SG already

That resulted in Iskukur Wam teasing (Ekerud) saying, the pig already bit you, the big pig already bit you!

- (190) *Tina Ekerud agot oida didif bera mek en-eska-id enesi #*
 but Ekerud say QUOT I COP pig DUR-bite-1SG not.yet

But Ekerud said, as for me, the pig has not bitten me yet.

- (191) *Didif bera mek en-eska-id enesi mek en-et-id enesi #*
 I COP pig DUR-bite-1SG not.yet pig DUR-eat-1SG not.yet

As for me the pig has not bitten me yet, the pig has not eaten me yet!

- (192) *Ekerud era Mosou³⁶ er-agot erek koma #*
 Ekerud use Sougb INS-talk like that

Ekerud said that using the Sougb language.

³⁶This indicates that Ekerud is either from the Sougb tribe or can speak Sougb. In (239) she uses the Hatam language.

- (193) *Erek koma beda Ekergud mojen rot onnga aki eredeima ke-unj #*
 like that then Ekergud embarrass concerning which leg spread NOM-there
 After that then Ekergud felt embarrassed about her legs being spread apart like that there.
- (194) *Eredeima ke-if fogora maini en-ogub jeska insa #*
 spread.apart NOM-this hence loincloth DUR-drop from ANA
 (Her legs) were spread like this, resulting in her loincloth dropping (away from her body).
- (195) *Tina guru beda Ekergud osoka gu mebi beda Iskuruk Wam esiri rot Ekergud #*
 but no then Ekergud jump to ground then Iskuruk Wam fall concerning Ekergud
 But no (the pig did not bite her), then Ekergud jumped down to the ground and Iskuruk Wam fell down (had sex) with Ekergud.
- (196) *Beda ofa mojen jefa #*
 then s/he shame should
 Then (as a result) she became ashamed.
- (197) *Jefeda ah toumou #*
 Therefore lie silent
 So she remained silent.
- (198) *Ri-en ojgomu #*
 3PL-come just
 They (the others) just came (over to Ekergud).
- (199) *Tina guru beda ri-ah toumou #*
 but no then 3PL-lie silent
 But no (they didn't react), they just remained silent.
- (200) *Ekergud eradgodu er-efa mou efesi ebeirens #*
 Ekergud hurry INS-plant sweet.potato inside fast
 Ekergud hurried (to) plant sweet potato seedlings.
- (201) *Beda mou efesi oisa noba moworu beda ri-eja jah mod #*
 then sweet.potato inside finish and afternoon then 3PL-go to house
 Then (when) the sweet potatoes were finished (being planted) in the afternoon, they (all) went to the house.
- (202) *Erek koma beda ri-eja toumou gu mod noba ri-ah-ah ke-unj #*
 like that then 3PL-go silent to house and 3PL-lie-RED NOM-there
 So then, they went silently over to the house and stayed there.
- (203) *Beda mefebesa-irga ge-agot oida ri-eja jeskaseda ri-ej-okub*
 then sister.in.law-2/3DU 2/3DU-say QUOT3PL-go in. order.to 3PL-INCEP-pull
mekeni ni ri-er-efa marsi ni insa deika #
 garden and 3PL-INS-plant seed and ANA more
 Then the two sisters-in-law decided that they should all go and begin pulling (weeds) in the

garden and plant seeds again, (like) mentioned earlier.

- (204) *Tina guru Eker gud mojen ojgomu jefa #*
But no Eker gud ashamed just should

But no (Eker gud couldn't get over her it), she just felt ashamed.

- (205) *Tina guru beda ougif beda eker toumou #*
but no then bend then sit silent

But no (she couldn't get over it), she just bent over and sat silently.

- (206) *Tina guru beda eker gu mona juens mona jueka juomu jenjen #*
but no then sit to time once time twice thrice long

But no (she still couldn't get over it), she sat (and waited) for a few days (for Itur Wam).

- (207) *Tina me-ahina Itur Wam en-en ahrah-rah guru #*
but 3SG-husband Itur Wam DUR-come pop.up-RED NEG

But her husband Itur Wam didn't show up (in the village).

- (208) *Jefeda ofa otkonu oska #*
Therefore s/he stomach bad

So she became angry.

- (209) *Beda Eker gud oksons jah ojga fob #*
then Eker gud return to origin already

So Eker gud already (decided) to return to her place of origin.

- (210) *Oksons inda en beda ogu mamu efeb egens-is #*
return above come then write rock picture one-only

She (decided) to go back (to her village) above, then (on the way) she paused to draw on a rock.³⁷

- (211) *Beda ofa ereibib me-ahina Itur Wam tina ofa en-en ebeirens guru #*
then s/he linger 3SG-husband Itur Wam but s/he DUR-come fast NEG

Then she was lingering around (waiting) for her husband Itur Wam, but he didn't come quickly.

- (212) *Beda Eker gud eja deika noba en-ogu mamu efeb egens-is #*
then Eker gud go more and DUR-draw rock picture once-just

Then Eker gud went further and (paused to) draw a picture on a rock once.

- (213) *Beda ereibib tina guru-i #*
then wait but no-PRO

Then she waited around (for Itur Wam) but he still didn't come!

- (214) *Ofa ojuj mei Meska inda en #*
s/he descend river Meska above come

³⁷She is 'doodling' on a rock, taking her time returning to her village hoping Itur Wam will show up.

She descended to the Meska river coming upward back (to her village).

- (215) *Oira oka oksons dektek #*
enter foot.print return long.time

She took a long time to return to her earlier position.³⁸

- (216) *Beda en-erefa mosuska #*
then DUR-plant bamboo

Then she planted some bamboo.

- (217) *Er-efa mar mocongga #*
INS-plant thing arrow

She planted (bamboo for making) arrow shafts.

- (218) *Ofa ereibib beda en-eker inda en #*
s/he linger then DUR-wait above come

She milled around then continued upward.

- (219) *Tina guru-i Itur Wam en-esaga ahrah-rah guru-i #*
but no-PRO Itur Wam DUR-reach pop.up-RED NEG-PRO

But it was to no avail, Itur Wam didn't arrive!

- (220) *Er-efa mesik mocongga mongkiok ke-inda en deciga #*
INS-plant chili arrow tuber NOM-above come slow

She planted chili pepper, (bamboo for making) arrows, and leafy tubers, as she slowly came.

- (221) *Beda ogu mamu efef egeis-is deciga #*
then draw rock picture one-only slow

Then she doodled once again on a rock.

- (222) *Beda ereibib ojgomu #*
then wait just

Then she just hung around.

- (223) *Tina guru jefeda en-oku #*
but not therefore DUR-flee

But no (Itur Wam didn't arrive) so she fled.

- (224) *Beda er-eja jah efesi ojgomu gu Inska imba #*
then INS-go to inside just to Inska downward

Then she went down to the inside (area of her village) Inska.

- (225) *Ekerhud oku jah efesi ojgomu #*
Ekerhud flee to inside just

Ekerhud just ran to the inside (of her village).

³⁸*Oira oka oksons* 'enter footprint return' literally means to return to her former position, in this case as an unmarried person.

(226) *Eja eker beda oku okrokra ojgomu #*
 go sit then flee noise just

She just went and waited, then fled noisily (angrily).

(227) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam en beda en-esaga #*
 like that then Itur Wam come then DUR-reach

After that then Itur Wam came (and) reached (his village).

(228) *Erek koma beda ofa ejeka me-eyera-irga #*
 like that then s/he ask 3SG-sibling-2/3DU

(After arriving) then he asked his two sisters (where Ekergud was).

(229) *Tina ge-agot oida me-eker tina Iskukur Wam era mes er-eij*
 but 2/3DU-say QUOT 1PL.EXC-sit but Iskukur Wam use dog INS-throw
mes egema #
 dog some

But they said, we were sitting down, but Iskukur Wam was hunting with his dogs.

(230) *Tina mes oukuk mek beda oku fogora erabirma gu mekeni-if #*
 but dog trail pig then flee hence spread to garden-this

But the dogs chased a pig then (the pig) fled towards this garden.

(231) *Fogora ofa aga ofon gij #*
 hence s/hehang teeth in

That resulted in him teasing (Ekergud).

(232) *Ofa aga ofon gij beda agot oida mek eska-ib mek eska-ib fob*
 s/he hang teeth in then say QUOT pig bite-2SG pig bite-2SG already
mek et-ib fob #
 pig eat-2SG already

He teased (Ekergud) saying, the pig bit you, the pig already bit you, the pig already ate you.

(233) *Erek koma fogonsa³⁹ Ekergud mojen en rot beda eja fob #*
 Like that hence Ekergud shame come concerning then go already

Due to that then, Ekergud became ashamed about (what happened afterward), then she ran away.

(234) *Eja ojgomu fob⁴⁰ #*
 go just already

She has just gone.

(235) *Tina guru beda Itur Wam ostoij ofa fob #*
 but no then Itur Wam chase s/he already

But no (he still wanted her), then Itur Wam decided to chase after her.

³⁹*Fogonsa* is an alternative pronunciation of *fogora* 'hence'.

⁴⁰The implication of Itur Wam's teasing of Ekergud is that he wanted to have sex with her and Itur Wam understands that is what happened, therefore the Speaker has left that information implicit in the text.

- (236) *Ostoij beda ejiteyi noba agot oida bi-en-eja guru #*
 chase then placate and say QUOT 2SG-DUR-go NEG
 He chased after (her) then (after arriving) placated (her) and said, don't leave.
- (237) *Ageinei-nei noba agot bi-en-eja guru #*
 pleading-RED and say 2SG-DUR-go NEG
 He pleaded (to her) and said, don't leave.
- (238) *Tina Ekergud odowu ojgomu ojgomu #*
 but Ekergud reject just just
 But Ekergud rejected (him) over and over.
- (239) *Era mosruns⁴¹ er-agot du-kwey bu bi du-kwey bihi gom⁴² #*
 Use Hatam INS-agot 1SG-come again not 1SG-come another one
 She used the Hatam language (and) said, I won't come back, I (just) came once.
- (240) *Ofa era mosruns er-agot erek koma #*
 s/he use Hatam INS-say like that
 She used the Hatam language and spoke like that.
- (241) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam agot oida guru bi-en na-en-eja⁴³ noba*
 like that then Itur Wam say QUOT no 2SG-come 1DU.INC-DUR-go and
ofa ebisa jiji #
 s/he cry on.and.on.
 After that then Itur Wam said, no, come back, let's go, and he cried on-and-on.
- (242) *Tina guru beda ofa osk meseya jah ofoka gu Itur Wam #*
 but no then s/he pull.out comb to handle at Itur Wam
 But no (she was not convinced) then she pulled out a comb by the handle (and held it) toward Itur Wam.
- (243) *Noba Ekergud eker rot ofog agei #*
 and Ekergud sit concerning point hold
 And Ekergud waited (holding the comb) by the pointed end (toward Itur Wam).
- (244) *Itur Wam ebisa beda eitoh er-orousa meseya ofog koma #*
 Itur Wam cry then tear INS-slide comb point that
 Itur Wam cried then (his) tear slid (down) the sharp part of that comb.
- (245) *Beda eitoh eja edi Ekergud engkwesi #*
 Then tear go strike Ekergud chest
 Then the tear struck Ekergud on her chest.

⁴¹In (192) she uses the Sougb language, but here she uses the Hatam language.

⁴²Translation provided by Ger Reesink.

⁴³This construction is an idiomatic expression 'you come – the two of us are going' or 'let's go'.

- (246) *Erek koma beda Ekergud ekik oksons beda ebisa noba eitoh er-orousa*
 like that then Ekergud turnreturn then cry and tear INS-slide
meseya ofoka oksons beda eitoh eja edi Itur Wam engkwesi #
 comb handle return then tear go strike Itur Wam chest

After that then Ekergud turned back then cried and her tear slid down the handle of the comb back (to Itur Wam) then the tear struck Itur Wam on his chest.

- (247) *Erek koma beda ge-odou deis beda Itur Wam eja rot ofoka noba*
 like that then 2/3DU-liver split then Itur Wam go concerning handle and
Ekergud eker rot ofog #
 Ekergud sit concerning point

So then, their livers (and the spoon) split in the middle, then Itur Wam left with the handle and Ekergud stayed there with the pointed part.⁴⁴

- (248) *Itur Wam oksons inda eja beda eja jah Wam ofoka inda*
 Itur Wam return upward going then go to Wam junction upward
eja oksons #
 go return

Itur Wam went back up (to his village), to the Wam river junction.

- (249) *Ofa eja esaga gu Iren efej inda #*
 s/he go reach at Iren lower above

He went upward and reached lower Iren (river village).

- (250) *Erek koma beda eyajga tina me-okosa⁴⁵ tein mojen rot insa onnga*
 Like that then look but 3SG-sibling also ashamed concerning ANA which
o-n-soka keingg me-ousa Ekergud insa #
 PERF-jump ADV 3SG-sibling.in.law Ekergud ANA

After that (happended) then (Itur Wam) saw that his brother was also ashamed concerning that (thing) which (he did), jumping on (having sex with) his sister-in-law Ekergud mentioned earlier.

- (251) *Iskuruk Wam mojen rot fogora en-oku #*
 Iskuruk Wam ashame concerning hence DUR-flee

Iskuruk Wam was ashamed about (Ekergud), hence he fled.

- (252) *Beda ofa eja ah igef gu merenrah #*
 then s/he go lie alone at forest

Then he went and sat alone in the forest.

- (253) *Beda ofa era monjumi efeyi er-ei mod monjumi efeyi #*
 then s/he use nettle leaf INS-construct house nettle leaf

Then he used nettle leaves and constructed a nettle-leaf house.

⁴⁴ This symbolic act indicates that they have ended their marital relationship.

⁴⁵ Younger sibling same sex.

- (254) *Ofa er-ei modwok #*
s/he INS-construct temporary.shelter
He made a temporary shelter.
- (255) *Beda eja jah mebah gu esin-sinsa #*
then go to outside to self-RED
Then he went outside (of his village) to (be) completely by himself.
- (256) *Tina mos es gij monjumi efeyi koma #*
but rain fall on nettle leaf that
But it rained on those nettle leaves.
- (257) *Beda mos eya rot monjumi ofot keingg #*
Then rain flow concerning nettle flooding ADV
Then the rain flowed on the nettle (shelter) (and) flooded it.
- (258) *Beda ofos ahtah-tah gij etma ahtah-tah gij aki ahtah-tah /ahtah deciga #*
then skin itch-RED in arm itch-RED in leg itch-RED itch slow
Then his skin slowly started to itch, his arms and legs / (they) slowly (became) very itchy.
- (259) *Tina guru beda objgej etma deciga noba aki deciga ojgomu #*
But no then peel arm slow and leg slow just
But no (he couldn't get relief), then he just slowly peeled (the wet nettles) from his arms and his legs.
- (260) *Beda etma ofoj aki ofoj ojgomu fogora em-ojoros Iskukuruk Wam*
then arm rash leg rash just hence MOD-until Iskukuruk Wam
ongga a-ng-gos #
which PERF-dead
Then his arms and legs just developed rashes hence it would continue until Iskukuruk Wam was nearly dead.
- (261) *Noba ofa eja agos fob #*
And s/he go die already
And he had already died.
- (262) *Tina guru beda Itur Wam eja beda ej-ohca me-okosa #*
but no then Itur Wam go then INCEP-search 3SG-sibling
But no (Itur Wam didn't not know that) then Itur Wam went and began searching for his younger brother.
- (263) *Noba ofa e-n-ja esaga gu modwok koma jah #*
and s/he PERF-go reach at temporary.shelter that towards
And he had gone (looking for him) as far as that temporary shelter.
- (264) *Tina guru beda ofa ok en Iskukuruk agos beda eji mebi nou #*
But no then s/he carry come Iskukuruk dead then dig earth for

But no (his brother was dead), then he came carrying his dead brother Iskuruk and he dug a grave for (him).

- (265) *Erek koma beda eita mega mos efek beda er-edī #*
 Like that then take tree rain fruit then INS-strike

After that then, he took some rain tree fruit, then stuck it in (the ground).

- (266) *Erek koma beda mos efej koma er beda a-ng-ksa gij #*
 like that then rain seedling that grow then PERF-tall in

After that then that rain (tree) seedling grew tall in (the ground).

- (267) *Mega mos efej koma a-ng-ksa gij fogora e-m-fek noba e-n-tirebsi*
 tree rain seedling that PERF-tall in hence PERF-fruit and PERF-shade
job #
 already

That rain (tree) seedling was already tall with the result that it was already producing fruit and already providing shade.

- (268) *Erek koma beda ofa oubk me-eyesā-irga Ockoj Minj ge-onu Arod Minj*
 like that then s/he send 3SG-sibling-2/3DU Ockoj Minj 2/3DU-and Arod Minj
jeskaseda ge-efen⁴⁶ mekeni jeska mega mos noga⁴⁷ en-ot gij Iskuruk
 in.order.to 2/3DU-trim garden from tree rain which DUR-stand in Iskuruk
Wam odog negb⁴⁸ #
 Wam grave below

After that then he sent his two sisters, Ockoj Minj and Arod Minj, to trim the garden away from the tree which was standing on Iskuruk Wam's grave below.

- (269) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam of keingg jeskaseda erek mekeni mega*
 like that then Itur Wam cover ADV in.order.to like garden tree
gij Iskuruk Wam odog negb jeskaseda mi-efen erek mekeni gu Iskuruk
 in Iskuruk Wam grave below in.order.to 1PL-trim like garden to Iskuruk
Wam odog negb mos noga en-ot #
 Wam grave below rain which DUR-stand

So then, Itur Wam covered (the grave) to make it look like a we trim a (regular) garden rain tree standing over Iskuruk Wam's grave below.⁴⁹

- (270) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam oubk-irga keingg beda ge-efen beda edeider #*
 like that then Itur Wam send-2/3DU ADV then 2/3DU-trim then flat

After that then Itur Wam ordered the two girls to trim the garden making flat.

- (271) *Erek koma beda ofa eji mebera gij mos koma #*
 like that then s/he dig platform in rain that

⁴⁶*Efen* with a high pitch 'trim', *efen* with low a pitch 'possess'.

⁴⁷*noga* is an alternate spelling for *ongga* 'which'.

⁴⁸*Negb* is synonymous with *degini* 'below'.

⁴⁹He hid Itur Wam's grave from the sisters by planting a regular garden variety tree above it.

After that then he dug out a platform in that rain (tree).⁵⁰

- (272) *Beda Itur Wam o-m-f mega mos noga en-ot gu Iskukuruk*
 Then Itur Wam PERF-fell tree rain which DUR-stand at Iskukuruk
Wam odog koma #
 Wam grave that

Then Itur Wam felled the rain tree which stood over that grave (for) Iskukuruk Wam.

- (273) *Erek koma beda os-os mos koma #*
 like that then chop-RED rain that

(Having done) that, then he chopped up that rain (tree).

- (274) *Os-os noba agot oida bi-ek tina abja-irga si-if*
 chop-RED and say QUOT 2SG-see but girl-2/3DU ADV-here
ge-o-ng-ku erek ke-enefa goga ge-o-ng-ku ojuj erek
 2/3DU-PERF-flee like NOM-which they.two 2/3DU-PERF-flee descend like
ge-e-n-ja tein bi-esma otoij-irga jeskaseda bi-agob-irga
 2/3DU-PERF-go also 2SG-drop after-2/3DU in.order.to 2SG-strike-2/3DU
jeskaseda ge-agos jah #
 in.order.to 2/3DU-die to

He chopped up (the tree) and said (to the tree), (when) you see the two girls have fled, they have also run away, you drop (your chopped up pieces) on them from behind in order to strike them (down) so that they just die at (that place).

- (275) *Beda ofa os-os mega mos koma a-n-deij fob #*
 then s/he chop-RED tree rain that PERF-enough already

Then he chopped up that rain tree enough.

- (276) *Erek koma beda of mega koma beda esma #*
 like that then fell tree that then drop

(Having done) that then he felled that tree dropping it (there).

- (277) *Beda ofa oku jeska ojgomu noba mega koma esma otoij #*
 then s/he flee from just and tree that drop after

Then he just ran away and that tree dropped (it's pieces) afterward (on the girls).

- (278) *Beda abja-irga koma ge-a-ng-gos #*
 then girl-2/3DU that 2/3DU-PERF-die

Then those two girls died.

- (279) *Ge-ojaga koma tein ge-agos #*
 2/3DU-woman that also 2/3DU-die

Those two women also died.

⁵⁰Traditionally, the Meyah dig a flat spot out of a tree which they refer to as a platform used in offering meat sacrifices to local spirits.

- (280) *Beda ofa odou egens beda ej-osok [ojosok] noba er-akid meiteb efaga*
 then s/he liver one then INCEP-climb and INS-tie knife body
gu monggosum #
 to ceiling.beam
 Then he was determined (to do something), then he began to climb and (using something) tied a spear to the main ceiling beam (of the house).
- (281) *Era mar efeyi beda en-er-akid #*
 use thing leaf then DUR-INS-tie
 He used a vine rope then he tied (the spear to the beam).
- (282) *Erek koma beda agei mah jah mer ojaga mer igers #*
 like that then hold fire to room woman room bachelor
 After that then he started a fire at the women's bedroom side and the bachelors' bedroom side (of his house).
- (283) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam esma beda ah jah gu mersa deis-mos #*
 like that then Itur Wam drop then lie at to floor center-INT
 After that then Itur Wam dropped down and lay there in the middle of the floor.
- (284) *Beda ofa esinmouk gij mof esinsa efen #*
 then s/he cry.out in wind self possess
 Then he cried out to his own wind.
- (285) *Tina mof en-en guru #*
 but wind DUR-come NEG
 But the wind didn't come.
- (286) *Beda ofa esinmouk gij mof me-ohona efen onnga mosruns #*
 then s/he cry.out in wind 3SG-wife possess which Hatam
 Then he cried out to his wife's wind which was (from) the Hatam (area).⁵¹
- (287) *Mof mosruns eja koma eja beda esah efaga gij mod juens #*
 wind Hatam go that go then store body in house once
 The Hatam wind went (blew) then filled the house for a moment.
- (288) *Noba mar efeyi egba rot meiteb efaga koma eja beda e-n-di*
 and thing leaf tear concerning knife body that go then PERF-strike
Itur Wam gu engkwesi-if #
 Itur Wam at chest-here
 And the string with that spear broke and (the spear) went (fell) then struck Itur Wam in his chest, right here.
- (289) *Beda ofa esa edi mah jera maga ke-unj maga si-if #*
 then s/he send strike fire with wall NOM-there wall ADV-this

⁵¹More evidence that his wife was Hatam.

Then (that caused him to) send (his legs and arms) striking the fire setting that wall over there and a wall here on fire.

- (290) *Beda mah et mod keingg #*
then fire eat house ADV

Then the fires burned up (destroyed) the house.

- (291) *Ofa tein agos beda eribseb jah #*
s/he also die then scorch to

He also died and was completely scorched.

- (292) *Ai-insa-uma [ainsoma]*
DIM-ANA-that

That's all.

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SOUGB

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Sougb is spoken by approximately 12,000 speakers, living between the Anggi lakes in the north and the Bintuni Bay as the southern border. Their western neighbours are the speakers of Moskona, a dialect of Meyah. To the east, along the Cenderawasih Bay, the Austronesian language Wamesa (dialect of Wandamen) borders on the Sougb.

In earlier publications, the language is known by the exonyms *Mantion*, the dialect variant near Bintuni, and *Manikion*, the variant near the Anggi lakes (Cowan 1953:10-11; see also Voorhoeve 1975: 50 and Silzer and Heikkinen 1991:62). The western lake is called *Anggi giji* and the eastern *Anggi gida*. The forms *giji* and *gida* are Sougb for 'male' and 'female' respectively. No specific meaning for *Anggi* is known. A short grammar sketch is given in Reesink (2000). Three major dialects are distinguished: *Sougb misen*, roughly equivalent to what used to be called *Manikion*, *Bohon*, spoken along the coast, south of Oransbari, and *Lou*, equivalent to what was known as *Mantion*. Differences between these three dialects are claimed to be minor. A fourth, rather divergent, dialect is *Sre* or *cicir*, spoken by a small group of people near the mouth of the Tembuni river.

Some anthropological data, including Sougb migration patterns, are given in Pouwer (1958), Pans (1960) and Haenen (1998). In 1996 a New Testament was published in the *Sougb misen* dialect by the Indonesian Bible Society.

The language is closely related to Meyah, as demonstrated in Reesink (2000a). Both languages have five phonemic vowels /i, ɛ, a, ɔ, u/, represented by *i, e, a, o, and u*, and have the restriction that all verb stems have an initial vowel, which cannot be [+ HIGH], so that verbs can only begin with *e, o, or a*. Sougb does not have a voicing distinction for the stops of four points of articulation: bilabial *p~b*, alveolar *t~d*, palatal *c~j*, and velar *k~g*, even though the orthography, as employed in the New Testament, suggests such a distinction. There are three fricatives, bilabial *ɸ*, represented by *f*, alveolar *s*, and laryngeal *h*, two phonemic nasals, bilabial *m* and alveolar *n*, and one liquid, with free variation between [r] and [l], both of which are used in the orthography. Four vowel sequences have been attested: *ei, ou, ai* and *au*. Sougb has a pitch-accent system with two levels of tone, yielding a number of minimal pairs, such as *móg* 'thorn, sharp' and *mòg* 'flesh'. On polysyllabic words, only the stressed syllable is specified for a certain tone.

A distinctive feature of the language is a word-final labio-velar consonant, written as *gb*, as in the name of the language. This is analyzed as a velar stop, whose rounding is caused by the preceding high back vowel.

Verbs and inalienable nouns, the latter include items with initial *i* or *u*, are prefixed to indicate person and number of subject and possessor, respectively. Third person singular is zero on verbs and *m(E)-* on nouns, lowering high stem vowels: *ind-ums* '1SG-ear', *m-oms* '3SG-ear'; *ab-ir* '2SG-voice', *m-er* '3SG-voice'. There is an inclusive-exclusive opposition for first person plural and dual. The dual is marked by

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the vowel *a*, for all persons. Verbs can further be prefixed by *em-* for irrealis (IRR), and *a-* for instrument. The irrealis is obligatory on verbs in negated clauses, as in (1). Main verbs in clauses which are introduced by a sequential conjunction appear to prefer the irrealis marking, as in (107)-(109) of the text.

- (1) *Em-em-es ugwodi ingm(a) ero*
 1EXC-IRR-shoot cuscus some not

We did not shoot any cuscus.

Instruments cannot be expressed as clausal constituents. They are given in a preceding clause or extra-clausal constituent, and then marked by the verbal prefix *a-* which substitutes the stem vowel *e* of the verb *etkwa* ‘cut up’ in (2) or the initial *o* of the vowel sequence *ou* in the verb *ouma* ‘buy’ in (3).

- (2) *En eic kepta a-(e)tkwa hweij*
 3SG take machete INS-cut.up pig

He takes a machete (to) cut up the pig.

- (3) *Len l-oho besa l-a-(o)uma minc*
 they 3PL-carry bird.of.paradise 3PL-INS-buy cloth

They carry birds-of-paradise (to) buy (ceremonial) cloths with them.

A few physiological states are expressed through experiential verbs, in which some noun functions as a third person subject and the experiencer is marked by an object suffix to the generic verb *eb(a)* ‘do’. Some examples are: *dukurij-ebe-d* ‘I am cold’; *mus-ebe-b* ‘you have a cold (are coughing)’; *cicir-ebe-m* ‘we are sleepy’; *s(l)r-ebe-r* ‘they are hungry’. The irrealis marking is placed between the subject noun and the verb, as in (4).

- (4) *Dani ar-em-ebe-d-ero*
 I thing-IRR-do-1SG-not

I am not sick

The nominalizing clitic *g-* is used to make nouns out of verbs or adjectives, as in the title of the New Testament *Allah m-en g-os dou menau* ‘God 3SG-possess NOM-hold for new’ in which the verb + preposition *os dou* ‘hold for’ means ‘to promise’ is nominalized. It can also be encliticized to words like the generic noun *ara* ‘(some)thing, what’ or free pronouns *len* ‘they’ and *yen* ‘you.PL’: *areg* is used to introduce relative clauses, as in (5), while the pronouns convey ‘those who’, ‘you who’, as exemplified in (158) of the text.

- (5) *Minc are-g dan ind-ina eic dou dan*
 cloth what-REL I 1SG-father take to me

kaba dan d-a-(o)ufo dan in-sowa
 then I 1SG-INS-pay I 1SG-wife

The cloth which my father gave me I used to buy my wife.

Quite a number of verbs appear to contain a nominalized element, as in *acgeic* ‘to request’, in which *g-eic* ‘NOM-take’ seems to be a grammaticalized incorporated form of the verb ‘to take’, which means ‘give’

when occurring with the preposition *dou* 'to', as in (5). The form *ac* could be the Instrument prefix *a-* plus *ec*, which seems to have a very generic meaning 'movement forwards', as it has the following specific meanings: with high tone: 'sneeze, peel (banana), open (door), light (a fire), shoot'; with a low tone: 'walk, pick (fruit). Obviously, this is still rather speculative.

Less speculative is the presence of this nominalizing clitic on the demonstratives, which seem to specify the cardinal directions, two of which have clearly elevational meanings: *gada* 'that up, west', *gaih* 'that down, east', *gaba* 'that.north', and *gac* 'that.south'. These four are in complementary distribution with *gini* 'this' and *ingga* 'that'.

As has become clear from the examples, Sougb, just as most other Papuan languages of the Bird's Head has a rather strict SVO word order in the clause. The negative adverb is always sentence-finally, requiring the verbs in its scope to be marked by the prefix *em-* for irrealis. For further details, the reader is referred to Reesink (2000a).

Meijouhuda se Sougb

The origin in Sougb

Told by Jonathan Ahoren, 26 November 1999, at Sururei

- (1) *Se lona girogini / se dangal duapuluh enam /*
 at day this at date twenty six
ka dan d-ecic ara dou-a tuan her / se Sougb #
 then I 1SG-tell thing to mister Ger in Sougb
d-ecic ara meijouhuda se Sougb
 1SG-tell thing origin at Sougb
dan in-jemowa / Duhuhweij / Ahoren / l-ebe-buka
 I 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij Ahoren 3PL-do-open
Anggi-(gi)ji / acgunog # Acgunog #
 Anggi-male first.time first.time

On this day, on the twentysixth, I am telling mister Ger in Sougb. I am telling the origin in Sougb (about) my grandfather, Duhuhweij, Ahoren, (how) they settled *Anggi giji* for the first time.

- (2) *Gini d-ecic dou en dauntoba l-augwan l-ecnaga gini asesa #*
 this 1SG-tell to 3SG in.order 3PL-all 3PL-know this true

This I tell him in order that everybody will know it truly.

- (3) *Ya / gini / dani dau Jonathan Ahoren dan in-jemowa*
 yes this I from Joathan Ahoren I 1SG-grandfather
Duhuhweij / dan in-jemowa Ahoren Sira #
 Duhuhweij I 1SG-grandfather Ahoren Sira

Yes, this, from me Jonathan Ahoren, my grandfather Duhuhweij, my grandfather Ahoren Sira.

- (4) *Ya / suga / anggi-ji / gini len-g gus l-em-eiya acgunog ero #*
 yes at Anggi-male this 3PL-NOM other 3PL-IRR-see first not

Yes, when eh, Anggi giji, this other people had not seen first (= no other people had seen it before)

- (5) *Doba / dan in-jemowa Duyuhweij / oufo Dobrorosasabo*
 but I 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij promise Dobrorosasabo
dou Aigaisim #
 to Aigaisim

But my grandfather Duhuhweij gave Dobrorosasabo in marriage to Aigaisim.

- (6) *Dauntoba Aigaisim / Aigaisim es-ara dou Dod*
 in.order Aigaisim Aigaisim hit-thing to Dod
me-skwidā Dod / se Hosma #
 3SG-woman² Dod at Hosma

In order that Aigaisim, Aigaisim worked for Dod, his younger sister Dod, at Hosma.

- (7) *Are-g se Dererbo #*
 thing-NOM at Dererbo

Which is at Dererbo (name of a place).

- (8) *Dangaba / a-(o)ufo Dobrorosasabo dou Aigaisim #*
 so INS-put Dobrorosasabo to Aigaisim

So he used this to marry Dobrorosasabo to Aigaisim.

- (9) *Doba Dobrorosasabo m-os hoser hugwa mouf mogut #*
 but Dobrorosasabo 3SG-skin yellow tatoo all empty

But Dobrorosasabo's light skin was covered with tatoo all over.

- (10) *Dangaba / Geiraduhwi en me-doc-e / etric*
 so Geiraduwhi 3SG 3SG-front-LNK pain
ijira gida gini namcir #
 regarding woman this very

So, Geiraduhwi greatly desired this woman.

- (11) *En me-sra eb-sa terimda / l-oufo dou Aigaisim*
 3SG 3SG-hand do-at continually 3PL-give to Aigaisim
doba Aigaisim en toua eija dag me-sowa #
 and Aigaisim 3SG also call like 3SG-wife

He was having intercourse³ with her all the time, they had given her to Aigaisim, but Aigaisim he also called her his wife.

²*Me-skwidā* is derived from *gi(hi)da* 'woman', which is here explained as *adik perempuan* 'younger sister'.

³*Mesra eb-sa* 'hand does-at' is a euphemism for the vulgar term *okwi* 'fuck'.

- (12) *Doba Dobroro eic maga gururei dou Aigaisim dous #*
 but Dobroro take body little to Aigaisim only
 But Dobrorosasabo gave her body just a little to Aigaisim.
- (13) *Noba ouh maga augwan dou-ai / Gehiraduhwi #*
 and give body all to-it Geiraduhwi
 And she gave her body completely to Geiraduhwi.
- (14) *Danga danga terim(da) nowatba / Dobroro en dou Geiraduhwi /*
 so so continually ?⁴ Dobroro say to Geiraduhwi
 Thus it went on continually and Dobroro said to Geiraduhwi
- (15) *En dou en dag-ai / ban b-ogod-a / Aigeisim*
 say to 3SG like-it you 2SG-hit-LNK Aigaisim
dauntoba ban b-i(e)c dan ainyes dous #
 in.order you 2SG-EMPH-take I openly only
 She said to him thus: You kill Aigaisim so that you can just take me openly⁵.
- (16) *Kaba en dou en dag-ai*
 then say to 3Sg like-it
 Then he said to her thus:
- (17) *Dat loba kaba ban b-augwohosa dou-t #*
 shortly night then you 2SG-deceive to-1SG⁶
 This evening then you trick him for me.
- (18) *Kaba Dobroro en dou ai / Aigasim / en en Aigeisim-a /*
 then Dobroro say to it Aigaisim 3SG say Aigaisim-LNK
 Then Dobroro said to him, (to) Aigaisim, she said: Aigaisim⁷.
- (19) *Hudenarobo edara se Dagau mes #*
 k.o.frog many at Dagau hole
 There are many frogs at Dagaumes.
- (20) *Ba loba kaba na-de-ma duhu su-ngga #*
 then night then 1DU-go-get water at-that
 So tonight let's go get (some frogs) at the river there.

⁴(The form *nowatba* was ignored during the transcription).

⁵(The actual words of the last clause are: [...*dan day-ai mis tous*] '...me like-it true only', which were substituted during the transcription by *ainyes* 'openly'.)

⁶During the transcription *dou-t* was given as *dou dan* 'to me', replacing a clitic by a full pronoun.

⁷Most likely the linking *a* on the second instance of the name signals that this is a vocative in the direct quote, (19)-(20), of what Dobroro said to her husband who was to be killed by her lover Gehiraduhwi.

- (21) *Aigaisim ousa #*
Aigaisim agree
 Aigaisim agreed.
- (22) *Ka la-(e)da hiraga # l-acro hiraga*
 then 3DU-go follow 3DU-collect k.o.bamboo
 Then the two of them went to cut bamboo.
- (23) *terimda ebeij jam derapan /*
 continually near hour eight
 until about eight o'clock.⁸
- (24) *Kaba Dobroro en dou nama*
 then Dobroro say to name
en duhu naugb yeiyo gina habi #
 come water for evening this first
 Then Dobroro told him the name of the river where they would meet.
- (25) *Ban b-iraga duhu / noba dan d-iraga lonog duhu maha*
 you 2SG-follow water and I 1SG-follow dry.ground water side
naugb d-eiya hudena mes #
 for 1SG-see frog hole
 You go along the river and I go along the dry ground, the little side-stream to see the frog pond.
- (26) *Eisa doba / Geiraduhwi ogod ai / Aigaisim /*
 get.up but Geiraduhwi hit it Aigaisim
 He got up and Geiraduhwi hit him, Aigaisim.
- (27) *Ogod me-sra ebin / legeic maga ogod omi-omi-omi*
 hit 3SG-hand on.top wood/take⁹ stick hit scream-RED
b-ogod / omom ahacugb se duhu eda #
 PUR-hit die push at water go
 He hit and hit him, with a stick he hit, he screamed and screamed, until he hit him dead, and pushed him into the river.
- (28) *Ahucugb se duhu hob / ka Dobroro omi #*
 push at water already then Dobroro scream
 After he had pushed him into the river, Dobroro screamed.

⁸Lines 22-23 are not very clear. During the transcription it was explained as 'the two of them went to cut a kind of bamboo until eight o'clock', but the form *(h)iraga* in line (25) is given as 'follow' or 'go along' a certain path. It could be that my consultant explained what the two were going to do based upon his knowledge of the story, rather than explaining the words actually used.

⁹The form *legeic* is not clearly articulated, it could be the name of wood, which was used to hit, or a form of the verb *-eic* 'take'.

- (12) *K-are-g* *ogod* *in-suwa-ma /*
 NOM-what-NOM hit 1SG-husband

Who killed my husband?

- (30) *K-are-g* *ogod* *in-suwa-ma /*
 NOM-what-NOM hit 1SG-husband

Who killed my husband?

- (31) *K-are-g* *ogod* *in-suwa-ma /*
 NOM-what-NOM hit 1SG-husband

Who killed my husband

anai *in-suwa* *aman* *sougoub #*
 because 1SG-husband 1DU.EXC slave¹⁰

Who killed my husband, for my husband is our slave.

- (32) *Dangaba /* *ough* *doba /* *Dod* *en* *dou* *en* *dag*
 so run but Dod say to 3SG like

b-em-ough-lo *anai* *ban* *b-augbohosa* *en* *dou* *le-giji*
 2SG-IRR-run-not because you 2SG-deceive 3SG to PL-man

l-ogod *hob #*
 3PL-hit already

So then, she ran away but, Dod said to her like: Don't run away because you have betrayed him to the men so they've killed him.

- (33) *Ban* *b-em-eb-ro* *ban* *b-ereiyara* *dous #*
 you 2SG-IRR-cry-not you 2SG-deceive only

Don't cry, you have just deceived (him).

- (34) *Danga* *Dod* *lonemen* *kaba* *en* *eihwe* *sungga-da* *terimda /*
 so Dod morning then she go at-there-go continually

So Dod, in the morning she kept running there,

- (35) *Eskwa* *dau* *Hosma /* *ec* *m-ohora* *terimda*
 jump from Hosma walk 3SG-foot continually

loba *kaba* *edebeic* *Cingga-hada #*
 night then reach Cingga-?¹¹

She went down from Hosma, walked on foot all the time until dark when she reached Cingga.

¹⁰Explained as 'poor man', 'the one we look after'. Presumably, the import is: poor man, he's dead. The pronunciation of *sougoub* is [sɔɣɔwɔw].

¹¹During the transcription final *hada* was ignored, but it could well represent a form of the directional *(e)da* 'go away (from deictic centre)'.

- (36) *Ed(a) en dou me-skwiji Duhuhweij #*
 go say to 3SG-at-male¹² Duhuhweij

She went and told her older brother Duhuhweij.

- (37) *Ka Duhuhweij en dou en dag*
 then Duhuhweij say to 3SG like

ban b-eino dan ind-in / cab dan d-em-eihwe bo #
 you 2SG-ahead I 1SG-front day.after.tomorrow I 1SG-IRR-go and

Then Duhuhweij said to her like: You go ahead of me, the day after tomorrow I will follow.

- (38) *Duhuhweij eic sud dededa dau kaba / Dod eino eihwe-da #*
 Duhuhweij take person many from then Dod ahead go-go

Duhuhweij took many people from there and Dod went ahead.

- (39) *Duhuhweij eic sud namcir / l-eihwe-da terimda /*
 Duhuhweij take person very 3PL-go-go continually

l-atou se Oufagau mod #
 3PL-sleep at Oufaga mountain

Duhuhweij took very many people, they went away a long way, (and) slept at the Oufaga mountain.

- (40) *Dan jam lima / kaba l-asaihi tu se Sanemousi /*
 and hour five then 3PL-burn house at Sanemousi

debina / Uwasasabo / Arougwasasabo / la-hwas #
 altogether Uwasasabo Arougwasasabo 3DU-two

And at five o'clock, then they burned houses at Sanemousi, completely, (there were) Uwasasabo (and) Arougwasasabo, the two of them.

- (41) *Duhuhweij en dou en dag-ai / en dou m-os-ir*
 Duhuhweij say to say like-it say to 3SG-skin-PL

en dag-ai y-esi Uwasasabo dara Arougwasasabo dous #
 say like-it 2PL-shoot Uwasasabo with Arougwasasabo only

Duhuhweij said like this, he told his relatives like this: Only shoot Uwasasabo and Arougwasasabo (These two were Dobroro's older brothers).

- (42) *Le-gida kaba y-em-esi-ro #*
 PL-woman then 2PL-IRR-shoot-not

As for the women, don't shoot them.

¹²Both *gihida* 'female' and *giji* 'male' can be prefixed with the preposition *sug* 'at, when', which involves some metathesis, yielding [skwida] and [skwiji]. These terms are translated as some general reference to female or male relatives; see also line (51).

- (43) *Le-gida m-arges la-da #*
 PL-woman 1INC-leave 3PL-go
 The women we let go.
- (44) *Ma-(e)c misis dau le-gida l-augwan l-eigtou #*
 1INC-close door from PL-woman 3PL-all 3PL-sit
 We close the door from (where) all the women sit.
- (45) *Kaba m-os-er l-aimo m-er #*
 then 3SG-skin-PL 3PL-follow 3SG-speech
 Then his relatives followed his words.
- (46) *Kaba / l-ese Uwasasabo dara Arougwasasabo dous #*
 then 3PL-shoot Uwasasabo and Arougwasasabo only
 Then they only shot Uwasasabo and Arougwasasabo.
- (47) *Le-gida kaba l-augwan mer-na agau #*
 PL-woman then 3PL-all 3PL-soul unripe
 The women then, they all were safe.
- (48) *L-asahi tu debin b-ouwo hob #*
 3PL-burn house altogether PUR-finish already
 They burned all the houses until they were all finished.
- (49) *Kaba jam senggogu kaba l-eihwe-da terimda se Hosma #*
 then hour nine then 3PL-go-go continually at Hosma
 Then it was nine o'clock and they went all the way to Hosma.
- (50) *L-eihwe se Hosma / kaba l-eigtou ba acec lega maga*
 3PL-go at Hosma then 3PL-sit and around fence body
b-erba lu-sud deb #
 PUR-throw PL-person on.top
 They went to Hosma and sat down surrounding the fence to thrash all the people.
- (51) *Kaba eter sogo b-arehir / me-skwida Dod eigtou*
 then sway tree PUR-deceive 3SG-woman Dod sit
b-aha hweij se iktia #
 PUR-look.after pig at in.front.of.house
 Then they swayed the trees to trick (people) (and) the woman Dod was sitting to look after the pigs in front of the house.
- (52) *Doba eiya hob kaba eija dougwo /*
 but see already then call block.off

But after she had seen it then (he, i.e. Duhuhweij) asked (her).

- (53) *Kaba eije dougwo en dag Dobrorosasabo moongga-i*
 then call block say like Dobrorosasabo is.she.there-Q

Then he asked saying: Is Dobrorosasabo there?

- (54) *Doba en dag-ai / moongga / asoba / Motok / Mogohui-e #*
 but say like-it she.is.there in-law Motog Motogouhwi-Q

She said: she's there, in-law Motogouhwi, right?

- (55) *Eije-me / dara Geiraduhwi la-hwas mar-gwengga #*
 call-? with Geiraduhwi 3DU-two 2DU-are.there

Call him, with Geiraduhwi, the two of them are there¹³.

- (56) *Kaba en dou en dag ya-(e)igeic doba /*
 then say to say like 2DU-grab but
gij(i)-e dau / dau gida #
 man-LNK from from woman

Then s/he(?) said like this: You two grab but, the men away from (her), from the woman.

- (57) *Kaba eino ed-en dou me-suwa hob /*
 then ahead go-say to 3SG-husband already
kab en dou me-suwa en dag-ai
 then say to 3SG-husband say like-it

Then she went ahead to go and tell her husband, she told her husband like:

- (58) *B-i-(e)n-eiya hweij gaih habi*
 2SG-EMPH-come-see pig overthere first
anai m-oho m-es etrij ei #
 because 3SG-stomach 3SG-hole pain ?

Come and see the pig first, because it is sick in its stomach.

- (59) *Kaba me-suwa eis(a)-eda kaba en dou en dag-ai /*
 then 3SG-husband get.up-go then say to say like-it
ab-suba l-ed-eisi se lega maga gac #
 2SG-in.law 3PL-go-wait at fence body there

Then her husband got up and went, then he said: your in-laws are waiting at the fence overthere.

- (60) *Nocum b-eiyega / len l-edebeic iktia / kaba ban b-uigeic-ai #*
 shortly 2SG-scream they 3PL-near house.front then you 2SG-cut-it

In awhile you scream, they are near the front of the house then you cut it (vegetables).

¹³*la-hwas margwengga* was given for the actual phrase [lahɔsɛŋkhaika].

- (61) *Ha /ab-agto dau-ana / len l-em-ogod Dobrorosasabo #*
 ? 2SG-ol.br from-? they 3PL-IRR-hit Dobrorosasabo

Your older sister, in order that they will kill Dobrorosasabo.

- (62) *Sug len l-en hob / l-en ebeic iktia hob /*
 at they 3PL-come already 3PL-come near house.front already

When they have come, have already come near the front of the house.

- (63) *kaba /Dod eisa en dou me-suwa Gouhwi en dag-ai*
 then Dod get.up say to 3SG-husband Gouhwi say like-it

Then Dod got up and said to her husband Gouhwi, she said:

- (64) *Doba ab-suba enggina #*
 but 2SG-in.law are.here

But your in-laws are here.

- (65) *Kaba / eisa aigeic-ai / Geiraduhwi acec aba aga boroci*
 then get.up grab-it Geiraduhwi around and encircle post
dauntoba sud oucanim etugb more-sa tu memeni /
 in.order person many climb(?) corner-at house left.and.right
l-aigeic Dobrorosasabo #
 3PL-grab Dobrorosasabo

Then he got up and grabbed her, Gehiraduhwi surrounded the posts in order that many people could climb the corners of the house from left and right, and they grabbed Dobrorosasabo.¹⁴

- (66) *L-ogod m-oms dau / l-ens dou m-ahaires /*
 3PL-cut 3SG-ear from 3PL-show to 3SG-eye
l-ogod ago dau l-ec un dau
 3PL-cut belt from 3PL-open loincloth from
kaba l-ohut sugb se meis #
 then 3PL-shove firewood at 3SG-hole

They cut off her ears, and showed it to her eyes, they cut her belt away and removed her loincloth, then they shoved a pole into her vagina.

- (67) *L-en dag ab-ara graganggin en da(g) yo / yo /*
 3PL-say like 2SG-thing just.now¹⁵ say like yes yes

They said like: Your thing from just now, here it is. (She) said: Yes, yes.

¹⁴The second line of this sentence is not quite clear, as far as the identification of the morphemes is concerned; the general meaning is as indicated, based upon the explanation in Indonesian.

¹⁵The exact morphemes of *graganggin* are not certain: *graga* is explained as 'the one just now' which is followed by what seems to be the nominalized form *inggin* 'this one', used in presentative constructions. The generic *ab-ara* 'your-something' is explained as a euphemism for 'penis'.

- (68) *Are-g graga acan ind-ikbegen-er (i)ngg(a)-o / yo yo #*
 thing-NOM just yesterday 1SG-ol.br-PL it.is.this-LNK yes yes
are-g-wam #
 thing-NOM-?

That which was recently, my older brothers' thing is this, yes, yes. This is it. (Implying: this is the penis of my older brothers that I liked only yesterday, now I have to pay for my adultery.)

- (69) *Dangga l-ogo-da gaihi-da terem / se duhu /*
 so 3PL-pull-go down-go continually at water

Then they pulled her down all the way to the river

- (70) *igdahab moc gugwai / uma m-es #*
 stone ? large cuscus 3SG-hole

near an enormous bolder, the hole of the tree-kangaroo.

- (71) *Kaba / Dod ousara / mes isim / mough isim /*
 then Dod cried hole Isim trough Isim
b-od mui-a b-od hij-a #
 2SG-fold hook-CIT 2SG-fold trumpet-CIT

Then Dod bemoaned (her sister-in-law): Hole of the Isim, trough of the Isim, you folded the fishing hook, you folded the trumpet.¹⁶

- (72) *Dod ousara dangga #*
 Dod cry thus

Dod was wailing like that.

- (73) *An g-rag oki-ara deb-in me-jemeito-r #*
 concerning NOM-recently fuck-thing keep-come 3SG-yo.br-PL

because of the one who had just fucked her younger brothers.

- (74) *Hang Dod ousara dangga #*
 so Dod wail thus

So that's why Dod cried like that.

- (75) *L-ogod terem brok / l-erara deb se duhu #*
 3PL-pull continually ? 3PL-cut block at water

They pulled her all the way, and cut her up in the river.

- (76) *Kaba / adehsud gaih / Sabokte / amno Sabokrinya #*
 then old.man that Sabok ? Sabokrinya

¹⁶The Isim is a typical limestone river, disappearing under the ground in a kind of trough, whose shape easily calls up the image of a vagina. The word *mui* 'fishhook' is said to have a second meaning 'issue of adultery'. It would seem that the 'hook' and the 'fluit, trumpet' are metaphors for the retribution of a case of adultery. The sentence was explained in rather general terms: "You invited the problem of adultery".

Then the old man, Sabokrinya (= Dod's husband = Duhuhweij's brother-in-law).

- (77) *Sabokrinya / ehi mer-ir / b-ohogoho dig manus*
 Sabokrinya fell speech-PL 2SG-carry to manus
Koufu hog Deighwi #
 Koufu ? Deihwi

Sabokrinya sang: Take me to Manus-Koufu for Deihwi.¹⁷

- (78) *Dei-naugb gouf meb dinaha #*
 EMPH-for white place Dinaha

In order to snatch away *Gouf Meb Dinaha*.¹⁸

- (79) *Dei-naugb meb dinaha / meb diryo #*
 EMPH-for place Dinaha place Diryo

So that I can get Meb Dinaha and Meb Diryo (= names of two places close to each other).

- (80) *Meb g-rag sud hough oucir kaba #*
 place NOM-just person many avoid then

The places that many people avoid.

- (81) *Dara hough edreg kaba / ehimer en dan-ai /*
 with many pass then sing say like-it

and which many pass by, he sang saying thus.

Lines (77)-(81) are explained as figurative speech referring to Sabokrinya's desire to be taken to kill Arougwasasabo and Uwasasabo. Sabokrinya's mother is Deihwi. His wife is Dod. He wants to take a sickness from his mother to kill Dobroro's brothers. He is saying that many people are afraid to do this, they skirt the mountains, only he and his brother Duhuhweij have enough courage to take revenge for the adultery committed by Dobroro.

- (82) *Arougwasasabo dara Uwasasabo anai len-g gus kaba*
 Arougwasasabo and Uwasasabo because they-NOM other then
l-eb dau la #
 3PL-cry from 3DU

Arougwasasabo and Uwasasabo because other people were crying because of these two.

- (83) *La-(e)sara dingga-da dinga l-eb dau ra #*
 3DU-fight overthere-go to.here 3PL-cry from 3DU

The two of them fought from there to here, and they cried because of these two.

¹⁷The combination of *ehi* 'fell' and *mer* 'sound' is the expression for 'to sing'; the verb *oho* 'carry' appears to be reduplicated with the second instance nominalized: *oho-g-oho* 'carry-NOM-carry' conveying a intensification.

¹⁸*Meb Dinaha* is explained as the name of a bald mountain; and *goufu* means 'white', presumably referring to the limestone rock. The preposition *naugb* 'for, in order to' can be prefixed with *dei-* indicating some emphasis, here it seems to imply 'in order to take possession of certain places.'

- (84) *Hangga / ya / Duhuhweij eic-ir ed-ra la-sud la-hwas*
 so yes Duhuhweij call-PL go-3DU 3DU-person 3DU-two
l-ogod la-sud ingga la-hwas hangga em-ehimer dangga #
 3PL-hit 3DU-person those 3DU-two thus IRR-sing thus

So, yes, Duhuhweij had called them together to fight those two people, they had killed those two just mentioned and so he sang like that.

- (85) *L-es-im se l-eis-om / l-es-im se*
 3PL-shoot-RECIP at 3PL-chase-RECIP 3PL-shoot-RECIP at
len-g gaih / ijouh l-obsara #
 they-NOM there family 3PL-fall

They fought with each other, they chased each other, so that people of the other side went down.

- (86) *L-es-im danga danga danga edebeic ai /*
 3PL-shoot-RECIP thus thus thus near it
hogough eiyemasa
 k.o.fish rotten

They fought each other on and on and on until they (were) like rotten *hogough* fish.

- (87) *Kaba / l-ed-es(i) ai / Demdaga deso #*
 then 3PL-go-shoot it Demdaga family

Then they went and fought the Demdaga family.¹⁹

- (88) *Eije b-oho deb-in me-na Duhuhweij #*
 near PUR-carry block-come 3SG-father Duhuwei

They fell right before father Duhuhweij.

- (89) *Ka Demdaga desouh m-os-er / l-eisa naugw-ai /*
 then Demdaga family 3SG-skin-PL 3PL-get.up for-it
Mahauhweij / Aigaisim m-agona Mahauhweij #
 mahauhweij Aigaisim 3SG-ol.br Mahauhweij

And the relatives of Demdaga-deso, they got up in order to eh, (shoot) Mahauhweij, Aigaisim's older brother Mahauhweij.

- (90) *Dan in-jemowa Duhuhweij en dou en dag y-em-esi-ro #*
 I 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij say to say like 2PL-IRR-shoot-not

My grandfather Duhuhweij said: Don't shoot (him).

- (91) *Bui moug(t) engga #*
 hook head that

¹⁹*Demdaga* was explained as the name of a person, *Deso* as the name of a family. Thus, *Desouh* - both pronunciations occur - would be Demdaga's (grand)father.

For he's the head.²⁰

- (92) *Dan douhw-ai / geisongada / anob-ai / Demdaga d-ohu dangga #*
I 1SG-pay-it Demdaga²¹ cause-it Demdaga 1SG-pay thus

I pay/buy eh, Demdaga, for eh, Demdaga, I'll buy him like that.

- (93) *Doba / m-os-er mer-doc obges-ai / Mahauhweij b-omom deb #*
but 3SG-skin-PL 3PL-front angry-it Mahauhweij PUR-die block

But his relatives were angry (enough to shoot) Mahauhweij dead.

- (94) *Mahauhweij ousara / sudgwa enggana adga inggina em-obrugh buma#*
Mahauhweij scream mat is.here mat is.here IRR-torn not.yet

Mahauhweij screamed: the sleeping mat is here, the *adga* mat is here, they are not torn yet.²²

- (95) *Doba / Demdaga / m-os-er l-esi en tou b-omom #*
but demdaga 3SG-skin-Pl 3PL-shoot 3SG also PUR-die

But, Demdaga, his relatives shot him anyway till he died.

- (96) *Ka l-eidoc Demdaga terimda l-ed-atou se Menesiri mod #*
then 3PL-hold Demdaga continually 3PL-go-sleep at Menesiri mountain

Then they kept Demdaga all the time and they went to sleep at the Menesiri mountain.

- (97) *Lonemen kaba l-odo terem-terem l-ed-ebeic Mehgemeic mod #*
morning then 3PL-carry continually-RED 3PL-go-near Mehgemeic mountain

The (next) morning they carried him all the way until they arrived at Mehgemeic mountain.

- (98) *Sisga dougwo mer #*
Sisga block headwater

The headwaters of the Sisgadougwo.

- (99) *Kaba ligbum l-eino l-ed-en dou in-jemowe-ni /*
then other.people 3PL-ahead 3PL-go-say to 1SG-grandfather-this

me-na / Amongga gini / Duhuhweij / Ihweij-ni / Slora
3SG-father Amongga this Duhuhweij Ihweij-this Slora

l-en se Cingga gada en dag
3PL-come at Cingga that.west/up say like

Then other people went ahead to go tell my grandfather's fathers, Amongga, Duhuhweij, Ihweij, and Slora, they came to Cingga and said like:

²⁰*Bui* is a hook, a standard on which bags or clothes can be hung; this short phrase is explained as: he is the center for paying off the case of adultery.

²¹During the transcription *geisongada* was ignored and the name of Demdaga was substituted (another name for the same person?), who would be paid for with Mahauhweij as a *sougoub* 'slave'. Notice that the verb 'pay' is *ouhw* or metathesized to *ohu*.

²²*sudgwa* and *adga* are both kinds of mats, used for sleeping and as raincoats. Mahauhweij seems to imply that his family ties, and the brideprice involved, are still intact.

- (100) *L-es Demdaga deso ing em-odo gac-in #*
 3PL-shoot Demdaga deso this IRR-carry that-come

They shot Demdaga deso and are carrying him this way.²³

- (101) *Noba l-es-ai Arougwasasabo dara Uwasasabo noba*
 and 3PL-shoot-it Arougwasasabo and Uwasasabo and
l-erara Dobroro toua #
 3PL-cut.up Dobroro also

And they've killed Arougwasasabo and Uwasasabo and they've cut up Dobroro too.

- (102) *Ba ebe-mara ndag #*
 and do-angry like

And (the old man) got angry.

- (103) *Kaba in-jemowa Duhuhweij eihwe-da l-enara*
 then 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij go-go 3PL-speak
dou dededa dou in-jemowa Duhuhweij esedodo
 to long.time to 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij prepare
g-agau naugb ouhu-da #
 NOM-unripe for pay-go

Then my grandfather Duhuhweij went, they talked to my grandfather for a long time, and he prepared something fresh to pay.

- (104) *Eic menau ebeij-ai / seratus #*
 take new near-it hundred

He gave them *Kain timur* close to a hundred pieces.²⁴

- (105) *Noba / minc duhu kaba medam #*
 and cloth water then large

And as for *Kain toba*, a big one.

- (106) *Minc gahani bogomedgo medam #*
 cloth red kain.cita large

The red cloth, the *kain cita* a large one.

- (107) *Ya / ouhw # ouhw dou dan ind-ina / Beigahani / amuhung mogb #*
 yes pay pay to I 1SG-father Beigahani cover pot

Yes, he paid. He paid to my father (and) Beigahani closed the issue²⁵.

²³This line suggests that *Mahauhweij* is actually another name for *Demdaga(deso)*, resolving the rather confusing string of events in the lines (90)-(98).

²⁴*Kain timur* is the generic Indonesian term for pieces of valuable cloth, used to make payments as brideprice, fines for social transgressions like adultery, murder, etc. Some specific types are more expensive, called *kain toba* and *kain cita*, as mentioned in the following lines.

- (108) *Edi Beigahani b-amuhung mogb #*
 throw Beigahani PUR-cover pot

He threw (expensive cloths to) Beigahani to close the issue.²⁶

- (109) *Kabok / ya / en dou len dag*
 then yes say to they like
Ye(n) y-edreg se Anggi-ji habi /
 you 2PL-pass at Anggi-male first

Then, yes, he said to them: you go on to Anggi giji first.

- (110) *Hang in-jemowa Duhuhweij en en dag-ai*
 so 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij he say like-it
Len l-eb-preksa Anggi-ji #
 they 3PL-do-investigate Anggi-male

So my grandfather Duhuhweij he said like this, they came and checked out Anggi giji.

- (111) *Anes moro / ugbwot moro ba moro #*
 ghost many cuscus many bird many

There were many ghosts, cuscus and birds.

- (112) *L-en-eiya Anggiji hanga / in-jemow-er l-em-esa /*
 3PL-come-see Anggi-male so 1SG-grandfather-PL 3PL-IRR-stay
l-em-ebe-buka l-ehi #
 3PL-IRR-do-open 3PL-fell²⁷

They came and saw Anggi giji so my grandfathers stayed (here) and they opened (the place) and felled (the trees = to make gardens).

- (113) *L-em-ehi lo gin #*
 3PL-IRR-fell garden this

They cut out gardens here.²⁸

- (114) *L-em-ehi lo gini terim deb #*
 3PL-IRR-fell garden this continually block

They cut out gardens here until everything was done.

²⁵The verb *amuhung* means 'to cover' and *mogb* is a cooking pot. The expression is a metaphor for 'solving a *perkara* 'litigation'.

²⁶As a comment on these lines, it was stated that Duhuhweij paid Beigahani all these *kain timur* as compensation for the death of Demdaga-deso; the verb *edi* 'hurl' is explained as a metaphor for 'to buy'.

²⁷The final clause was 'corrected' during the transcription to read *l-em-ebe-buka naugb l-em-ehi* 'they opened (= settled) in order to fell'.

²⁸The IRRealis marking in (112)-(114), even though the events being referred to took place in the past and were quite real and certain, is due to the rule that second clauses in sequences involving conjunctions such as *naugb* 'for' are always marked with *em-* 'IRR'.

- (115) *L-ehi* *terim* / *l-esa* *terim* *kaba* / *aroub* *l-ed-ahwan-ai* /
 3PL-fell continually 3PL-work continually then order 3PL-go-bring-it
arenobai *Inyomus* *Domuro* *tou* *en* #
 then Inyomus Domuro also come

They felled (= cultivated) the area, they worked for a long time and then he ordered that they go and bring eh, then *Inyomus domuro*²⁹ also came.

- (116) *Sanamendoumog* *lan* *la-(e)n* #
 Sanamendoumog 3DU 3DU-come

Sanamendoumog, the two of them came. (That is to say, Inyomus of line (115) and Sanamendoumog came together.

- (117) *Dau* *kaba* / *Sogora* *tou* *en* #
 from then Sogora also come

After that Sogora also came.

- (118) *Dau* *kaba* / *l-augwan-ai* / *arenobai* / *Doumeissira* *tou* *en* *ba* /
 from then 3PL-all-it then Doumeissira also come and
en *dag-ai* *Y-ed-ahwan* *meij-im* *dau* *Ulait*
 say like-it 2PL-go-bring 2PL-mother from Ulait
Ducbo *tou* *hob* #
 Ducbo also already

After that they all, eh, then, Doumeissira (= name of a woman) also came and he said: You go bring your mothers from Ulait and Ducbo also already.

- (119) *Len* *l-ed-ahwan-ai* / *Daumeissira* *me-suwa* / *Sabokrinya*
 they 3PL-go-bring-it Daumeissira 3SG-husband Sabokrinya
dau *Dusaducbo* *ingga* #
 from Dusaducbo that

They went and brought Daumeissira's husband Sabokrinya from Dusaducbo also.

- (120) *En* *dag* *m-arges* *deb* *se* *Kofo* *mough* #
 say like 1INC-leave block at Kofo bay

He said: come and let's go of the Kofo bay (= south end of Anggi giji lake).

- (121) *Hang* *l-em-arges* *me-skwida* *deb* *se* *Sisgadougwo* #
 so 3PL-IRR-leave 3SG-woman block at Sisgadougwo

So they left the female relatives separate at Sisgadougwo. (i.e. just to the north of Sururei.)

²⁹*Inyomus* is given as name of person, with *Domuro* referring to the name of a family, in other words, some (grand)father of Inyomus.

- (122) *Emen dag dengga #*
 1EXC like raintree
 We are like a raintree.³⁰
- (123) *In-jemowa Duhuhweij edag-ai / sideiga maga #*
 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij like-it k.o.tree trunk
 My grandfather Duhuhweij is like the trunk of the *sideiga* tree.
- (124) *Ya /Inyomus Dohmuro #*
 yes Inyomus Dohmuro
 Yes, Inyomus' (mother) Dohmuro.
- (125) *Anobai /Sanomen Dongmogb / ya / len l-esa naugb hob #*
 then Sanomen Dongmogb yes they 3PL-stay for already
 Then, Sanomen ('s mother) Dongmog, yes, they were already settled.
- (126) *Hang / Sogora / dag nomor hwai #*
 so Sogora like number two
 So, Sogora is like the second one.
- (127) *Ya / Daugmeicsira dag nomor hogu / len l-em-en*
 yes Daugmeicsira like number four they 3PL-IRR-come
naugb l-esesa Anggi-ji #
 for 3PL-stay Anggi-male
 Yes, Daugmeicsira is like number four, they came to settle Anggi giji.³¹
- (128) *Len l-eic Anggi-ji bo / l-esesa Anggi-ji terimda /*
 they 3PL-take Anggi-male and 3PL-stay Anggi-male continually
l-em-arei lo-bum lo-bum lo-bum #
 3PL-IRR-trick ground-other³²
 They took Anggi giji and they stayed at Anggi giji forever, they tricked all other people.
- (129) *Kaba in-jemowa l-esa sug-in l-ehi sogo /*
 then 1SG-grandfather 3PL-stay at-here 3PL-fell tree
l-esesa sug-ini l-em-ehi sogo sug-in hang
 3PL-stay at-here 3PL-IRR-fell tree at-here so
len l-em-eiya duhu gin surleij #
 they 3PL-IRR-see water this sureij

³⁰*Dengga* is explained as [benaro] = *benalu* 'epiphyte', with a further specification: *seperti pohon beringin* 'like a raintree'. In other words, the Sougb families living along the Anggi lakes are like the many parasitic plants on a large raintree, with Jonathan's grandfather Duhuhweij being the trunk, as stated in the next line.

³¹See for the order of settlers, according to the narrator, line (152).

³²[lobum] was corrected to *ligbum* during the transcription, which means 'other people'. The implication of *arei* 'to trick' is that they had discovered this place before other people had a chance.

Then my grandfather³³ they stayed here and fell trees, they settled here and cultivated the land so they saw the river here, the Sureij.

- (130) *Dangaba / len l-esa / kaba l-aha hweij #*
 then they 3PL-stay then 3PL-look.after pig

So they settled and they raised pigs.

- (131) *L-aha hweij mani cinogo #*
 3PL-raise pig oil ground

They raised oil pigs.³⁴

- (132) *L-aha hweij m-oho mani cinogo dag nomor satu #*
 3PL-raise pig 3SG-name oil³⁵ ground like number one

They raised pigs with the name 'earth oil' for the first time (or: at first).

- (133) *Gino hob #*
 this already

Like that.

- (134) *Dau kaba / in-jemow-er len l-eihwe-da terimda se Waryap #*
 from then 1SG-grandfather-Pl they 3PL-go-go continually at Waryap

After that, my grandfathers they went on until they (arrived) at Waryap (a place along the coast).

- (135) *Ka l-ed-eic hweij gaih Mandor /*
 then 3PL-go-take pig that.down/east Mandor

l-odo hweij Mandor tou en /
 3PL-carry pig Mandor also come

kaba len l-ebe-mar(ah)-em su-ngga #
 then they 3PL-do-angry-RECIP at-there

Then they went and got that pig down there (in the east), Mandor³⁶, they carried the mandor pig also here and then they got angry with each other there/because of that.

- (136) *Ya / dara / Yen y-em-odo hweij menenau en lo*
 yes with you 2PL-IRR-carry pig new³⁷ come not
- anai maman m-aha mani cinogo doba eigouh hob #*
 because 1INC 1INC-raise oil earth but good already

³³Notice that the plural marker *-er* is absent, while the verb is prefixed for plural third person.

³⁴Apparently, a pig species is named *minyak tanah* 'oil'. Possibly, this refers to an indigenous species, while *mandor* pig, see line (135), is a recently introduced species.

³⁵The term *mani* 'oil' is from Biak.

³⁶*Mandor* could refer to Indonesian *mandur* 'foreman, overseer'; presumably a larger species than the *mani cinogo* of line (131).

³⁷The form *menenau* is a reduplication of *menau* 'new'.

Yes, and, Don't bring all kinds of new pigs here, for we already raise the 'earth oil' and that's already good.

- (137) *Ka in-jemow-er l-odo hweij ingga doba l-ebe-mar-em*
 then 1SG-grandfather-Pl 3PL-carry pig that but 3PL-do-angry-RECIP
icira in-jemowa Duhuhweij eni Ihweij eni /
 concerning 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij he Ihweij he
mar-isi-ai / Mahiro-ni / len l-eisa d-edesai Kofo hob#
 3DU-son-it Mahiro-this they 3PL-get.up CONN-settle Kofo already

Then my grandfathers carried that pig but they got angry with each other with regard to my grandfather Duhuhweij and Ihweij, those two their son Mahiro, they got up, moved and settled at Kofo.

- (138) *Lan la-(e)n-dou-m la-(e)desai Kofo kaba /*
 3DU 3DU-say-to-RECIP 3DU-settle Kofo then

The two of them agreed and settled at Kofo, and then

- (139) *mar-isi Mahiro en dag*
 3DU-son Mahiro say like

their son Mahiro said:

- (140) *Dan d-eisa ucan akeinya lan / len l-ed-esa Kofo #*
 I 1SG-get.up follow father 3DU they 3PL-go-stay Kofo

I'll follow my two fathers. They settled at Kofo.

- (141) *Inyomusi / Inyomusi / dara Slora / ingga lan la-(e)desa gaih*
 Inyomus Inyomus with Slora that 3DU 3DU-settle that.down/east

Inyomus and Slora the two of them settled down there (north of Sururei).

- (142) *an Anug meihida #*
 concerning Anug river.mouth

at the mouth of the Anug river.

- (143) *Noba / Ahoren / Amongga me-na Ahoren / ingga la-(e)sa su-gini #*
 and Ahoren Amongga 3SG-father Ahoren that 3DU-stand at-here

And Ahoren, Amongga's father Ahoren, the two of them stayed here.

- (144) *Lan la-(e)sa taic su-gini # ya #*
 3DU 3DU-stand middle at-here yes

The two of them stayed in between here. Yes.

- (145) *Kabok / lan la-(e)ija mar-skwid-er mar-skwid-er /*
 then 3DU 3DU-call 3DU-sister-Pl 3DU-sister-PL

mar-hid-er *len* *l-esesa* *Anggi-ji* *ingga* #
 3DU-daughter-PL they 3PL-settle Anggi-male that

Then, the two of them called their sisters, their sisters, their daughters, and they settled Anggi giji.

- (146) *L-em-eic* *Anggi-ji* *gin* *bo /* *lona* *ingga /* *Anggi-ji /* ***ternama*** #
 3PL-IRR-take Anggi-male this and day that Anggi-male well-known

They took this Anggi giji and (from) that day (on) Anggi giji was well-known.

- (147) *Anggi-ji* *l-eiji* *dag* ***kota*** #
 Anggi-male 3PL-call like town

Anggi giji they call like a town.

- (148) *Hang ougdoc* *in-jemowa* *Duhuhweij /* *Amongga /* *Ihweij /* *Slora* #
 thus according 1SG-grandfather Duhuhweij Amongga Ihweij Slora

Thus according to my grandfather, Duhuhweij, Amongga, Ihweij, Slora.

- (149) *An* *Inyomusi /* *Sanemen* *Doungmok /* *Sogora* #
 concerning Inyomus Sanemen Dougbmogb Sogora

As for Inyomus, Sanemen (his mother) Dougbmogb, Sogora.

- (150) *Danoba /* *Daumeic* *Sira* #
 further Daumeic Sira

Further, Daumeic (and her father) Sira.

- (151) *L-em-eic* *Anggi-ji* *lone* *hang /* *cinogo* *Anggi-ji*
 3PL-IRR-take Anggi-male tomorrow so ground Anggi-male

em-ebe-ramai #
 IRR-do-busy

They took Anggi giji and later the ground of Anggi giji became crowded.

- (152) ***Jadi*** / *dan* *in-jemow-er* *dag* ***nomor*** *hom /*
 so I 1SG-grandfather-PL like number one

Inyomus *dara* *Sanemen* *dag* ***nomor*** *hwai /*
 Inyomus and Sanemen like number two

Sogora *edag* ***nomor*** *homoi /*
 Sogora like number three

anobai / *Daumeic* *Sira* *edag* ***nomor*** *hogu* #
 further Daumeic Sira like number four

So, my grandfathers were the first, Inyomus with Sanemen were second, Sogora was third, and finally Daumeic (her father) Sira was fourth.

- (153) *Ya / gin ingg-ai / ya / d-ecic gin augwan dauntoba*
 yes this that-it yes 1SG-tell this all in.order

y-ecinaga edag dasar / naugb bei-r toua /
 2PL-know like base for foreign-PL also

dara n-augwan yen-g Sougb toua / m-augwan ma-(e)cinaga #
 with 1DU.INC-all 2PL-NOM Sougb also 1INC-all 1INC-know

Yes, this is what, yes, I tell this all in order that you know it like the origin, in order that both the foreigners and we all, you the Sougb people also, all of us will know it.

- (154) *Ma-(e)cinaga are-mer gin augwan asesa namcir ingga*
 1INC-know thing-speech this all true very that

d-ecic gini #
 1SG-tell this

We know all of this story that it is very true, that's why I told it.

- (155) *Y-em-eic cinogo toua y-em-agad-em lo anai*
 2PL-IRR-take ground also 2PL-IRR-grab-RECIP not because

Tuanara toua ebe-kutuk-ma #
 Tuhan.Allah also do-curse-1INC

Don't rob each other of ground, because God will condemn us.

- (156) *Noba / ma-(e)cic se meiyo g-raga asesa dauntoba*
 and 1INC-tell at base NOM-just true in.order

y-eic cinogo toua / y-ebe-menurut asesa toua dangga #
 2PL-take ground also 2PL-do-follow true also thus

And, we've told the base just now truly in order that (when) you take ground you will follow it rightly thus.

- (157) *Ya / gin ingga / d-en gin / ya / gini /*
 yes this that 1SG-say this yes this

asal meijouh kaba / eb se / surat Korindus perdama /
 origin story then do at letter Corinthians first

pasar sorama / ayat / eh / hobjerai /
 chapter fifteen verse eh twelve

sud hom jer-ai nagama edisu terimda
 person one with-two ? add continue

sud hwai hob jeremoi nagama edisu
 person two already with-three ? add

Yes, this it is which, I say this, yes, this, the story of origin, then, in First Corinthians chapter fifteen, verse eh, twelve, 37 until 43.³⁸

- (158) *Ma-(e)n sijo dou Ara eic g-eic m-os dou mamam*
 1INC-say thanks to Allah take NOM-take skin to we.INC
se Tuan Yesus Kristus dau sesar g-omom #
 at Lord Jesus Christ from sin NOM-die

We thank God (that) he has given us courage with the Lord Jesus Christ from the (power) of sin's death.

- (159) *Dangga in-si-r gin ind-uwei g-ehi yen /*
 thus 1SG-friend-PL this 1SG-thought NOM-fell 2PL
y-em-eineg g-ineg ro / y-esa ototo namcir #
 2PL-IRR-turn NOM-turn not 2PL-stand firm very

So my friends, I love you³⁹, don't turn away, but stand firm.

- (160) *Y-eic meij-uwa mough esesa se Tuhan m-oho #*
 2PL-take 2PL-behavior bright stay at Lord 3SG-name

Stay industrious in the Lord's name.

- (161) *Y-ecinaga y-eic-ara naugb Tuhan #*
 2PL-know 2PL-take-thing for Lord

Keep working for the Lord.

- (162) *Ka mej-en siouwa em-ediyebeyi deit ero #*
 then 2PL-POS reward IRR-disappear again not

Then your reward will not get lost.

- (163) *Ye-giji / ye-gida / y-augwan dau yen-gga Bəranda /*
 2PL-male 2PL-female 2PL-all from 2PL-that Holland
dau Sougb / dau Ijom / dau Amerika /
 from Sougb from Hatam from America

You men and women, all of you from Holland, from the Sougb, Hatam, America,

- (164) *Y-augwan y-ouman ma-dag-ai limogo /*
 2PL-all 2PL-hear 1INC-like-it beads

³⁸The numbers are not quite clear: first, the narrator makes a mistake with 'twelve', corrected to '37' which is made up of *sud hom jer-ai nagama edisu*: *sud hom* 'one man' = 'twenty' and *jer-ai nagama edisu* = 'seventeen', thus, 'thirty seven'. But the second number was translated as 'forty three', whereas according to the Sougb numbering system this should read: two men plus eighteen = 'fifty eight', which is indeed the last verse of chapter fifteen.

³⁹The actual morphemes and their meanings of the expression 'I love you' are not quite clear: *ind-u* '1SG-thought' and *ind-uwa* '1SG-behavior' is known from other contexts, but *g-ehi* 'NOM-fell' is a wild guess; During the transcription *ind-uwei gehi yen* was given with the meaning 'I love you'; In 1 Kor. 15:58 the concept of 'love' is expressed with *dan in-doc gororoug yen* '1SG-front pure you'; *-doc gororoug* is Sougb for the organ 'heart'; see further for expressions of emotion, Reesink (2000b).

You all listen, we are all like beads.

- (165) *Yesus edag igdebes / me-na g-ogoufu edag minc meti #*
 Jesus like string 3SG-spirit NOM-white like cloth sheet

Jesus is like the string, the Holy Spirit is like the cloth.

- (166) *Iteitogini kaba m-augwan ma-(e)di-m dag hom da hob #*
 Now then 1INC-all 1INC-throw-RECIP like one go already

Now then we are all like one already.

- (167) *Aleluia amen #*
 Halleluya Amen

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