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 (Kebar) 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 Sough neighbor, and has a cognacy rate of about 30% with Sough (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: eg 'hear' / eg ,'smell', mo's 'rain' / mo's '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-eneteb [dineteb] 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).

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

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-thatS/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-onu⁴ 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) Of a 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.
- 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 commitative '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 ongga 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-uma ¹¹ 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
- (24) Eij mar efeb erek koma #
 twist thing string like that
 He made string like that.

string belts.

(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 river upward go therefore think QUOT 1SG-climb in.order.to but no di-ekmah 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.
- erek moskur beda oroubsib # Beda orka koma (32)egeka era then carry that using like stick then two 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 ofoka ¹³# 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).

¹³Ofoka 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.
- Meska oku aki jeska mei (37)Beda ofa Miyou s/he pull foot from river Meska Miyou then osok mei Yes inda noba eja# climb river far upward go and 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.
- aki Beda ofa tina mei Jingga eyej (39)gij Jingga ecmei then s/he but river Jingga cold foot in Jingga dip river 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.
- Beda ofa aki gij mei Jeriba tina mei Jeriba eyej (41)ecnoba Jeriba s/he dip foot into Jeriba river but river 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 mother PERF-descend-here Wam COP But river Meska dry.season possess keingg¹⁵ mei Meska Wam toumou# en 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.

The units *keingg* and *joug* function as grammatical morphemes directly following verbs. In general, they allow intransitive verbs to take direct objects.

¹⁴Osuwu is synonymous with esaga 'reach at' in (51)

- (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) Of a 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-eyejkita # 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) Of a 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) Of a 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.
- oksons inda en^{16} ejmeg beda fob # Ekergud (63)esma gu Ekergud $drop^{17}$ back then return upward come already Ekergud had already turned around and returned upward coming back.
- beda esaga oksons (64)ojgomu inda Ofa en gu mei s/he upward come reach return just then at river koma # MeskaWamofoka that Meska Wam junction

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 Ekergud had left.

¹⁷Esma 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.

koma beda ofa efnif beda ebes (65)Erekefen moswa s/he glance.back then separate like then that dry.season possess jeska # mokusmaga efen possess from grass

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 ongga ofoufem Like that then Ekergud dip foot in river Meska Wam which hot ebeskreni-meni ongga 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 ongga 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) Of a 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

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¹⁹Type of tree with edible leaves.

But no (doesn't know whose path) then she followed that path coming upward.

- Beda ofa orogna tina mei m-efesi 20 ongga ri-o-ng-k (84)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.
- Beda mei efen a-ng-h keingg (85)fogora ri-e-n-j a-ng-h gij 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.
- (88)bedaofa osok mega mei Seki # Tina guru s/he climb tree river Seki but not then 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)beda eker toumou gu mei SekiOfa osok esta jah mei efej s/he climb then sit silent at river Seki branch to river tributary mei efen noba mei efen erek neda tera 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.
- Erek koma beda abja-irga si-uma ge-es (89)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.
- Erek koma beda mowa edi-irga jijiji beda magon en ongga er-eikeya # (90)strike-2/3DU on-and-on then thirst come which INS-suffer like that then sun So then, the sun shone on the two girls for a long time, then they began to suffer from thirst.
- Tina guru beda Itur Wam oubk-irga oida abja-irga (91)ge-ageya mei but no then Itur Wam send-2/3DU QUOT girl-2/3DU 2/3DU-scoop water di-ej jeskaseda fog # egema 1SG-drink first in.order.to some But no (relief) then Itur Wam ordered the two girls, you two girls, scoop some water so that I can drink, first.²¹
- ge-onggobur²² bedage-eja Goga ge-ageya noba ge-orka (92)mei they.two 2/3DU-run then 2/3DU-go 2/3DU-scoop water and 2/3DU-carry

²⁰Mei 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.

²²Onggubur 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.

- beda ge-er-ageya Ge-oga mei# (93)ge-o-n-juj rotThey.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.
- Beda ge-orogna koma jah noba ge-ougif keingg mei # (94)2/3DU-appear that to and 2/3DU-bend ADV then water So then, they appeared at that (river) and bent over the water (to scoop some up).
- ge-eker jah-unj Beda ge-egema en# (95)to-there come then 2/3DU-other 2/3DU-sit Then one of them came over there (near the water) and sat down.
- Ge-egema ge-eker jah-if meitina ei# enge-ageya (96)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).
- ge-eyajga meidu bera ri-efena²³ egema en-efeni Goga tina (97)se3PL-spirit other DUR-reflect 2/3DU-look but [exclamation] what COP they.two efen-if-o # gu mei at water possess-this-ENT²⁴ They looked (at something) and were surprised, because there were spirits/reflections
- (98) Meidu bera en-eker-if-o# COP DUR-sit-here-IMP what As for this here, what was it!
- Ri-efena era meidu bera en-eker efen-o # (99)gu mei 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!
- masusur²⁵ En-oufa mei efen guru # (100)gu useless.thing at DUR-good water possess NEG It wasn't good for useless things to be on the pond.

reflecting on the pond, what could they be!

guru # ²⁶ En-oufa gu mei efen (101)masusur

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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

²⁵Masusur literacy means 'not eatable' or 'useless thing'. It is also used as a derogatory term when addressing

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).
- 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 ongga 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).
- joug tina mei em-eya ge-ot o-n-juj ke-if (107)Goga they.two 2/3DU-stand ADV but water MOD-flow PERF-descend NOM-this em-en-i em-en-i kwokwa oksons fogora oksons fogora encome return hence MOD-come-PRO MOD-come-PRO fully return hence oksons # gu oka a-ng-h foot.print return PERF-sit at

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-otkinaju #
 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).
- Erek koma beda oksons fogora joug mei (115)goga ge-ot em-eya ADV water MOD-follow they.two return hence like that then 2/3DU-stand kwokwa fogora e-m-fen osok # em-en-i hence PERF-possess climb MOD-come-PRO fully 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 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).
- Tina guru jefeda ge-ageya jeskaseda ge-e-n-ja (118)гot mei2/3DU-scoop water in.order.to 2/3DU-PERF-go but no concerning SO 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 – neida²⁷ # 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 ongga 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.
- 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.
- Beda ofa ejeka me-evera-irga oida abja-irga (141)mei insa then s/he ask 3SG-sibling-2/3DU QUOT girl-2/3DU water ANA jeskaseda ge-n-ja ge-ageya egema 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 ongga 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.

- bebin bi-ek meic koma ge-agot oida (148)Tina goga insa 2/3DU-say QUOT 2SG-see you-possess ladle ANA that but they.two gu bebin efesi koma # mer 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.
- jeskaseda okub Beda ofa agot oida osk meic(151)etma egens insa Then s/he say in.order.to pull ladle ANA QUOT reach hand one en# mei rot 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

then ladle fall to ADV-there and 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 ongga 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 ongga 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 enjgineg 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 Morum ³³ # s/he go to land Mpur

 He went to the Mpur (Kebar) 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) Of a 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 ongga 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.

³⁴Line (173) is an idiomatic expression for a person who hunts with dogs.

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.

Since 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.

So he would bring pigs and tree kangaroos (to eat).

- Erek koma ojgomu beda mona juens mes ej-orka³⁵ (176)mek yar-eteb time once dog INCEP-bring pig like that then just INT-big inda gu Iren efej jah mejga ebic eninda eja# 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 mek em-eska-i-o efaga-o i-osok mega-o jeska jeska mekbody-IMP 2PL-climb tree-IMP because pig MOD-bite-2PL-IMP because pig en-oku-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 Ekergud bera osok mega efaga tina aki egema er-edi mega and Ekergud COP climb tree body but foot one INS-strike tree efaga erek ke-unj # body like NOM-there

 And as for Ekergud, 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 ongga 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 Iskuruk Wam aga ofon gij oida mek eska-ib fob
 Hence Iskuruk Wam hang teeth in QUOT pig bite-2SG already

 mek eteb eska-ib fob #
 pig big bite-2SG already

 That resulted in Iskuruk Wam teasing (Ekergud) saying, the pig already bit you, the big pig already bit you!
- (190) Tina Ekergud agot oida didif bera mek en-eska-id enesi # but Ekergud say QUOT I COP pig DUR-bite-1SG not.yet

 But Ekergud 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) Ekergud era Mosou³⁶ er-agot erek koma # Ekergud use Sougb INS-talk like that Ekergud said that using the Sougb language.

³⁶This indicates that Ekergud is either from the Sough tribe or can speak Sough. In (239) she uses the Hatam language.

- (193) Erek koma beda Ekergud mojen rot ongga 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 Ekergud mojen ojgomu jefa #
 But no Ekergud ashamed just should
 But no (Ekergud 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 Ekergud oksons jah ojga fob #
 then Ekergud return to origin already
 So Ekergud 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 Ekergud eja deika noba en-ogu mamu efeb egens-is #
 then Ekergud go more and DUR-draw rock picture once-just
 Then Ekergud 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) Of a 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 efeb egens-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) Ekergud oku jah efesi ojgomu #
 Ekergud flee to inside just
 Ekergud just ran to the inside (of her village).

³⁸Oira 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 Iskuruk Wam era mes er-eij
 but 2/3DU-say QUOT 1PL.EXC-sit but Iskuruk Wam use dog INS-throw
 mes egema #
 dog some
 But they said, we were sitting down, but Iskuruk 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 happended afterward), then she ran away.
- (234) Eja ojgomu fob 40 #
 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.

³⁹Fogonsa 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 gom ⁴² # 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-eja ⁴³ 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.

^{*}In (192) she uses the Sough language, but here she uses the Hatam language.

^{**}Translation provided by Ger Reesink.

[&]quot;This construction is an idiomatic expression 'you come - the two of us are going' or 'let's got

- like that then 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).
- tina me-okosa ⁴⁵ tein mojen Erek koma beda eyajga insa ongga (250)rot then look 3SG-sibling also ashamed concerning ANA which Like that but Ekergud insa# keingg me-ousa o-n-soka 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 entioned 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.

Trible symbolic act indicates that they have ended their marital relationship.
The anger 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-REDThen 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 Iskuruk Wam
 then arm rash leg rash just hence MOD-until Iskuruk Wam
 ongga a-ng-gos #
 which PERF-dead
 Then his arms and legs just developed rashes hence it would continue until Iskuruk Wam
- (261) Noba ofa eja agos fob #
 And s/he go die already
 And he had already died.

was nearly dead.

- 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 Iskuruk agos beda eji mebi nou #But no then s/he carry come Iskuruk 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).

- Erek koma beda eita mega mos efek beda er-edi# (265)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).
- Erek koma beda mos efej koma er beda a-ng-ksa (266)like that then rain seedling that grow then PERF-tall in After that then that rain (tree) seedling grew tall in (the ground).
- Mega mos efej koma a-ng-ksa gij fogora e-m-fek noba e-n-tirebsi (267)rain seedling that PERF-tall in hence PERF-fruit and PERF-shade tree fob # already

That rain (tree) seedling was already tall with the result that it was already producing fruit and already providing shade.

Erek koma beda ofa oubk me-eyesa-irga Ockoj Minj ge-onu Arod Minj (268)like that then s/he send 3SG-sibling-2/3DU Ockoj Minj 2/3DU-and Arod Minj mekeni jeska mega mos noga⁴⁷ en-ot jeskaseda ge-efen⁴⁶ 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.

Erek koma beda Itur Wam of keingg jeskaseda erek mekeni mega (269)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

Erek koma beda Itur Wam oubk-irga keingg beda ge-efen beda edeider # (270)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.

Erek koma beda ofa eji mebera gij mos koma# (271)like that then s/he dig platform in rain that

tree standing over Iskuruk Wam's grave below.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Efen with a high pitch 'trim', efen with low a pitch 'possess'. ⁴⁷noga is an alternate spelling for ongga 'which'. ⁴⁸Negb 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 Iskuruk
Then Itur Wam PERF-fell tree rain which DUR-stand at Iskuruk
Wam odog koma #
Wam grave that

Then Itur Wam felled the rain tree which stood over that grave (for) Iskuruk 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).
- Os-os noba agot oida bi-ek tina abja-irga si-if (274)say QUOT 2SG-see but girl-2/3DU ADV-here chop-RED and ge-o-ng-ku erek ke-enefa ge-o-ng-ku goga ojuj erek2/3DU-PERF-flee like NOM-which they.two 2/3DU-PERF-flee descend like tein bi-esma otoij-irga jeskaseda bi-agob-irga ge-e-n-ja 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).

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-tieHe 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 ongga 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.
- 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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