The Meyah language is spoken by approximately 20,000 people. They live in traditional villages and government Desa 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: Mansibaber (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 /iel/, /ia/, /u/, /ui/ and /uo/ as in: ebiedi ‘relate’, ariawun ‘medicine’, rua ‘they’, oduis ‘stab’, juomu ‘third’. Meyah is a pitch accent language using two phonic pitch levels [+High] and [-High]. In polysyllabic words only one syllable carries the distinguishing pitch accent. The placement of accent is not predictable: ég ‘hear’ / ég ‘smell’, mós ‘rain’ / mós ‘frog’ (Gravelle 2000).

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

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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).

   2SG-eat  2SG-DUR-eat  2SG-PERF-eat  2SG-MOD-eat
   You eat. You are eating. You have eaten. You might eat.

   1SG-help 1SG-DUR-help 1SG-PERF-help 1SG-MOD-help
   I help. I am helping. I have helped. I might help.

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

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

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

(4) Monog di-em-eja jah Manokwari
   tomorrow 1SG-MOD-go to Manokwari
   Tomorrow I might go to Manokwari.

(5) Bua bi-n-t mat insa ke-uma
   you 2SG-PERF-eat food ANA NOM-that
   S/he had eaten that food.

(6) Era meiteb er-of mega
   use machete INST-fell tree
   S/he uses a machete to fell the tree.

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

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

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

(8) a. orka meic-if eker gij mod-uma
   bring ladle-this sit in house-that
   S/he brings this ladle. S/he sits in that house.

b. ojuj-if eja jah-uma
   descend-here go to-there
S/he descends here. S/he goes there.

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

(9) \textit{ke-imba} this below \textit{si-imba} there below \textit{ke-inda} this above \textit{si-inda} there above

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

(10) \textit{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.

\textbf{Makteyi Itur Wam gonu Ekergud}

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

(1) \textit{Didif di-ejesj makteyi osok gj Ekergud ge-ounu} \textit{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) \textit{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) \textit{Ekergud eker gu Inska eitofo} #  
Ekergud sit at Inska forehead

Ekergud lived at Inska Forehead (village).

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

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

(5) \textit{Tina Itur Wam me-okosa Iskuruk Wam me-eyper} \textit{Arod Minj ge-ounu}  
but Itur Wam 3SG-sibling Iskuruk Wam 3SG-sibling Arod Minj 2/3DU-with

Okoj Minj \textit{ri-ah gu rerin mei Meska efej inda} #  
Okoj Minj 3PL-loc at they.possess river Meska lower above

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

(6) \textit{Beda rua ri-of mekeni} #  
then they 3PL-fell garden

\textsuperscript{4}The commitative 'gonu' is only used when coordinating dual human nouns.  
\textsuperscript{5}Younger sibling opposite sex.  
\textsuperscript{6}In 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) \textit{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) \textit{Beda ri-of mekeni} # \\
they 3PL-fell garden \\
They cut down (trees) in the garden.

(9) \textit{Beda ri-es mah-ij} # \\
then 3PL-light fire-into \\
They burned off (the garden).

(10) \textit{Mah efeb edgebin mei Meska inda} # \\
fire smoke envelop river Meska upward \\
Smoke (from the) fires spread upward towards Meska river.

(11) \textit{Eja beda ej ot [ojot] rot'} Wam Ofog inda} # \\
go then INCEP-stand concerning Wam off. shoot upward \\
(The smoke) went up and began entering Wam Ofog (village).

(12) \textit{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) \textit{Beda mah tein eja gj meg a efaga} # \\
then fire also go in tree body \\
Then the fires (from the garden) burned the tree trunks.

(14) \textit{Mega ef ej ej ei gj moskusefi ongga a-ng-h tumu} \\
tree dry INCEP-build up in moss which PERF-lie on. face. of \\
\textit{mega memaga me-ou su inda eja} # \\
tree mountain 3SG-mother upward go \\
The dry trees had grown moss on the surface in the upper mountain ranges.9

(15) \textit{Beda mah eisa egigir ef es} # \\
Then fire shine sparks bright \\
Then the burning fires sent up cinders and shined brightly.

(16) \textit{Motu beda Itur Wam eker rot mar etma ef eb} # \\
night then Itur Wam sit concerning thing hand string \\
At night Itur Wam sat making string.

\footnote{The primary meaning of connector \textit{rot} is ‘concerning/about,’ but it also functions as an anaphoric demonstrative referencing participants, events, and props that are retrievable in the text.\textemdash it also expresses ‘in order to’ in (16) and (18).}

\footnote{In this construction \textit{eja ‘go’} functions adverbially to indicate that movement is away from the deictic center.}

\footnote{The 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 ofou**
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 mahu**
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 orofosu-tut mona-mona #**
twist thing string like NOM-that every-RED day-RED

He weaved string belts like that each and every day.

(21) **Mona beda rua ri-ef mekeni noba motu beda Itur Wam**
Day then they 3PL-work garden and night then Itur Wam
en beda eij mogra ofob #
come then twist belt round

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

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

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

(23) **Itur Wam ok mejga os mekeni noba motu beda en noba**
Itur Wam carry fence.material sweep garden and night then come and
eij mogra ofob #
twist belt round

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

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

He made string like that.

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

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

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10 String specifically made to hold up loincloth.
11 Due 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 eyaiqga 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 job #
then liver travel-RED already
Then she became very curious.

(28) Tiña guru jefeda osujohu oida di-osok mei inda eja jeskaseda
but no therefore think QUOT 1SG-climb river upward go in.order.to
di-ek mah eisa inda #
1SG-see fire bright upward
But no (she didn’t know whose fire it was) so she began to think, I will climb upward to see
(whose) bright fire it is up there.

(29) Jeskaseda di-eja di-ek fog #
in.order.to 1SG-go 1SG-see first
(she went up) in order to take a look.

(30) Erek koma beda Ekerugud e-n-ja job eris mosuska #
Like that then Ekerugud PERF-go already cut bamboo
(Having departed) then Ekerugud had already gone (to) cut bamboo.

(31) Eris mosubga bera-if #
cut sugarcane COP-this
(That is), she cut some sugarcane.

(32) Beda orka egeka koma era erek moskur beda orombsib #
then carry two that using like stick then lean
Then she carried those two (sugarcanes) (and) used them like (walking) sticks then leaned
(on the sticks).

(33) Beda ofu 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 ofu ec aki giij mei Meska Miyou #
then s/he dip foot in river Meska Miyou
Then she dipped her foot into the Meska Miyou river.

12 Verbs of perception may be followed by tina 'but' introducing the object to convey a sense of surprise, as also in lines 8(2), 8(4), 9(7), 10(5), 11(3), 11(5), and 17(8).
13 Ofoka means 'river mouth or estuary, but it is also used as 'river junction' where one smaller river flows into a larger river. Also, ofoka with a high pitch on the second syllable means 'river estuary', and ofoka with a high pitch on the final syllable means 'name'.
(36) Tina mei Meska Miyou eyej noba mei Meska ofoufem #
but river Meska Miyou cold and river Meska hot
But the Meska Miyou river was cold and the Meska river was hot.

(37) Beda ofa oku aki jeska mei Meska Miyou
then s/he pull foot from river Meska Miyou
noba osok mei Yes inda eja #
and climb river far upward go
Then she pulled her foot out of the Meska Miyou river and climbed upward going (to) Far river.

(38) Beda eja esaga gu mei Jingga ofoka #
then go reach at river Jingga junction
Then going (there) she got as far as the Jingga river junction.

(39) Beda ofa ec aki gij mei Jingga tina mei Jingga eyej
then s/he dip foot in river Jingga but river Jingga cold
noba mei Yes ofoufem #
but river Far hot
Then she dipped her foot into the Jingga river, but the Jingga river was cold and the Far river was hot.

(40) Beda ofa osok inda eja noba eja esaga mei Jeriba ofoka #
then s/he climb upward go and go reach river Jeriba junction
Then she ascended going upward as far as the Jeriba river junction.

(41) Beda ofa ec aki gij mei Jeriba tina mei Jeriba eyej nobu
then s/he dip foot into Jeriba river but river Jeriba cold and
mei Yes ofoufem #
river Far hot
Then she dipped her foot into the Jeriba river, but the Jeriba river was cold and Far river was hot.

(42) Beda ofa oku aki jeska mei Jeriba noba osok mei Yes #
then s/he pull foot from river Jeriba and climb river Far
Then she pulled her foot out of the Jeriba river and ascended (to) Far river.

(43) Beda eja esaga gu mei Meska Irum ofoka #
then go reach at river Meska Irum junction
Then going there she reached the Meska Irum river junction.

(44) Beda ofa ec aki gij mei Meska Irum #
then s/he dip foot into river Meska Irum
Then she dipped her foot into the Meska Irum river.

(45) Irum eyej noba mei Yes o-m-foufem #
Irum cold and river Far PERF-hot
(But) the Irum (river) was cold and the Far river was getting hot.

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

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

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

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

(48) *Beda ofa ec aki gj 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 osuwa14 egens-uma eja #*
climb reach one-that go

(She) ascended going along reaching that one (river).

(51) *Beda eja esaga gu mei Meska Wam ofoka #*
then go reach at river Meska Wam junction

Then she went along further reaching as far as the Meska Wam river junction.

(52) *Tina mei Meska Wam bera moswa efen mosu o-n-juj-if*
But river Meska Wam COP dry.season possess mother PERF-descend-here

*en keing15 mei Meska Wam tounou #*
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/he climb 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.

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14 *Osuwa* is synonymous with *esaga* ‘reach at’ in (51)
15 The units *keing* and *jouj* function as grammatical morphemes directly following verbs. In general, they allow intransitive verbs to take direct objects.
(56) *Beda eja esaga gu mei Eibira ofoka #*
Then go reach at river Eibira junction

Then she reached the Eibira river junction.

(57) *Erek koma ogomu beda ofa ec aki giij mei Yes tina mei Yes eyej noba like that only then s/he dip foot in river Far but river Far cold and mei Eibira o-m-foufem ai-grogra #*
river Eibira PERF-hot DIM-boil

Just after that, then she dipped her foot into Far river, but Far river was cold and Eibira river was already getting a little bit boiling hot.

(58) *Ofa osok mei Eibira inda eja beda eja esaga ahaa Moufor inda s/he ascend river Eibira upward go then go reach front Moufor upward beda ec aki giij tina em-eyejkita #*
then dip foot in but MOD-cool

She ascended (to the) Eibira 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 jefedo oksons fob #*
But no therefore return already

But no (it wasn't hot), so (she) decided to proceed.

(60) *Ofa ot jah si-uma beda osujohu #*
S/he stand to ADV-there then think

She stood there thinking (about it).

(61) *Tina guru jefeda er-eja mosuska jah si-uma #*
but no therefore INS-plant bamboo at ADV-there

But no (she couldn't figure it out) so she planted the thick kind of bamboo there.

(62) *Ofa er-eja mosuska beda er-ocunc jah si-uma #*
s/he INS-plant bamboo then INS-point to ADV-there

She planted the thick bamboo then using that pointed it to (the river) there.

(63) *Ekerugd esma gu ejmeg beda oksons inda en16 fob #
Ekerugd drop17 at back then return upward come already

Ekerugd had already turned around and returned upward coming back.

(64) *Ofa oksons ogomu inda en beda esaga gu mei s/he return just upward come then reach at river Meska Wam ofoka koma #*
Meska Wam junction that

She just continued going upward reaching back to that Meska Wam river junction.

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16In this structure *en* ‘come’ is used adverbially to indicate that movement is toward the deictic center – the place Ekerugd had left.

17*Esma* is the transitive verb ‘drop’. However, here and in (77) and (80) it is also used figuratively to mean ‘return’. In (274), (276), (277) the tree dropping (it’s chopped up parts) is implicit.
Erek koma beda ofa efnif beda ebos moswa efen
like that then s/he glance back then separate dry season possess
mokusmaga efen jeska #
grass possess from

After that then she glanced back and separated the (dead grass of) dry season and the tall
glass (from the river).

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.

Erek koma beda Ekerug ed aki gij mei Meska Wam ongga ofoufem
Like that then Ekerug dip foot in river Meska Wam which hot
ebeskreni-menl ongga konosa efet aki #
sorching-INT which nearly burn foot

Because of that then Ekerug dipped her foot into the Meska Wam river which was scorching
hot (and) which nearly burned her foot.

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). 19

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.

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..

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.

Beda ofa osok mei Meska Wam #
then s/he climb river Meska Wam

Then she ascended (to) the Meska Wam river.

Ofa osok inda eja ojgomo beda ec aki gij mei ofoka #
s/he climb upward go just then dip foot in river junction

19The 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 ofoafem #
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
ekirsu 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-eja 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-INEP-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 makowu\(^{19}\) si-uma #
Then reach at tree ADV-there
Then she reached the bamboo stand there.

(82) Ofa ek tina moroju en-ah-if gu mei ofoka #
s/he see but path DUR-lie-there at river junction
She looked (there), but there was a path there at the river junction.

(83) Tina guru beda en-osoka moroju inda en inda en #
but no then DUR-jump path upward come upward come

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\(^{19}\)Type of tree with edible leaves.
But no (doesn’t know whose path) then she followed that path coming upward.

(84) **Beda ofa orogna tina mei m-efesi** to ongga ri-o-ng-k mejga gij # then s/he emerge but river NOM-inside which 3PL-PERF-carry bush.fence in

Then she emerged (to a place), but there was a pond where they had planted a bush fence.

(85) **Beda mei efen a-ng-h fogora ri-e-n-j keingg gij a-ng-h**
then water possess PERF-lie hence 3PL-PERF-throw continuous in PERF-lie

Then, there had been a pond (there), hence people had planted (things around the pond) there.

(86) **Tina guru beda ofa osok mega mei Seki #**
but not then s/he climb tree river Seki

But no (she didn’t see any people), so she climbed a tree (above) Seki river.

(87) **Osok mei Seki ai-insa jah mei efej #**
climb river Seki DIM-ANA to river tributary

She climbed (a tree above) that river tributary mentioned earlier.

(88) **Ofa osok beda eker toumou gu mei Seki esta jah mei efej**
s/he climb then sit silent at river Seki branch to river tributary

**erek neda tera mei efen noba mei efen ah gu mebi #**
like cockatoo above river possess and river possess lie at ground

She climbed the (tree) branch then sat silently (above) that river tributary like a cockatoo above the pond with the surface of the water below her.

(89) **Erek koma beda abja-irga si-uma ge-es mah gij mekeni #**
Like that then girl-2/3DU ADV-there 2/3DU-burn fire in garden

After that then the two girls were there burning off a garden.

(90) **Erek koma beda mowa edi-irga jijiji beda magon en ongga er-eikeya #**
like that then sun strike-2/3DU on-and-on then thirst come which INS-suffer

So then, the sun shone on the two girls for a long time, then they began to suffer from thirst.

(91) **Tina guru beda Itur Wam oubk-irga oida abja-irga ge-ageya mei** but no then Itur Wam send-2/3DU QUOT girl-2/3DU 2/3DU-scoop water

egema jeskaseda di-ej fog #
some in.order.to 1SG-drink first

But no (relief) then Itur Wam ordered the two girls, you two girls, scoop some water so that I can drink, first.\(^\text{21}\)

(92) **Goga ge-onggobur\(^\text{22}\) beda ge-eja ge-ageya mei noba ge-orka**
they.two 2/3DU-run then 2/3DU-go 2/3DU-scoop water and 2/3DU-carry

\(^{20}\) Mei efesi is probably the reduced form mebi efesi ‘ground inside’ which means ‘standing body of water’ or ‘pond’.

\(^{21}\) Sentence final adverb fog, ‘first’ is used here as a imperative.

\(^{22}\) Onggobur seems to be synonymous with ofof ‘run’.
meic Itur Wam orka #
ladle Itur Wam carry

They ran off then went to scoop up water and carry it (back) in a ladle that belonged to Itur Wam.

[93] Ge-oza ge-o-n-juj rot beda ge-e-r-ageyu mei #
They two 2/3DU-PERF-descend concerning then 2/3DU-INS-scoop water

They had descended for (the water) then they used (the ladle) to scoop the water.

[94] Beda ge-oronga koma jah noba ge-ougiff keingg mei #
then 2/3DU-appear that to and 2/3DU-bend ADV water

So then, they appeared at that (river) and bent over the water (to scoop some up).

[95] Beda ge-egema ge-eker jah-unj en #
then 2/3DU-other 2/3DU-sit to-there come

Then one of them came over there (near the water) and sat down.

[96] Ge-egema ge-eker jah-if en ge-ageya mei tina ei #
2/3DU-other 2/3DU-sit to-here come 2/3DU-scoop water but huh

The other one came over here (this side of the pond) and sat down to scoop up some water, but huh? (she noticed something).

[97] Goga ge-eyagga tina se meidu bera ri-efeni egema en-efeni
they two 2/3DU-look but [exclamation] what COP 3PL-spirit other DUR-reflect

gu mei efeni-i-f-o #
at water possess-this-ENT

They looked (at something) and were surprised, because there were spirits/reflections reflecting on the pond, what could they be!

[98] Meidu bera en-ekeler-i-f-o #
what COP DUR-sit-here-IMP

As for this here, what was it!

[99] Ri-efeni era meidu bera en-ekeler gu mei efene-i-f-o #
3PL-spirit or what COP DUR-sit at water possess-ENT

As for these spirits/reflections or what, what were they doing on the pond!

[100] En-oufa masusur25 gu mei efen guru #
DUR-good useless.thing at water possess NEG

It wasn’t good for useless things to be on the pond.

[101] En-oufa masusur gu mei efen guru # 26

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21In 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).
22Meyah uses mood clitics to indicate speaker attitude, /-o/ emphatic, /-o/, entreaty, and /-i/ complaining (also see 107).
23Masusur literacy means ‘not eatable’ or ‘useless thing’. It is also used as a derogatory term when addressing humans.
24Line (101) is a restatement of (100).
DUR-good useless.ing at water possess NEG
It's wasn't good for useless things to be on the pond.

102) En-es gegen mei ef en #
DUR-sweep 2/3DU:Possess water possess

One of them swept the (surface) of the pond (to rid of the spirits/ reflections).

103) Tina guru beda goga ge-esiri gi 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 onga 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-esayiga tina en-ah guru #
2/3DU-look but DUR-lie NEG

They looked but (the spirits/ reflections) were not (there).

106) Beda ge-o t joug #
then 2/3DU-stand ADV

Then they stood there watching the pond (to see if they returned).

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

They stood there watching the water flowing back, descending it returned coming fully back to its original position.

108) Enok koma beda ge-esayiga 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-otkinajja #
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-otkinajja 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) Bedu ge-ebir mei rot tina en-ah guru-i #
then 2/3DU-brush water concerning but DUR-lie NEG-PRO
Then they rubbed (the dry ground) to (rid of the spirit/reflection) but it was no longer there!

(114) Er-os mei oforga joug jah tina en-ah guru #
INS-rub river head water ADV at but DUR-lie NEG
One of them (using their hands) stirred up the water but (the spirit/reflection) wasn’t there (anymore).

(115) Ere-k koma beda goga ge-at joug mei en-eya oksons fgora
like that then they two 2/3DU-stand ADV water MOD-follow return hence
em-en-i kwokia fgora e-m-fen osok #
MOD-come-PRO fully hence PERF-fen possess climb
After (doing) that then they stood (watching) the water flow back, hence it just fully returned filling the pond again.

(116) Ere-k koma beda efena orogna beda eker gij oksons deika #
like that then spirit come out then sit in return again
After that then the spirit/reflection appeared again sitting there (at the pond)

(117) Ri-ah ri-ah ri-ah jiji beda ge-odou eskes #
3PL-lie 3PL-lie 3PL-lie over and over then 2/3DU-liver lazy
The spirits/reflections just kept returning, then they (the two girls) become tired of (trying to
rid of the spirits/reflections).

(118) Tina guru jejeda ge-ageya mei jeskaseda ge-e-n-ja rot
but no so 2/3DU-scoop water in order to 2/3DU-PERF-go concerning
koma tina ge-ebes ge-ebirfaga #
that but 2/3DU-avoid 2/3DU-head
But no, (they just gave up) so they scooped up some water in preparation to leave that place,
but they turned their heads away (for a moment).

(119) Beda meidu bera Eker-gud e-ng-ker gu mei Seki esta fgora ofa e-ng-ker
then what COP Eker-gud PERF-sit at river Seki branch hence s/he PERF-sit
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.

But no (they didn't know that) therefore they became afraid (when they noticed her) and they cursed at (her).

Then they said, you useless thing! and, go away from the branches.

But Ekergud said to them, I am also not a useless thing.

I am also a human.

I came from Inska below, from Makinhos Inska.

I was curious (about) the bright fire, that fire in Wam (village).

Ekergud talked like that.

So then, the two girls talked to Ekergud like that.

^27The spatial noun neida appears to be synonymous with skida 'above'.
Then they (decided) to call her their sister-in-law.\textsuperscript{24}

So then, Ekerugud came down from the tree.

Then she landed on the ground.

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 (Ekerugud).

They said (to her), carry this ladle here with this water.

After that then they left (to make plans) concerning their (future) sister-in-law, then they reached the house.

After (arriving at the house) then they started to make plans for Ekerugud to sit silently inside a room over there, inside a basket.

Then she was to stay silently (hide) and they would put sleeping mats and firewood on (the basket) then obscure (the basket).

\textsuperscript{24}This 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 jiji jji beda mowo-ru #* 
like that then sun strike on and on then afternoon-RED

After that then the sun continued to shine hot until the late afternoon.

(140) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam orogna-uma en #* 
like that then Itur Wam come out there come

It was like that, then Itur Wam came along and appeared there.

(141) *Beda ofa ejoka me-eye-ra-irga oida abja-irga mei insa* 
then s/he ask 3SG-sibling 2/3DU QUOT girl 2/3DU water ANA

ge-n-ja ge-ageya egema jeskaseda di-ej #
2/3DU-PERF-go 2/3DU-scoop some in order to 1SG-drink

Then he asked the two girls, girls, can you give me some of the water you went to get so that I can drink some.

(142) *Beda abja-irga koma insa ge-osos Ekerug fob #* 
then sibling 2/3DU that ANA 2/3DU convince Ekerug already

(At that time) those two girls, mentioned earlier, had already convinced Ekerug (to hide in the basket).

(143) *Ge-agot gu oida bi-agei meic-if ahains mes #* 
2/3DU-say to QUOT 2SG-hold ladle this strong INT

They had said to (Ekerug), hold this ladle (Wam’s) strongly.

(144) *Bi-a-gei meic ahais oijomu beda mona ongga bi-ek Itur Wam* 
2SG-PERF-hold ladle strong just then time which 2SG-see Itur Wam

em-en noba o-ong-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 fgora en-ekek toumou #* 
like that then 2/3DU convince like that hence DUR sit silent

(They said) that then they convinced (Ekerug) like that, so (she) sat quietly (in basket).

(147) *Erek koma beda Itur Wam eja-uma eja beda agot noba ager-irga* 
like that then Itur Wam go there go then speak and yell 2/3DU
rot mei #
concerning water

After that then Itur Wam came along there and then spoke and shouted at the two girls for some water.

[148] Tina goga ge-agot oida bi-ek bebin meic insa koma
but they two 2/3DU-say QUOT 2SG-see you-possess ladle ANA that

gu bebin mer efesi koma #
at you-possess room inside that

But the two girls said, you can see your own ladle inside that room over there that belongs to you.

[149] Beda bi-esinsa bi-eita mega koma #
then 2SG-self 2SG-take wood that

So then, get the wooden (ladle) yourself.

[150] Erek koma beda Itur Wam eja-uma eja ojgolu #
Like that then Itur Wam go-there go just

After that then Itur Wam just went over there.

[151] Beda ofa agot oida osk etma jeskasa okub meic egens insa
Then s/he say QUOT reach hand in order to pull ladle one ANA

rot mei en #
concerning water come

Then he said (thinking to himself) that he will reach out to pull out the earlier mentioned ladle for some water towards him.

[152] Tina ofa okub rot asok29 koma tein #
but s/he pull concerning girl that also

But he also pulled out the unmarried girl.

[153] Beda bi-ek tina Ekergud edebecki jeska mer efesi-uma jah #
then 2SG-see but Ekergud stand up from room inside there to

Then you look (expecting to see the ladle), but Ekergud stood up from inside the room facing (toward Itur Wam).

[154] Beda ofa osok gu mersa inda eja #
then s/he climb to floor above go

Then she climbed up going onto the floor.

[155] Beda Itur Wam koma emesa beda bi-ek tina aha meic koma esij
then Itur Wam that afraid then 2SG-see but put ladle that on

asok koma etma #
girl that hand

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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).\footnote{This act signifies that itur Wam and Ekerugud must now get married.}

\begin{align*}
&\text{Beda meinv esiri jah si-uma noba Itur Wam oku jeska jah mer} \\
&\text{then ladle fall to ADV-there and Itur Wam flee from to room} \\
&\text{igers-unij ojuk noba agot oida mar ongga e-n-t-id} \\
&\text{bachelor-there descend and say QUOT thing which PERF-bite-1SG.} \\
\end{align*}

Then the ladle fell there and Itur Wam ran away from (Ekerugud) to the male's sleeping room there and he said, something has bitten me.

\begin{align*}
&Tina abja-irga ge-agot oida mar ongga eiseisa bi-ofoka eiseisa bi-efeni \\
&\text{but girl-2/3DU 2/3DU-say QUOT thing which curious 2SG-name curious 2SG-spirit} \\
&eiseisa bi-ofoka # \\
&\text{curious 2SG-name} \\
\end{align*}

But the two girls said, (she) was curious (about) your name, curious about your spirit, curious about your name.

\begin{align*}
&Erek koma beda Itur Wam otkonu oska beda aha meinv koma jah noba eja # \\
&\text{like that then Itur Wam stomach bad then put ladle that at and go} \\
&\text{So then, Itur Wam became angry and put the ladle down and left.} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&Beda ofa eja eker # \\
&\text{then s/he go sit} \\
&\text{Then he went away and stayed (somewhere else).} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&Erek koma beda ofa eja eita mei enjineg beda ej # \\
&\text{like that then s/he go take water other then drink} \\
&\text{After that then he went and got some other water to drink.} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&Erek koma beda abja-irga ge-ojunc gu Itur Wam job # \\
&\text{like that then girl-2/3DU 2/3DU-point to Itur Wam already} \\
&\text{After that then, the two girls had already pointed out (Ekerugud) to Itur Wam.} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&Erek koma beda Itur Wam ri-ah # \\
&\text{like that then Itur Wam 3PL-lie} \\
&\text{So then, Itur Wam (and the three girls) they stayed there.}\footnote{Itur Wam accepted his fate to marry Ekerugud.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&Erek koma beda rua ri-os mkeni insa # \\
&\text{like that then they 3PL-sweep garden ANA} \\
&\text{It was like that, so they (all) worked to clean the earlier mentioned garden.} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&Beda ri-o-ng-\text{k mejga} # \\
&\text{then 3PL-PERF-carry fence.wood} \\
&\text{Then they carried wood (to make) a garden fence.}
\end{align*}
(165) \textit{Itur Wam} ok \textit{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) \textit{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) \textit{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.  

(168) \textit{Beda eja fob #}  
then go already  
So then, he had already gone.

(169) \textit{Ofa eja jah mebi Morum 33 #}  
s/he go to land Mpur  
He went to the Mpur (Kebar) area.

(170) \textit{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) \textit{Ofa eja ecira rot mei tina eja gu mesta cinja jeska #}  
s/he go travel concerning cloth but go to moon five away  
He went (in search of) bride price cloth, but he was gone for five months.

(172) \textit{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) \textit{Iskuruk Wam eisisi-ir ongga em-eij mes egema oigomu #}  
Iskuruk Wam encourage-PL which MOD-throw dog some just  
Iskuruk Wam trained (dogs) which he would then send out (hunting).  

(174) \textit{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) \textit{Erek koma beda ofa orka mek ni mowodu ni #}  
like that then s/he carry pig and tree.kangaroo and.

\textsuperscript{32}Because he has to marry Ekergud he now goes in search of bride price cloth (\textit{kain timor} in Indonesian) as a dowry for her male kinsmen.
\textsuperscript{33}Since the male can only collect bride price cloth from his own consanguinal relatives this indicates that either he is a Mpur person or his relatives among the Mpur.
\textsuperscript{34}Line (173) is an idiomatic expression for a person who hunts with dogs.
So he would bring pigs and tree kangaroos (to eat).

(176) *Erek koma ojgomo beda mona juens mes ejorka* mek yar-etyeb like that just then time once dog INCEP-bring pig INT-big jah mejga ebic inda en gu Iren efej inda eja # to fence center upward come to Iren lower upward go

It was like that, that then one day a dog began to chase a very large pig upward coming into the center of the fence area to lower Iren village.

(177) *Ofa eja era mesigeb er-edi mek gu Iren efej inda en #* s/he go use bow INS-strike pig at Iran lower upward come

He (Iskuruk Wam) went and got a bow (and arrow) to shoot the pig coming up at lower Iren (village).

(178) *Ofa agot bi-evajga 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 ahajj 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 oof-uma en beda oof* like that then Iskuruk Wam run-there come then run otoj 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 esinquok gu oida abja-irga-o i-osok mega-o i-eijef mega* then s/he cry.out to QUOT girl-2/3DU-IMP 2PL-climb tree-IMP 2PL-get.on tree efaga-o i-osok mega-o jeska mek emeska-i-o jeska mek body-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.

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35Phonemic form is [ojorka] ‘begin bringing’.
Then, as for the two girls (sisters), they climbed a tree way over there.

The two (sisters) just climbed up a tree trunk.

And as for Ekergud, she climbed up a tree trunk, but one of her feet was on the tree trunk over there.

And her other foot was on a planting stick which is used to place sweet potatoes inside (the ground).

Then her loincloth dropped away (from her body).

Hence Iskuruk Wam hang teeth in QUOT pig bite-2SG already

That resulted in Iskuruk Wam teasing (Ekergud) saying, the pig already bit you, the big pig already bit you!

But Ekergud said, as for me, the pig has not bitten me yet.

As for me the pig has not bitten me yet, the pig has not eaten me yet!

Ekergud said that using the Soughb language.

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

Eredeima kw-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).

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.

Beda ofa mojen jefa #
then s/he shame should

Then (as a result) she became ashamed.

Jefeda ah toumou #
Therefore lie silent

So she remained silent.

Ri-en ojgomu #
3PL-come just

They (the others) just came (over to Ekergud).

Tina guru beda ri-ah toumou #
but no then 3PL-lie silent

But no (they didn’t react), they just remained silent.

Ekergud eradgodu er-efa mou efesi ebeirens #
Ekergud hurry INS-plant sweet.potato inside fast

Ekergud hurried (to) plant sweet potato seedlings.

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.

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.

Beda mefebasa-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-INEP-pull
meken 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 ogomu jefa #
But no Ekergud ashamed just should
But no (Ekergud couldn’t get over 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] Jefed a 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.17

[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 ojui mei Meska inda en #
s/he descend river Meska above come

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17She 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 footprint return long.time
     She took a long time to return to her earlier position.36

(216) Beda en-erefa mosuska #
     then DUR-plant bamboo
     Then she planted some bamboo.

(217) Er-efa mar moongga #
     INS-plant thing arrow
     She planted (bamboo for making) arrow shafts.

(218) Ofa ereibib beda en-eke ina 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 moongga 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 ef egeb egens-is deciga #
     then draw rock picture one-only slow
     Then she doodled once again on a rock.

(222) Beda ereibib ojgumu #
     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 ojgumu 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) Ekered oku jah efesi ojgumu #
     Ekered flee to inside just
     Ekered just ran to the inside (of her village).

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36Oira oka oksons ‘enter footprint return’ literally means to return to her former position, in this case as an unmarried person.
Eja eker beda oku okrokra ojogmu #
go sit then flee noise just
She just went and waited, then fled noisily (angrily).

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).

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 Ekerugud was).

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.

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.

Fogora ofa aga ofon gij #
hence s/he hang teeth in
That resulted in him teasing (Ekerugud).

Oja 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 (Ekerugud) saying, the pig bit you, the pig already bit you, the pig already ate you.

Erek koma fogonsa Ekurud mojen en rot beda eja fob #
Like that hence Ekerugud shame come concerning then go already
Due to that then, Ekerugud became ashamed about (what happened afterward), then she ran away.

Eja ojogmu fob #
go just already
She has just gone.

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.

Fogonsa is an alternative pronunciation of fogora 'hence'.
The implication of Itur Wam's teasing of Ekerugud 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 ejitevi 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 Ekergeud odouu ojgumu ojgumu #
but Ekergeud reject just just
But Ekergeud rejected (him) over and over.

(239) Era mosruns er-agot du-kwey bu bi du-kwey bihi gom +1 #
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 +11 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 ota osk meseva 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 Ekergeud eker rot ofog agei #
and Ekergeud sit concerning point hold
And Ekergeud waited (holding the comb) by the pointed end (toward Itur Wam).

(244) Itur Wam ebisa beda eitoh er-orousa meseva 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 ela edi Ekergeud engkwezi #
Then tear go strike Ekergeud chest
Then the tear struck Ekergeud on her chest.

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*In (232) she uses the Sugh language, but here she uses the Hatam language.
*Translation provided by Ger Roosink.
*This construction is an idiomatic expression ‘you come – the two of us are going’ or ‘let’s go’.
Erek koma beda Ekergud ekik oksons beda ebisa noba eitho er-orousa like that then Ekergud turn return then cry and tear INS-slide meseya ofoka oksons beda eitho 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.

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.

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.

Oja eja esaga gu Iren efej inda # s/he go reach at Iren lower above

He went upward and reached lower Iren (river village).

Erek koma beda eyajga tina me-okosa 35 tein mojen rot insa ongga Like that then look but 3SG-sibling also ashamed concerning ANA which o-n-soka keingg me-ousa Ekergud insa # PERF-jump ADV 3SG-sibling,in.law Ekergud ANA

After that (happended) then Itur Wam saw that his brother was also ashamed concerning that (thing) which (he did), jumping on (having sex with) his sister-in-law Ekergud mentioned earlier.

Iskuruk Wam mojen rot fogora en-oku # Iskuruk Wam ashame concerning hence DUR-flee

Iskuruk Wam was ashamed about (Ekergud), hence he fled.

Bedu ofu eja ah igef gu merenrah #
then s/he go lie alone at forest

Then he went and sat alone in the forest.

Bedu ofu era monjumi eyei er-ei mod monjumi eyei #
then s/he use nettle leaf INS-construct house nettle leaf

Then he used nettle leaves and constructed a nettle-leaf house.

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35 This event in text indicates that they have ended their marital relationship.
36 Older sibling/same sex.
(254) Ofa er-ei modwok #
s/he INS-construct temporary.shelter
He made a temporary shelter.

(255) Beda eja jah mebah gu esin-sinsa #
then go to outside to self-RED
Then he went outside (of his village) to (be) completely by himself.

(256) Tina mos es gij monjumi efeyi koma #
but rain fall on nettle leaf that
But it rained on those nettle leaves.

(257) Beda mos eyu 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 objej etma deciga noba aki deciga ojgoum #
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 ojgoum 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 was nearly dead.

(261) Noba ofa eja agos fob #
And s/he go die already
And he had already died.

(262) Tina guru beda Itur Wam eja beda ej-ohca me-okosa #
but no then Itur Wam go then INCEP-search 3SG-sibling
But no (Itur Wam didn’t not know that) then Itur Wam went and began searching for his younger brother.

(263) Noba ofa e-n-ja esaga gu modwok koma jah #
and s/he PERF-go reach at temporary.shelter that towards
And he had gone (looking for him) as far as that temporary shelter.

(264) Tina guru beda oj a 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).

(265) Ereko koma beda eita mega mos efek beda er-edi #
Like that then take tree rain fruit then INS-strike
After that then, he took some rain tree fruit, then stuck it in (the ground).

(266) Ereko koma beda mos efef koma er beda a-ng-ksa gi #
like that then rain seedling that grow then PERF-tall in
After that then that rain (tree) seedling grew tall in (the ground).

(267) Mega mos efef koma a-ng-ksa gi jifogora e-m-fek noba e-n-tirebsi
tree rain seedling that PERF-tall in hence PERF-fruit and PERF-shade
job #
already
That rain (tree) seedling was already tall with the result that it was already producing fruit and already providing shade.

(268) Ereko koma beda ofa oubk me-yesa-irga Ockojen Minj ge-ona Aroden Minj
like that then s/he send 3SG-sibling-2/3DU Ockojen Minj 2/3DU-and Aroden Minj
jeskaseda ge-efen16 mekeni jeska mega mos noga17 en-ot gi Iskuruk
in.order.to 2/3DU-trim garden from tree rain which DUR-stand in Iskuruk
Wam odog negb18 #
Wam grave below
After that then he sent his two sisters, Ockojen Minj and Aroden Minj, to trim the garden away from the tree which was standing on Iskuruk Wam's grave below.

(269) Ereko koma beda Itur Wam of keing jeskaseda erek mekeni mega
like that then Itur Wam cover ADV in.order.to like garden tree

gi Iskuruk Wam odog negb jeskaseda mi-effen erek mekeni gu Iskuruk
in Iskuruk Wam grave below in.order.to 1PL-trim like garden to Iskuruk
Wam odog negb mos noga en-ot #
Wam grave below rain which DUR-stand
So then, Itur Wam covered (the grave) to make it look like a we trim a (regular) garden rain tree standing over Iskuruk Wam's grave below.19

(270) Ereko koma beda Itur Wam oubk-irga keing beda ge-efen beda edeider #
like that then Itur Wam send 2/3DU ADV then 2/3DU-trim then flat
After that then Itur Wam ordered the two girls to trim the garden making flat.

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

16Efén with a high pitch 'trim', efen with low a pitch 'possess'.
17noga is an alternate spelling for ongga 'which'.
18Negb is synonymous with dëgini 'below'.
19He 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).\(^{30}\)

(272) **Bedu Itur Wam o-m-f mega mos noga en-at 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).

(274) **Os-os noba agot oida bi-ek tina abja-irga si-if**
chop-RED and say QUOT 2SG-see but girl-2/3DU ADV-here

ge-o-ng-ku erek ke-enefa goga ge-o-ng-ku ojij erek
2/3DU-PERF-flee like NOM-which they two 2/3DU-PERF-flee descend like

ge-e-n-ja tein bi-esma otoij-irga jeskaseda bi-agob-irga
2/3DU-PERF-go also 2SG-drop after-2/3DU in.order.to 2SG-strike-2/3DU

jeskaseda ge-agos jah #
in.order.to 2/3DU-die to

He chopped up (the tree) and said (to the tree), (when) you see the two girls have fled, they have also run away, you drop (your chopped up pieces) on them from behind in order to strike them (down) so that they just die at (that place).

(275) **Bedu ofu 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) **Bedu ofu oku jeska oigomu 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) **Bedu 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.

\(^{30}\)Traditionally, 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 mietebe efaga then s/he liver one then INCEP-climb and INS-tie knife body
gu mmongosum #
to ceiling beam

Then he was determined (to do something), then he began to climb and (using something) tied a spear to the main ceiling beam (of the house).

(281) Era mar efeyi beda en-er-akid #
use thing leaf then DUR-INS-tie

He used a vine rope then he tied (the spear to the beam).

(282) Ere 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) Ere 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 esinmoak 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 esinmoak gij mof me-ohona efen ouna 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).\footnote{More evidence that his wife was Hatam.}

(287) Mof mosruns eja koma eja beda esah efaga gij mod jaens #
wind Hatam go that go then store body in house once
The Hatam wind went (blew) then filled the house for a moment.

(288) Noba mar efeyi egba rot mietebe efaga koma eja beda e-n-di
and thing leaf tear concerning knife body that go then PERF-strike
Itur Wam gu engkvesi-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 edj mah jera maga ke-uni maga si-if #
then s/he send strike fire with wall NOM-there wall ADV-this
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) *Bedā 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.

REFERENCES