

## MOI

Raymond H. Menick  
Leiden University<sup>1</sup>

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-wiirik 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 to<sup>2</sup> 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.

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<sup>2</sup> 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 satisfied<sup>3</sup>.
- (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.<sup>4</sup>
- (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).<sup>5</sup>
- (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

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

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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

She said: Why do you stab me?<sup>7</sup>

- (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.<sup>8</sup>

- (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.

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear what this means.

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

<sup>8</sup> *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?<sup>9</sup>
- (47) *Aa-mo-poolos taik nak na*  
 DU-1EXC-paddle alone ? Q  
 We row just alone, right?<sup>10</sup>
- (48) *Kedi meelee koolu se miye k-ow wi-wiinik 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.

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

<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

- (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).

<sup>11</sup> 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?<sup>12</sup>

- (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

<sup>12</sup> 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 hard<sup>13</sup>, 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

<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

- (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

<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

- (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.<sup>16</sup>

- (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.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

- (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.

<sup>17</sup> 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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