

Petrus Drabbe's Coastal Marind texts

Edited and annotated by

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Part I: Texts in the Eastern Dialect

January, 2021

Abbreviations and conventions used in the interlinear glossing

The bipartite structure of the verb is indicated by a trailing hyphen and a blank space separating the prefixal complex and the verb stem (see p. 4). In the interlinear glosses, labels separated by periods correspond to elements whose translation require several English words (e.g. *hor* 'pound.sago') or morphs that are completely unsegmentable, such as portmanteaux and suppletive forms (*o-* '3SG.DAT', *naham* 'come.PL'). Colons are used to gloss morphs that are potentially segmentable, but that I prefer to leave unsegmented in the interest of simplicity, and for elements that would be segmentable in other phonological environments. Lower-case \emptyset is used to represent a zero morph, which is a common realisation of e.g. the 3sg Actor and Neutral Orientation categories. The upper-case \emptyset (glossed COP) is used to represent the absence of a verb stem in copula clauses (in which the verb consists solely of a string of affixes); the purpose of this convention is to make copula clauses easier to identify in the texts. The boundaries of subordinate clauses are indicated by means of square brackets in the gloss line.

(x)	x is an infix	IPFV	Imperfective
(m)	Malay/Indonesian word	LOC	Locational Orientation
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	MIR	Mirative
sg, pl	singular, plural	NAFUT	Non-Asserted Future
2 3	2nd or 3rd person	NEG	Negative
I, II, III, IV	Genders I, II, III and IV	NTRL	Neutral Orientation
3PL>1	3pl Actor acts on 1st person	NPST	Non-past
A	Actor	OBJ	Object Orientation
ACPN	Accompaniment	ONLY	Restrictive Orientation
ACT	Actualis	PERF	Perfect
AFF	Affectionate	PERI	Periphrastic Light Verb Cxn (see p. 7)
ALL	Allative	PL.IMP	Plural Imperative
APL	Associative plural	PLA	Pluractional
CONT	Continuative	POSS	Possessive
COP	Copula	PRI	Prioritive
CT	Contessive	PROH	Prohibitive
DAT	Dative	PRWD	Pro-word
DEP	Dependent	PROX	Proximal
DIR	Directional Orientation	PRS	Present
DIST	Distal	PST	Past
DUR	Past Durative	PTCL	Particle
EXT	Extended	PTCP	Participial
FRUS	Frustrative	Q	Polar question
FUT	Future	QUOT	Quotative
GEN	Genitive	RCPR	Reciprocal
GIV	Given	RE	Repetitive
HAB	Habitual	REM	Remote
HORT	Hortative	ROG	Interrogative
SLF.ROG	Self-interrogative	SEP	Separative
IMP	Imperative	U	Undergoer
INESS	Inessive	VEN	Venitive
INSTR	Instrumental	WITH	Instrumental-Comitative

Biographic information

Father **Petrus Drabbe** (1887–1970) was a linguist with the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC). During his time in Dutch New Guinea, Drabbe wrote grammars and sketches of more than a dozen languages of South-Western New Guinea, all of which testify to his analytical acumen and attention to fine details of grammar. Drabbe seems to have been especially fond of the Coastal Marind language, and in a speech broadcast in Dutch radio (1962), he referred to it as “probably the most complicated language of New Guinea” and tells about a 4.5 meters long paper scroll listing the inflectional forms of the verb *kiparud* ‘tie’, which he used to impress incredulous visitors. (As of 2016, Drabbe’s scroll was still available in the mission archive in Merauke.)

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Contents

1	Background	1
2	Brief sketch of the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind	1
3	Texts in the Eastern dialect	9
3.1	<i>Kawekawe a haivui a rek tatik-mean</i> : Legend about Oriole and Hornbill	9
3.2	<i>Tatik-mean</i> : Legend	23
3.3	<i>Anem ame-kahivd</i> : When someone dies	27
3.4	<i>Takav-anem</i> : The Fire Man	31
3.5	<i>Onggat rek boan-mean</i> : Coconut clan story	34
3.6	<i>Patur-udug-ad-ya</i> : 'Where-the-boys-bathed'	41
3.7	<i>Tatik-mean</i> : Legend	46
3.8	<i>Mahai-anim end mean</i> : Story about the old-timers	50

1 Background

The texts presented here were originally published by the Dutch missionary-linguist Petrus Drabbe in the appendix of his grammar of Coastal Marind (Drabbe 1955: 152–189).¹ The Dutch of Drabbe’s original translations has been replaced by English, and morphemic segmentation and glossing have been added, along with a number of comments and clarifications, given as endnotes.² From the brief information provided by Drabbe (1955: 152) we know that the texts were originally written by students at the boarding school in Merauke. The authors were between 14 and 21 years old, so probably born in the 1930s (assuming that the texts were produced during Drabbe’s main work on Marind in 1952–1953). Below some general information about the language is given, and a very brief grammatical sketch is given in §2.

Coastal Marind is spoken in the swampy lowlands of Southern New Guinea (in present-day Indonesia), mainly along the coast of the Arafura Sea and along the Kumbe River, and by a largish urban population living in the outskirts of the district capital Merauke (see Map 1). I estimate there to be around 7,000–9,000 speakers (see Olsson 2017: 41–42). Coastal Marind and the other Marindic languages (Bush Marind and Bian Marind) are members of the Anim family, which is spread out in pockets across Southern New Guinea (Usher and Suter 2015). The Anim family is likely a member of the larger Trans-New Guinea family — see Usher and Suter (2015: 137–138) for some suggestive evidence.

The Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind is described by Drabbe (1955) in his grammar, and it is represented in 8 of the 9 texts collected therein. There are important, but not particularly well understood, dialectal differences within Coastal Marind. It is clear that the Western dialect, spoken in the coastal villages between Wambi and Alaku (west of the Bian River, see Map 1) and described in Olsson (2017), is very divergent from the Eastern variety spoken in the coastal villages between Onggari and Ndalir, and the numerous differences found in phonology, lexicon and morphosyntax make it difficult to tell whether the two varieties are best considered divergent dialects or closely related languages. I follow Drabbe in opting for the first alternative, which also agrees with the consensus among Marind people.

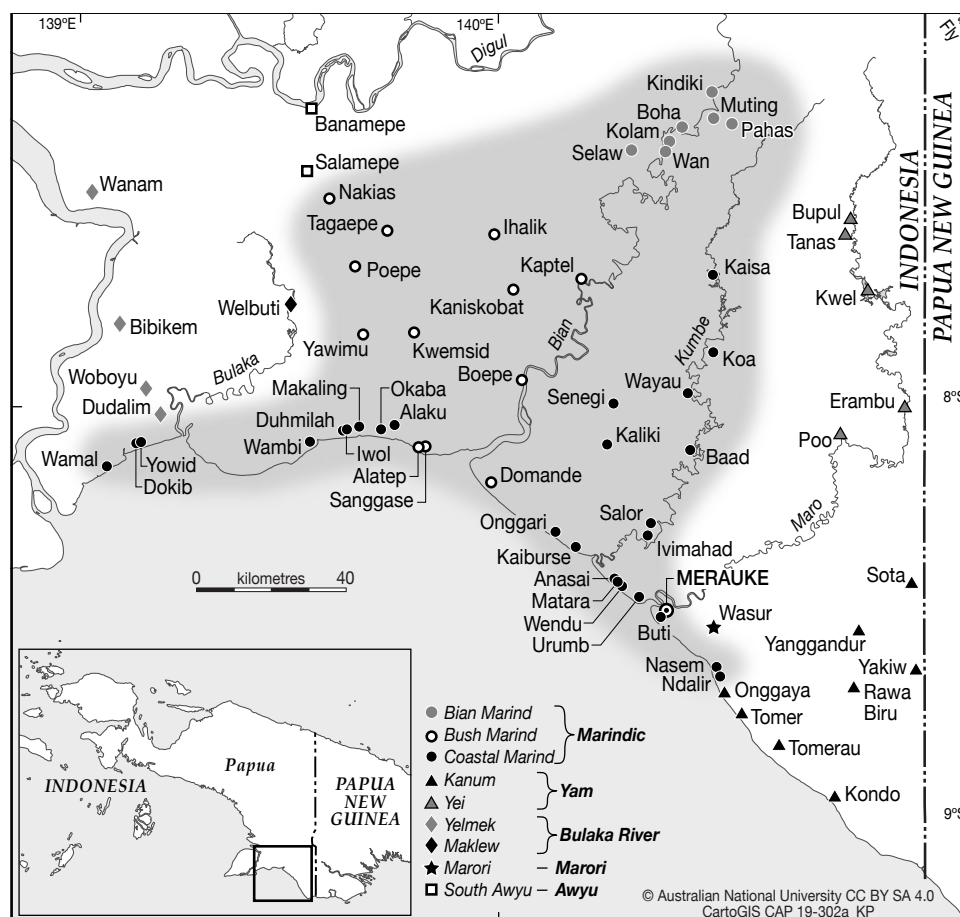
The Far Western dialect spoken in the three villages Wamal, Dokib and Yowid, represented in Drabbe’s 9th text, combines features of the other coastal varieties: phonologically this variety patterns with the neighbouring Western variety, but it has several lexical and morphosyntactic characteristics that are shared with the Eastern variety. This suggests that the Far Western dialect is a more conservative variety that has escaped some lexical and morphosyntactic innovations present in the neighbouring Western dialect, but I leave the details for future research. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the variety spoken along the Kumbe river.

2 Brief sketch of the Eastern dialect of Coastal Marind

This section provides some basic structural information intended as an aid for studying the texts. Needless to say, it is impossible to cover all the grammatical intricacies presented by the texts within the limits of a few pages, and most of the generalisations given below are subject to qualifications and exceptions. Some comments on grammatical phenomena

¹I am very grateful to the series editors — Alexandra Aikhenvald, Deborah Hill and Edgar Suter — for the opportunity to re-publish Drabbe’s texts and for their comments on the manuscript. This publication would not have been possible without the help of two Coastal Marind speakers who kindly and painstakingly helped me decipher the original texts. These speakers will remain unnamed, to ensure that no blame falls on them for any errors in my rendering of the texts, several of which contain elements that are linked to specific clans and their histories. A community-oriented version of the text collection is in preparation.

²Drabbe provides complete interlinear glossing for the first and last texts in his grammar. I have re-glossed these texts as our analyses differ in various respects.



Map 1: The Marindic-speaking area (shaded). Black circles represent Coastal Marind villages.

are provided in the endnotes. For further information, the interested reader is advised to consult Drabbe's grammar of the Eastern dialect (Drabbe 1955), or the modern grammar of the Western dialect (Olsson 2017).

Textual examples are referred to like so: Tx.y, in which x refers to the number of the text, and y the line number.

Phonology and orthography. The 18 consonant phonemes are given in Table 1. The vowels form a standard 5-member set: /a e i o u/. There are no tonal contrasts. Stress is generally root-final; exceptions seem to be historically poly-morphemic words (e.g. *hásti* 'old man', from *has* 'beard' + *ti* 'with'). Stress has very little functional load (no stress-based minimal pairs have been found) and is not indicated in the orthography used here.

No major phonological processes affect the phonemes in the Eastern dialect (the Western dialect is much more complex in this respect, see Olsson 2017: 62–71). The few phonological alternations that I am aware of are linked to specific affixes, e.g. the 'Extended' verb suffix *-at* causes a stem-final /n/ to change into [t], as in *ahaman* 'sit down (pl)' vs. *ahamat-at* 'be sitting down (pl)'.

The original orthography is retained here, with some exceptions. The initial diphthongs given by Drabbe as ^ea, ^eo and ^oa are written with initial glides: *ya*, *yo* and *wa* respectively. This agrees with the preferences of (contemporary) speakers (and the spelling of Indonesian).³

³Note that Drabbe distinguishes forms written with diphthongs and glide-vowel sequences in his orthography, e.g. (the discourse particle) *ya* 'but, and, (etc.)' and the 2|3PL.U form of the Auxiliary ^ea, both of which are written as *ya* here. Drabbe only wrote the diphthongs in derived environments (e.g. ^ea from the sequence /e-a/), but

	Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless plosive	p		t		k	
Voiced plosive	b		d		g	
Prenasalised plosive	m̥b <mb>		ɲd <nd>		ŋ̃g <ngg>	
Nasal	m		n			
Voiceless fricative			s			h
Voiced fricative		v	z			
Flap			r ~ <r>			
			ɾ			
Voiced approximant				j <y>	w	

Table 1: Consonants. Graphemes are within brackets, when different from the IPA symbols.

The palatal glide is represented by <y> instead of Drabbe's <j>, and Drabbe's grave accents (marking stress) have been removed (as stress is almost always predictable).

Nominals. Nominal morphology is limited. Coastal Marind, like all other Anim languages, has a system of four grammatical genders, labelled using Roman numerals: Gender I (containing all male humans), Gender II (female humans, and all animals), Gender III (around 70% of inanimates) and Gender IV (30% of inanimates). Animates distinguish singular and plural number; inanimates do not trigger number distinctions. Gender and number are covert categories on nouns but show up across a large (but lexically idiosyncratic) range of agreement targets: these include all demonstratives, some adjectives and a few postpositions. Gender/number agreement is reflected through vowel alternations, as in the Distal demonstrative *Vpe* (*epe* I, *upe* II, *epe* III, *ipe* IV and plural of I & II) or the agreeing adjective *hazVz* 'soft' (*hazez* I, *hazuz* II, *hazaz* III, *haziz* IV and plural of I & II). I consider these vowels to be stem alternations, and not affixes, as reflected in the segmentation and glossing (*upe* [DIST:II] rather than *u-pe* [II-DIST] etc.). A few common words display overt gender/number marking (e.g. *anem* 'man [I]', *anum* 'woman [II]', *anim* 'people'). When agreeing targets occur in non-agreeing contexts, e.g. in adverbial uses, they always take their Gender III form. In the glossing, I omit indication of Gender III in such default contexts, so the Distal *epe*, when it is used as a locative adverbial 'there', is glossed DIST instead of DIST:III.

Noun phrase syntax is extremely simple. Compounding is used to express both nominal and adjectival attribution: cf. *papus-basik* 'small pig' and *basik-muy* 'pig meat'. There are no articles, but referential NPs are often preceded and/or (especially in topic position) followed by demonstratives (Proximal *Vhe* or Distal *Vpe*; a third series, the Remote *Vhan* is not used adnominally). Other modifiers include numerals and postpositional phrases. These can be added directly preceding the nominal head, but they are often found separated from the head and placed elsewhere in the clause. There is no case marking of NPs in core roles. A set of a dozen or so postpositions can mark peripheral roles (e.g. *nanggo* 'towards, for', *nde* 'at'). Four of these agree in gender/number (*rVk* 'from', *tV* 'with', *nV* 'without', *hV* 'like') when the phrases they head are used adnominally or as secondary predicates. Some postpositions double as regular nouns, e.g. *mit* 'at, near (postp.); stem, trunk (n.)'. Note that bare NPs in peripheral roles are fairly common, at least compared to English. Adnominal possession is expressed by the postposition *end* (e.g. T1:98), which also marks instruments (e.g. T3:12). Most kinship terms have person forms, many of which are quite irregular or even suppletive

he writes that the difference in pronunciation is clear in such contexts (1955: 15). I was not able to perceive this distinction in my very brief work on the Eastern dialect (limited to a few hours of elicitation), so it is possible that the glide/diphthong distinction has merged in contemporary speech.

(see list in Drabbe 1955: 104–105).

Verb morphology. Verb morphology is extremely intricate, both with regards to the number of categories that can be expressed by affixes and alternations on the verb, and with regards to the complexity of the rules that govern the use and combinatorics of these resources. The verb complex is bipartite, and consists of a string of one or more (mostly inflection-like) prefixes, followed by a verb stem, which in turn can be the host of various (both inflection and derivation-like) affixes. These two units, which I label the PREFIXAL COMPLEX and the VERB STEM, form two separate phonological domains (with regards to stress and contextual allomorphy) but a single morphosyntactic unit (they cannot be broken up by intervening material). In the interlinear glossing of Coastal Marind, I render this mismatch between phonological and morphosyntactic domains by adding a trailing hyphen after the last prefix of the prefixal complex, and adding a blank space before the ensuing verb stem.

A simple example of a clause with a transitive verb is in (1). The prefixal complex contains the Directional Orientation *k-*, which marks the immediately pre-verbal constituent (the demonstrative *epe*) as goal of the action (the Orientation prefixes are further described in the syntax section below), followed by the 3pl Actor index *n-*. Actor indexing is the only category that is obligatorily present on all inflected verbs, but the 3sg Actor prefix *a-* is often deleted when other prefixes are present, in which case I add a zero morph to the gloss (e.g. T1:1 and *passim*).

(1) T1:48

epe ka-n- had(e)wn.

DIST DIR-3PL.A- leave<3SG.U>

They left him there.

Patient-like participants are marked in the verb stem for about 50% of the verbal lexemes; the remainder are invariant and do not alternate according to the features of the patient. The locus of patient affixes (which I label UNDERGOER, glossed *u*) varies according to the verb and must basically be memorised by the learner: most verbs are infixing, like *hadewn* in (1), others are prefixing (e.g. *wagum* ‘curse, scold’, T1:24), or suffixing (e.g. *hua* ‘emerge’, T1:49); for a large portion of stems the Undergoer marking is so irregular and/or fusional that segmentation is impossible. Undergoer indexing corresponds only partially to semantic patients: most importantly, many verbs (including almost all motion verbs) display ‘reflexive’ indexing, and index the S-argument simultaneously by the Actor and Undergoer affixes, as in the verb ‘enter’ in (2). This is somewhat similar to ‘reflexiva tantum’ verbs in European languages, so ‘enter’ can be thought of as ‘enter oneself’ (but note that this indexing template cannot be used to express true reflexive actions such as ‘vote for oneself’).

(2) T1:122

namakad nahan mak-ind-e- ka(n)amín-et.

thing 1.EMPH FUT:1.A-ALL-2|3PL.DAT- enter<1.U>-IPFV

‘I will go in to get things for you.’

A frequent source of confusion is that the ‘reflexive’ indexing pattern, when occurring with a 3pl S-argument, triggers 3sg (instead of 3pl) Actor indexing in the verb. See e.g. ‘go’ in T1:13, ‘search’ in T1:79, ‘enter’ in T1:82 for examples of this common number mismatch. Invariant 3sg Actor indexing also occurs on the copula (e.g. T1:3) and with inanimate subjects, regardless of the number of referents, so 3sg could be considered a default, with 3pl Actor prefixing mainly

occurring with animate, transitive 3pl A-arguments. Note also the existence of ‘patientive’ intransitive verbs, which index the S-argument by means of Undergoer marking, combined with invariant 3sg Actor marking (regardless of person/number of S), e.g. ‘die’ in T9:12.

Two additional prefix series add complexity to the indexing system. The Dative prefix series indexes recipient-like participants (e.g. T1:20, T1:139), owners of body parts (T1:42, T1:109), some applicative objects (T1:75). A small number of verbs must be lexically specified as indexing one of their core arguments by means of the Dative prefixes, e.g. *ruvai* ‘be fast asleep’ (T1:66). The Genitive series indexes prominent possessors (of non-body part arguments; see e.g. T1:121) and is used with the copula to express predicative possession (e.g. T1:2, T1:10). A small number of verbs index an argument with the Genitive series, e.g. *homan* ‘meet, approach s.b.’ (see T2:34).

A verb’s valence can be increased by using one of the applicative structures, signalled by prefixes: Comitative and Instrumental, both using the prefix *k-* ‘WITH-’ (but with some differences in syntax; see T1:11 and T1:56 respectively), Accompaniment *e-* (basically a comitative adding an animate O; see T1:31), Separative *is-* (expressing, roughly, motion away from the added O; T2:31), and the Allative *ind-* (roughly motion towards added O; ex. 2 above and T1:14, T1:29). The only valence-decreasing device is the Reciprocal *enam-*, as in T1:55 (sometimes also signalled in the verb stem by replacing the Undergoer affix with *-n-*, homophonous with the 1st person Undergoer marker, cf. T1:27, T1:127).

The tense-aspect system lacks temporal remoteness distinctions (common in Papuan languages). Past tense is expressed by the Past Durative *d-* on non-punctual verbs (e.g. T1:4, optionally in combination with the suffix *-ti*, with the same meaning, as in T1:31); unmarked punctual verbs are automatically past tense (T1:9). Future is marked by either the General Future prefix series (glossed FUT; e.g. T1:22) or the Non-Asserted Future series (NAFUT, mainly with negation and in apprehensive contexts; e.g. T1:41). On-going or habitual events, especially in the non-past, often take the Imperfective suffix *-e* (there is also a dedicated Habitual *-made*; see T1:5, T1:11). A subclass of verbs express change-of-state meanings, and the corresponding durative (or resultative) meaning is derived by suffixing the Extended *-a(t)* (e.g. *vahob* ‘hang s.t.’ → *vahob-a* ‘be hanging’; see T1:4, T1:22). Additional aspect-like distinctions are expressed by the Perfect *mend-* (T1:16, T1:47) and the Continuative *anVpand-* (T1:136). Pluractional forms (either prefixal, T1:88, or semi-suppletive, T1:121) express actions that are repeated or distributed over time or participants; the semantics are often verb-specific, and most verbs lack Pluractional forms. Two common prefixes presuppose a preceding and a following event, respectively: the Repetitive *i-* (‘Verb again’; T1:7, T1:43) and the Prioritive *ka-* (‘Verb first [before doing s.t. else]’; T1:50).

A variety of affixes express notions relating to mood (broadly conceived). The common Frustrative prefix *um-* conveys non-realised actions (attempted, performed in vain, or with an unexpected result; see Olsson 2017: 470–474).⁴ The Actualis *b-* emphasises the truth-value of the clause, but its overwhelmingly most frequent use in texts is in combination with the Perfect *mend-* (e.g. T1:32), which can be regarded as a fixed combination with no clear contribution by *b-* (the same holds in content questions, T1:20). The Affectionate *bat-* signals pity with one of the participants (e.g. T1:134).

Non-declarative speech acts are mostly indicated by prefixes, including Imperative *ah-* (with a suffix *-em* added if the addressee is plural, see T1:57, T1:65), Prohibitive *tamat-* (T1:45) and polar question markers in the present (*Vk-*, T1:72) and past (*ap-*, T2:36). Polar questions are also formed with the utterance-final tag *ai* (T1:51). An astonishing source of morphological complexity is the formation of content questions, which involves the prefixes *s-* (glossed ROG,

⁴According to Drabbe (1955: 194–195), *um-* is also used to mark counterfactual conditionals, suggesting that it is a more general irrealis marker (but there is also a dedicated Counterfactual suffix *-u*). I have found no examples of the counterfactual use in the texts, so I use the narrower label Frustrative. In the Western dialect the two notions are strictly separated, and the Frustrative prefix *um-* contrasts with the Counterfactual suffix *-um*.

as in Interrogative) and *b-* (the Actualis) — see paradigms in Drabbe (1955: 115–120) and T1:20, T2:17.⁵

Unlike in many other Papuan languages, grammaticalised directional marking is poorly developed in Coastal Marind, with the exception of the frequent Venitive suffix *-em*, which signals motion towards the deictic centre (primarily on motion verbs). In face-to-face conversation, and in quoted speech in narratives, the deictic centre usually corresponds to the speaker (or the quoted speaker within a narrative), as in T2:36. In 3rd person narratives, the Venitive typically refers to the location of the protagonist(s) or the locus of the main action: see e.g. T1:19, T1:89, T2:3. The Venitive has interesting, Janus-faced, aspectual properties: in the past tense, it seems to derive punctual verbs, since it allows normally durative verbs to appear without the Past Durative, but in the present it seems to derive durative verbs, as it allows normally punctual verbs to occur in on-going contexts (see Olsson 2017: 487)

Finally, the highly frequent Contessive prefix *ap-* deserves mention, because its meaning is almost completely dependent on the verb with which it combines. Its most concrete use is with position and (caused) motion verbs, with which it expresses that the action takes place on top of something or in contact with a surface (other than the ground), e.g. *ap-ahaman* ‘(several) sit down (on a chair, platform, etc.)’ (e.g. T1:62) or *ap-kwegen* ‘throw s.t. (on top of or onto s.t.)’ (T1:96). With other verbs, its use is more or less unpredictable and must be listed for each lexeme (similar to e.g. Germanic particle verbs): for example, *baren* ‘finish’ obligatorily occurs with *ap-* (T1:141), *hua* means ‘emerge’ without the Contessive (T1:110), but ‘arrive at the coast/village from inland’ with it (T3:8), and so on (see further Olsson 2017: 480).

The relative ordering and combinatorics of affixes (particularly those of the prefixal complex) are too complex to cover here, but see Olsson (2017: 205) for a position class template of the verb in the Western dialect (the Eastern dialect seems to follow the same template, with some minor variations).

Syntax. The ordering of constituents in the clause is ‘free’, in the sense that ordering primarily depends on information-structural factors. All possible orderings of A, O and V are attested, but V-final orders are somewhat more common, and A usually comes before O (although overt expression is rarely accorded to both). Special status is given to the immediately pre-verbal position, which obligatorily hosts all focused constituents. These include constituents expressing contrast and corrections, interrogative phrases in content questions, and the corresponding material in answers to such questions. A typologically unusual phenomenon is that special prefixes are added to the verb to indicate the role of the focused constituent, which I label the ORIENTATION PREFIXES. The Orientation prefixes are: Neutral *k-* (in present tense) or \emptyset - (in past or future), marking focused S/A (T1:36, T1:85); Object *m-*, marking focused O (T1:23, T1:118); Directional *k-*, marking focused goals (T1:12, T1:22); Locational *nd-*, marking source or location (T1:6, T1:30); Restrictive *s-*, expressing ‘only’ (regardless of the role of the focused element; T1:38, T2:32).

Clauses are negated by placing the negator *mbat* (in present tense contexts; T1:40, T2:27) or *mba* (past or future; T1:4, T1:41) in the immediately pre-verbal position. Non-verb constituents cannot be negated independently of the verb. Certain other adverbial expressions pattern like the negator and obligatorily occur in the pre-verbal slot, e.g. *ndom* ‘still’ (T1:145).

Copula clauses share the interesting feature of lacking a lexical verb stem, so that the verbal complex consists entirely of an ‘affix chunk’, without a host stem to which the affixes attach. The copula obligatorily contains an Orientation prefix and an Actor prefix, so the minimal copula is *k-a* (PRS.NTRL-3SG.A) ‘he/she/it/they is/are’⁶ (e.g. T1:40). In order to make

⁵Content question forms in the Western dialect appear somewhat less complicated — at least on the surface — since the Interrogative prefix is *h-* in this dialect, which undergoes deletion in most forms; see Olsson (2017: 548–556).

⁶The third person copula defaults to 3sg marking regardless of singular or plural number, similar to verbs

copula clauses easier to identify in the texts, I have added a zero ‘ \emptyset ’ in the position where a stem is usually found, and affixes are written as if they were pre- or suffixed to this invisible stem.⁷

Somewhat remarkable for a Papuan language, but in accordance with the other languages of Southern New Guinea, Coastal Marind completely lacks serial verb constructions and clause chaining. A general, semantically underspecified, subordinate clause construction (marked by the Dependent prefix *ah-* on the verb) can be used to add adverbial specifications of time, place, etc. (e.g. T1:25, T1:30), express conditionals (T3:4), or add information about a nominal referent (T3:3). Similarly to so-called ‘adjoined clauses’ in Australian languages, the subordinate clause always occurs at the periphery of the main clause (and not embedded within it), and shows no indication of its semantic function (e.g. temporal, conditional, relativising), so the English translations of such clauses are based on the relevant discourse context.

The absence of clause chaining is compensated for, at least to a small extent, by the existence of a pattern that I call sequential clause linkage. This linkage expresses sequences of events in narratives, and consists of one initial clause marked by the Locational prefix *nd-* on the verb, and a final clause marked by the Directional prefix *k-*. The events expressed by this pattern are usually somewhat predictable or backgrounded parts of a story, whereas most narrative sequences, including major plot turns, are expressed by standard clauses. It is usually the case that the first clause (marked by *nd-*) expresses a durative situation that leads up to or culminates in the second event (marked by *k-*), e.g. ‘we *nd*-walked, then we *k*-arrived’ or ‘having *nd*-cooked, we started *k*-eating’. Note that each clause in this pattern is fully independent and (with the exception of the obligatory presence of *nd-* or *k-*) inflected like a standard verb — this shows that we are not dealing with standard clause chaining, as found elsewhere in New Guinea. For some typical examples, see e.g. T1:18, T1:25, T1:49, T1:62.

A second construction needs to be mentioned, as it is highly frequent in the narrative texts collected by Drabbe, although its precise function remains somewhat unclear. This periphrastic construction, which I refer to as the PERIPHRASTIC LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION, consists of a verb stem suffixed with the element *-ti* (glossed PERI, as in periphrastic),⁸ followed by an inflected light verb, carrying the full range of inflectional prefixes. The construction almost always refers to a punctual event, and the support verb is then the light verb *win* ‘become’ (e.g. T1:50, T1:51). If it refers to a durative situation, the Auxiliary *wa* is used instead (T1:106, T1:110). Example (3) provides an example of this construction (based on T1:71).

- (3) *mahai-anim kabed-ti n-o- in*
 front-men ask-PERI 3PLA-3SG.DAT- become:2|3PL.U
 ‘The elder brothers asked her.’

Two important observations about the semantics of this construction are (a) that it only occurs in narrative contexts (referring to events that move the narrative time forward) and (b) that it only occurs in ‘focus-less’ contexts, i.e. in clauses in which no particular constituent is singled out as being more informative than the others. In this regard, compare (3) with (4), which has the A-argument placed in the pre-verbal focus position before a standard (non-periphrastic verb). This formulation could be used in a narrative as well, but typically in a context where the identity of the A-argument was unexpected or contrastive.

such as ‘enter’ (mentioned above). For complete person paradigms, see Drabbe (1955: 58–60).

⁷This device is used purely as a visual aid here, but note that the positing of a ‘zero stem’ seems motivated for the Western dialect, which contrasts the non-past tense zero copula \emptyset with the past copula *ola* (Olsson 2017: 507–511). The Eastern dialect cognate *ora* mainly occurs in light verb constructions, e.g. T1:39.

⁸The suffix *-ti* should not be confused with the optional Past Durative suffix *-ti*, which can be added to non-periphrastic verbs referring to past durative situations, whereas the Periphrastic Light Verb Construction is overwhelmingly used for punctual events in the past.

(4) Elicited based on (3)

mahai-anim \emptyset -*n-o-* *kabed*
front-men NTRL-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- ask

‘(It was) the elder brothers (who) asked her.’

Interestingly, the Periphrastic Light Verb Construction is extremely rare in the narratives that I recorded in the Western dialect, but it is unclear whether this is due to dialectal differences or if its popularity has waned during the more than 60 years that separate Drabbe’s work from mine.

3 Texts in the Eastern dialect

3.1 *Kawekawe a haivui a rek tatik-mean: Legend about Oriole and Hornbill*

By Servatius Basik-Basik (16 years old, Wendu village)

- T1:1 *Mandin izakod sav menda-d- ϕ - ϕ -et.*
 long.time one married.woman PERF-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 Once there was a married woman.
- T1:2 *Wanangga ra-sangga inah ϕ -d- ϕ -omb- ϕ -et.*
 children seven NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- COP-IPFV
 She had seven children.¹
- T1:3 *Mba patur ϕ -d- ϕ -omb- ϕ -et.*
 all boy NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- COP-IPFV
 She had only boys.
- T1:4 *Mirav izakod sai mbat ϕ -d-a- ahamat-at.*
 village one place NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- sit.PL-EXT
 They did not stay in one spot.
- T1:5 *Ka-d- ϕ - y-a aha(z)it-a-made.*
 DIR-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX run.around(2|3PL.U)-EXT-HAB
 They used to move around.
- T1:6 *Ehe nda-me- ϕ - awan a isi mirav,*
 PROX LOC-FUT-3SG.A- run.PL until other village
 They would go from here to another place,²
- T1:7 *epe nda-p- ϕ -i- awan a isi mirav.*
 DIST LOC-FUT-3SG.A-RE- run.PL until other village
 from there they would go again to another place.
- T1:8 *Epe ka-d- ϕ - y-a ya-vara.*
 DIST DIR-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX 2|3PL.U-be
 They were like that.³
- T1:9 *Izakod se epe nd-a- awan aaaaa Kaizer ah- ϕ - vaha(z)ub.*
 once DIST LOC-3SG.A- run.PL until [(placename) DEP-3SG.A- hang(2|3PL.U)]
 Once they went all the way to Kaizer, ⁴ where they stayed overnight.
- T1:10 *Yaba-kabu menda-d- ϕ -emb- ϕ -et.*
 big-basket PERF-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- COP-IPFV
 They had a large baby basket.
- T1:11 *Ndom ϕ -d-a- ka-y-um-made epe kabu epe.*
 also NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- WITH-2|3PL.U-go.PLA-HAB DIST:III basket(III) DIST:III
 They would always bring that basket along.
- T1:12 *Epe kabu epe papes-mahut ka-n- vahob.*
 DIST:III basket(III) DIST:III small-far DIR-3PL.A- hang:III.U
 They hung the basket fairly far (high) up.

- T1:13 *Anipand-a- umav a isi sai.*
 CONT:I/II.PL-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U until other place
 They went on to another place.
- T1:14 *Onggat ka-n-ind-ap- kahek.*
 coconut DIR-3PL.A-ALL-CT- climb
 They climbed for coconuts.
- T1:15 *Kive epe te-nd-a-p- ahe(z)ab.*
 K. DIST GIV:III-LOC-3SG.A-CT- pass(2|3PL.U)
 Then [the dema]⁵ Kive went past them.⁶
- T1:16 *Keter ma-d-∅-ind- het, mandin menda-d-∅- esad.*
 firewood(III) OBJ-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- be.moving long.time PERF-DUR-3SG.A- cut:III.U
 He was going to fetch firewood, he had already chopped it earlier.⁷
- T1:17 *Avik(e)v ma-d-∅-ind- het.*
 carry(III.U) OBJ-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- be.moving
 He went to carry it.
- T1:18 *Nd-a- in ipe onggat ka-n- havih.*
 LOC-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U DIST:I/II.PL coconut DIR-3PL.A- eat
 Then the boys ate coconuts.⁸
- T1:19 *Kive ago nd-∅-i- dahetok-a-m a, sanggapa ma-d-na- ka-hayad-a.*
 K. PROW LOC-3SG.A-RE- return-EXT-VEN PTCL kite(?) OBJ-DUR-3PL.A- WITH-play-EXT
 When Kive returned, surprisingly, they were playing with kites.^{9,10}
- T1:20 *Epe te-nd-∅-e- kabed ago: “End ka-me-sa-b- hok yoh?”*
 DIST GIV:III-LOC-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- ask QUOT where DIR-FUT-ROG-ACT- lie.down.PL 2PL
 He asked them: “Where are you going to sleep?”⁶
- T1:21 *In epe rek te-∅-o- ahi ago:*
 middle DIST:I from:I GIV:I-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say QUOT
 One of the middle brothers told him:
- T1:22 *“Ehan ka-p-e- hok kabu epe nd-a-namb-e- vahob-a.”*
 REM DIR-FUT:1.A-1PL- lie.down.PL basket(III) DIST LOC-3SG.A-1.GEN-1PL- hang:III.U-EXT
 “We are going to sleep over there, where our basket is hanging.”
- T1:23 *Kive nd-∅-i-e- ahi ago: “Mba k-a- ∅, yahan m-ak-e- kabed-a.”*
 K. LOC-3SG.A-RE-2|3PL.DAT- say QUOT NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP 2PL.EMPH OBJ-1.A-2|3PL.DAT-
 ask-EXT
 Then Kive replied: “Never mind, I am just asking you.”
- T1:24 *Kive nda-d-∅-i- dahetok-at a mirav, hap sa-d-a-p- w-agum-ti.*
 K. LOC-DUR-3SG.A-RE- return-EXT until village night ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-curse-DUR
 Then Kive returned home, and he pronounced a curse as the night was approaching.¹¹
- T1:25 *Ah-∅- ivim epe patur ipe nd-a- in a nu*
 [DEP-3SG.A- become.dark DIST] boy DIST:I/II.PL LOC-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U PTCL sleep
k-a- hok.
 DIR-3SG.A- lie.down.PL
 When it became dark, the boys went to sleep.⁸

- T1:26 *Es-anem ha kumah ha ka-bat- \emptyset - ka-hari.*
 behind-man real inside real DIR-AFF-3SG.A- INESS-lie.down
 The youngest lay down inside [their basket].
- T1:27 *Ka-d-enam-ap- y-a kwavaska(n)in.*
 DIR-DUR-RCPR-CT- 2|3PL.U-AUX pile.on.top(RCPR)
 They lay down next to each other.
- T1:28 *Mahai-anem ha apip k-a-p- hari.*
 front-man real outside DIR-3SG.A-CT- lie.down
 The eldest lay down by the opening.
- T1:29 *Kive hap m- \emptyset -ind- man-em.*
 K. night OBJ-3SG.A-ALL- come-VEN
 At night Kive came for them.
- T1:30 *Makan nda-d- \emptyset - vaha(z)ub-a oso ah- \emptyset - hok epe.*
 ground LOC-DUR-3SG.A- hang(2|3PL.U) [beginning DEP-3SG.A- lie.down.PL DIST]
 They were hanging near the ground [in the basket] when they went to sleep.
- T1:31 *Kive hap ma-d- \emptyset -e-p- kahek-ti apaaa mahut epe k-a- vaha(z)ub.*
 K. night OBJ-DUR-3SG.A-ACPN-CT- climb-DUR until far DIST DIR-3SG.A- hang(2|3PL.U)
 Kive climbed up with them and hung them high up [in the tree].
- T1:32 *Kwemek nda-n-um- u-timin a ravarav menda-b- \emptyset - in.*
 morning LOC-3PL.A-FRUS- PLA-wake.up PTCL on.top PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U
 When they woke up in the morning they found out that they were hanging on top.^{9,12}
- T1:33 *Tis ka wah epe nd- \emptyset -ind- man-em soh k- \emptyset -ind- karaun,*
 that's.it mother:3 DIST LOC-3SG.A-ALL- come-VEN snake DIR-3SG.A-ALL- transform
 Then their mother came there, changed into a snake.¹³
- T1:34 *ya de epe ka-d- \emptyset -o-p- a masob-ti apaaa nggor.*
 but tree(III) DIST:III DIR-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- AUX:3SG.U curl-DUR until top
 She climbed curling along the tree all the way to the top.^{14,15}
- T1:35 *Rovis-ti a- in ipe.*
 descend.PLA-PERI 3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U DIST:I/II.PL
 They came down.
- T1:36 *Mahai mahai-anem \emptyset -a- vis.*
 front front-man NTRL-3SG.A- descend
 First the oldest one came down.
- T1:37 *Epe ka-d-na- og-ti apaaaa k-a-p- ba(z)in.*
 DIST DIR-DUR-3PL.A- do-DUR until DIR-3SG.A-CT- finish(2|3PL.U)
 They did like that until none was left.
- T1:38 *Izakod es-anem ha epe te-sa-d- \emptyset - \emptyset -et.*
 one behind-man(I) real DIST:I GIV:I-ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 Only the youngest one remained.¹⁶
- T1:39 *Huv \emptyset -d- \emptyset -is-ap- ora.*
 reluctant NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-SEP-CT- be:3SG.U
 He refused.

T1:40 *Ago: "Huv k-a- ∅ nok, ne mba k-a- ∅ upe, soh*
 QUOT reluctant PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP 1 mother NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP DIST:II snake(II)
k-a- ∅."
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP

He said: "I don't want to, that is not mother, it is a snake."

T1:41 *"Mbat mano- vis."*
 NEG NAFUT:1.A- descend

"I'm not going to go down."

T1:42 *Tis ka put epe nd-∅-ind- naham-em rah ab k-∅-o-*
 that's.it feather(IV) DIST LOC-3SG.A-ALL- come.PL-VEN side armpit DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
sar(i)tuk.
 hide(IV.U)

Then a feather appeared, and got stuck in one of his armpits.¹⁷

T1:43 *Tanama rah k-∅-i-o- sar(i)tuk.*
 again side DIR-3SG.A-RE-3SG.DAT- hide(IV.U)

Then again one got stuck in the other armpit.

T1:44 *W-in-ti a- w-in upe: "Az kwe, ne kwe."*
 3SG.U-become-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-become DIST:II father INTERJ mother INTERJ

Then he tweeted: "Father *kwe*, mother *kwe*."¹⁸

T1:45 *Isi ipe ti-∅-da-n-o- rah-ti ago: "Epetago tamat-*
 other DIST:I/II.PL GIV:I/II.PL-NTRL-DUR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- tell-DUR QUOT like.that PROH:2.A-
og-e."
 do-IPFV

The others told him: "Don't do like that."

T1:46 *"Nok tamat-e- nurun-e, wahan de epe ka-mo- ru-rat."*
 1 PROH:2.A-1PL- call:1.U-IPFV 2SG:EMPH tree(III) DIST:III DIR-FUT:2SG.A- call:III.U-EXT

"Don't call for us, you should call out the name of that tree."¹⁹

T1:47 *Kawekawe menda-b-∅- w-in.*
 Oriole.sp PERF-ACT-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become

He had become an Oriole bird.

T1:48 *Epe ka-n- had(e)wn.*
 DIST DIR-3PL.A- leave(3SG.U)

They left him there.

T1:49 *Isi ipe e= nda-bat-∅- umav apaaa mes-iwag ka-n-ind-ap-*
 other DIST:I/II.PL PROX= LOC-AFF-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U until old-woman DIR-3PL.A-ALL-CT-
hu-z.
 emerge-2|3PL.U

The others went away until they met an old woman.

T1:50 *Mes-iwag upe ahi-ti bat-∅-e- w-in ago: "Ehe mak-e-ka-*
 old-woman(II) DIST:II say-PERI AFF-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-become QUOT PROX FUT:1.A-1PL-PRI-
hok."
 lie.down.PL

The old woman said to them: "Let us sleep here first (before you continue)."

- T1:51 *Mahai-anem epe kabed-ti ø-e- w-in ago: "Ehe mak-e-*
front-man(I) DIST:I ask-PERI 3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-become QUOT PROX FUT:1.A-1PL-
hok ai?"
lie.down.PL Q
The eldest asked the others: "Shall we sleep here?"
- T1:52 *Nda-n- ahi ago: "Ehe mak-e- hok."*
LOC-3PL.A- say QUOT PROX FUT:1.A-1PL- lie.down.PL
Then they said: "Let us lie down here."
- T1:53 *Usus nd-ø-um- ai a mes-iwag upe k-ø-ind- w-a*
afternoon(III) LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- become:III.U PTCL old-woman(II) DIST:II DIR-3SG.A-ALL- 3SG.U-AUX
hayad.
play
When it was afternoon, the old woman was playing with them.
- T1:54 *Kipa ø-d-ø-ind-ap- husud.*
net NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-ALL-CT- cover
She covered herself with a fishing net. (lit. a fishing net covered her)
- T1:55 *Patur ipe mba anip rah-ti enam-ind- in ago:*
boy DIST:I/II.PL all EMPH:I/II.PL tell-PERI RCPR-ALL- become:2|3PL.U QUOT
"Ka-p-e-p- n-a kuh⟨e⟩b."
DIR-FUT:1.A-1PL-CT- 1.U-AUX surround⟨3SG.U⟩
The boys said to each other: "Let us surround her."
- T1:56 *"Patakav k-ak-e- k-u-sak-moto."*
coconut.shell NTRL-1.A-1PL- WITH-3SG.U-hit.PLA-DUR.FUT
"We will beat her with coconut shells."²⁰
- T1:57 *Ahi-ti n-o- in ago: "Mes-iwag, tanama ah-i-ap- og."*
say-PERI 3PL.A-3SG.DAT- become:2|3PL.U QUOT old-woman again IMP-RE-CT- do
They said to her: "Old woman, please do it again."²¹
- T1:58 *Mes-iwag upe kipa s-ø-ind-i- og hayad-ti ø-ind-i- w-in.*
old-woman(II) DIST:II net ONLY-3SG.A-ALL-RE- do play-PERI 3SG.A-ALL-RE- 3SG.U-become
The old woman took the net again, and started to joke with them.
- T1:59 *Zamin-ti n-ind-ap- in ipe patur.*
call.PL-PERI 3PL.A-ALL-CT- become:2|3PL.U DIST:I/II.PL boy
The boys counted [one, two...].
- T1:60 *Mba izakod u-sak na- in.*
all one 3SG.U-hit.PLA 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
All at once they beat her.²²
- T1:61 *Nda-d-na- u-sak-ti umav-ti a- in aha.*
LOC-DUR-3PL.A- 3SG.U-hit.PLA go:2|3PL.U-PERI 3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U house
When they had beaten her, they went to the [old woman's] house.⁸
- T1:62 *Usus tamuh nda-d-na- havih-ti a k-a-p- kw-ahaman aha kumah.*
afternoon food LOC-DUR-3PL.A- eat-DUR PTCL DIR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-sit.PL house inside
In the afternoon they ate, then they sat down inside the house.

- T1:63 *Tis ka mes-iwag upe tu- \emptyset -e- ahi ago:*
 that's.it old-woman DIST:II GIV:II-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- say QUOT
 Then the old woman said to them:
- T1:64 *"Papes-patur epe nok ti mak-e-p- ka-hok."*
 small:I-boy(I) DIST:I 1 with FUT:1.A-1PL-CT- INESS-lie.down.PL
 "That little boy and I will go to sleep."
- T1:65 *Mahai-anim ipe ti- \emptyset -n-o- ahi ago: "Ah-ap-*
 front-people DIST:I/II.PL GIV:I/II.PL-NTRL-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- say QUOT IMP-CT-
ka-hok-em."
 INESS-lie.down.PL-PL.IMP
 The elder brothers said to her: "Go sleep."
- T1:66 *In-hap mahai-anim ipe nu menda-b- \emptyset -e- ruvai.*
 middle-night front-people DIST:I/II.PL sleep PERF-ACT-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- be.fast.asleep
 In the middle of the night, the elder brothers were fast asleep.
- T1:67 *Es-anem epe mes-iwag in-hap m-a- kapanggih.*
 behind-man(I) DIST:I old-woman middle-night OBJ-3SG.A- strangle:3SG.U
 The old woman strangled the youngest boy in the middle of the night.
- T1:68 *Ah(e)b-ti a- w-in.*
 eat(3SG.U)-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-become
 She started eating him.
- T1:69 *Nda-d- \emptyset - ah(e)b-ti apa isarek papes e= k- \emptyset -is-o-p-*
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A- eat(3SG.U)-DUR until little.finger(III) small:III PROX= DIR-3SG.A-SEP-3SG.DAT-CT-
isik.
 become.full
 She ate the boy except for a piece of the little finger, and she was full.
- T1:70 *Nd-a- og a esara rek ndandind k-a- kw-arad.*
 LOC-3SG.A- do PTCL platform from girder DIR-3SG.A- INESS-insert
 Having done so, she put the little finger inside a bamboo girder of the bed.
- T1:71 *Kwemek mahai-anim kabed-ti n-o- in ago:*
 morning front-people ask-PERI 3PL.A-3SG.DAT- become:2|3PL.U QUOT
 In the morning the elder brothers asked her:
- T1:72 *"Papes-patur epe ek- \emptyset - \emptyset -e?"*
 small:I-boy(I) DIST:I PRS.Q:I-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 "Is the little boy there?"
- T1:73 *Mes-iwag nd- \emptyset -e- ahi ago: "Adi!"*
 old-woman LOC-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- say QUOT INTERJ
 Then the old woman said to them: "No idea!"
- T1:74 *"Mbaimbai ka-no- \emptyset nok."*
 unable PRS.NTRL-1.A- COP 1
 "I don't know."
- T1:75 *"In-hap \emptyset -n-is-ap- kwarir."*
 middle-night 3SG.A-1.DAT-SEP-CT- go.away(?)
 "At midnight he went away from me."²³

- T1:76 *“Yoh ti ø-e-p- ka-hok?”*
 2PL with NTRL-2PL.A-CT- INESS-lie.down.PL
 “Did he sleep in there with you?”
- T1:77 *“Ah-i-ap- y-arau-em.”*
 IMP-RE-CT- 2|3PL.U-search-PL.IMP
 “Please seek!”
- T1:78 *Mahai-anim ipe y-arau-ti bat-ø- in.*
 front-people DIST:I/II.PL 2|3PL.U-search-PERI AFF-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U
 The poor brothers began to search.
- T1:79 *Aha k-ø-um- k-y-arau, aha nda-d-ø-um- k-y-arau-at*
 house DIR-3SG.A-FRUS- INESS-2|3PL.U-search house LOC-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS- INESS-2|3PL.U-search-EXT
a, soso k-ø-um-i- y-arau.
 PTCL behind.village DIR-3SG.A-FRUS-RE- 2|3PL.U-search
 They tried searching inside the house, and when they had searched inside, they searched again behind the village.
- T1:80 *Nda-d-ø-um- y-arau-at a mandin k-a-p- ai.*
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS- 2|3PL.U-search-EXT PTCL long.time(III) DIR-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U
 They kept searching, until a long time had passed.
- T1:81 *Nd-a- umav a aha k-a-p- kw-ahaman.*
 LOC-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U PTCL house DIR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-sit.PL
 They went back and sat down in the house.
- T1:82 *Mahai-anem nd-ø-um- w-arau a musamus k-a- zadih,*
 front-man LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- 3SG.U-open.eyes PTCL ant.sp DIR-3SG.A- see:2|3PL.U
ndandind ka-d-ø- k(y)amin-ti.
 girder DIR-DUR-3SG.A- enter(2|3pl.u)-DUR
 Unexpectedly the eldest brother saw ants entering the bamboo girder.⁹
- T1:83 *Isarek epe ta-m-da-n- havih-ti.*
 little.finger(III) DIST:III GIV-OBJ-DUR-3PL.A- eat-DUR
 It was the little finger that they were eating.
- T1:84 *Nda-n-um- og a isarek ka-n- idih.*
 LOC-3PL.A-FRUS- do PTCL little.finger(III) DIR-3PL.A- see:III.U
 They were surprised seeing the little finger.⁹
- T1:85 *Meai epe te-nd-a- in ago: Mes-iwag ø-d-a-*
 knowing DIST:III GIV:III-LOC-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U QUOT old-woman NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-
ah(e)b-ti hap.
 eat(3SG.U)-DUR night
 Then they realised that the old woman had eaten him during the night.
- T1:86 *Patur ipe de awe k-a- umav.*
 boy DIST:I/II.PL wood for DIR-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U
 The boys went to get wooden sticks.
- T1:87 *Izakod anem izakod.*
 one man one
 One each.

- T1:88 *Mba dohakis ka-d-na- r-esad-at.*
all short:III DIR-DUR-3PL.A- PLA-cut:III.U-EXT
They cut them all short.
- T1:89 *Ka-n-ind- a o-srad-a-m.*
DIR-3PL.A-ALL- AUX:2|3PL.U PLA-hide:III.U-EXT-VEN
They hid them upon returning.
- T1:90 *Mahai-anem epe ahi-ti ø-o- w-in:*
front-man(I) DIST:I say-PERI 3SG.A-3SG.DAT- 3SG.U-become
The eldest brother said to her:
- T1:91 *“Mes-iwag, tanama a-n-ind-i-e-p- og, up-o- h-a og-made epe.”*
old-woman again IMP-1.DAT-ALL-RE-1PL-CT- do [DIST:II-2SG.A- 2SG.U-AUX do-HAB DIST:III]
“Old woman, do again for us, what you usually do.”
- T1:92 *Mes-iwag upe kipa s-ø-ind-i- og mahai-ti ø-ind-i- w-in.*
old-woman(II) DIST:II net ONLY-3SG.A-ALL-RE- do play-PERI 3SG.A-ALL-RE- 3SG.U-become
The old woman took the fishing net again, and started to dance for them again.
- T1:93 *Zamin-ti n-ind-ap- in.*
call.PL-PERI 3PL.A-ALL-CT- become:2|3PL.U
They counted.
- T1:94 *Mba izakod u-sak na- in.*
all one 3SG.U-hit.PLA 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
All at once they beat her.
- T1:95 *Pen ha ka-n- w-asib.*
murder real DIR-3PL.A- 3SG.U-hit
They killed her.
- T1:96 *Nda-d-na- u-sak-ti a ebt-aha ka-n-ap- kwegen.*
LOC-DUR-3PL.A- 3SG.U-hit.PLA-DUR PTCL sago.thatch-house DIR-3PL.A-CT- throw:3SG.U
Having killed her, they threw her on the roof.
- T1:97 *Tetok-ti na- in.*
put.on.fire(?)-PERI 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
They put it on fire.²⁴
- T1:98 *Mes-iwag upe k-a-p- w-a ahip anup end aha ti.*
old-woman(II) DIST:II DIR-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-AUX burn:3SG.U EMPH:II POSS house with
The old woman burned with her house.¹⁵
- T1:99 *Patur ipe umav-ti bat-ø-i- in.*
boy DIST:I/II.PL go:2|3PL.U-PERI AFF-3SG.A-RE- become:2|3PL.U
The poor boys went away again.
- T1:100 *Nda-d-ø- nahat a yaba-de ka-d-ø- k(y)amin-ti.*
LOC-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving.PL PTCL big-tree DIR-DUR-3SG.A- enter(2|3PL.U)-DUR
Then they went inside a big tree.
- T1:101 *Mba-ra-sangga ti ø-da-bat-ø-i- ø-e.*
five with NTRL-DUR-AFF-3SG.A-RE- COP-IPFV
They were only five now, the poor ones.¹

- T1:102 *Isi mes-iwag epe nd- ϕ -i- man-em.*
 other old-woman DIST LOC-3SG.A-RE- come-VEN
 Then another old woman approached them.
- T1:103 *Takav awe ma-d- ϕ - het.*
 fire for OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving
 She was fetching firewood.
- T1:104 *Ka-da-n-ind- a ka-munggav-at.*
 DIR-DUR-3PL.A-ALL- AUX:2|3PL.U INESS-hum:2|3PL.U-EXT
 They began to hum.¹⁵
- T1:105 *Mes-iwag upe rarav k- ϕ -um-e-p- hud.*
 old-woman(II) DIST:II bee.sp DIR-3SG.A-FRUS-2|3PL.DAT-CT- guess
 The old woman thought that they were bees.
- T1:106 *Het-ti d- ϕ -ind- w-a.*
 be.moving-PERI DUR-3SG.A-ALL- 3SG.U-AUX
 She went towards them.
- T1:107 *Ago: "De mak-is-i-ap- arahak."*
 QUOT wood(III) FUT:1.A-SEP-RE-CT split:III.U
 [She thought:] "I'm going to try to split the tree open."
- T1:108 *Arahak oso m- ϕ -um-ind- og, mahai-anem epe te-nd-a-p-
 split:III.U beginning OBJ-3SG.A-FRUS-ALL- do front-man DIST:III GIV:III-LOC-3SG.A-CT-
 karun.
 jump
 She was just about to split the tree, when the eldest brother jumped out.^{6,25}*
- T1:109 *Muk k- ϕ -o- han.*
 elbow(III) DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- hold:III.U
 He grabbed her elbow.
- T1:110 *Isi ipe hu-z-ti d-a- y-a.*
 other DIST:I/II.PL emerge-2|3PL.U-PERI DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX
 The others came out.
- T1:111 *Mes-iwag upe waninggap-bekai s-a- w-in.*
 old-woman(II) DIST:II good-heart ONLY-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become
 The old woman became happy.
- T1:112 *Nda-d- ϕ -e- het a mirav, tamuh og-ti ϕ -e- w-in.*
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A-ACPN- be.moving until village food give-PERI 3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-become
 She brought them to the village, and gave them food.
- T1:113 *Nda-d-na- havih-ti k(y)amin-ti a a- in aha kumah.*
 LOC-DUR-3PL.A- eat-DUR enter(2|3PL.U)-PERI PTCL 3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U house inside
 Having eaten, they went inside the house.
- T1:114 *Mes-iwag upe rarid-ti ϕ -is-ap- w-in.*
 old-woman DIST:II close-PERI 3SG.A-SEP-CT- 3SG.U-become
 The old woman closed the door.

- T1:115 *Epe nda-d- ϕ - ϕ -et aha kumah.*
 DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV house inside
 Then they stayed there, inside the house.
- T1:116 *Mba-ra-sangga ϕ -d-a- ϕ -et sav epe mirav epe.*
 five NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV married.woman DIST:III village(III) DIST:III
 In the village there were five women.
- T1:117 *Inah-a-inah sanak ka-d- ϕ - y-a nahat.*
 four search.for.fish DIR-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX be.moving.PL
 Four of them had gone fishing.
- T1:118 *Nambimb ma-d-na- sanak-at.*
 fish.sp OBJ-DUR-3PL.A- search.for.fish-EXT
 They were fishing for *nambimb* fish.²⁶
- T1:119 *Usus katane epe dahetok-ti na- in.*
 afternoon sun(III) DIST:III return-PERI 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
 In the afternoon they returned.
- T1:120 *Nda-d- ϕ - nahat a mirav, mes-iwag upe tu- ϕ - ϕ -e-*
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving.PL until village old-woman(II) DIST:II GIV:II-NTRL-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT-
ahi ago: "Aha tamta-ka- ka(h)amin-et."
 say QUOT house PROH:2.A-PRI- enter(2SG.U)-IPFV
 They went to the village, and the old woman said to them: "Please don't go inside the house."²⁷
- T1:121 *"Nggat mend-a-namb- kw-ewah nok."*
 dog PERF-3SG.A-1.GEN- INESS-give.birth.PLA 1
 "My dog has whelped inside."
- T1:122 *"Namakad nahan mak-ind-e- ka(n)amin-et."*
 thing 1.EMPH FUT:1.A-ALL-2|3PL.DAT- enter(1.U)-IPFV
 "I will go in to get things for you."
- T1:123 *Sav ipe nda-n- og a nambimb-nggaramo-sep ka-n-*
 married.woman(II) DIST:I/II.PL LOC-3PL.A- do PTCL fish.sp-sago.mix-leaf.oven DIR-3PL.A-
husig.
 make.fire
 Then the women made a leaf oven for making *nggaramo* [sago mixed with fish] with the *nambimb* fish.
- T1:124 *Nda-d-na- ahok-ti a ahaman-ti n-o-p- in.*
 LOC-DUR-3PL.A- cover.leaf.oven-DUR PTCL sit.PL-PERI 3PL.A-3SG.DAT-CT- become:2|3PL.U
 When they had covered the leaf oven they sat down and waited for it.
- T1:125 *Mes-iwag hua-ti ϕ -e- w-in patur epe.*
 old-woman emerge:3SG.U-PERI 3SG.A-ACPN- 3SG.U-become boy(I) DIST:I
 The old woman came out with one of the boys.
- T1:126 *Mahai-anem nd- ϕ -e- hua.*
 front-man LOC-3SG.A-ACPN- emerge:3SG.U
 She came out with the eldest brother.

- T1:127 *Isi sav ipe k-enam- a kona(n)ab ah-φ-*
 other married.woman DIST:I/II.PL DIR-RCPR- AUX:2|3PL.U snatch.from(RCPR) [DEP-3SG.A-
k-y-arau epe.
 INESS-2|3PL.U-search DIST]
 The other women fought each other over the boys that they saw inside.
- T1:128 *Izakod anum izakod.*
 one woman one
 One for each woman.
- T1:129 *Nggaramo-sep epe had-ti na- in.*
 sago.mix-leaf.oven(III) DIST:III uncover-PER1 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
 They opened the leaf oven.
- T1:130 *Nda-d-na- had-ti a ka-n- a havih, epe nda-d-φ- φ-et*
 LOC-DUR-3PL.A- uncover-DUR PTCL DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U eat DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
apaaa mandin k-a-p- ai.
 until long.time(III) DIR-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U
 Having opened it, they ate, and they stayed until a long time had passed.
- T1:131 *Izakod se es-anem samani ti karkoro ma-d-φ- y-as.*
 once behind-man scabies with lizard.sp OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-shoot.PLA
 One time the scabby youngest brother was shooting lizards.
- T1:132 *Papes-miz φ-d-a- k-y-as.*
 small:III-bow(III) NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- WITH-2|3PL.U-shoot.PLA
 He was shooting them with a small bow.²⁸
- T1:133 *Izakod se karkoro m-φ-um- deh, ok asa nd-φ-ind-o-p-*
 once lizard.sp OBJ-3SG.A-FRUS- shoot:3SG.U arrow.type limb LOC-3SG.A-ALL-3SG.DAT-CT-
kahosev a, mes-iwag aruha k-φ-o-p- deh.
 graze(?) PTCL old-woman wound DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- shoot:3SG.U
 One time he shot at a lizard, but the arrow just grazed²⁹ its leg, and injured the old woman.
- T1:134 *Mes-iwag upe samani ti patur epe ka-bat-φ- w-agum,*
 old-woman(II) DIST:II scabies with boy DIST DIR-AFF-3SG.A- 3SG.U-scold
 Then the old woman scolded the poor scabby boy.
- T1:135 *Mahai-anim ipe dur ndom-in a-p- y-a.*
 front-people DIST:I/II.PL shame bad-become:2|3PL.U 3SG.A-CT- 2|3PL.U-AUX
 The elder brothers were terribly ashamed.³⁰
- T1:136 *Sav ipe sanak anipanda-d-φ- y-um-made.*
 married.woman(II) DIST:I/II.PL search.for.fish CONT:I/II.PL-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-go.PLA-HAB
 The women kept on going fishing.
- T1:137 *Epe rek dur epe mahai-anim ipe haivui wahani k-a-*
 DIST:III from:III shame(III) DIST:III front-people DIST:I/II.PL hornbill body DIR-3SG.A-
kama(z)in.
 make(2|3PL.U)
 Because of the shame the elder brothers disguised themselves as hornbills.

- T1:138 *Hayam-papun rek ø-d-a- kama(z)it-at.*
 tree.sp-buttress.root from NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- make(2|3PL.U)-EXT
 They made [their outfits] from the buttress roots of the *hayam* tree.³¹
- T1:139 *Mahai es-anem epe ka-da-n-o- kama(z)it-at.*
 first behind-man(I) DIST:I DIR-DUR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- make:2|3PL.U-EXT
 First they made one for the youngest brother.
- T1:140 *Izakod hanid ma-d-ø- kama(z)it-at.*
 one day OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- make(2|3PL.U)-EXT
 They worked for one day.
- T1:141 *Otiv epe ka-n-ap- a a-baren.*
 many DIST:III DIR-3PL.A-CT- AUX:2|3PL.U PLA-finish:III.U
 They finished them all.
- T1:142 *Anip nanggo menda-d-ø- kama(z)it-at.*
 EMPH:I/II.PL for PERF-DUR-3SG.A- make:2|3PL.U-EXT
 They made them for themselves.
- T1:143 *Izakod hanid ka-na-p- a-baren.*
 one day DIR-3PL.A-CT- PLA-finish:III.U
 They finished them in one day.
- T1:144 *Es-anem epe te-ø-d-ø-ind- um-ti zadih sanak-i*
 behing-man(I) DIST:I GIV:I-NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- go.PLA:3SG.U-DUR see:2|3PL.U search.for.fish-PTCP:I/II.PL
ipe.
 DIST:I/II.PL
 The youngest brother went to look at [the women] who had gone fishing.³²
- T1:145 *Mahai a-d-ø-ind- het epe, ndom ø-da-n- sanak-at.*
 [first DEP-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- be.moving DIST] still NTRL-DUR-3PL.A- search.for.fish-EXT
 The first time he went, they were still fishing.
- T1:146 *Tanama a-d-ø-ind-i- het epe, oso m-a-p- y-avasig.*
 [again DEP-DUR-3SG.A-ALL-RE- be.moving DIST] beginning OBJ-3SG.A-CT- 2|3PL.U-go.up.from.water
 When he went there again, they began to go up from the beach.²⁵
- T1:147 *Tanama ago nda-d-ø-ind-i- het a, awe ma-d-na- keswa(z)it-at.*
 again PROW LOC-DUR-3SG.A-ALL-RE- be.moving PTCL fish OBJ-DUR-3PL.A- wash(2|3PL.U)-EXT
 Then he went there again, and they were cleaning the fish.
- T1:148 *Tanama nda-d-ø-ind-i- het a, oso ma-d-na- sinik.*
 again LOC-DUR-3SG.A-ALL-RE- be.moving PTCL beginning OBJ-DUR-3PL.A- carry
 Then he went there again, and they were beginning to carry the fish.²⁵
- T1:149 *A-d-ø-ind- um-ti epe, sav ipe rah sa-da-n-o-*
 [DEP-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- go.PLA:3SG.U-DUR DIST] married.woman DIST:I/II.PL tell ONLY-DUR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT-
a ago:
 AUX:2|3PL.U QUOT
 Each time he went there, the women just said to him:³³
- T1:150 *“Yak! Waninggap-uzub ha, nok hi mak-ø-namb-i-e-ka- ø-et!”*
 INTERJ good-bird real 1 like:I/II.PL NAFUT-3SG.A-1.GEN-RE-1PL-PRI- COP-IPFV
 “Oh, what a beautiful bird, if it could only be ours!”³⁴

- T1:151 *Patur epe rah sa-d- ϕ -e- w-a kumah-bekai ago:*
 boy(I) DIST:I tell ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX inside-heart QUOT
 The boy only replied to them by saying to himself.³³
- T1:152 “E= *te-ka-no- ϕ nok. Tao rek ya?”*
 PROX:I GIV:I-PRS.NTRL-1.A- COP 1 what from but
 “Here I am. But why?”
- T1:153 *Tanama ago nda-d- ϕ -ind-i- het a, menda-b- ϕ - naham.*
 again PROW LOC-DUR-3SG.A-ALL-RE- be.moving PTCL PERF-ACT-3SG.A- come.PL
 Then he went for them again, and they were already approaching.
- T1:154 *Nd-a- dahetok-a-m a, k- ϕ -i-e- ahi ago: “Menda-b- ϕ - naham.”*
 LOC-3SG.A- return-EXT-VEN PTCL DIR-3SG.A-RE-2|3PL.DAT- say QUOT PERF-ACT-3SG.A- come.PL
 He returned, and said to his brothers: “They are coming.”
- T1:155 *Tanama ago nda-d- ϕ -ind-i- het a, in ehe menda-b- ϕ - in.*
 again PROW LOC-DUR-3SG.A-ALL-RE- be.moving PTCL middle PROX PERF-ACT-3SG.A-
 become:2|3PL.U
 When he went again, they had reached halfway.
- T1:156 *Mahai-anim ipe te-nda-n- karemed epe haivui-par.*
 front-people DIST:I/II.PL GIV:III-LOC-3PLA- wear DIST:III hornbill-skin(III)
 At that point the elder brothers put on the hornbill skins.³⁵
- T1:157 *Tanama ago nda-d- ϕ -ind-i- het a, andwa menda-b- ϕ - in.*
 again PROW LOC-DUR-3SG.A-ALL-RE- be.moving PTCL close PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U
 Then he went again, and they were already close.
- T1:158 *Nd-a- dahetok-a-m a, k- ϕ -i-e- ahi ago: “Andwa menda-b- ϕ - in.”*
 LOC-3SG.A- return-EXT-VEN PTCL DIR-3SG.A-RE-2|3PL.DAT- say QUOT close PERF-ACT-3SG.A-
 become:2|3PL.U
 Having returned, he said to them: “They are close.”
- T1:159 *Tanama: “Andwa ha menda-b- ϕ - in.”*
 again close real PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U
 Then again: “They are already very close.”
- T1:160 *Ipe k-a-p- a harab a ihe e=*
 DIST:I/II.PL DIR-3SG.A-CT- AUX:2|3PL.U become.visible:2|3PL.U PTCL PROX:I/II.PL PROX:III=
te-nda-n-ap- karun.
 GIV:III-LOC-3PLA-CT- jump
 They became visible, and at that point the men jumped up.⁶
- T1:161 *Nda-n-um- zadih a, menda-b-a-p- o-tpab.*
 LOC-3PLA-FRUS- see:2|3PL.U PTCL PERF-ACT-3SG.A-CT- PLA-fly.up:2|3PL.U
 The women looked at them in surprise,⁹ and they flew away.

- T1:162 *Sav ipe mbat ø-na- og, nambimb-mahi ø-a-*
 married.woman(II) DIST:I/II.PL NEG NTRL-3PL.A- do fish.sp-decoration NTRL-3SG.A-
in, es nd-a-p- o-tpab-at.
 become:2|3PL.U behind LOC-3SG.A-CT- PLA-fly.up:2|3PL.U-EXT
 The women didn't hesitate [lit. did nothing], they covered themselves in the *nam-*
bimb fish, and then they flew away after them.
- T1:163 *Tis ka haivui menda-b-ø- in otiv ipe.*
 that's.it hornbill PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U many DIST:I/II.PL
 They all had turned into hornbills.
- T1:164 *Ipe waninggap-mahi ti a amnangga k-a- Ø, ndom-mahi*
 DIST:I/II.PL good-decoration with PTCL married.men PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP bad-decoration
ti a sav k-a- Ø.
 with PTCL married.woman PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP
 Those with the beautiful plumage are male, those with plain plumage are female.
- T1:165 *Nama kawekawe a haivui a ipe ti-k-a- Ø-e.*
 now oriole.sp PTCL hornbill PTCL DIST:I/II.PL GIV:I/II.PL-PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 Now, those are the orioles and hornbills.
- T1:166 *Tis ka, epe nd-a- hai-a.*
 that's.it DIST LOC-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT
 That's it, [the story] ends there.

3.2 *Tatik-mean: Legend*

By Augustina Gebze (17 years old, Urumb village)

T2:1 *Mes-meakim epe sapra m-a- man-em, tis ka in watmat*
 old.unmarried.man(I) DIST:I travel OBJ-3SG.A- come-VEN that's.it middle coconut.grove
k-a-p- hari.
 DIR-3SG.A-CT- lie.down

The old man came travelling, and mid-journey he lay down in a coconut grove by the beach.

T2:2 *Usus epe manenggop duv nda-d-ϕ- ka-havek-at.*
 afternoon(III) DIST:III plant.sp beach LOC-DUR-3SG.A- INESS-pound:III.U-EXT

In the afternoon he was pounding poison root in the water at the beach.³⁶

T2:3 *Koihu-nggat upe rah k-ϕ-ind-ap- k-umak-em.*
 white:II-dog(II) DIST:II side DIR-3SG.A-ALL-CT- INESS-be.running-VEN

A white dog came running on the side towards him.

T2:4 *Oram-heis-nggat ϕ-d-a- ϕ-et.*
 maternity-spirit-dog NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

It was a maternity spirit dog.

T2:5 *Tis ka ka-d-ϕ-um- w-a u-sak, karik ϕ-d-ϕ-um-*
 that's.it DIR-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS- 3SG.U-AUX 3SG.U-hit.PLA stick NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS-
k-u-sak-ti, ya ka-d-ϕ-is- w-a akobea.
 WITH-3SG.U-hit.PLA-DUR but DIR-DUR-3SG.A-SEP- 3SG.U-AUX disappear:3SG.U

Then he threw at the dog, he threw a stick at the dog, but it disappeared.

T2:6 *Tanama nd-ϕ-um-i- w-arau a, ah-ϕ-i- man-em epe.*
 again LOC-3SG.A-FRUS-RE- 3SG.U-open.eyes PTCL [DEP-3SG.A-RE- come-VEN DIST]

Then he saw to his surprise⁹ that [the spirit dog] was coming towards him again.

T2:7 *Tis ka k-ϕ-um-i- w-a w-agum: "Bagau ndamo- hei ai?"*
 that's.it DIR-3SG.A-FRUS-RE- 3SG.U-AUX 3SG.U-put.spell.on ginger(III) FUT:2SG.A- eat:III.U Q

Then he tried to put a spell on him: "Would you like to eat some ginger?"

T2:8 *Ya e= ka-d-ϕ-o- w-a rah ago:*
 but PROX= DIR-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX tell QUOT

Then [the dog] said like this to him:

T2:9 *"Bagau her k-a- ϕ, mbat mak-a-na- yaret-a,"*
 ginger tasty PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP NEG NAFUT-3SG.A-1.DAT- become.bitter-EXT

"Ginger is tasty, it will not taste bitter to me."

T2:10 *"Nggavnam her k-a- ϕ, ukap her k-a- ϕ," mba epetago*
 plant.sp tasty PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP galangal tasty PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP all like.that
rah te-sa-d-ϕ-o- w-a.
 tell GIV:III-ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX

"Nggavnam [Acorus calamus?] is tasty, galangal is tasty," he said just like that to him.

T2:11 *Tis ka k-a- w-a k-w-avasig namakad a-d-ø-omb-*
 that's.it DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX INESS-3SG.U-go.up.from.water [thing DEP-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN-
 Ø *epe, takav k-a-p- haus, awe ira(z)in-ti a-p-*
 COP DIST] fire DIR-3SG.A-CT- make.fire fish wrap.and.cook(2|3PL.U)-PERI 3SG.A-CT-
w-in.
 3SG.U-become

Then [the old man] went inland to where his belongings were, he made fire and cooked fish wrapped up in leaves.

T2:12 *Nd-a-p- rav(i)tuk-moto tis ka, k-a-p- w-a an(i)tuk.*
 LOC-3SG.A-CT- smoke.fish(2|3PL.U)-DUR.FUT that's.it DIR-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-AUX remove.from.fire(2|3PL.U)
 Having smoked the fish, he removed them from the fire.

T2:13 *Oram-heis-nggat upe rah takav k-ø-omb-i-ap- ambid.*
 maternity-spirit-dog(II) DIST:II side fire DIR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN-RE-CT- sit.down
 The dog dema sat down by the fire.

T2:14 *Nd-ø-um-i- w-arau a a-d-a-p- mir-ti epe.*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS-RE- 3SG.U-open.eyes PTCL [DEP-DUR-3SG.A-CT- be.sitting-DUR DIST]
 To his surprise, he saw that the dog was sitting there.

T2:15 *Tis ka ri ti keter ø-ø-um-i- k-w-asib, k-ø-is-i- w-a*
 that's.it ember with firewood NTRL-3SG.A-FRUS-RE- WITH-3SG.U-hit DIR-3SG.A-SEP-RE- 3SG.U-AUX
akobea.
 disappear:3SG.U

He threw a piece of glowing firewood³⁷ at the dog, but again it disappeared.

T2:16 *Tis ka iwag inah k-a- y-a naham-em, epe ka-n-o- kabad:*
 that's.it woman two DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX come.PL-VEN DIST:I DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- ask
"Amái, e= nd-o-p- mir-et ai?"
 ancestor PROX= LOC-2SG.A-CT- be.sitting-IPFV Q

Then two women came, and asked him: "Grandfather, you are sitting here, are you?"

T2:17 *"Naze, en nda-s-e-b- naham-em?"*
 grandchildren:1 where LOC-ROG-2PL.A-ACT- come.PL-VEN
 "Grandchildren, where are you coming from?"

T2:18 *Tis ka epe k-ø-e- w-a ahi ago: "Ehe mak-e-ka-p- hok."*
 that's.it DIST DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say QUOT PROX FUT:1.A-1PL-PRI-CT- lie.down.PL
 Then he said to them: "Let us lie down here."

T2:19 *Tis ka rah takav k-a-p- ahaman, tis ka wati ka-n-o- asov.*
 that's.it side fire DIR-3SG.A-CT- sit.down.PL that's.it kava DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- chew.kava
 Then [the women] sat down by the fire, and they chewed kava for him.

T2:20 *Epe k-ø-i-e- w-a kabad: "Yoh tei iwag ka-s-e-b-*
 DIST DIR-3SG.A-RE-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX ask 2PL who:/II.PL woman PRS.NTRL-ROG-2PL.A-ACT-
 Ø *yoh?"*
 COP 2PL

He asked them again: "What kind of women are you?"

- T2:21 *"Amai, nok Marizea-iwag k-ak-e- ∅ nok."*
 ancestor 1 (placename)-woman PRS.NTRL-1.A-1PL- COP 1
 "Grandfather, we are women from Marizea."³⁸
- T2:22 *Mes-meakim epe wati k-a-p- a kuad.*
 old.unmarried.man(I) DIST:I kava DIR-3SG.A-CT- AUX:3SG.U drink.kava
 The old man drank kava.
- T2:23 *Tis ka tamuḥ ka-n-ap- havih.*
 that's.it food DIR-3PL.A-CT- eat
 Then they ate.
- T2:24 *Tamuḥ nda-da-n-ap- havih-ti a k-a-p- a hok.*
 food LOC-DUR-3PL.A-CT- eat-DUR PTCL DIR-3SG.A-CT- AUX:3SG.U lie.down.PL
 Having eaten, they lay down.
- T2:25 *Hap epe unum ti-n-is-ap- r-isih-em, ya sa mit,*
 night(III) DIST:III tongue(III) GIV:I/II.PL-3PL.A-SEP-CT- PLA-stick.out?-VEN until sand near
tanama ka-p-∅-i-e-p- a k(w)amin.
 again DIR-FUT-3SG.A-RE-2|3PL.DAT-CT- AUX:3SG.U enter(III.U)
 At night they stuck their tongues out,³⁹ all the way to the ground, and then [the
 tongues] would go back in.
- T2:26 *Mes-meakim epe utna hara nd-a- k-og, tis ka zadih*
 old.unmarried.man(I) DIST:I fear directly? LOC-3SG.A- WITH-do that's.it see:2|3PL.U
sa-d-a-p- w-a.
 ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-AUX
 The old man immediately became afraid,⁴⁰ then he just watched them.
- T2:27 *Iwag inah ipe e= k-da-n-um- a vetok-a ago: "Mba*
 woman two DIST:I/II.PL PROX= DIR-DUR-3PL.A-FRUS- AUX:2|3PL.U think-EXT QUOT NEG
k-∅-e-p- n-idih-e."
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-1PL-CT- 1.U-see-IPFV
 The two women were thinking like this:³ "He can't see us."
- T2:28 *Tis ka mes-meakim epe tanama k-∅-i-ap- hari.*
 that's.it old.unmarried.man(I) DIST:I again DIR-3SG.A-RE-CT- lie.down
 Then the old man lay down again.
- T2:29 *Tis ka kwemek mit menda-b-∅- ai.*
 that's.it morning near PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become:III.U
 Then it was almost morning.
- T2:30 *Ka-n-is-ap- a kuhum, kwemek e[pe] Daro, Sarndar,*
 DIR-3PL.A-SEP-CT- AUX:2|3PL.A feel.melancholic morning(III) DIST:III (placename) (placename)
Inggeb, Basik-a-isadam mirav-igiz ka-da-n-is- rur-at,
 (placename) (placename) place-name(III) DIR-DUR-3PL.A-SEP- call:III.U-EXT
Makan-ahop-hai, Kaber-kai.
 (placename) (placename)
 [The women] felt homesick, and in the morning they called out the placenames
 Daro, Sarndar, Inggeb, Basik-a-isadam, and Makan-ahop-hai and Kaber-kai.

- T2:31 *Tis ka menda-b- ϕ - pig samb ka-n-is- a umav.*
 that's.it PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become.bright big DIR-3PL.A-SEP- AUX:2|3PL.U go:2|3PL.U
 Then when it had become day they went away from him.
- T2:32 *Mes-meakim epe anggin sa-n-o-p- ak-hedaun.*
 old.unmarried.man(I) DIST:I croton(IV) ONLY-3PL.A-3SG.DAT-CT- INESS?-leave:IV.U
 They only left some croton leaves for the old man.⁴¹
- T2:33 *Nd- ϕ -um-ap- timin a, mba mirav k-a- w-arau, anggin*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS-CT- wake.up PTCL all place DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-open.eyes croton(IV)
s-a- zadih.
 ONLY-3SG.A- see:IV.U
 When he stood up,⁹ he looked at the [empty] place, and he saw only the croton leaves.
- T2:34 *Tis ka k-i-a-e-p- a esov, ipe mahai nd-a- nahat*
 that's.it DIR-?-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT-CT- AUX:3SG.U follow DIST:I/II.PL front LOC-3SG.A- be.moving.PL
epe, es nd- ϕ -um-e-p- esov-at, mbat ϕ - ϕ -emb- homan.
 DIST behind LOC-3SG.A-FRUS-2|3PL.DAT-CT- follow-EXT NEG NTRL-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- approach
 Then he followed them, they went first, and he was following behind, but he did not catch up with them.⁴²
- T2:35 *Tis ka epe Marizea ka-h- ϕ - hari epe, k-i-a-e- kabed*
 that's.it [DIST:I (placename) DIR-DEP-3SG.A- lie.down DIST] DIR-?-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- ask
anim ago:
 people QUOT
 Then when he lay down in Marizea, he asked the people:
- T2:36 *"Ap-e- zadih iwag inah e= k-a- y-a naham-em?"*
 PST.Q-2PL.A- see:2|3PL.U woman two PROX= DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX come.PL-VEN
 "Did you see two women come here?"
- T2:37 *Ipe anim ka-da-n-ap- kabed-at: "Tei iwag?"*
 DIST:I/II.PL people DIR-DUR-3PL.A-CT- ask-EXT who:I/II.PL woman
 The people asked: "What women?"
- T2:38 *Epe e= ka-d- ϕ -e- w-a rah ago: "Yahan Marizea-iwag."*
 DIST:I PROX= DIR-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.A- 3SG.U-AUX tell QUOT 2PL.EMPH (placename)-woman
 He said to them: "Your own Marizea women."
- T2:39 *"Mirav-igiz epe nda-d-e-n-is-ap- rur-at, yahan mirav ka-d-na-*
 place-name(III) DIST LOC-DUR-3PL>1-1.DAT-SEP-CT- call:III.U-EXT 2PL.EMPH place(III) DIR-DUR-3PL.A-
rur-at."
 call:III.U-EXT
 "They called out the placenames for me, they mentioned your own place."
- T2:40 *Tis ka mes-meakim epe heindun Marizea nda-d- ϕ - ϕ -et.*
 that's.it old.unmarried.man(I) DIST:I forever (placename) LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 Then the old man remained at Marizea.
- T2:41 *Tis ka epe nd-a- hai-a, isi mbaimbai ka-no- ϕ nok.*
 that's.it DIST LOC-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT other unable PRS.NTRL-1.A- COP 1
 That's it, there it ends, the rest I don't know.

3.3 *Anem ame-kahivd: When someone dies*

By Veronika Gebze (16 years old, Urumb village)

- T3:1 *Anem a-me-ϕ- kahivd epe, ter sa-p-a-ka- w-a.*
 [man DEP-FUT-3SG.A- die:3SG.U DIST] be.lying ONLY-FUT-3SG.A-PRI- 3SG.U-AUX
 When someone dies, he just lies at first.
- T3:2 *Mahai batat ka-pa-n-ind- kama(z)in.*
 front stretcher DIR-FUT-3PL.A-ALL- make(2|3PL.U)
 First, a stretcher is made.
- T3:3 *Batat a-pa-n-ap- baren epe tis ka anem epe a-me-ϕ-
 [stretcher(III) DEP-FUT-3PL.A-CT- finish:III.U DIST] that's.it [man(I) DIST:I DEP-FUT-3SG.A-
 ter-e epe, hanetok-ti maka-n-ap- in, batat
 be.lying-IPFV DIST] carry.corpse-PERI NAFUT-3PL.A-CT- become:2|3PL.U stretcher
 ka-pa-n-ap- havatok.
 DIR-FUT-3PL.A-CT- display.corpse:3SG.U*
 When the stretcher is finished, that's it, then they carry the man who is lying, and they lean him against the stretcher.
- T3:4 *Tis ka mahi in-ti maka-n-o- in. Mbavak
 that's.it decoration become:2|3PL.U-PERI NAFUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- become:2|3PL.U [hair
 a-p-ϕ-o- ϕ epe, ka-pa-n-o- y-a bos.
 DEP-FUT-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- COP DIST] DIR-FUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- 2|3PL.U-AUX decorate.hair*
 Then they decorate him. If he has hair, they decorate it.
- T3:5 *Mbavak mbat a-p-ϕ-o- ϕ epe, mbat maka-n-o- bos.
 [hair NEG DEP-FUT-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- COP DIST] NEG NAFUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- decorate.hair*
 If he does not have hair, it is not decorated.
- T3:6 *isi anim end mayub ndapa-n-o- og, ka-pa-n-o- y-a
 other people POSS plaited.hairdo FUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- give DIR-FUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- 2|3PL.U-AUX
 ro, anggin ti maka-n-o- in.
 plait croton with NAFUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- become:2|3PL.U*
 Other people's *mayub* [hair extensions] are given to him, and his hair is plaited, and it is decorated with croton leaves.
- T3:7 *Sav ipe ka-me-n- a ahak, pura-namakad awe
 married.woman DIST:I/II.PL DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U go.inland taboo.spot-thing for
 ka-me-n- ahak.
 DIR-FUT-3PL.A- go.inland*
 The women go to the gardens, they go inland to fetch mourning goods.
- T3:8 *a-p-a-p- hau-z epe, mboraro-namakad epe ka-p-n-is-ap-
 [DEP-FUT-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U DIST] pole-thing(III) DIST:III DIR-FUT-3PL.A-SEP-CT-
 ruhad-e, anem a-me-ϕ- havatok-a epe.
 pour:III.U-IPFV [man(I) DEP-FUT-3SG.A- display.corpse-EXT DIST:I*
 When they return from the bush, they put down the *mboraro* goods, where the man is lying on display.⁴³

- T3:9 (Supplied by a speaker based on the Dutch translation, as the Marind original is missing in the source.)

[sav a amnangga a nggem kwemek nd-a- in a
 married.woman PTCL married.men PTCL mud morning LOC-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U PTCL
 ya usus]
 until afternoon

Women and men cry until the sun is in the west.⁴⁴

- T3:10 sav-amnangga ka-pa-n- y-a karesad, sav
 married.woman-married.men DIR-FUT-3PLA- 2|3PL.U-AUX cross [married.woman
 amnangga isahiz a-pa-n-ap- karesad-a ipe, napet menda-me-n-
 married.men children DEP-FUT-3PLA-CT- CROSS-EXT DIST:I/II.PL] banana PERF-FUT-3PLA-
 kagut-a, wati kemb a.
 grasp.PLA-EXT kava taro PTCL

Women and men run around, the children run in their way, carrying bananas, kava and taro.

- T3:11 Karesad a-pa-n-ap- baren epe, pura-namakad epe kagun-ti
 [cross DEP-FUT-3PLA-CT- finish:III.U DIST] taboo.spot-thing(III) DIST:III grasp.PLA-PERI
 maka-n-ap- in.
 NAFUT-3PLA-CT- become:2|3PL.U

When they have finished running around, they take the mourning goods.

- T3:12 Tis ka anem epe amb⟨e⟩v-ti me-n- in, bus end
 that's.it man(I) DIST:I wrap.up(3SG.U)-PERI NAFUT-3PLA- become:2|3PL.U eucalyptus INSTR
 nda-me-n- amb⟨e⟩v-e,
 LOC-FUT-3PLA- wrap(3SG.U)-IPFV

Then they wrap up the corpse. Having wrapped it up with eucalyptus bark,

- T3:13 ka-pa-n-e- y-a umav, patare ka-me-n- a avik⟨e⟩v,
 DIR-FUT-3PLA-ACPN- 2|3PL.U-AUX go:2|3PL.U grave DIR-FUT-3PLA- AUX:2|3PL.U carry(3SG.U)
 og⟨e⟩b-ti me-n- in.
 bury(3SG.U)-PERI NAFUT-3PLA- become:2|3PL.U

they take him away, and carry him to the grave, and bury him.

- T3:14 Nda-me-n- og⟨e⟩b-e, anep end namakad epe akap ka-pa-n-o-p-
 LOC-FUT-3PLA- bury(3SG.U)-IPFV EMPH:I POSS thing(III) DIST:III hind.leg DIR-FUT-3PLA-3SG.DAT-CT-
 k-yahov-e miz, arib, sok.
 INESS-put.PLA-IPFV bow arrow bamboo.knife

After that they place his belongings by the feet: bow, arrows, bamboo knife.

- T3:15 Tis ka sav ipe yamu da ka-me-n- hor.
 that's.it married.woman DIST:I/II.PL mourning.feast sago DIR-FUT-3PLA- pound.sago

Then the women pound sago for the funeral feast.

- T3:16 Da dohakis ah-∅-emb-ap- ai epe, takav ka-me-∅-
 [sago(III) short:III DEP-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN-CT- become:III.U DIST] fire DIR-FUT-3SG.A-
 ka-y-um.
 WITH-2|3PL.U-go.PLA

When the sago trunk has become short, they bring firewood.

- T3:17 *Takav nda-d-ϕ- ka-y-um-ti a, tanama takav rek ka-n-i-*
 fire LOC-DUR-3SG.A- WITH-2|3PL.U-go.PLA-DUR PTCL again fire from DIR-3PL.A-RE-
hor da.
 pound.sago sago
 When they have gone for firewood, [they go] from the firewood and pound sago again.⁴⁵
- T3:18 *nda-d-na- hor-ti a, yar ka-n- esog.*
 LOC-DUR-3PL.A- pound.sago-DUR PTCL banana.leaf DIR-3PL.A- cut
 Having pounded sago, they cut banana leaves.
- T3:19 *Onggat ka-n- kapet, aphap usus epe ka-n- a*
 coconut DIR-3PL.A- climb.PLA tomorrow afternoon(III) DIST:III DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U
hanakev.
 prepare.leaf.oven
 They climb the coconut palms, and the next day in the afternoon they prepare the leaf oven.
- T3:20 *saham a-n-e-p- hau-z-a-m epe, ka-n- a howai da*
 [wallaby DEP-3PL.A-ACPN-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U-EXT-VEN DIST] DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U cut.up sago
nanggo.
 for
 The men come from the bush bringing wallabies, and they cut them open for [adding the meat to] the sago.
- T3:21 *Tis ka sep epe ka-n- a tonggak, da ruhad-ti*
 That's.it leaf.oven(III) DIST:III DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U arrange.stones sago(III) pour:III.U-PERI
na- in.
 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
 Then they arrange the hot stones for the leaf oven, and put down the sago.
- T3:22 *Da nda-d-na- ruhad-ti a, mui k-obotok-ti n-ap-*
 sago(III) LOC-DUR-3PL.A- pour:III.U-PERI PTCL meat(III) INESS-put:III.U-PERI 3PL.A-CT-
in.
 become:2|3PL.U
 When they have put down the sago, they put in the meat on top.
- T3:23 *Adaka ruhad-ti n-is-ap- in.*
 water(III) pour:III.U-PERI 3PL.A-SEP-CT- become:2|3PL.U
 They pour water on it.
- T3:24 *Yar k-omos-ti n-is-ap- in, bus end*
 banana.leaf INESS-spread.out-PERI 3PL.A-SEP-CT- become:2|3PL.U eucalyptus INSTR
ahok-ti na- in.
 cover.leaf.oven-PERI 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
 They spread out banana leaves on it, and close it up with eucalyptus bark.
- T3:25 *Hap epe mes-iwag mes-mbitau ka-n- a yarut*
 night(III) DIST:III old-woman old-unmarried.man DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U sing.mourning.songs
k-ϕ-is- pig.
 DIR-3SG.A-SEP- become.bright
 At night the old women and old men sing mourning songs until it is morning.

T3:26 *Kwemek epe sav da ka-n- ya-kov yarut-anim.*
 morning(III) DIST:III married.woman sago DIR-3PL.A- 2|3PL.U-feed sing.mourning.songs-people
 In the morning the women hand out the sago to the funeral singers.

T3:27 *Da nda-d-na- ya-kov-ti a, sav ipe wakut-a*
 sago LOC-DUR-3PL.A- 2|3PL.U-feed-PERI PTCL married.woman DIST:I/II.PL burn:III.U-PTCP:III
sep ka-n- had. Nda-d-na- had-ti a, da esad-ti
 leaf.oven(III) DIR-3PL.A- uncover LOC-DUR-3PL.A- uncover-DUR PTCL sago(III) cut:III.U-PERI
na-in, na-kov-ti enam- n-in ka-n-ap- baren.
 3PL.A-become:2|3PL.U RCPR-feed-PERI RCPR- RCPR-become DIR-3PL.A-CT- finish:III.U

After handing out the sago, the women open up the smaller leaf oven.⁴⁶ Having opened it, they cut the sago, and hand out the sago to each other until there is no more.

T3:28 *Tis ka o-dhetok-ti na- in.*
 that's.it PLA-return-PERI 3PL.A- become:2|3PL.U
 Then they start to return.

T3:29 *Wati ka-n- hei.*
 kava(III) DIR-3PL.A- drink:III.U
 They drink kava.

T3:30 *Usus epe yamu k-a- ahaman.*
 afternoon(III) DIST:III funeral.meal DIR-3SG.A- sit.down.PL
 In the afternoon they participate in the funeral meal.

T3:31 *Tis ka e= nd-a- hai-a, isi mba k-a- Ø.*
 that's.it PROX= LOC-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT other NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP
 That's it, here it ends, there is nothing else.

3.4 *Takav-anem: The Fire Man*

By Marta Gebze (15 years old, Urumb village)

- T4:1 *Takav-anem epe dohi-dema k-a- ∅.*
 fire-man(I) DIST:I red-dema PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP
 The Fire Man is a red dema.⁵
- T4:2 *Epe deg a-me-n- hahok-e epe, usus epe dohi mak-a-p-*
 [DIST bush DEP-FUT-3PL.A- cut.off-IPFV DIST] afternoon(III) DIST:III red NAFUT-3SG.A-CT-
ai katane.
 become:III.U sun(III)
 Whenever people cut down trees, the sun becomes red in the afternoon.
- T4:3 *Hap epe ka-p-a-p- hua-ra-m.*
 night(III) DIST:III DIR-FUT-3SG.A-CT- emerge:3SG.U-EXT-VEN
 At night [the dema] comes out from the bush to the coast.
- T4:4 *Isi izakod pu-anem maru epe k-∅-um- og.*
 other one foreigner garden DIST DIR-3SG.A-FRUS- do
 One day, a foreigner⁴⁷ was about to make a garden there.
- T4:5 *Ah-∅- pig epe, katane ravarav papes epe, ka-p-∅-i- a*
 [DEP-3SG.A- become.bright DIST] sun high small DIST DIR-FUT-3SG.A-RE- AUX:3SG.U
umuv pu-anem epe, sasahi ka-p-∅-i- umuv.
 go:3SG.U foreigner(I) DIST:I work DIR-FUT-3SG.A-RE- go:3SG.U
 When it became bright, and the sun [was] fairly high, the foreigner would go, he would go to work again.
- T4:6 *Izakod hanid epe sasahi ma-d-∅- k-idih-ti.*
 one day(III) DIST:III work OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- WITH-see:3SG.U-DUR
 One day he was doing work.⁴⁸
- T4:7 *Dema epe izakod hanid epe papes ∅-d-∅-ind- kw-itara.*
 dema(I) DIST:I one day(III) DIST:III small:I NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- INESS-be.standing
 The dema was standing there turned into a small child.
- T4:8 *E= k-∅-um- a vetok ago: "Anem ha k-a- ∅."*
 PROX= DIR-3SG.A-FRUS- AUX:3SG.U think QUOT man real PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP
 [The foreigner] thought like this:⁴⁹ "It is a real person."
- T4:9 *Papes ∅-d-a-p- kw-itara w-in-ti a- w-in*
 small:I NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-be.standing 3SG.U-become-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-become
musnakim.
 young.man
 The child was standing there and then it turned into a young man.
- T4:10 *Apa has ti ∅-a- w-in.*
 until beard with NTRL-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become
 Until he had a beard.
- T4:11 *Isi de epe wahuku k-a- w-in.*
 other tree(III) DIST:III young.girl DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become
 Then a tree turned into a girl.

- T4:12 *Tanama papus kivasom ø-d-a- ø.*
 again small:II girl NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP
 The girl turned into a young woman.⁵⁰
- T4:13 *Ya mes-iwag k-ø-i- w-in.*
 but old-woman DIR-3SG.A-RE- 3SG.U-become
 Then she turned into an old woman.
- T4:14 *Dohi ø-d-a-p- ka-mir-ti.*
 red NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-be.sitting-DUR
 [The dema?] was sitting there, all red.⁵¹
- T4:15 *De nd-a-d-a-p- ka-mir-ti epe, pu-anem epe k-ø-o-
 w-a kabed, ya upe papus-kivasom upe sarine ø-d-a- ø.*
 [tree LOC-DEP-DUR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-be.sitting-DUR DIST] foreigner DIST DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
 3SG.U-AUX ask but DIST:II small:II-girl(II) DIST:II silent NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP
 As the girl was sitting in the tree, the foreigner asked her, but she was silent.
- T4:16 *Tis ka k-a- w-a vetok epe pu-anem epe, e= k-a- w-a ahi*
 That's.it DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX think DIST:I foreigner(I) DIST:I PROX= DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX say
 ago: "Dema k-a- ø-e."
 QUOT dema PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 Then the foreigner thought, and he said: "It is a dema."
- T4:17 *Tis ka k-ø-is- a dahetok.*
 that's.it DIR-3SG.A-SEP- AUX:3SG.U return
 Then he returned.
- T4:18 *Izakod hanid epe mbat ø-d-ø-i- sasahi-ti, utna k-a- k-og.*
 one day(III) DIST:III NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-RE- work-DUR fear DIR-3SG.A- WITH-do
 One day he did not go to work, he had become afraid.
- T4:19 *Tis ka mbat ø-d-ø-i- sasahi-made.*
 that's.it NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-RE- work-HAB
 Then he did not work anymore.
- T4:20 *Ya guru maru epe nda-d-ø-omb-i- ø-e.*
 but teacher(m) garden DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN-RE- COP-IPFV
 Then a teacher had his garden there again.
- T4:21 *Epe ka-d-ø-ind- a og-made, mbei pu-anem epe.*
 DIST DIR-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- AUX:3SG.U do-HAB as foreigner(I) DIST:I
 Then [the dema] did to him as he had done with the foreigner.
- T4:22 *Ya guru epe mbat ø-d-ø-i- og-made maru epe.*
 but teacher(I) DIST:I NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-RE- do-HAB garden(III) DIST:III
 And the teacher did not work in the garden anymore.
- T4:23 *Epe maru epe nda-d-ø-emb- ø-e ipe, basik ø-n-emb-
 kwabah.*
 DIST:III garden DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- COP-IPFV DIST:I/II.PL pig NTRL-3PL.A-2|3PL.GEN-
 eat.up?
 When someone had a garden there, the pigs ruined it.⁵²

T4:24 *Epe rek epe anim ka-me-n- a k-esak, mbat maka-n-i- og-e*
 DIST from DIST people DIR-FUT-3PLA- AUX:2|3PL.U WITH-cut.off NEG NAFUT-3PLA-RE- do-IPFV
maru.
 garden

Because of that people would stop, and they would not make gardens anymore.

T4:25 *Menda-b-na- vetok ago: "Dema k-a- og-e."*
 PERF-ACT-3PLA- think QUOT dema PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- do-IPFV

They already thought: "It's the dema who is doing it [ruining the gardens]".

3.5 Onggat rek boan-mean: Coconut clan story

By Yoanes Gebze (14 years old, Urumb village)

- T5:1 *Izakod mandin anem menda-d- \emptyset - \emptyset -et uzum ti, wanangga*
 one long.time man PERF-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV wife:3 with children
mba-ra-sangga \emptyset -d- \emptyset -omb- \emptyset -et.
 five NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- COP-IPFV
 Long ago there was a man and his wife, they had five children.
- T5:2 *Mirav rik mahut nda-d- \emptyset - \emptyset -et.*
 village from:I/II.PL far LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 They lived far from the village.
- T5:3 *Mba hanid mba awe sa-d- \emptyset - y-arau-a-made.*
 all day all fish ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-search-EXT-HAB
 Every day they just searched for fish.
- T5:4 *Izakod se dema k- \emptyset -ind- a man-em, patur k- \emptyset -ind- karaun.*
 once dema DIR-3SG.A-ALL- AUX:3SG.U come-VEN boy DIR-3SG.A-ALL- transform
 One time a dema⁵ came towards them, he had changed into a boy.¹³
- T5:5 *Mbatav k- \emptyset -ind- w-in ipe e= k- \emptyset -e- w-a ahi*
 lying DIR-3SG.A-ALL- 3SG.U-become DIST:I/II.PL PROX= DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say
ago: "Nok nahan end navind menda-b- \emptyset - havavi-z."
 QUOT 1 1.EMPH POSS fathers:1 PERF-ACT-3SG.A- die.PL-2|3PL.U
 He lied to them and said: "My own parents are dead."
- T5:6 *"Tis ka mirav a-no-d- \emptyset nok epe, anim mbat \emptyset -d-e-*
 that's.it [village DEP-1.A-DUR- COP 1 DIST] people NEG NTRL-DUR-3PL>1-
vaga(n)ib-at."
 take.care.of(1.U)-EXT
 "Then the people in the village where I lived did not take care of me."
- T5:7 *"Epe rek ka-no- n-a iva(n)on e= k-ak-ap- hu-n, nama e=*
 DIST from DIR-1.A- 1.U-AUX run.away(1.U) PROX= DIR-1.A-CT- emerge-1.U now PROX=
te-ka-no- \emptyset nok."
 GIV:I-PRS.NTRL-1.A- COP 1
 "Because of that I fled, I arrived here, and now here I am."
- T5:8 *Tis ka amam ka-bta-n-e- ka-in ipe, epe ka-n-o- ahi*
 that's.it pity DIR-AFF-3PL.A-?- WITH-become:2|3PL.U DIST:I/II.PL DIST DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- say
ago:
 QUOT
 Then they felt pity for him,⁵³ and said to him:
- T5:9 *"Mabate, e= nda-p-e-ka- \emptyset nok, oh ndamo-p- zadih-e isahiz*
 alas PROX= LOC-FUT:1.A-1PL-PRI- COP 1 2SG FUT:2SG.A-CT- see:2|3PL.U-IPFV children
ihe."
 PROX:I/II.PL
 "Alas, we will stay here, and you will watch these children."

- T5:10 *"Tamuh nok k-ak-e- n-arau-a-moto."*
 food 1 PRS.NTRL-1.A-1PL- 1.U-search-EXT-DUR.FUT
 "We are going to search for food."
- T5:11 *izakod se epe ka-n-o- ahi ago:*
 once DIST:I DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- say QUOT
 One time they said to him:
- T5:12 *"Wanningap sa-mo-p- zadih-et ihe, nok awe m-ak-e-
 good ONLY-FUT:2SG.A-CT- see:2|3PL.U-IPFV PROX:I/II.PL 1 fish OBJ-1.A-1PL-
 uma⟨n⟩av-et manenggop."*
 go⟨1.U⟩-IPFV plant.sp
 "Watch these children well, we are going to go fishing with poison root."³⁶
- T5:13 *"Rikirek ka-p-e- i-sak, usus mak-e- dahetok-a-m."*
 (placename) DIR-FUT:1.A-1PL- 2|3PL.U-hit.PLA afternoon FUT:1.A-1PL- return-EXT-VEN
 "We are going to fish by the river Rikirek, and in the afternoon we will come back here."
- T5:14 *K-a- y-a umav ipe ivisav, ago ma-d-a-p- zadih-ti*
 DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX go:2|3PL.U DIST:I/II.PL mothers:3 PROW OBJ-DUR-3SG.A-CT- see:2|3PL.U-DUR
mahut ah-ϕ- in epe, epe k-a- w-a ahi ipe:
 [far DEP-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U DIST] DIST DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX say DIST:I/II.PL
 The parents went away, and he watched them until they were far away, and then he said to [the children]:
- T5:15 *"Yoh inaha-inah anim yoh e= ndame- ϕ yoh."*
 2PL four people 2PL PROX= FUT:2PL.A- COP 2PL
 "You four will stay here."⁵⁴
- T5:16 *Mahai-anem epe k-ϕ-o- w-a ahi: "Ah- man, oh mak-e-
 front-man(I) DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say IMP- come 2SG FUT:1.A-ACPN-
 ka⟨n⟩amin."*
 enter⟨1.A⟩
 To the eldest brother he said: "Come, I am going inside with you."
- T5:17 *K-a- y-a k⟨y⟩amin, ipe inaha-inah bak nda-d-ϕ-
 DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX enter⟨2|3PL.U⟩ DIST:I/II.PL four outside LOC-DUR-3SG.A-
 ϕ-et.
 COP-IPFV*
 They entered, and the four remained outside.
- T5:18 *Epe dema nd-a- w-in mbaku ϕ-o- kewah⟨e⟩b epe*
 DIST:I dema(I) LOC-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become neck(III) 3SG.A-3SG.DAT- twist⟨III.U⟩ DIST:I
mahai-anem epe.
 front-man(I) DIST:I
 Having done so,⁸ the dema twisted off the neck of the eldest brother.
- T5:19 *Ah-ϕ-omb- kahivd epe, kandi ma-d-ϕ- ah⟨e⟩b-ti k-a-p-
 [DEP-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- die:3SG.U DIST] raw OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- eat⟨III.U⟩-DUR DIR-3SG.A-CT-
 bah, hiau sote ka-d-ϕ- bak⟨e⟩v-ti.
 finish.food:III.U bone(III) palm.sp DIR-DUR-3SG.A- put⟨III.U⟩-DUR*
 When he was dead,⁵⁵ he ate [the flesh] uncooked until nothing was left, and put the bones on a palm leaf.

T5:20 *Ah-a-p- bah epe, k-a- w-a w-arin. Ipe k-a-*
 [DEP-3SG.A-CT- finish.food:III.U DIST] DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX 1.U-call DIST:I/II.PL DIR-3SG.A-
a k(y)amin, nu k-a-p- ka-hok esara, anep makan
 AUX:2|3PL.U enter(2|3PL.U) sleep DIR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-lie.down.PL platform EMPH:I ground
k-ø-emba-ka- ka-hari.
 DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN-PRI- INESS-lie.down

When he was done, he called out. They entered, and lay down to sleep on the platform, whereas he himself lay down on the ground.

T5:21 *A-n- dahetok-a-m ivind epe ka-n-o- y-a kabed, epe*
 [DEP-3PL.A- return-EXT-VEN fathers:3 DIST] DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- 2|3PL.U-AUX ask DIST
k-ø-e- w-a ahi ago:
 DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say QUOT

When the parents returned, they asked him, and he said to them:

T5:22 *“Nu k-a-p- ka-hok. Epe mahai-anem epe ap-e- idih?”*
 sleep DIR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-lie.down.PL DIST:I front-man(I) DIST:I PST.Q-2PL.A- see:3SG.U
 “They went to sleep inside. Have you seen the eldest brother?”

T5:23 *“Epe ka-d-ø- a het es nda-d-ø- umak-ti, e=*
 DIST:I DIR-DUR-3SG.A- AUX:3SG.U be.moving behind LOC-DUR-3SG.A- be.running-DUR PROX=
nda-d-ø-n-ind-e- opit-a.”
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A-1.DAT-ALL-1PL- whine-EXT

“He went away, he was running after you, he was pestering us about it.”

T5:24 *Izakod se k-ø-i- y-a umav epe k-ø-i- w-a og.*
 once DIR-3SG.A-RE- 2|3PL.U-AUX go:2|3PL.U DIST DIR-3SG.A-RE- 3SG.U-AUX do
 One time [the parents] went away again, and he did like that again.³

T5:25 *Es-anem epe k-a- w-a sar(e)tok. Epe nd-a- w-in a*
 behind-man(I) DIST:I DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX hide(3SG.U) DIST LOC-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become PTCL
mbaku k-ø-e- kewah(e)b, kandi ma-d-i- ah(e)b-ti, hiau
 neck(III) DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- twist(III.U) raw OBJ-DUR-RE- eat(III.U)-DUR bone(III)
sote ka-d-ø- bak(e)v.
 palm.sp DIR-DUR-3SG.A- put(III.U)

The youngest hid. When he had done so, [the dema] twisted off the necks of the elder brothers, ate [the flesh] uncooked, and put the bones on a palm leaf.

T5:26 *Ah-a-p- hu-z-a-m ivind epe, es-anem epe ka-d-a-p-*
 [DEP-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U-EXT-VEN fathers:3 DIST] behind-man DIST DIR-DUR-3SG.A-CT-
hanid-at, epe k-ø-e- w-a ahi:
 meet-EXT DIST DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say

When the parents came back from the bush, the youngest brother went to meet them, and said to them:

T5:27 *“Ipe mahai-anim ipe e= te-ø-d-a- havih-ti.”*
 DIST:I/II.PL front-men DIST:I/II.PL PROX:I= GIV:I-NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- eat-DUR
 “My older siblings, he has eaten them.”

T5:28 *Meai k-a- in tis ka izakod se ka-n-o- a ahi:*
 knowing DIR-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U that's.it once DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- AUX:2|3PL.U say
 “*Nama ah- uma(h)av, oh ehe nde tamat-i- Ø oh!*”
 now IMP- go(2SG.U) 2SG PROX at PROH:2.A-RE- COP 2SG

When they realised, they immediately said to [the dema]: “You go away now, and don’t come back here again!”

T5:29 *Nda-bat-Ø- w-in a, epe k-Ø-e- w-a ahi: “Mano-*
 LOC-AFF-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become PTCL DIST DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say FUT:1.A-
uma(n)av, mahai yavun a-na- og-em.”
 go(1.U) first canoe IMP-1.DAT- give-PL.IMP

Then he said to them: “I will go, but first give me a canoe.”

T5:30 *Sote izakod n-o- bak(e)v.*
 palm.sp(III) one 3PL.A-3SG.DAT- put(III.U)

They lay down a palm leaf for him.

T5:31 *Namakad epe ka-da-bat-Ø- bak(e)v-ti. Yavun k-Ø-e- w-a*
 thing(III) DIST DIR-DUR-AFF-3SG.A- put(III.U)-DUR canoe DIR-3SG.A-ACPN- 3SG.U-AUX
hua tutu Ø-d-Ø-o-p- tarut-at, izakod mirav k-Ø-i-Ø-
 emerge:3SG.U current NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- push-EXT one village DIR-3SG.A-RE-CT-
hua.
 emerge:3SG.U

He put down his belongings. The canoe brought him out, and the current pushed him along, until he arrived in a village.

T5:32 *Kumb-riki k-a-p- a karesad, Wendu k-a- hari.*
 (placename)-river DIR-3SG.A-CT- AUX:3SG.U cross (placename) DIR-3SG.A- lie.down

He crossed the river Kumb, and spent the night in Wendu.

T5:33 *Kwemek Wendu-anim k-Ø-e- ahi: “Nok namakid awe ma-no-*
 morning (placename)-people DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say 1 animals for OBJ-1.A-
vir-moto.”
 wander-DUR.FUT

In the morning he said to the people in Wendu: “I’m going to take a walk (to look) for animals.”

T5:34 *Nggat inah Ø-da-n-o- kutad-at.*
 dog two NTRL-DUR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- follow-EXT

Two dogs followed him.

T5:35 *Mahut ah-Ø- in epe, ka-n- a dahih dema, pa*
 [far DEP-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U DIST] DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U bite:3SG.U dema head(III)
ka-n- kap(e)tok.
 DIR-3PL.A- bite.off(III.U)

When they had gone far, they bit the dema, they bit off the head.

T5:36 *Pa k-a-p- ka-hu-z, babake isis Ø-o-p- ai*
 head DIR-3SG.A-CT- WITH-emerge-2|3PL.U mouth(III) exhausted 3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- become:III.U
k-a-p- a kahar(e)b.
 DIR-3SG.A-CT- AUX:3SG.U drop(III.U)

They brought the head towards the sea, but the jaws got tired, and it dropped.

- T5:37 *Nggat nda-d-ϕ- awat-at a, mirav k-a-p- hu-z.*
 dog LOC-DUR-3SG.A- run.PL-EXT PTCL village DIR-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U
 The dogs ran, and arrived in the village.
- T5:38 *Nda-d-n-omba-ka- ahamat-at a, hap s-ϕ-is- ai.*
 LOC-DUR-3PL.A-3SG.GEN-PRI- sit.PL-EXT PTCL night ONLY-3SG.A-SEP- become:III.U
 Then they sat and waited for [the dema], until it became night.
- T5:39 *Kwemek Wendu-anim asik k-a- umav ipe, nggat ipe*
 morning (placename)-people hunting DIR-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U DIST:I/II.PL dog DIST:I/II.PL
mahai ka-d-ϕ- a awat-a.
 front DIR-DUR-3SG.A- AUX:3SG.U run.PL-EXT
 In the morning the Wendu people went hunting, and the dogs were running in front.
- T5:40 *Anim nggat ka-da-n-e- kutad-a pa ah-ϕ- ka-hai epe.*
 people dog DIR-DUR-3PL.A-2|3PL.DAT- follow-EXT [head(III) DEP-3SG.A- INESS-fall:III.U DIST]
 The people followed the dogs to where the head had fallen.
- T5:41 *Nggat ipe mba adaka sa-da-n-ap- idih-ti.*
 dog DIST:I/II.PL all water(III) ONLY-DUR-3PL.A-CT- see:III.U-DUR
 The dogs were looking straight at the water.
- T5:42 *Ipe nda-n-um- y-arau a pa a-d-ϕ- ka-hat-a*
 DIST:I/II.PL LOC-3PL.A-FRUS- 2|3PL.U-search PTCL [head(III) DEP-DUR-3SG.A- INESS-put:III.U-EXT
epe.
 DIST]
 They searched there, and unexpectedly,⁹ the head was lying there.
- T5:43 *Izakod anem ambata menda-d-ϕ-e- het-ti, inaha-izakod ipe*
 one man trident.spear(IV) PERF-DUR-3SG.A-ACPN- be.moving-DUR three DIST:IV
arib.
 arrow(IV)
 One man had brought a fishing spear, with three prongs. [Which he used to recover the head?]
- T5:44 *K-a-p- a hu-z anim otiv ϕ-d-a- y-um-at, epe*
 DIR-3SG.A-CT- AUX:3SG.U emerge-2|3PL.U people many NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-go.PLA-EXT DIST
ka-d-ϕ- hi-z-at.
 DIR-DUR-3SG.A- rest?-2|3PL.U-EXT
 They arrived in the village, there were many of them going, and there they rested.⁵⁶
- T5:45 *Nggat-zi ka-n- koahi, kekai na- mahai-em.*
 dance.celebration DIR-3PL.A- put.on.dance ?? 3PL.A- dance-VEN
 They put on a dance and on the way they danced coming back to the village.
- T5:46 *Mirav k-a-p- hu-z.*
 village DIR-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U
 They arrived in the village.
- T5:47 *Yaba-esara ka-n- ambad.*
 big-platform DIR-3PL.A- build
 They made a big platform.

- T5:48 *Anggai k- \emptyset -emb-ap- ai.*
 feast(III) DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN-CT- become:III.U
 They organised a feast.
- T5:49 *Napet, od, da mend-a- ka-naham-em, esara ka-da-n-ap- abotok.*
 banana sugar.cane sago PERF-3SG.A- WITH-come.PL-VEN platform DIR-DUR-3PLA-CT- put.PLA:III.U
 They brought banana, sugar cane and sago, and put it on the platform.
- T5:50 *Pa in ka-n-ap- bak(e)v.*
 head(III) middle DIR-3PLA-CT- put(III.U)
 They put the head in the middle.
- T5:51 *Nu k-a- hok, kwemek nda-n- u-timin a, namakad k-enam-
 sleep DIR-3SG.A- lie.down.PL morning LOC-3PLA- PLA-wake.up PTCL thing DIR-RCPR-
 na-kov.
 RCPR-feed*
 They went to sleep, and in the morning when they woke up, they handed out the food to each other.
- T5:52 *Ka-n- a og(e)b epe pa, hap s- \emptyset -is-i- ai.*
 DIR-3PLA- AUX:2|3PL.U bury(III.U) DIST:III head(III) night(III) ONLY-3SG.A-SEP-RE- become:III.U
 They buried the head, and it became night again.
- T5:53 *Kwemek nda-n-um- u-timin a, onggat ka-n- idih tape
 morning LOC-3PLA-FRUS- PLA-wake.up PTCL coconut(III) DIR-3PLA- see:III.U protrusion?
 k-a-p- kum, anim idih epe nda-n-ind- umav.
 DIR-3SG.A-CT- bear.fruit people see:III/.U DIST LOC-3PLA-ALL- go:2|3PL.U*
 In the morning they woke up, and unexpectedly,⁹ they saw a coconut palm with low-hanging fruit, and people went there to look.⁵⁷
- T5:54 *Izakod anem k-a- w-a kahek, zazak epe nda-d- \emptyset -
 one man DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX climb ripe.coconut(III) DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A-
 k(o)tab-ti.
 (PLA)pluck:III.U-DUR*
 One man climbed, and plucked ripe coconuts.
- T5:55 *Meai nanggo ka-d-enam-ap- a akemanih-at, meai epe nd-a-
 knowing for DIR-DUR-RCPR-CT- AUX:2|3PL.U share.food-EXT knowing DIST LOC-3SG.A-
 in.
 become:2|3PL.U*
 In order to know [what it was], they shared [the coconuts] amongst each other, and then they knew.
- T5:56 *Mes ah- \emptyset - ai epe, ka-n- a raw(e)un apa
 [old.coconut(III) DEP-3SG.A- become:III.U DIST] DIR-3PLA- AUX:2|3PL.U put.PLA(III.U) until
 onggat otiv k- \emptyset -emb- ai.
 coconut(III) many DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- become:III.U*
 When the coconuts were already old, they planted them, until they had many coconut palms.

- T5:57 *Izakod duv k-a-p- hai, etob ah-ø- kanhauv epe, k-a-*
 one beach DIR-3SG.A-CT- fall:III.U [tide DEP-3SG.A- tide.bring.away? DIST] DIR-3SG.A-
w-a tamak, Kumb-duv k-a-p- isik.
 3SG.U-AUX float:III.U (placename)-beach DIR-3SG.A-CT- strand
 One fell at the beach, and was brought away by the tide, and washed up on the beach at Kumb.
- T5:58 *Kumb-anim ka-n-ap- a bik.*
 (placename)-people DIR-3PL.A-CT- AUX:2|3PL.U grasp:III.U
 The Kumb people picked it up.
- T5:59 *Epe k-enam- rah: "Nama ehe namakad ta-mak-e- n-arau-at."*
 DIST DIR-RCPR- tell now PROX:III thing(III) GIV-FUT:1.A-1PL- 1.U-search-EXT
 Then they said to each other: "Let's look for this kind of thing now."
- T5:60 *Wendu k-a-p- hu-z nda-n-um- y-arau a, onggat*
 (placename) DIR-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U LOC-3PL.A-FRUS- 2|3PL.U-search PTCL coconut(III)
ka-n- idih.
 DIR-3PL.A- see:III.U
 They went to Wendu, and to their surprise, they discovered the coconut palm.
- T5:61 *K-enam- a n-as, Wendu-anim isi utna k-a-*
 DIR-RCPR- AUX:2|3PL.U RCPR-shoot.PLA (placename)-people other fear DIR-3SG.A-
k-awan.
 WITH-run.away.PL
 They shot at each other, and some Wendu people fled in fear.
- T5:62 *Kumb-anim mes ka-n- roban.*
 (placename)-people old.coconut(III) DIR-3PL.A- grasp.PLA:III.U
 The Kumb people took the ripe coconuts.
- T5:63 (Supplied by a speaker based on the Dutch translation, as the Marind original is missing in the source.)
 [*Kumb-anim a-n- dahetok, pa ndom ø-na- k-u-dhetok*]
 [(placename)-people DEP-3PL.A- return] head also NTRL-3PL.A- WITH-PLA-return
 When the Kumb people returned, they brought severed heads with them.
- T5:64 *Ka-n- a dahetok ipe Kumb-anim menda-d-na-*
 DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U return DIST:2|3PL.U (placename)-people PERF-DUR-3PL.A-
i-sak Wendu-anim.
 2|3PLU-hit.PLA (placename)-people
 The Kumb people returned, they had already killed Wendu people.
- T5:65 *Tis ka, e= nd-a- hai-at.*
 that's.it PROX= LOC-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT
 That's it, here it ends.

3.6 *Patur-udug-ad-ya: 'Where-the-boys-bathed'*

By Leo Baragaize (15 years old, Urumb village)

- T6:1 *Patur Sanggaze-mirav nd-a- umav.*
 boy (placename)-village LOC-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U
 Some boys went away from Sanggase.
- T6:2 *Evai a wah a mandin mend-a- havavi-z.*
 father:3 PTCL mother:3 PTCL long.time PERF-3SG.A- die.PL-2|3PL.U
 Their father and mother had already died long ago.
- T6:3 *Mahai-anem epe k-ø-e- w-a ahi: "Namik es-anim
 front-man(I) DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say clanmates behind-people
 mak-e- vir, navisav mend-a- havavi-z."
 FUT:1.A-1PL- wander mothers:1 PERF-3SG.A- die.PL-2|3PL.U*
 The eldest brother said to them: "Younger brothers, let's go away, our parents are dead."
- T6:4 *"Tamuh nahan mak-e- n-arau."*
 food 1.EMPH FUT:1.A-1PL- 1.U-search
 "We must look for our own food."
- T6:5 *Es-anim epe ka-n-o- ahi: "Awa! wahan a-mo- hod
 behind-people DIST DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- say INTERJ [2SG:EMPH DEP-FUT:2SG.A- plan.to.leave
 epe, mak-e- uma(n)av."
 DIST] FUT:1.A-1PL- go(1.U)*
 The younger brothers said to him: "Well then! If you want to go, we shall go."
- T6:6 *Mahai-anem tanama epe k-ø-e- w-a ahi: "Mahai tamuh
 front-man again DIST DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say front food
 mak-e- kama(n)in, in ehe a-p-e- nahat epe nanggo."
 FUT:1.A-1PL- make(1.U) [middle PROX DEP-FUT:1.A-1PL- be.moving.PL] DIST for*
 Then the eldest said to them: "First we shall make food, for when we are in the middle [of the journey]."
- T6:7 *Wis nde epe tamuh k-a- kama(z)in, tanama nd-ø-um-
 yesterday at DIST food DIR-3SG.A- make(2|3PL.U) again LOC-3SG.A-FRUS-
 pig a, k-a- y-a naham-em.
 become.bright PTCL DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX come.PL-VEN*
 The day before they prepared the food, and when it was almost day again, they started going towards here.
- T6:8 *E= k-a- y-a naham-em Urumb-mirav ehe.
 PROX= DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX come.PL-VEN (placename)-village(III) PROX:III*
 They took off towards this village, Urumb.
- T6:9 *Izakod hanid Sanggaze-mirav nd-a- umav.*
 one day (placename)-village LOC-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U
 On a certain day they left Sanggase.
- T6:10 *Mbian-riki tov k-a-p- hok.*
 (rivername)-river side DIR-3SG.A-CT- lie.down.PL
 They lay down on the shore of the Bian river.

- T6:11 *Hiti-aphap katane ah-a-p- hua epe, es-anem katane rek epe*
 [next.morning sun DEP-3SG.A-CT- emerge:III.U DIST] behind-man sun from DIST
k-a-p- kuhum.
 DIR-3SG.A-CT- feel.melancholic
 In the early morning when the sun rose, the youngest brother got homesick seeing the sun.
- T6:12 *Mahai-anim ipe ti-ϕ-n-o- ahi ago: “Yaba tamat-ap-*
 front-men DIST:I/II.PL GIV:I/II.PL-NTRL-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- say big PROH-CT- think-EXT
vetok-a mirav.”
 village
 The elder brothers said to him: “Don’t think too much about the village.”
- T6:13 *“Arinde mak-i-e- dahetok-a-m.”*
 in.the.future FUT:1.A-RE-1PL- return-EXT-VEN
 “Later we will return again.”
- T6:14 *Katane ravarav ah-a-p- ai epe, tamuh ka-n-ap- havih.*
 [sun(III) high DEP-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U DIST] food DIR-3PL.A-CT- eat
 When the sun was standing high, they ate.
- T6:15 *Otiv tamuh a-n-ap- bah epe, yavun ka-n- kandakab.*
 [all food DEP-3PL.A-CT- finish.food DIST] canoe(III) DIR-3PL.A- pull:III.U
 When all of them had finished eating, they pulled a canoe (into the water).
- T6:16 *Yavun adaka ah-ϕ-emb- akosan epe, namakad ka-n- hukun.*
 [canoe water DEP-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- enter.water DIST] thing(III) DIR-3PL.A- put.inside.PLA:III.U
 When they had made the canoe enter the water,⁵⁵ they put their belongings in it.
- T6:17 *Epe nde epe Muri-kiwar oso m-a- veun.*
 DIST at DIST northwestern.monsoon beginning OBJ-3SG.A- blow?
 Then the northwestern monsoon started to blow.
- T6:18 *Mbian yavun in uruh ah-ϕ-e- ai epe, yavun epe*
 [(rivername) canoe(III) middle river DEP-3SG.A-ACPN- become:III.U DIST] canoe DIST
k-ϕ-um-e- akahob.
 DIR-3SG.A-FRUS-2|3PL.DAT- capsized
 When the canoe had taken them to the middle of the river Bian, the canoe almost capsized.
- T6:19 *Mahai-anem epe k-ϕ-e- w-a ahi: “Yavun kavakava ka-me-*
 front-man DIST DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX say canoe strong DIR-FUT:2PLA-
vai-e, his mank-e- zadih.”
 paddle-IPFV ghost NAFUT:1.A-1PL- see:2|3PL.U
 Then the eldest brother said to them: “Paddle hard, or we we might die [lit. see the ghosts].”
- T6:20 *Yavun a-n-ap- haved rah epe, tanama nu rah k-ϕ-i-ap- hok*
 [canoe DEP-3PL.A-CT- stick side DIST] again sleep side DIR-3SG.A-RE-CT- lie.down.PL
inah hap.
 two night
 They fastened the canoe at the riverside, and went to sleep again by the river for two nights.

T6:21 *Ah- \emptyset - pig epe, tanama epe nd-a- umav. Ndomande-mirav*
 [DEP-3SG.A- become.bright DIST] again DIST LOC-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U (placename)-village
k-a-p- hu-z.
 DIR-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U

When it became day, they went away again. They arrived in the village Ndomande.

T6:22 *Evai namek end aha k-a- hok nu.*
 father:3 clanmate POSS house DIR-3SG.A- lie.down.PL sleep

They went to sleep in the house of their father's clanmate.

T6:23 *Tanama nd- \emptyset -um-i- pig a, mengg epe nda-n- bakaman.*
 again LOC-3SG.A-FRUS-RE- become.bright PTCL walking DIST LOC-3PL.A- speed.up
Wanggari k-a-p- hu-z.
 (placename) DIR-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U

When it was about to become day again, they went fast, and arrived in Onggari.

T6:24 *Wanggari nd-a- umav tanama aaaa Kaiburze nu mbat*
 (placename) LOC-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U again all.the.way.to (placename) sleep NEG
 \emptyset -a- hok ka-n-o-p- a harad, Kumb-mirav
 NTRL-3SG.A- lie.down.PL DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT-CT- AUX:3SG.U go.straight (placename)-village
k-a- hok.
 DIR-3SG.A- lie.down.PL

They went from Onggari again, all the way to Kaiburze, where they did not sleep but continued straight, and they spent the night in Kumb.

T6:25 *Kumb-anim ipe ka-n-e- kabed: "Udug-ad-ya igiz end*
 (placename)-people DIST:I/II.PL DIR-3PL.A-2|3PL.DAT- ask (placename) name which:III
mirav nda-sa-b- \emptyset - k-w-arin-e?"
 village(III) LOC-ROG-ACT-3SG.A- WITH-III.U-call-IPFV

They asked the villagers in Kumb: "Which place is called Udug-Ad-Ya ['Where-They-Bathed']?"

T6:26 *"Urumb-mirav nd-a- k-w-arin-e epetago igiz."*
 (placename)-village(III) LOC-3SG.A- WITH-III.U-call-IPFV like.that:III name(III)
 "At the Urumb village there is [a place with] such a name."

T6:27 *Tanama nde epe nd-a- umav aaaa Wendu k-a-p-*
 again at DIST LOC-3SG.A go:2|3PL.U all.the.way.to (placename) DIR-3SG.A-CT-
k(y)amin.
 enter<2|3PL.U>

They went from there again until they entered Wendu.

T6:28 *Wendu-anim ka-n-e- kabed: "Udug-Ad-Ya end mirav*
 (placename)-people DIR-3PL.A-2|3PL.DAT- ask (placename) which village
nda-sa-b- \emptyset - k-w-arin-e?"
 LOC-ROG-ACT-3SG.A- WITH-III.U-call-IPFV

They asked the Wendu people: "For which village does one say Udug-Ad-Ya?"

- T6:29 *Ah- nahat-em, isi inah mirav ndame-p- ah⟨e⟩b, izakod se mirav*
 IMP- be.moving-PL.IMP other two village(III) FUT:2PL.A-CT- pass(III.U) [one only village
a-m-i-ap- hu-z, epe te-k-a- ∅.
 DEP-FUT:2PL.A-RE-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U] DIST:III GIV:III-PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP
 “Keep on going, pass by two other villages, when you arrive in another village,⁵⁸
 that is it.”
- T6:30 *Epe mirav nd-a- k-w-arin-e ehetago igiz.*
 DIST:III village(III) LOC-3SG.A- WITH-III.U-call-IPFV like.this:III name(III)
 “That place has such a name.”
- T6:31 *Epe ka-me- y-avasig, mirav-anim anip ndap-n-ind-e-p-*
 DIST DIR-FUT:2PL.A- 2|3PL.U-go.up.from.beach village-people EMPH:I/II.PL FUT-3PL.A-ALL-2|3PL.DAT-CT-
uman.
 show
 “You will go there, and the village people themselves will show you.”
- T6:32 *Yatomb k-a- y-avasig epe nda-d-na- kavos-a.*
 (placename) DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-go.up.from.beach DIST LOC-DUR-3PL.A- chew.betel-EXT
 They arrived in Yatomb and chewed betel there.
- T6:33 *Tanama epe ka-n-i-e- kated: “Udug-Ad-Ya end mirav*
 again DIST DIR-3PL.A-RE-2|3PL.DAT- ask (placename) which:III village(III)
nda-sa-b-∅- k-w-arin-e?”
 LOC-ROG-ACT-3SG.A- WITH-III.U-call-IPFV
 Again they asked there: “Which village is called Udug-Ad-Ya?”
- T6:34 *Yatomb-anim ipe ka-n-e- ahi: “Mak-e-p- y-ahik,*
 (placename)-people DIST:I/II.PL DIR-3PL.A-3|RPL.DAT- say FUT:1.A-1PL-CT- 2|3PL.U-accompany
mbitau, tamuh a-ka- havih-em. Andi epe mak-e- y-ahik.”
 unmarried.man food IMP-PRI- eat-PL.IMP later DIST FUT:1.A-1PL- 2|3PL.U-accompany
 The Yatomb people told them: “We will accompany you, young men, but eat first.
 Then we will accompany you.”
- T6:35 *Tamuh havih a-n-ap- baren epe, ka-n-ap- a y-ahik.*
 [food(III) eat DEP-3PL.A-CT- finish:III.U DIST] DIR-3PL.A-CT- AUX:2|3PL.U 2|3PL.U-accompany
 When they had finished eating, they accompanied them.
- T6:36 *Urumb-mirav k-a- y-avasig.*
 (placename)-village DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-go.up.from.beach
 They came to Urumb.
- T6:37 *Sanggaze-mbitau m-ak-e-p- y-ahik-a-m.*
 (placename)-unmarried.man OBJ-1.A-1PL-CT- 2|3PL.U-accompany-EXT-VEN
 [They said:] “We accompanied the young men from Sanggase here.”
- T6:38 *Patur-Udug-Ad-Ya ma-n-ind- naham-em idih.*
 (placename) OBJ-3PL.A-ALL- come.PL-VEN see:III.U
 “They came here to see Patur-Udug-Ad-Ya.”

T6:39 *Urumb-anim epe ka-n-e- ahi ago: "Mbitau, nama e=*
 (placename)-people DIST DIR-3PL.A-2|3PL.DAT- say QUOT unmarried.man now PROX=
ka-p-e- hok."
 DIR-FUT:1.A-1PL- lie.down.PL

The Urumb people said to them: "Let us lie down here now."

T6:40 *"Aphap mak-ind-e- y-ahik, tak patur udug a-d-ϕ-*
 tomorrow FUT:1.A-ALL-1PL- 2|3PL.U-accompany [source(III) boy bath DEP-DUR-3SG.A-
y-a ndame-bat- idih yahan end kind end."
 2|3PL.U-AUX] FUT:2PL.A-AFF- see:III.U 2PL.EMPH POSS eye INSTR

"Tomorrow we will accompany you, and you will see the source where the boys bathed with your own eyes."

T6:41 *Nd-ϕ-um- pig a ka-n-ind- a y-ahik mirav*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- become.bright PTCL DIR-3PL.A-ALL- AUX:2|3PL.U 2|3PL.U-accompany village(III)
idih.
 see:III.U

When it was about to become day, they accompanied them to see the place.

T6:42 *Epe ka-n-e- ahi: "E= nda-d-ϕ- honad patur udug, ya nama*
 DIST DIR-3PL.A-2|3PL.DAT- say PROX= LOC-DUR-3SG.A- bathe boy bath but now
igiz Patur-Udug-Ad-Ya k-a- k-w-arin-e igiz."
 name (placename) PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- WITH-III.U-call-IPFV name

There they said to them: "This is where the boys bathed, so now it is called Patur-Udug-Ad-Ya."

T6:43 *"Mbitau, mirav epe k-a-namb-e- w-a k-w-arin-e."*
 unmarried.man village DIST DIR-3SG.A-1.GEN-1PL- 3SG.U-AUX WITH-III.U-call-IPFV

"Young men, our place is called like that."

T6:44 *Tis ka, tatik-mean e= nd-a- hai-a.*
 That's.it legend-speech(III) PROX LOC-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT

That's it, here the story ends.

3.7 *Tatik-mean*: Legend

By Fransiscus Gebze (18 years old, Yatomb village)

- T7:1 *Tatik-mean ehe Mbian-mirav rek k-a- Ø-et.*
 legend-speech(III) PROX:III (rivername)-village from PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 This is a legend from the Mbian region.
- T7:2 *Sav izakod menda-d-Ø- Ø-et, aha in de-bak*
 married.woman one PERF-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV house middle tree-grove
nda-d-Ø-omb- itara.
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- be.standing
 There was a woman, her house stood in the middle of the bush.
- T7:3 *Sav upe ezam nggat Ø-d-a- Ø-et, yaba-nggat ha upe,*
 married.woman DIST:II husband:3 dog NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV big-dog(II) real DIST:II
mbei sapi anup end kahek upe.
 as cow(m) EMPH:II POSS height DIST:II
 The woman's husband was a dog, a very big dog, the size of a cow.
- T7:4 *Waningsap-aha Ø-d-Ø-emb- Ø-et, maru menda-d-Ø-emb-*
 good-house NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- COP-IPFV garden PERF-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN-
Ø-et.
 COP-IPFV
 They had a good house, and they had a garden.
- T7:5 *Izakod nde ehe ezam asik ka-d-Ø- a het-ti, ewati*
 one at PROX husband:3 hunting DIR-DUR-3SG.A- AUX:3SG.U be.moving-DUR young.man
sodaha asik ma-d-Ø- het-ti.
 alone hunting OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving-DUR
 One time her husband was out hunting, and a young man was [also] out hunting alone.
- T7:6 *Katane hanid menda-b-a-p- ai, ewati nd-Ø-ind- w-arau*
 sun(III) day PERF-ACT-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U young.man LOC-3SG.A-ALL- 3SG.U-open.eyes
a, aha k-a- idih sav upe kembakai nda-d-a-p-
 PTCL house DIR-3SG.A- see:3SG.U married.woman(II) DIST:II opening LOC-DUR-3SG.A-CT-
mir-ti. Sav tu-Ø-a- w-arin, ewati ka-d-Ø-
 be.sitting-DUR married.woman GIV:II-NTRL-3SG.A- 3SG.U-call young.man DIR-DUR-3SG.A-
a het-ti epe.
 AUX:3SG.U be.moving DIST
 The sun was standing high, and unexpectedly the young man saw the woman sitting by the door. The woman called, the young man went there.
- T7:7 *Ewati Ø-Ø-o- kabed: "Oh sodaha k-o- Ø oh ai?"*
 young.man NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- ask 2SG alone PRS.NTRL-2SG.A- COP 2SG Q
 The young man asked: "Are you alone?"
- T7:8 *"Mba k-a- Ø, inah k-ak-e- Ø nok nazam ti."*
 NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP two PRS.NTRL-1.A-1PL- COP 1 husband:1 with
 "No, we are two, me and my husband."

- T7:9 *“Ya hazam a ek- \emptyset - \emptyset -et?”*
 but husband:2SG PTCL PRS.Q:I-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
“And is your husband also there?”
- T7:10 *“Nok nazam nggat k-a- \emptyset -et, nama ha ndap-a-p-*
 1 husband:1 dog PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV now real FUT-3SG.A-CT-
hua-ra-m. Oh e= te-nda-mo- uma(h)av, katane hanid
 emerge:3SG.U-EXT-VEN 2SG PROX= GIV:III-LOC-FUT:2SG.A- go(2SG.U) sun(III) day
menda-b-a-p- ai.”
 PERF-ACT-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U
“My husband is a dog, he will come back from the bush very soon. You must go from here, the sun is already standing high.”
- T7:11 *Sav upe tu- \emptyset - \emptyset -o- ahi: “Aphap menda-mo- man-em.”*
 married.woman(II) DIST:II GIV:II-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say tomorrow PERF-FUT:2SG.A- come-VEN
The woman said to him: “You can come here tomorrow already.”
- T7:12 *Ewati \emptyset - \emptyset -o- ahi ago: “Aha” ewati epe.*
 young.man NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say QUOT yes young.man(I) DIST:I
The young man said to her: “Alright.”
- T7:13 *Ewati epe nd-a- umuv, ewati mengg epe nd-a- bakaman.*
 young.man(I) DIST:I LOC-3SG.A- go:3SG.U young.man walking DIST LOC-3SG.A- speed.up
The young man went away, the young man went away fast.
- T7:14 *Ewati epe sav menda-d- \emptyset -o- rah-ti: “Hazam*
 young.man(I) DIST:I married.woman PERF-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- tell-DUR [husband:2SG
a-p- \emptyset -n-um-ap- esov epe, oh \emptyset -mo- a-dahuh-e.”
 DEP-FUT-3SG.A-1.DAT-FRUS-CT- follow DIST] 2SG NTRL-FUT:2SG.A- PLA-prevent-IPFV
The young man had said to her: “If your husband wants to follow me, hold him back.”
- T7:15 *Ezam a-d- \emptyset -um-o-p- r-esov-ti epe, uzum \emptyset -d- \emptyset -o-*
 [husband:3 DEP-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS-3SG.DAT-CT- PLA-follow-DUR DIST] wife:3 NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
a-dahuh-ti.
 PLA-prevent-DUR
Then whenever her husband tried to follow him, she would hold him back.
- T7:16 *Ewati te- \emptyset -a-p- hua-ra mirav izanos k- \emptyset -o-*
 young.man(I) GIV:I-NTRL-3SG.A-CT- emerge:3SG.U-EXT village cross.cousin:3 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
ahi: “Onos, sav epe nd-a- \emptyset -et, aphap mak-ind-
 say cross.cousin:1 married.woman DIST LOC-3SG.A- COP-IPFV tomorrow FUT:1.A-ALL-
uma(n)av.”
 go(1.U)
The young man came out of the bush to the village and said to his cross-cousin: “Cross-cousin, there is a woman, tomorrow I will go to her.”
- T7:17 *Ewati te- \emptyset -a- ter-em, kwemek miz emadeh yavun ka-d- \emptyset -*
 young.man(I) GIV:I-NTRL-3SG.A- be.lying-VEN morning bow(III) quiver(IV) canoe DIR-DUR-3SG.A-
huka(z)in-ti.
 put.inside.PLA(IV.U)-DUR
The young man slept, in the morning he took his bow and and quiver, and put them in a canoe.

T7:18 *Ewati yavun ti ø-a- umuv, ka-d-ø- het-ti a, yavun*
 young.man canoe with NTRL-3SG.A- go:3SG.U DIR-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving-DUR PTCL canoe
dahetok-ti a-p- w-in.
 return-PER1 3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-become

The young man went away with the boat, and put the boat turned with the prow facing out [when he landed].

T7:19 *k-a- w-a umuv ka-d-ø- het-ti epe sav upe*
 DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX go:3SG.U DIR-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving-DUR DIST married.woman(II) DIST:II
tu-ø-ø-o- ahi: "Mak-e- uma(n)av."
 GIV:II-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say FUT:1.A-1PL- go(1.U)

He went, and the woman said to him: "Let's go."

T7:20 *k-a- w-a umav, sav mahai yavun k-a-p- kw-ambid,*
 DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX go:2|3PL.U married.woman front canoe DIR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-sit.down
ewati es yavun k-a-p- kw-ambid, epe nd-a- vai
 young.man behind canoe DIR-3SG.A-CT- INESS-sit.down DIST LOC-3SG.A- paddle
inaha-izakod s-a- vai, epe nda-n-omb- gan a-d-a-p-
 three ONLY-3SG.A- paddle DIST LOC-3PL.A-3SG.GEN- hear [DEP-DUR-3SG.A-CT-
ag(e)v-a epe. Sav upe tu-ø-ø-o- ahi: "Kamak,
 growl(3SG.U)-EXT DIST] married.woman(II) DIST:II GIV:II-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say fast
ndame-ø- man-em epe."
 FUT-3SG.A- come-VEN DIST

They went, the woman sitting in the front, and the young man sitting in the back, he paddled just three times, then they heard the dog growling. The woman said to him: "Fast, he is coming here."

T7:21 *Epe nda-n-ind- y-arau ah-ø- man-em epe. Epe nd-ø-ind-*
 DIST LOC-3PL.A-ALL- 2|3PL.U-open.eyes [DEP-3SG.A- come-VEN DIST] DIST LOC-3SG.A-ALL-
w-arau yavun ah-ø-e- umak-e epe k-ø-ind-
 3SG.U-open.eyes [canoe DEP-3SG.A-ACPN- be.running-IPFV DIST] DIR-3SG.A-ALL-
a akosan, k-ø-emb- a homat-a-m, sav
 AUX:3SG.U enter.water DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- AUX:2|3PL.U approach-EXT-VEN married.woman
ø-d-ø-o- rah-ti: "Kamak ma-mo- vai-e."
 NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- tell-DUR fast OBJ-FUT:2SG.A- paddle-IPFV

They looked, and saw the dog coming. The dog saw that the canoe was taking them away, he dived, came near, and the woman said to [the man]: "Paddle fast."

T7:22 *Ewati ø-ø-o- ahi: "Mat- man-em."*
 young.man NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say HORT- come-VEN
 The young man said to her: "Let him come."

T7:23 *Nggat andwa k-a- w-a w-in, ewati miz s-a- og,*
 dog near DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX 3SG.U-become young.man bow ONLY-3SG.A- do
k-a- w-a w-as. Nda-d-ø- w-as-ti a, izakod se
 DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX 3SG.U-shoot.PLA LOC-DUR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-shoot.PLA-DUR PTCL once
pa k-a- ahetok, nggat k-a- w-a kahivd.
 head(III) DIR-3SG.A- stab(III.U) dog DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX die:3SG.U

The dog was near, and the young man took the bow, and shot at him. Having shot at him, he stabbed its head, and the dog died.

- T7:24 *Nggat yavun ka-n- kihak(e)un.*
 dog canoe DIR-3PL.A- put.inside(3SG.U)
 They put the dog in the canoe.
- T7:25 *Ka-d-ϕ- a nahat-ti mirav, sav epe k-ϕ-o-*
 DIR-DUR-3SG.A- AUX:3SG.U be.moving-DUR village married.woman DIST DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
ahi: “Ya oh ehe hi ndamo- ϕ oh ai?”
 say but 2SG PROX:I like FUT:2SG.A- COP 2SG Q
 They went to the village, and the woman said to him: “Will you be like him?”
- T7:26 *“Namakid ndamo- y-as-et ai?”*
 animals FUT:2SG.A- 2|3PL.U-shoot.PLA-IPFV Q
 “Will you be shooting animals?”
- T7:27 *Mirav ah-a-p- hu-z epe, nggat ka-n- a howai, ka-n-*
 [village DEP-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U DIST] dog DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U cut.up DIR-3PL.A-
a havih nggat upe.
 AUX:2|3PL.U eat dog(II) DIST:II
 When they had come to the village, they cut the dog in pieces, and ate the dog.
- T7:28 *Ewati epe on wah k-ϕ-o- og, on wad k-a-*
 young.man(I) DIST:I liver mother:3 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- give liver(IV?) bag DIR-3SG.A-
kahakun.
 put.inside:III.U
 The young man gave the liver to his mother, he put it in a bag.⁵⁹
- T7:29 *Ewati wah nd-a- man-em a, kamb mit k-a- ambid. Nggat esor*
 young.man mother:3 LOC-3SG.A- come-VEN PTCL pole near DIR-3SG.A- sit.down dog noise
epe nd-ϕ-emb- gan, nd-ϕ-um- w-arau a, honahon-nggat
 DIST LOC-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- hear LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- 3SG.U-open.eyes PTCL [infant-dog
a-d-ϕ- ϕ-et epe.
 DEP-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV DIST]
 When the mother came, she sat by a pole. She heard dogs, and when she looked, there were puppies.
- T7:30 *Nggat ipe ka-n- a y-ago(z)ab, samb k-a-*
 dog DIST:I/II.PL DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U 2|3PL.U-raise.child(2|3PL.U) big DIR-3SG.A-
in, basik ipe nggat ti-ϕ-da-n- isih-made.
 become:2|3PL.U pig DIST:I/II.PL dog GIV:I/II.PL-NTRL-DUR-3PL.A- bite-HAB
 They raised the dogs, and they became big, and the dogs would always kill pigs.
- T7:31 *E= nd-a- hai-at.*
 PROX= LOC-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT
 Here it ends.

3.8 Mahai-anim end mean: Story about the old-timers

By Xaviera Kaize (19 years old, Kuper village)

- T8:1 *Mahai-anim agi nok ke end kakai ipe mirav mbat ø-d-a-*
 front-people PRWD:I/II.PL 1 APL POSS forefather DIST:I/II.PL village NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-
ahamat-a, ka-n- a vir-a.
 sit.PL-EXT DIR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U wander-EXT

The old-timers, that is our forefathers, did not live in villages, they wandered around.

- T8:2 *Isi hanid isi mirav, isi hanid isi mirav, izakod mirav mbat*
 other day other village other day other village one village NEG
ø-d-a- ahamat-a.
 NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- sit.PL-EXT

One day in one place, another day in another place, they didn't stay in one spot.

- T8:3 *Mba na-sak sa-d-enam- n-a-made.*
 all RCPR-hit.PLA ONLY-DUR-RCPR- RCPR-AUX-HAB

All they did was kill each other.

- T8:4 *Isi nde isi mirav rik ka-me-n- i-sak, ipe mirav*
 other at other village from:I/II.PL DIR-FUT-3PL.A- 2|3PL.U-hit.PLA DIST:I/II.PL village
rik isi mirav rik ka-pa-n-i- i-sak.
 from:I/II.PL other village from:I/II.PL DIR-FUT-3PL.A-RE- 2|3PL.U-hit.PLA

Some people would kill people from another place, and then those would kill people from the first place in return.

- T8:5 *A-me-n- i-sak epe, mahai ka-pa-n-ap- a kuhab.*
 [DEP-FUT-3PL.A- 2|3PL.U-hit.PLA DIST] front DIR-FUT-3PL.A-CT- AUX:2|3PL.U surround:2|3PL.U

Before they killed people, first they would surround them.

- T8:6 *Epe rek aha ka-pa-n-emb- a tad, ya anim a-p-ø-um-*
 DIST from house DIR-FUT-3PL.A-2|3PL.GEN- AUX:2|3PL.U burn but [people DEP-FUT-3SG.A-FRUS-
hau-z-e epe te-nda-me-n- i-sak, pa sa-pa-n-e-
 emerge-2|3PL.U-IPFV] DIST GIV:III-LOC-FUT-3PL.A- 2|3PL.U-hit.PLA head ONLY-FUT-3PL.A-ACPN-
umav, wahani ka-me-n- a kova(z)eg.
 go:2|3PL.U body DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U throw(2|3PL.U)

After that, they put their houses on fire, and when people came out they killed them, they took only the heads, and threw the bodies away.

- T8:7 *Mahai igiz sa-pa-n-e- kabed-a, heindun ka-me-n- a*
 front name ONLY-FUT-3PL.A-2|3PL.DAT- ask-EXT always DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U
i-sak, ya epe igiz epe anip end wanangga ka-pa-n-ap-
 2|3PL.U-hit.PLA but DIST:III name(III) DIST:III EMPH:I/II.PL POSS children DIR-FUT-3PL.A-CT-
yazab.
 give.name?:2|3PL.U

First they just asked for their names, then they killed them, and those names they would give to their own children.⁶⁰

T8:8 *Nama ipe k-a- n-arit-a ipe igiz ipe, mahai-anim end*
 [now DIST:I/II.PL DIR-3SG.A- 1.U-call-EXT DIST:I/II.PL name DIST:I/II.PL] front-people POSS
igiz k-a- ∅.
 name PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP

Those names⁶¹ that we have now are the names of old-time people.

T8:9 *Menda-d-na- hayad-made, isi hayad yamesav-hayad, dema-hayad ago*
 PERF-DUR-3PL.A- play-HAB other play medicine.man-play dema-play PROW:III
epe dema-mbambari epe.
 DIST:III dema-ritual(III) DIST:III

They used to stage ritual celebrations, one type was the sorcery rituals, and the dema celebrations were the *dema-mbambari*.⁵

T8:10 *Ago ma-d-enam- na-sak-made, Tuhan Allah mbaimbai ∅-d-a- ∅-e.*
 PROW OBJ-DUR-RCPR- RCPR-hit.PLA-HAB God(m) unable NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

They used to kill each other because they did not know about God.⁶²

T8:11 *E= k-da-n-um- a rah-made Tuhan Allah mba k-a-*
 PROX= DIR-DUR-3PL.A-FRUS- AUX:2|3PL.U tell-HAB God NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-
∅-e.
 COP-IPFV

They said that God did not exist.

T8:12 *Dema epe e= k-da-n-um- a vetok-made ago Tuhan Allah*
 dema(I) DIST:I PROX= DIR-DUR-3PL.A-FRUS- AUX:2|3PL.U think-HAB QUOT God(m)
k-a- ∅-et.
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

They thought that the dema was God.

T8:13 *Yaba-de a-me-n- idih epe, tamu epe ka-pa-n-o-*
 [big-tree(III) DEP-FUT-3PL.A- see:III.U DIST] food DIST DIR-FUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT-
ka-y-um-e.
 WITH-2|3PL.U-go.PLA-IPFV

If they saw a big tree, they would bring food for it.

T8:14 *Isi anim yamesav-mbambari mbaimbai a-me-∅- ∅-et ipe, mbat*
 [other people medicine.man-ritual unable DEP-FUT-3SG.A- COP-IPFV DIST:I/II.PL] NEG
maka-n-e- ka-nhat.
 NAFUT-3PL.A-ACPN- WITH-be.moving.PL

Those people who did not know sorcery were not allowed to bring [food].⁶³

T8:15 *Yamesav meai ip-∅- ∅-et ipe sa-me-∅-*
 [medicine.man knowing DIST:I/II.PL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV] DIST:I/II.PL ONLY-FUT-3SG.A-
ka-nhat.
 WITH-be.moving.PL

Only people who knew sorcery could bring [food].

T8:16 *Yaba-deg a-me-∅- ∅-et epe, ka-me-n- a vetok ago: "Dema*
 [big-bush DEP-FUT-3SG.A- COP-IPFV DIST] DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U think QUOT dema
∅-d-a- kamit-a."
 NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- make:3SG.U-EXT

If there was a big forest, they thought: "A dema made it."

- T8:17 *Epe deg epe anim mbat me-n- w-arok-e.*
 DIST:III bush(III) DIST:III people NEG NAFUT-3PL.A- III.U-stab-IPFV
 People must not cut down that forest.
- T8:18 *Anim de a-me-n- w-arok-e epe rek anim ipe erer*
 [people tree(III) DEP-FUT-3PL.A- III.U-stab-IPFV] DIST from people DIST:I/II.PL sick
ka-me-ø- e-nggat, isi ka-k-bat-ø- havavi-z-e.
 DIR-FUT-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-become.PLA other DIR-NAFUT-AFF?-3SG.A- die.PL-2|3PL.U-IPFV
 If people felled a tree, then because of that those people would become sick,
 some maybe even died.⁶⁴
- T8:19 *Epe rek epe mandin mbat ø-a-p- ai, koihi-par k-a- w-a*
 DIST from DIST long.time NEG NTRL-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U white-skin DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
k(y)amin.
 enter(2|3PL.U)
 Not long after that, white people entered.
- T8:20 *Oso ha Belanda-anim ah-ø- k(y)amin, Armasu ehe Marind-anim*
 [beginning real Dutch-people DEP-3SG.A- enter(2|3PL.U)] (placename) PROX Marind-people
ehe nda-d-ø- ø-e, k-a- w-a awan, deg k-a-
 PROX LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX run.away.PL bush DIR-3SG.A-
k(y)amin.
 enter(2|3PL.U)
 In the very beginning when the Dutch came, Marind people lived here in Armasu,
 and they fled into the bush.
- T8:21 *Anem izakod mbat ø-d-a- ø-e mirav nde, deg kumah nda-d-ø-*
 man one NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV village at bush inside LOC-DUR-3SG.A-
k(y)amit-a ipe.
 enter(2|3PL.U)-EXT DIST:I/II.PL
 Not a single person was in the village, they had entered the bush.
- T8:22 *Izakod anem a-me-ø- kahivd epe, yamu ka-d-n- a*
 [one man DEP-FUT-3SG.A- die:3SG.U DIST] mourning.ritual DIR-DUR-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U
ranik-made.
 sit.PLA-HAB
 When a man died, a mourning ritual used to be held.
- T8:23 *Mahai ha takav a, katar a, bus a ka-me-ø- kama(z)in, deg*
 front real fire PTCL stone PTCL eucalyptus PTCL DIR-FUT-3SG.A- make(2|3PL.U) bush
nda-pa-n-ap- ka-hu-z-e.
 LOC-FUT-3PL.A-CT- WITH-emerge-2|3PL.U-IPFV
 First, they would prepare firewood, stones and eucalyptus bark, and bring it from
 the bush.

- T8:24 *Aphap epetago yamu a-me- \emptyset - \emptyset -e, nama ehetao*
 [tomorrow like.that:III.U mourning.ritual(III) DEP-FUT-3SG.A- COP-IPFV] now like.this
ka-me-n- a ka-vevai yorayor-namakad, napet, kemb, kav, da,
 DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U WITH-prepare ??-thing banana taro yam sago
kamb, kahir, wati, yar, isi otiv namakad, onggat kumbu
 pole tongs kava banana.leaf other many thing coconut scraped.coconut
nanggo.
 for

The following day there was the funeral feast, and now they went to get goods for the feast: banana, taro, yams, sago, forked poles, tongs, kava, banana leaves, all sorts of things, and coconuts for scraping.

- T8:25 *Aphap hiti-aphap ka-me-n- a kagwakev. Nda-me-n-*
 tomorrow next.morning DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:gl2|3pl.u prepare.leaf.oven LOC-FUT-gl3pl.a-
kagwakev a, sav maru ka-me-n- a ahak,
 prepare.leaf.oven PTCL married.woman garden DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U go.inland
amnangga ohan ka-me- \emptyset - umav.
 married.men hunting DIR-FUT-3SG.A- go:2|3PL.U

Early next morning they prepared a feast. Having done so, the women would go to the gardens, and the men would go hunting.

- T8:26 *Usus ka-me- \emptyset - w-a ai, sep epe ka-pa-n-o-*
 afternoon(III) DIR-FUT-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX become:III.U leaf.oven(III) DIST:III DIR-FUT-3PL.A-3SG.DAT-
y-a kovetok.
 2|3PL.U-AUX light

When it was afternoon, they lit the earth oven.

- T8:27 *Sav menda-ka-b-a-p- hau-z-e ahak rik,*
 married.woman PERF-NAFUT-ACT-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U-IPFV go.inland from:I/II.PL
amnangga menda-ka-b-a-p- hau-z-e.
 married.men PERF-NAFUT-ACT-3SG.A-CT- emerge-2|3PL.U-IPFV

The women would already be returning from inland, and the men would already be returning from the bush.

- T8:28 *Nda-me- \emptyset - havip-e a, ka-me-n- a tonggak.*
 LOC-FUT-3SG.A- burn-IPFV PTCL DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U arrange.oven

When [the leaf oven] has burned out, they arrange the hot stones.

- T8:29 *Nda-me-n- tonggak-e a, yar maka-n-ind- komos mahai,*
 LOC-FUT-3PL.A- arrange.oven-IPFV PTCL banana.leaf NAFUT-3PL.A-ALL- spread.out front
tis ka da, mui, yar apip, tis ka bus \emptyset -me-n- k-ahob.
 that's.it sago meat banana.leaf outside that's.it eucalyptus NTRL-FUT-3PL.A- WITH-cover

Having arranged the stones, they would spread out the banana leaves, then sago, meat, banana leaves on top, then cover it with eucalyptus bark.

- T8:30 *Anim kamb yahov-ti me-n- y-a, tis ka namakad ka-y-um-ti*
 people pole plant.PLA-PERI FUT-3PL.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX that's.it thing WITH-2|3PL.U-go.PLA-PERI
me- \emptyset - y-a.
 FUT-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX

People would plant the forked poles in the ground, and then they would bring the goods [and hang them on the poles].

- T8:31 *Hap ka-me-ϕ- w-a ai, anim naham-ti me-ϕ-*
 night(III) DIR-FUT-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX become:III.U people come.PL-PERI FUT-3SG.A-
y-a-em, sep mit anim otiv ka-me-ϕ- y-a in,
 2|3PL.U-AUX-VEN leaf.oven near people many DIR-FUT-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX become:2|3PL.U
yarut-ti me-ϕ- in.
 sing.mourning.songs-PERI FUT-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U
 When it was night, people would come, many people would gather by the leaf oven, and they would sing mourning songs.
- T8:32 *In-hap epe herev a-p-ϕ-emb-ap- ai, sav*
 [middle-night(III) DIST:III bustling DEP-FUT-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN-CT- become:III] married.woman
ka-me-n- a rivanak, nama ka-me-ϕ- in.
 DIR-FUT-3PL.A- AUX:2|3PL.U cry.PLA crying DIR-FUT-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U
 In the middle of the night when it was bustling, the women would weep and cry.
- T8:33 *Aphap hiti-aphap a-me-ϕ- pig, katane papas a-p-a-p-*
 [tomorrow next.morning DEP-FUT-3SG.A- become.bright] [sun(III) small DEP-FUT-3SG.A-CT-
hawa, ravarav a-p-a-p- ai, sav sep
 emerge:III.U] [on.top DEP-FUT-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U] married.woman leaf.oven
ka-me-n- had. Nda-me-n- had a, r-esog-ti me-n-
 DIR-FUT-3PL.A- open.leaf.oven LOC-FUT-3PL.A- open.leaf.oven PTCL PLA-slice-PERI FUT-3PL.A-
y-a, epe rek anim da naham-ti maka-n-in- y-a-em.
 2|3PL.U-AUX DIST from people sago come.PL-PERI NAFUT-3PL.A-ALL- 2|3PL.U-AUX-VEN
 Early in the morning when it gets bright, and the sun comes up a little, when it is out, the women open the earth oven. Having done so, they would cut [the baked sago] in pieces, and after that people would come to get sago.
- T8:34 *Epe rek namakad naham-ti maka-n-in- y-a-em, nda-me-ϕ-*
 DIST from thing come.PL-PERI NAFUT-3PL.A-ALL- 2|3PL.U-AUX-VEN LOC-FUT-3SG.A-
ka-y-um-e anip end aha, ya usus a-me-ϕ-
 WITH-2|3PL.U-go.PLA-IPFV EMPH:I/II.PL POSS house until [afternoon DEP-FUT-3SG.A-
ai epe, sav yamu ahaman-ti me-ϕ- in
 become:III.U DIST] married.woman funeral.meal sit.PL-PERI FUT-3SG.A- become:2|3PL.U
patare.
 grave
 After that they would come get [their share of] the mourning goods, and they would bring it to their own houses, and in the afternoon, the women would sit by the grave for the funeral meal.
- T8:35 *Patare a-me-ϕ- nahat, amnangga mbat me-ϕ- nahat, mba*
 [grave DEP-FUT-3SG.A- be.moving.PL] married.men NEG NAFUT-3SG.A- be.moving.PL all
sav sa-me-ϕ- nahat.
 married.woman ONLY-FUT-3SG.A- be.moving
 When they went to the grave, the men did not go, only the women went.
- T8:36 *Epe rek epe mbat maka-n-e- vetok-e, mend-pa-b-ϕ-is-e-p- koai.*
 DIST from DIST NEG NAFUT-3PL.A-??- think-IPFV PERF-FUT-ACT-3SG.A-SEP-2|3PL.DAT-CT- forget
 After that they did wouldn't think more about the dead person,⁶⁵ they would already have forgotten him.

T8:37 *Tis ka, epe nd-a- hai-a.*
that's.it DIST LOC-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT
That's it, there it ends.

Notes

1. Numerals above ‘four’ are built from the words ‘hand’ or ‘foot’ plus words meaning ‘[one] side’ or ‘finish’. *Mbara-sangga* ‘five’ consists of *mba* ‘all’, *rah* ‘side’ and *sangga* ‘hand’, i.e. ‘all [the fingers on] the hand [on one] side’. ‘Seven’ consists of *rah* ‘side’ + *sangga* ‘hand’ + *inah* ‘two’, i.e. ‘hand [from one] side [plus] two’, i.e. ‘five plus two’. For the numeral system, see Drabbe (1955: 26) and Olsson (2017: 95–97).
2. The General Future series can be used in past-time contexts to express sequences of habitually occurring events (cf. Olsson 2017: 430–431).
3. Coastal Marind uses a completely non-compositional construction to express ‘Verb like this/that’, consisting of the inflected Auxiliary *wa* immediately preceded by a demonstrative element (either the Distal ‘that’ or the reduced Proximal clitic *e=*, corresponding to *ehe* ‘this’) and followed by the lexical verb stem. This construction (which contains no element corresponding to English ‘like’) can point either to a mimicked action or to a stretch of discourse (including reported speech, i.e. ‘said like this: ...’); cf. Olsson (2017: 503–507).
4. ‘To [a place]’ is often expressed by a verbal gesture consisting of a vowel (usually /a/) uttered at relatively high pitch, and lengthened iconically to suggest the distanced travelled. The vowel is typically added at the end of *yah* or *apa*, both ‘until’, (giving *yahaaa/apaaa...*), or simply an extended *aaa...* (often added after a motion verb).
5. The *dema* are the central mythical beings of traditional Marind religion, and often appear in human, animal or part-animal shape. The *dema* are ancestors of the Marind clans and are often associated with the totems of the clan. Sometimes a *dema* is the creator of the totem, as when the severed head of the *dema* in Text 5 turns into the first coconut palm. See van Baal (1966: 178–190) for a detailed explication of the *dema* concept.
6. The prefix sequence *te-nd-* (the Given prefix, followed by the Locative Orientation) preceded by the Distal demonstrative *epe* has an idiomatic temporal meaning, roughly ‘at that point’ or ‘then’. Cf. Olsson (2017: 320).
7. The Allative applicative *ind-* usually combines with motion verbs to express that the subject is moving towards the applicative object, often with the meaning ‘go (etc.) and get OBJ’. Cf. Drabbe (1955: 55–56) and Olsson (2017: 371).
8. One-verb clauses consisting of a repetition of the preceding verb or a light verb such as *win* ‘become’ or *og* ‘become’ inflected with the Locative orientation *nd-* serve as generic recapitulative clauses, i.e. ‘having done so, ...’ or simply ‘then, ...’. These structures resemble so-called tail-head linkage which is common in Papuan languages, but they are fairly rare in Coastal Marind narratives.
9. A construction consisting of either a motion verb, a verb of seeing/looking (e.g. *warau* ‘open eyes; search’) or *og* ‘do’ inflected with the Locative orientation *nd-* and combined with the ‘pro-word’ *ago* and/or the Frustrative prefix *um-* is used in narratives to express surprise on behalf of the subject of the verb. Cf. Olsson (2017: 461).
10. The meaning of the word *sanggapa* is unclear; it was not recognised by speakers. Drabbe translates it as *alangalang-gras*, i.e. kunai grass. But kunai is known as *umasa* in Coastal Marind, so Drabbe’s translation is probably a misunderstanding of the (non-standard) Malay expression *bermain alang-alang* ‘fly kites’. Geurtjens (1933: 300) gives ‘kite’ (Dutch *vlieger*) as one of the meanings of *sanggupan* (also a fish sp.), so *sanggapa* is perhaps a misspelling (or dialectal variant?) of this word.
11. Drabbe translates ‘[...] *bezwoer hij de nacht (niet te vlug te komen)*’, i.e. ‘he put a spell on the night (so it wouldn’t arrive too fast)’, but this translation was rejected by the speaker I consulted. The contribution of the Restrictive *s-* (‘only’) and the Contessive *ap-* on the verb *wagum* ‘curse, put a spell’ is unclear.
12. The original has *mendeb-in*, in which the segment *e* must be a typo for *a*.
13. The verb *karaun* means ‘change into s.t.’. The contribution of the Allative Prefix *ind-* to this verb is unknown; Geurtjens (1933: 188) only gives an example without this (normally applicative) prefix, apparently with the same meaning. This verb is not used in the Western dialect of Coastal Marind.
14. The verb *masob* must be the same as the Geurtjens’ *masuab* or *masowab* (1933: 237, “*spiraalgewijs omwinden of opwinden, kronkelen, gekronkeld zijn*”).
15. For the construction in which the Auxiliary *wa* predicates a postposed lexical verb, see Olsson (2017: §15.3.1). Drabbe (1955: 95) notes that the non-first person Undergoer prefixes (2sg *h-*, 3sg *w-* and 2|3pl *y-*) on the Auxiliary are often elided when the final prefix of the prefixal complex ends in a consonant, so that it is realised as *a*. The original transcriptions are inconsistent on this point, probably reflecting actual variation. I consider this reduction to be a phenomenon of allegro speech in the Western dialect, so the orthography used in Olsson (2017) always renders the Auxiliary with the Undergoer prefixes intact.
16. When a focused NP (placed in the preverbal focus slot) contains (or consists of) a demonstrative element, the so-called Given prefix *t-* (or *tV-*, *V* being a gender-indicating vowel, agreeing with the gender value of the demonstrative) is usually added before the Orientation prefix. See Olsson (2017: §14.1).

17. Nouns in Gender IV always trigger the use of suppletive plural stems for verbs (such as *man* ‘come’) that supplete according to number, regardless of the number of referents, somewhat similar to pluralia tantum nouns in many languages (cf. Olsson 2019).
18. The Auxiliary and the light verb *win* ‘become’ are used as main verbs and with a sole argument referring to an animal with the meaning ‘(animal) make its characteristic vocalisation’ (i.e. a frog croak, a bird chirp, etc.). See Olsson (2017: §15.1.2.1).
19. Drabbe translates this line “*Roep ons niet, roep daar in jouw boom*”, i.e. “Don’t call for us, call there in your tree’. However, the verb *ru*, which is used in both of these clauses (1st person Undergoer form *nulun*), does not have the intransitive meaning ‘call out’, only ‘call for X’ or ‘call the name of X’ (cf. *warin* ‘scream, call out’). A speaker suggested the translation ‘call out the name of that tree’, which I have used here, although it is not clear how this fits in the context of the story.
20. Drabbe (1955: 42–43) describes the suffix *-moto* as a marker of durative future, but offers little information on its semantics. For the cognate suffix *-motok* in the Western dialect (which I label the Future Habitual), see Olsson (2017: §13.2.6.3).
21. The prefix sequence *i-ap-* (RE-CT-) is used to soften commands: ‘Would you please...’ (see Olsson 2017: §14.4.5.3).
22. The usual *ti*-suffix is missing in this instance of the Periphrastic Light Verb Construction (see §2, p. 7); see also T1:94.
23. The exact meaning of the verb *kwairir* is unknown; it is not attested elsewhere (including in Geurtjens 1933).
24. The verb *tetok* is not attested elsewhere, so its precise meaning remains unknown. ‘Set fire to s.t.’ is usually expressed by the verb *tad*.
25. For the use of *oso* ‘beginning’ before a verb marked with the Object Orientation *m-* in a construction meaning ‘just about to Verb’, see Olsson (2017: 526).
26. *Nambimb* is probably *Eleotris melanosoma*, the black spine-cheek gudgeon.
27. The 2sg form of the verb stem *kwamin* ‘enter’ is perhaps a typo for the 2|3pl stem *kyamin* (which would fit with the plural addressee). See Olsson (2017: 259) for the origin of the infix Undergoer affix in this stem.
28. For the Instrumental applicative construction, see Olsson (2017: 363–365).
29. Drabbe glosses the verb *kahosev* ‘graze’; it is unclear if this is a form of the verb *hosev*, which I only know to mean ‘wallaby to jump along’, or if it is a different verb.
30. See Olsson (2017: 496) for verb stems compounded with *ndom* ‘bad’.
31. The *hayam* tree is *Inocarpus fagifer*, the Tahitian chestnut. The proto-Marindic term **ɣayam* is strangely similar to Javanese *gayam*, with the same meaning (reconstructed to Proto–Malayo–Polynesian by Blust).
32. Some brief notes on participial forms in the Eastern dialect are in Drabbe (1955: 20–21); see also Olsson (2017: 145–152) for the Western dialect.
33. ‘Only Verb, do nothing but Verb’ is expressed by placing the bare verb stem in the focus position before the prefixal complex, to which the Restrictive Orientation prefix *s-* (ONLY-) is added. The Auxiliary *wa* fills the position vacated by the fronted verb stem. See further Drabbe (1955: 93–94) and Olsson (2017: 496–497).
34. For a note on this enigmatic optative construction, see Olsson (2017: 107–108).
35. The Given plus Locational prefix sequence *te-nd-* here occurs in a shortened version of the *epe tend-* construction (‘at that point, ...’) discussed in footnote 6 (with the pre-verbal demonstrative omitted).
36. The root of the *manenggop* plant (*Derris elliptica*) is used to stun and catch fish.
37. Drabbe’s original has a compound *riti-keter* for ‘firewood’ (which is also the meaning of *keter*), but the first part must be a postpositional phrase *ri ti* ‘with embers’, i.e. still glowing.
38. The speaker with whom I worked on this text was not able to identify the placename Marizea, and I could not locate it on any of the Dutch era maps of the region.
39. I am only familiar with the verb *isih* (Western *isiy*) in the meaning ‘bite’, and it is unclear whether ‘stick one’s tongue out’ is an extension of this meaning or a separate verb. It is also unclear whether the element *ti-* prefixed to the verb is the Given prefix (its gender agreement does not match the preceding gender III noun ‘tongue’), or perhaps the postposition *ti* ‘with’. I follow Drabbe’s segmentation of it as a prefix.

40. There are no other textual attestations of *hara*, but Geurtjens translates it *aanstonds, vlug, plotseling* ‘directly, fast, suddenly’. It probably belongs to the class of pre-verbal adverbials (in this case combining with the Locative Orientation *nd-*), which show significant dialectal variation (see Olsson 2017: 522–529 for the pre-verbal adverbials in the Western dialect).
41. The Inessive is normally *ka-* on consonant-initial stems, so the status of *ak-* is unclear, especially as nothing in the context suggests that the croton is left inside a confined space.
42. The status of the element *i-* in this and the following line is unclear. The only prefix of this shape in the prefixal complex is the Repetitive *i-*, but this prefix would adjoin after rather than before the 3SG.A prefix *a-* (which normally has zero realisation next to vowels), and its meaning (‘again’) does not fit in the context.
43. *Mboraro* is a pole onto which kava, bananas etc. are hung during the mourning rites (see Geurtjens 1933: 94).
44. The speaker I consulted chose to back-translate this line using an idiom with *nggem* ‘k.o. mud’ and a light verb, which refers to the mourning rites during which people paint their faces with mud and perform ritual weeping.
45. Up until this point, the Future tense is used, which is the standard way of conveying habitually occurring sequences of event (as in the description of customs). Starting in this line, non-Future verb forms are used, as if the text were a past-tense narrative. I have no explanation for this shift, which does not fit with the contents of the text.
46. It is unclear what *wakuta sep* refers to, perhaps it is a smaller leaf oven prepared over the fire in which the stones (used for the large leaf oven) are heated.
47. *Pu-anem* normally refers to non-European migrants to the Marind area, e.g. the Chinese and Malays. The standard etymology for this expression is that *pu* is the sound made by rifles, *pu!* ‘bang!’, which were used to hunt birds of paradise.
48. The expression *sasahi k-idih*, lit. ‘see with work’ seems to be an old expression for ‘work’. The word *sasahi* occurs both as a noun and a standard verb, perhaps modelled on local Malay *kerja* ‘work (n./v.)’ (see T4:18 for its use as a verb).
49. The original has *retok*, which is a clear typo for *vetok* ‘think’.
50. It is somewhat unclear whether the girl gets younger or older: *kivasom* ‘girl’ is usually younger than *wahuku* ‘girl (10+ years or so)’, but Drabbe’s translation (*Dan werd het meisje een jongevrouw*) suggests that she is getting older, and the speaker with whom I worked felt that this was the intended meaning.
51. Drabbe interprets *dohi* ‘red’ as the subject NP, and translates *De rode zat er in (het bos)* ‘The red one sat there in (the bush)’. I interpret *dohi* as a secondary predicate, lit. ‘sat there [being] red’, but the identity of the subject remains unclear. It is presumably not the girl, who would trigger Gender II agreement on the secondary predicate (*dohu* ‘red:II’), so it must be the dema (who transformed into a girl?).
52. I am uncertain about the precise meaning of the verb *kwabah*, which is not attested elsewhere. Drabbe uses the verb *opmaken* ‘finish off, eat up, etc.’ and the speaker with whom I worked translated it as ‘eat’.
53. The analysis of the verb in this clause is problematic. The prefix *e-* could be 2|3PL.DAT, but this does not fit with the singular patient (the boy). It is perhaps a typo for *o-* 3SG.DAT, but the patient-like argument of the expression *amam kawin* ‘feel pity for s.b.’ is usually not indexed in the verb, so it is not clear that this analysis would work. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity to check this with a speaker.
54. The original has the copula *ndamo*, which is the 2sg Future form, and must be a typo for *ndame*, the 2pl form.
55. For the causal use of the Genitive prefix series with intransitive verbs, see Olsson (2017: 388). The literal translation of this structure is roughly ‘X_A Verb-ed because of Y_{GEN}’. It is not a causative construction proper, since the added causer does not fill the subject role.
56. I am not aware of any verb of the shape *hi* with the meaning ‘rest’. This can hardly be *hi* ‘fall’, which always occurs in its Pluractional form (*rihiz*) with a 3pl subject, and ‘fall’ is not attested with the meaning ‘rest’.
57. I am not sure about the meaning of *tape* (cf. Geurtjens 1933: 318).
58. The original has *ami-ai huz* for ‘when you arrive’, which I interpret as a typo for *amiap-huz*.
59. The gender mismatch is surprising: *on* ‘liver’ is a Gender IV noun across all known varieties (Drabbe 1955: 18, Olsson 2017: 186) so we would expect the verb stem *kahkazin* ‘put (Gender IV item) inside’. I am not aware of the explanation for this.
60. I was not able to identify the verb *yazab*. ‘Give a name to s.b.’ is usually expressed by the verb *han* ‘put [a horizontally oriented object]’.

61. *Igiz* 'name' is one of the nouns that often inherit the gender value of the associated referent (i.e. the named person), so that *igiz* triggers Gender II agreement when it refers to the name of a woman, or plural agreement when referring to the names of several people. There seems to be some variation in the usage, however, as the speaker used default Gender III in line T8:7 above.
62. The 'pro-word' *ago* preposed to a verb marked with the Object Orientation *m-* anticipates a reason or cause (provided in the next clause). A more literal translation of these two clauses would be something like "For this reason they used to kill each other: they did not know about God".
63. The double applicative in the main clause is impossible to render accurately in English. The Comitative marked by *ka-* refers to the bringing of food, whereas the Accompaniment *e-* refers to bringing people along (or rather, allowing people to come along).
64. The translation with 'maybe' follows Drabbe's original. According to his grammar, there is a prefix *bat-* with the epistemic meaning 'maybe', which is distinguished from the Affectionate *abat-* 'poor thing, etc.' (Drabbe 1955: 128). But Drabbe presents no evidence that these are really separate prefixes, and the initial /a/ in *abat-* can be attributed to regular insertion of epenthetic /a/, so it is likely that we are dealing with a single prefix with a range of mood-like meanings. I have not been able to isolate the 'maybe' meaning in my work on the contemporary Western dialect, however.
65. The status of the prefix *e-* is unclear, there is no prefix of this shape that fits with the verb 'think' in this context. It is perhaps a typo for the Repetitive *i-*, which may express 'not anymore' with a negated verb.

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