

Petrus Drabbe's Coastal Marind texts

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Part II: Text in the Far Western Dialect

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1 Brief notes on the Far Western Dialect

The text presented here is the 9th text in the appendix of Drabbe’s Coastal Marind grammar (see Part I for the first 8 texts). The other texts represent the Eastern dialect, but this text is in the variety spoken at the extreme Western edge of the Coastal Marind territory (in the villages Wamal, Dokib and Yowid; see Map 1 in Part I). The text is the longest known rendition of a myth in the Coastal Marind language, and it is of considerable linguistic interest as the only extant source of information on the Far Western dialect. The author of the text was presumably a student at the boarding school in Merauke, like the authors of the other texts. It is noteworthy, however, that the text features numerous instances of what seems to be fillers and self-repairs (see e.g. T9:10, T9:110, T9:131, T9:156), as if the text had been transcribed from a recording. But there are no indications that Drabbe ever made audio recordings of Coastal Marind, so the apparent disfluencies are perhaps some sort of stylistic device, or just a sign that the author (or another person in charge of the transcription?) preferred to adhere to a verbatim rendering of the text as it came to him at the time of writing. The information provided in the brief grammar sketch of the Eastern dialect (in Part I, §2) mostly applies to the Far Western data, with some caveats to be mentioned below.

The Eastern and Far Western dialects feature quite divergent phonologies, with the latter sharing its consonant inventory with the Western dialect (spoken in the 6 villages between Wambi and Alaku); see Table 1. The main differences with the Eastern dialect are the replacement of Eastern /r/ (realised [r ~ ɾ]) with the lateral /l/ in the west; the retention of the velar fricative /ɣ/ (written <gh>), which has merged with /h/ in the Eastern dialect; and the absence of the Eastern voiced fricatives /v/ and /z/, which correspond sometimes to /h/, sometimes to the rather unusual voiceless and/or pre-aspirated approximants /^hw/ and /^hj/ (written <hw> and <hy>). Although the Western and Far Western dialects share the same consonant inventories, the Far Western dialect agrees with the Eastern dialect in the absence of several phonological processes that characterise the Western dialect, such as the retention of V.V sequences (as in Eastern and Far Western *mean* ‘speech’; cf. Western *mayan*) and the lack of Plosive Nasalisation (a process which turns plosives into nasals in certain environments, described in Olsson 2017: 67–68 for the Western dialect).

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless plosive	p	t		k	
Voiced plosive	b	d		g	
Prenasalised plosive	mb <mb>	nd <nd>		ŋg <ngg>	
Nasal	m	n			
Fricative		s		ɣ <gh>	h
Voiced approximant		l	j <y>	w	
Voiceless approximant			^h j <hy>	^h w <hw>	

Table 1: Consonants in the Far Western dialect

Certain morphosyntactic phenomena in the Far Western dialect differ from the Eastern dialect, but are shared with the Western dialect. For example, the common Periphrastic Light Verb Construction uses the all-purpose Auxiliary *wa* (e.g. T9:29) instead of the verb *win* ‘become’, and there is a special Past Habitual suffix *-ma* (T9:78, T9:10), rather than just a general Habitual *-made*. But most phenomena that exhibit dialectal differences are shared between the Eastern and Far Western dialects, with the Western dialect diverging. For example, both the Eastern and Far Western dialects use a ‘zero copula’ (lacking a verb stem) in all tenses (as opposed to only in the present tense, as in the Western dialect), and distinguish between

the negators *mba* and *mbat* in the present and non-present respectively (as opposed to the general negator *mbya* in the Western dialect).

2 Text in the Far Western dialect

Mandin-anim end tatik-mean: Legend of people in the old days

By Eduardus Yolmend (21 years old, Dokib village)

T9:1 *Mandin-anim end tatik-mean k-a- Ø-et.*
 long.time-people POSS legend-speech PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 This is a story of the old time people.

T9:2 *Onggat eh-Ø- Ø-et ehe nama gha ehe anem lek k-a-*
 [coconut(III) PROX:III-3SG.A- COP-IPFV PROX:III now real PROX:III] man from PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-
 Ø-et.
 COP-IPFV

The coconuts that exist now¹ originate from a man.

T9:3 *Mandin-anim uhyum a eham a mes-meakim a hyakod milah*
 long.time-people wife:3 PTCL husband:3 PTCL old-unmarried.man PTCL one village
nda-d-Ø- ya-hwala.
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-be

Some old-timers — a wife, her husband, and an old man — were living in one place.

T9:4 *Ago ma-d-Ø-o-p- takit-a yahaaaa wananggib ah-Ø- kisa*
 PROW OBJ-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- wait-EXT until [son DEP-3SG.A- marry:3SG.U
epe, mesmeakim epe wananggap-bekai k-a- w-in.
 DIST] old.unmarried.man(I) DIST:I good-heart DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become

The old man had waited until his son married, and then he was happy.

T9:5 *Wananggib epe wanangga menda-d-Ø-omb- Ø-et, mba-la-sangga*
 son(I) DIST:I children PERF-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- COP-IPFV five
Ø-d-Ø-omb- Ø-et wanangga.
 NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- COP-IPFV children

The son had children, he had five children.

T9:6 *Mes-meakim epe namik otiv Ø-d-a- Ø-et.*
 old-unmarried.man(I) DIST:I clanmates many NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

The old man had many relatives.

T9:7 *Isi agi ihanos-ihanos ipe a agi a, mba hyakod*
 other PROW:I/II.PL cross.cousin:3-REDUPL DIST:I/II.PL PTCL PROW:I/II.PL PTCL all one
lik y-ahasud agi ipe,
 from 2|3PL.U-grow.big PROW:I/II.PL DIST:I/II.PL

Some were his cross-cousins,² from the same generation,³

T9:8 *mba hyakod a-d-Ø- e-nggat-ti ipe.*
 [all one DEP-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-become.PLA-DUR DIST:I/II.PL]
 who were all born at the same time.

- T9:9 *Mes-meakim epe ola-la sa-d- \emptyset - \emptyset -et yahaaaa*
 old-unmarried.man(I) DIST:I be:3SG.U-EXT ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV until
mes-meakim gha k-a- w-in, mbahak koihi k- \emptyset -o-p-
 old-unmarried.man real DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become hair(IV) white DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT-
ba(h)in.
 finish<IV.U>
 The old man just remained, until he was really old, and his hair turned completely white.
- T9:10 *Mengg mbat \emptyset -d-a- um-ma, hyakod milah nda-d- \emptyset - \emptyset -et,*
 walking NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- go.PLA:3SG.U-PST.HAB one place LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
adaka agi \emptyset -da-n-o- lesad-ma ihe.
 water PROW:I/II.PL NTRL-DUR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- draw.water-PST.HAB grandchildren:3
 He could no longer walk around, he just stayed in one spot, and water was brought to him by his grandchildren.⁴
- T9:11 *Mes-meakim menda-d- \emptyset -o- lagh-ma iheb ago:*
 old-unmarried.man PERF-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- tell-PST.HAB grandchild:3 QUOT
 The old man used to say to his grandson:
- T9:12 *“A-me- \emptyset - kahi(n)ad epe, patale samb tamat-ap- gha-in,*
 [DEP-FUT-3SG.A- die(1.U) DIST] grave big PROH:2SG.A-CT- 2SG.U-become
yaba-kumagh tamohat- eg.”
 big-inside PROH:2SG.A- dig
 “When I die, don’t make a big grave, don’t dig deep.”
- T9:13 *“A-me- \emptyset - kahi(n)ad epe, tamohat- og anim ip-n- y-a*
 [DEP-FUT-3SG.A- die(1.U) DIST] PROH:2SG.A- do [people DIST:I/II.PL-3PL.A- 2|3PL.A-AUX
og-et epe, mata-ka- \emptyset -et mahut ka-mo- n-a kw-ambid.”
 do-IPFV DIST] HORT-PRI- COP-IPFV far DIR-FUT:1.A- 1.U-AUX INESS-sit.down
 “When I die, don’t do like people usually do — just let it be, and I will sit in the grave.”
- T9:14 *“De lagh ma-mo-na- yaghahwig, lagh a maghai a es a.”*
 tree side OBJ-FUT:2SG.A-1.DAT- plant:III.U side PTCL front PTCL behind PTCL
 “Plant a tree on one side, one on the [other] side, one in front, and one in the back.”
- T9:15 *“Patale a-mo-p- balen epe, uta og-ti mo- gh-a apip*
 [grave(III) DEP-FUT:2SG.A-CT- finish:III.U DIST] fence do-PERI FUT:2SG.A- 2SG.U-AUX outside
ka-mo- og uta.”
 DIR-FUT:2SG.A- do fence
 “When you have finished the grave, make a fence, and put the fence around the edge.”
- T9:16 *Mandin mbat \emptyset -a-p- ai anggai k- \emptyset -emb-ap- ai.*
 [long.time(III) NEG NTRL-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U] feast(III) DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN-CT- become:III.U
 Not long after, they had a feast.

- T9:17 *Anim menda-d- \emptyset -e- lagh-ti ago: "Namakad ah- kama(h)in-em*
 people PERF-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- tell-DUR QUOT thing IMP- make(2|3PL.U)-PL.IMP
ago nango anggai nango."
 PROW for feast for
 People were told: "Prepare the goods for the feast."
- T9:18 *"Yaba-anggai k-a- ola-la-motok."*
 big-feast(III) PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- be:III.U-EXT-FUT.HAB
 "It will be a big feast."
- T9:19 *"Namakad anggai nango otiv ka-me- \emptyset - hehai ago nango anggai*
 thing feast for many DIR-FUT-3SG.A- prepare PROW for feast
nango."
 for
 "You shall make all things ready for the feast."
- T9:20 *"Yaba-anggai k-a- \emptyset -et."*
 big-feast PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 "It is a big feast."
- T9:21 *"Nggat-hi mak-e- n-in, namakad ah- og-em, nggat-hi*
 dance.celebration FUT:1.A-1PL- 1.U-become thing IMP- do-PL.IMP dance.celebration
namakad epe wanningap sa-me- og-et kama(h)it-la."
 thing(III) DIST:III good ONLY-FUT:2PL.A- do-IPFV make(2|3PL.U)-EXT
 "We will hold a *nggat-zi*,⁵ you prepare the goods, you must prepare the things for
 the *nggat-zi*."⁶
- T9:22 *Ago andwa gha mbat \emptyset -a-p- ai, mandin ndom k-a-*
 PROW near real NEG NTRL-3SG.A-CT- become:III.U long.time still PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-
 \emptyset -et anggai.
 COP-IPFV feast
 The feast was not close, a long time still remains before the feast.
- T9:23 *Mes-meakim epe nama elel k-a- w-in, iheb*
 old-unmarried.man(I) DIST:I now sick DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become grandchild:3
 \emptyset -d- \emptyset -o- k-um-ma namakad.
 NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- WITH-go.PLA:3SG.U-PST.HAB thing
 Now the old man got sick, and his grandson kept bringing things for him.
- T9:24 *Iheb \emptyset -da-bat- \emptyset -o- waghid-a, elel a-d- \emptyset - ola-la epe.*
 grandchild:3 NTRL-DUR-AFF-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- help?-EXT [sick DEP-DUR-3SG.A- be:3SG.U-EXT DIST]
 The grandson helped him while he was sick.⁷
- T9:25 *Epe k- \emptyset -o- aghi: "Isi naheb epe end ka-sa-b- \emptyset - w-a*
 DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say other grandchild:1 DIST:I where DIR-ROG-ACT-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
umuh?"
 go:3SG.U
 He said to [his grandson]: "Where has my other grandson gone?"

- T9:26 *Epe te-∅-∅-o-* *aghi ago: “K-a- w-a umuh basik awe*
 DIST:I GIV:I-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say QUOT DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX go:3SG.U pig for
k-a- umuh.”
 DIR-3SG.A- go:3SG.U
 [The grandson] said to him: “He left, he went hunting for pigs.”
- T9:27 *Epe k-∅-o-* *aghi: “Naheb ai, kambetana a-n-i-ap- kw-atad,*
 DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say grandchild:1 VOC ear.wax IMP-1.DAT-RE-CT- INESS-brush
menda-b-∅- lisa(n)ab kambet.”
 PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become.deaf(1.U) ear
 He said to him: “My grandson, remove my ear wax, I have become deaf.”
- T9:28 *“A-n-i-ap- idih tao ka-b-a-na- ∅-et, ihano tatup*
 IMP-1.DAT-RE-CT- see:III.U what:III PRS.NTRL-ACT-3SG.A-1.DAT- COP-IPFV maybe dirt
k-a-na- ∅-et.”
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-1.DAT- COP-IPFV
 “Please see what it could be, maybe there is dirt.”
- T9:29 *Mes-meakim epe ghali-ti a- w-a.*
 old-unmarried.man(I) DIST:I lie.down-PER1 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
 The old man lay down.
- T9:30 *Iheb epe ago nd-a- og-e kati ago nanggo kambetana*
 grandchild:3 DIST:I PROW:III LOC-3SG.A- do-IPFV midrib(III) PROW for ear.wax
kw-atad nanggo.
 INESS-brush for
 The grandson took a leaf midrib for removing the ear wax.
- T9:31 *Iheb ∅-∅-o-* *aghi: “Amai ai, namakad dohi k-a-*
 grandchild:3 NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say ancestor VOC thing red PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-
∅-et.”
 COP-IPFV
 The grandson said to him: “Grandfather, there is something red.”
- T9:32 *Mes-meakim ∅-∅-o-* *aghi: “Alil ∅-mo-n-i-ap-*
 old-unmarried.man NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say slow NTRL-FUT:2SG.A-1.DAT-RE-CT-
kw-atad-at, kamo end tamto-na- og-et.”
 INESS-brush-EXT fast INSTR PROH:2SG.A-1.DAT- do-IPFV
 The old man said to him: “Remove carefully, don’t be rough.”
- T9:33 *Epe k-∅-o-* *aghi: “Lagh a-n-i-ap- og.”*
 DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say side IMP-1.DAT-RE-CT- do
 He said to him: “Do on the other side too.”
- T9:34 *Iheb ∅-∅-o-* *aghi: “Amai ai, lagh kambet-bal dohi*
 grandchild:3 NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say ancestor VOC side ear-hole red
k-a- ∅-et.”
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 The grandson said to him: “Grandfather, in the other ear there is something red.”

T9:35 *Lagh a lagh a kambet-bal mba dohi k-a- Ø-et, to*
 side PTCL side PTCL ear-hole all red PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV what:III
ka-sa-b-Ø- Ø-et?"
 PRS.NTRL-ROG-ACT-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

"In both ears it is all red, what is that?"

T9:36 *Iham Ø-Ø-o- aghi: "Mata-na- Ø-et, kwemek tanama*
 grandparent:3 NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say HORT-1.DAT- COP-IPFV morning again
ndom-n-i-ap- idih."
 FUT:2SG.A-1.DAT-RE-CT- see:III.U

The grandfather said to him: "Let it be like that, tomorrow you will have a look at me again."⁸

T9:37 *Iham Ø-Ø-o- aghi: "Mean a-k-da-h-a- lagh-ti epe*
 grandparent:3 NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say [speech DEP-1.A-DUR-DEP-2SG.DAT- tell-DUR DIST]
kambet ek-o-p- gh-ahwala a-k-da-h-a- lagh-ti epe?"
 ear PRS.Q:I-2SG.A-CT- 2SG.U-be [DEP-1.A-DUR-DEP-2SG.DAT- tell-DUR DIST]

His grandfather said to him: "Do you remember what I told you?"

T9:38 *Iheb Ø-Ø-o- aghi: "Amai ai, epa-no- hetok-a*
 grandchild:3 NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say ancestor VOC DIST:I-1.A- think-EXT
a-d-o-na- lagh-ti epe."
 [DEP-DUR-2SG.A-1.DAT- tell-DUR DIST]

The grandson said to him: "Grandfather, I remember what you told me."⁹

T9:39 *"Kambet mbat Ø-a-n-is-ap- koai, epa-no- hetok-a amai."*
 ear NEG NTRL-3SG.A-1.DAT-SEP-CT- forget DIST:I-1.A- think-EXT
 "I have not forgotten, I am still thinking about it, grandfather."

T9:40 *Mes-meakim epe anep meai Ø-d-a- Ø-et.*
 old-unmarried.man(I) DIST:I EMPH:I knowing NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
 The old man himself knew [what was in his ear].

T9:41 *Epe kambet ah-Ø- lisa<e>b epe, kambetana mbat*
 [DIST:III ear(III) DEP-3SG.A- become.deaf(3SG.U) DIST:III] ear.wax NEG
Ø-d-Ø-o- Ø-et, mahut ago Ø-d-Ø-o- Ø-et
 NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- COP-IPFV far PROW:III NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- COP-IPFV
onggat-itit.
 coconut-root(III)

The ears that were deaf, it was not because of ear wax, but because there were coconut roots in there.

T9:42 *Ago onggat-itit epe samb menda-b-Ø-o- uhu.*
 PROW coconut-root(III) DIST:III big PERF-ACT-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- emerge.PLA:III.U
 [It was] because a coconut root was growing there.¹⁰

T9:43 *Tanama iheb epe idih-ti Ø-o- w-a epe k-Ø-o-*
 again grandchild:3 DIST:I see:III.U-PERI 3SG.A-3SG.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
aghi:
 say

The grandson looked at it again, and said to him:

T9:44 *“Amai ai, namakad ago hi k-a- Ø-et, de-itit hi*
 ancestor VOC thing PROW:III like PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV tree-root(III) like
k-a- Ø-et.”
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

“Grandfather, it is something, it looks like a tree root.”

T9:45 *Iham Ø-Ø-o- aghi: “Mata-na- Ø-et, nama anim anggai*
 grandfather:3 NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say HORT-1.DAT- COP-IPFV now people feast
menda-b-Ø- y-um.”
 PERF-ACT-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-go.PLA

The grandfather said: “Let it be, now people are going for the feast.”

T9:46 *Anggai-sai epe milah ago Ø-d-a- k-w-alin Kiwelom.*
 feast-place(III) DIST:III village PROW:III NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- WITH-III.U-call (placename)
 The place for the feast was called Kiwelom.

T9:47 *Anim anggai menda-b-Ø- y-um.*
 people feast PERF-ACT-3SG.A- 2|3PLU-go.PLA
 People had gone to the feast.

T9:48 *Iheb epe nggat-hi mbat Ø-a- umuh age k-Ø-o-p-*
 grandchild:3 DIST:I dance.celebration NEG NTRL-3SG.A- go:3SG.U PROW:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT-
kiwaghib iham ago lek, iham elel k-a- ola.
 turn grandfather(I) PROW from grandfather:3 sick PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- be:3SG.U
 The grandchild did not go for the feast, he remained because of his grandfather
 – his grandfather is sick.

T9:49 *Ghap nu inah a-Ø- hok iheb a iham yahaaa*
 [night sleep two DEP-3SG.A- lie.down.PL grandchild:3 PTCL grandparent:3] until
in-ghap ah-Ø- ai epe, iham epe ka-bat-Ø- w-a
 [middle-night(III) DEP-3SG.A- become:III.U DIST] grandparent:3 DIST:I DIR-AFF-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
kahid.
 die:3SG.U

After the two of them, grandfather and grandson, had gone to sleep, when it became midnight, the poor grandfather died.

T9:50 *Iheb epe takah ka-ghinid s-Ø-o-p- w-a-em yahaaaa*
 grandchild:3 DIST:I fire WITH-push ONLY-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- 3SG.U-AUX-VEN until
iheb ago ma-d-Ø-um- w-alau-a.
 grandchild:3 PROW OBJ-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS- 3SG.U-open.eyes-EXT

The grandson had been tending to the fire for him, until he was struggling to keep his eyes open.

T9:51 *Nu ah-a-p- w-ihid epe, tis ka nu menda-b-Ø-o-*
 [sleep DEP-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-become.sleepy DIST] that's.it sleep PERF-ACT-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
luhai.
 become.fast.asleep

He got tired, and then he was fast asleep.

T9:52 *Nu hok-a sa-d-ϕ- ya-hwala yahaaa k-a- pig,*
 sleep lie.down.PL-EXT ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-be until DIR-3SG.A- become.bright
kwemek iheb nd-ϕ-um- timin nd-ϕ-um- og, iham
 morning grandchild:3 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- wake.up LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do grandparent:3
menda-b-ϕ- kahid.
 PERF-ACT-3SG.A- die:3SG.U

They [*sic*] slept until it got bright, and in the morning the grandson stood up and unexpectedly,¹¹ his grandfather was already dead.

T9:53 *Iheb ka-bat-ϕ- w-a ihin, iham ma-d-bat-ϕ-e-*
 grandchild:3 DIR-AFF-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX start.to.cry grandparent:3 OBJ-DUR-AFF-3SG.A-ACPN-
ih-ti.
 be.crying-DUR

The poor grandson started to cry, he was crying over his grandfather.¹²

T9:54 *Iheb epe patale nd-a- og-motok epe k-a- hwetok:*
 grandson:3 DIST:I grave LOC-3SG.A- do-FUT.HAB DIST DIR-3SG.A- think

As the grandson was digging the grave, he thought:

T9:55 “*O, amai e= te-ka-d-ϕ-na- w-a lagh-ti, patale yaba mbat*
 oh ancestor PROX GIV:III-DIR-DUR-3SG.A-1.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX tell-DUR grave big NEG
mano- og.”
 NAFUT:1.A- do

“Oh, grandfather said like this to me: I shall not make a big grave.”¹³

T9:56 *Bus nd-a- og ago nanggo patale k-omos nanggo, isi ago*
 eucalyptus LOC-3SG.A- do PROW for grave WITH-spread.out for other PROW
nanggo a-p-ϕ-is-ap- og apip epe.
 for [DEP-FUT-3SG.A-SEP-CT- do outside DIST]

He took eucalyptus bark for spreading out in the grave, and some to put on top.

T9:57 *Anim k-ϕ-um- w-alau ago nanggo iham ghanetok nanggo*
 people DIR-3SG.A-FRUS- 3SG.U-search PROW for grandparent:3 carry.corpse for
yahaaa patale.
 until grave

He tried to look for people for bringing the grandfather’s remains to the grave.

T9:58 *Anim mbat ϕ-d-a- ϕ-et milah epe, mba sai ϕ-d-a-*
 people NEG NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV village(III) DIST:III all place NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-
ola, milah sa-d-ϕ- yam-a.
 be:3SG.U village ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- build.houses-EXT

No people were in the village, it was empty, only the houses stood there.

T9:59 *Ka-bat-ϕ- w-a umuh yahaaa iham aha-bat-ϕ- ola-la epe.*
 DIR-AFF-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX go:3SG.U until [grandparent:3 DEP-AFF-3SG.A- be:3SG.U-EXT DIST]

He went to where his grandfather was.

T9:60 *Ghanetok-ti a-p- w-a yahaaa patale k(w)amin ϕ-e- w-a*
 carry.corpse-PERI 3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-AUX until grave enter(3SG.U) 3SG.A-ACPN- 3SG.U-AUX
ago patale kumagh.
 PROW grave inside

He brought him to the grave, and put him in the grave.

- T9:61 *Nd-a- og(e)b, namakad patale lek k- ϕ -o-p- kamem.*
 LOC-3SG.A- burry(3SG.U) thing grave from DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- suffice
 Having buried him, he prepared enough funeral goods for the grandfather.
- T9:62 *Patale-milah nd-a- og alil k-a-p- o-nggat.*
 grave-village LOC-3SG.A- do finished DIR-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-become.PLA
 He made a grave hut and finished it.
- T9:63 *Anim nggat-hi menda-b- ϕ - e-nggat, yaba-anggai ϕ -d-a-
 people dance.celebration PERF-ACT-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-become.PLA big-feast NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-
 ϕ -et.
 COP-IPFV
 People had started with the *nggat-zi*, it was a big feast.*
- T9:64 *Patale lek nd-a- dahetok epe, namakad nd-a- og, nggat-hi
 grave from LOC-3SG.A- return DIST thing LOC-3SG.A- do dance.celebration
 k-a- umuh.
 DIR-3SG.A- go:3SG.U
 He returned from the grave, took his things, and went to the *nggat-zi*.*
- T9:65 *Anim nggat-hi menda-b- ϕ - e-nggat, epe k-a- w-a
 people dance.celebration PERF-ACT-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-become.PLA DIST DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
 k(w)amin nggat-hi-bak.
 enter(3SG.U) dance.celebration-grove
 People were at the *nggat-zi*, and he entered the celebration area.*
- T9:66 *Tis ka nggat-hi k-a- w-in.*
 that's.it dance.celebration DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become
 Then he started to dance.
- T9:67 *Namakad ago nanggo epe nggat-hi nanggo epe mbat
 thing PROW for DIST dance.celebration for DIST NEG
 ϕ -da-bat- ϕ -omb- ϕ -e, nggat-hi epetago w-in
 NTRL-DUR-AFF-3SG.A-3SG.GEN- COP-IPFV dance.celebration like.that:I 3SG.U-become
 S-a- W-a.
 ONLY-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
 He had no things [i.e. decorations] for the dance, he just danced like he was.*
- T9:68 *Nggat-hi a-d- ϕ - ola-la-ti epe, onggat-nggol ago
 [dance.celebration DEP-DUR-3SG.A- be:3SG.U-EXT-DUR DIST] coconut-leaf PROW:III
 ka-d- ϕ -o- yaghoh, muk ka-d- ϕ -o- yaghoh,
 DIR-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- stick.PLA upper.arm DIR-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- stick.PLA
 nd- ϕ -um- og a:
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL
 As he was dancing, a coconut leaf landed¹⁴ on his whatchamacallit,¹⁵ it landed on
 his upper arm, to his surprise:*
- T9:69 *“Ai namakad e= te-k-a-na- ϕ -et.”*
 EXCLAM thing PROX= GIV:III-PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-1.DAT- COP-IPFV
 “Eh, there is something on me.”

T9:70 *De-nggol ehe waninggap gha k-a- Ø-et, isi de-nggol ehetao*
 tree-leaf(III) PROX:III good real PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV other tree-leaf like.this:III
mba k-a- Ø-et.
 NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

“This leaf is really beautiful, there are no other leaves like this.”

T9:71 *Mbalal ka-d-Ø-o- anggin udup-nggol epe nggat-hi*
 upper.armlet DIR-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- insert young.leaf-leaf(III) DIST:III dance.celebration
ola-la sa-d-Ø- ola.
 be:3SG.U-EXT ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- be:3SG.U

The palm leaf got stuck in his upper armlet, and he just continued to dance.

T9:72 *Epe ghap epe samb-nggat-hi Ø-d-Ø-emb- Ø-et yahaaa*
 DIST:III night(III) DIST:III big-dance.celebration NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-2|3PL.GEN- COP-IPFV until
k-Ø-is- a pig.
 DIR-3SG.A-SEP- AUX:3SG.U become.bright

That night they had a big *nggat-zi* until it got bright.

T9:73 *Tis kaet kambet anep sa-d-a-p- ola ago ma-d-Ø- ola-ti*
 that's.it ear EMPH:I ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-CT- be:3SG.U PROW OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- be:3SG.U-DUR
hi yahaaa oso pig mit m-a- dahetok,
 dance until beginning become.bright near OBJ-3SG.A- return

Then he remembered [the leaf?] while he was dancing, and when it was almost bright he returned,¹⁶

T9:74 *ago lek anim mak-e-na- idih de-nggol ehe.*
 PROW from people NAFUT-3PL>1-1.DAT- see:III.U tree-leaf(III) PROX:III
 [because he thought:] “People might see this leaf on me”.

T9:75 *K-a- w-a dahetok yaha milah, namakad s-a-p- akoheg,*
 DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX return until village thing(III) ONLY-3SG.A-CT- throw.PLA:III.U
ago k-Ø-ind- umuh patale kind.
 PROW DIR-3SG.A-ALL- go:3SG.U grave eye

He returned to the house, put his things down, in order to go have a look at the grave.¹⁷

T9:76 *Nd-Ø-um- og a, “Ai, ghap ehe nggol e= te-Ø-d-a-na-*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL EXCLAM night PROX:III leaf(III) PROX:III= GIV:III-NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-1.DAT-
Ø-et, nggat-hi a-no-d- na-hwala-la-ti epe.”
 COP-IPFV [dance.celebration DEP-1.A-DUR- 1.U-be-EXT-DUR DIST]

Surprised, he thought: “Eh, last night I had this leaf on me, while I was at the *nggat-zi*.”

T9:77 *K-Ø-o-p- w-a kahib: “Tepoti amai aaaa!”*
 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- 3SG.U-AUX praise EXCLAM ancestor EXCLAM

He exclaimed:¹⁸ “Oh my! Grandfather!”

T9:78 *“A-d-a-na- lagh-ma epe, nama e= te-k-a- hat-a.”*
 [DEP-DUR-3SG.A-1.DAT- tell-PST.HAB DIST] now PROX= GIV:III-PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- put:III.U-EXT

“What he used to tell me about, now here it is.”

- T9:79 *Onggat k-a- w-in iham epe.*
 coconut DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become grandparent:3 DIST:I
 His grandfather had become a coconut palm.
- T9:80 *Onggat epe lel gha ø-d-a- k-itala.*
 coconut(III) DIST:III abundant real NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- WITH-be.standing
 That coconut palm was standing full of fruit.
- T9:81 *Anim mbat ø-ø-e- aghi, saline sa-d-ø- ola.*
 people NEG NTRL-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT- say silent ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- be:3SG.U
 He didn't tell people, he just remained silent.
- T9:82 *Namek mbat ø-ø-o- aghi ago lek epe iham onggat*
 clanmate NEG NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say PROW from DIST [grandparent:3 coconut
ah-ø- w-in epe.
 DEP-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become DIST]
 He didn't tell his brother that the grandfather had become a coconut palm.
- T9:83 *Nu lek a-me-ø- timin epe, onggat kind ka-p-ø-ind- umuh.*
 [sleep from DEP-FUT-3SG.A- wake.up DIST] coconut eye DIR-FUT-3SG.A-ALL- go:3SG.U
 Whenever he woke up, he would go to look at the coconut palm.
- T9:84 *Epe te-ø-ø-o- aghi namek epe ago: "Dino-dino to nanggo*
 DIST:I GIV:I-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say clanmate(I) DIST:I QUOT dark-REDUPL what:III for
m-o-s-o-b- gha-um ogh?"
 OBJ-2SG.A-ROG-2SG.A-ACT- 2SG.U-go.PLA 2SG
 [His brother] said: "Where do you go at dawn?"
- T9:85 *Namek k-ø-o- aghi: "Nok ago ma-no- n-um-et aghak."*
 clanmate DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say 1 PROW OBJ-1.A- 1.U-go.PLA-IPFV go.inland
 He said to his brother: "I usually go to the garden."
- T9:86 *Tis ka namek hwetok-ti epe ø-omb- w-a: "Ade, mak-i-o-p-*
 that's.it clanmate think-PERI DIST:I NTRL-3SG.GEN- 3SG.U-AUX EXCLAM FUT:1.A-RE-3SG.DAT-CT-
esoh."
 follow
 Then the brother thought: "Wait a minute, I'll try to follow him."
- T9:87 *"Ade, to ma-bah-ø-ind- um-et dino-dino epe?"*
 EXCLAM what:III OBJ-SLF.ROG-3SG.A-ALL- go.PLA:3SG.U-IPFV dark-REDUPL DIST:I
 "What on earth does he go to do at dawn?"
- T9:88 *Tis ka epe namek epe k-ø-o-p- a esoh es nd-a-*
 that's.it DIST:I clanmate(I) DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- AUX:3SG.U follow behind LOC-3SG.A-
man-em alil end.
 come-VEN slow INSTR
 Then the brother followed him, coming carefully behind him.
- T9:89 *Namek maghai nd-a- ghet isi epe es nd-a- man-em alil*
 clanmate front LOC-3SG.A- be.moving other DIST:I behind LOC-3SG.A- come-VEN slow
end.
 INSTR
 The brother went first, and the other approached carefully from behind.

- T9:90 *Nd- \emptyset -um-ap- wabied a, namek k-a- idih.*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS-CT- turn.head:3SG.U PTCL clanmate DIR-3SG.A- see:3SG.U
 When he turned around, he saw his brother.
- T9:91 *Namek es nd-a- \emptyset - man-em epe, k- \emptyset -um-is- a sal(e)tok.*
 [clanmate behind LOC-DEP-3SG.A- come-VEN DIST] DIR-3SG.A-FRUS-SEP- AUX:3SG.U hide(3SG.U)
 The brother who came behind tried to hide.
- T9:92 *Epe namek maghai a-d- \emptyset - ghet-ti epe menda-b- \emptyset - idih*
 [DIST:I clanmate front DEP-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving-DUR DIST:I] PERF-ACT-3SG.A- see:3SG.U
heindun s-a- umuh yahaaa aghak-bak.
 forever ONLY-3SG.A- go:3SG.U until go.inland-grove
 The brother who went first had already seen him, [but] he just continued to the gardening site.
- T9:93 *Namek epe nda-d- \emptyset -um-o- esoh-la yahaaa aghak-sai, namek*
 clanmate(I) DIST:I LOC-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS-3SG.DAT- follow-EXT until go.inland-place clanmate
es-anem epe k- \emptyset -is- w-a dahetok.
 behind-man(I) DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-SEP- 3SG.U-AUX return
 The brother followed him to the garden, and the younger brother returned.
- T9:94 *Namek epe nd-a- umuh milah.*
 clanmate(I) DIST:I LOC-3SG.A- go:3SG.U village
 The brother went home.
- T9:95 *Tis ka usus ah- \emptyset - ai epe, namek epe k-a- w-a*
 that's.it [afternoon(III) DEP-3SG.A- become:III.U DIST] clanmate(I) DIST:I DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
dahetok milah.
 return village
 Then, when it became afternoon, the elder brother returned home.
- T9:96 *Namek epe e= te-ka-d- \emptyset -um- a hwetok-a ago: "Mbat*
 clanmate(I) DIST:I PROX= GIV:III-DIR-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS- AUX:3SG.U think-EXT QUOT NEG
 \emptyset -a- n-idih."
 NTRL-3SG.A- 1.U-see
 The [younger] brother wrongly thought like this: "He didn't see me."
- T9:97 *Epe ghap epe nu hok sa-d- \emptyset - y-a.*
 DIST:III night(III) DIST:III sleep lie.down.PL ONLY-DUR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX
 That night they just slept.
- T9:98 *Es-anem epe mbatah-nu ka-d- \emptyset -is-ap- ka-tel ago*
 behind-man(I) DIST:I deception-sleep DIR-DUR-3SG.A-SEP-CT- INESS-BE.LYING PROW
ma-d- \emptyset -o-p- takit-a namek a-me- \emptyset - umuh epe, es
 OBJ-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- wait-EXT [clanmate DEP-FUT-3SG.A- go:3SG.U DIST] behind
nda-me- \emptyset - w-esoh.
 LOC-FUT-3SG.A- 3SG.U-follow
 The younger only pretended to be asleep, he was waiting for his brother to go, and then he would follow him.

T9:99 *Namek epe k- \emptyset -is- w-a kiwaghib, ago lek namek es-anem*
 clanmate(I) I DIR-3SG.A-SEP- 3SG.U-AUX turn:3SG.U PROW from clanmate behind-man(I)
epe mak- \emptyset -o-p- esoh, me- \emptyset - idih onggat.
 DIST:I NAFUT-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- follow NAFUT-3SG.A- see:III.U coconut(III)

The elder brother made a detour, because his brother might follow him, and see the coconut palm.

T9:100 *Maghai-anem epe menda-b- \emptyset - umuh yahaaa patale,*
 front-man(I) DIST:I PERF-ACT-3SG.A- go:3SG.U until grave

The elder brother went to the grave,

T9:101 *nd- \emptyset -um- og a, mes isi menda-b- \emptyset - e-hai, ago isi*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL old.coconut(III) other PERF-ACT-3SG.A- PLA-fall:III.U PROW other
kanap ti menda-b- \emptyset - ai.
 cotyledon with PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become:III.U

and surprisingly, some ripe coconuts had fallen, and some of them had sprouted.¹⁹

T9:102 *Onggat epe lel gha \emptyset -d-a- k-itala.*
 coconut(III) DIST:III abundant real NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- WITH-be.standing

The coconut palm stood there full of fruit.

T9:103 *Ipala nd-a- ahok, epe k-a- hwetok: "Mat-i-ap- kalab*
 grass(III) LOC-3SG.A- pull.out:III.U DIST DIR-3SG.A- think HORT-RE-CT- dehusk:III.U
onggat ehe, kumagh nda-sa-b- \emptyset - w-a-et."
 coconut(III) PROX:III inside LOC-ROG-ACT-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX-IPFV

He pulled out grass, and thought: "Let me try and dehusk this coconut, [to see] what it is like inside."

T9:104 *Tis ka k-a- w-a bik kanap ti hyakod.*
 that's.it DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX grasp:III.U cotyledon with one

Then he took one that had sprouted.

T9:105 *Tis ka mes epe nd-a- asak: "Ai so, waninggap gha*
 that's.it old.coconut(III) DIST:III LOC-3SG.A- break.open:III.U EXCLAM good real
k-a- \emptyset -et namakad ehe."
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV thing(III) PROX:III

Then he opened a ripe one: "Oh my, this thing is very good!"

T9:106 *Mes epe ago k-a-p- abotok sote, anep kumagh-mean*
 old.coconut(III) DIST:III PROW:III DIR-3SG.A-CT- put.PLA:III.U palm.sp(III) EMPH:I inside-speech(III)
epe:
 DIST:III

He put the coconut on a palm leaf, and said to himself:

T9:107 *"Mat-i-ap- hwid nahan end wahani."*
 HORT-RE-CT- rub:III.U 1.EMPH POSS body(III)

"Let me try and rub it on my body."

T9:108 *Nda-d-a-p- idih aaaa: "Ah! Wahani k-a-na- w-a gheile-la."*
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A-CT- see:III.U until oh body DIR-3SG.A-1.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX shine-EXT

He looked and said: "Oh! My body is shining."

- T9:109 *Mes-imu lek epe musamus k-a- y-a hau-h,*
 old.coconut-smell(III) from DIST:III ant.sp DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX emerge-2|3PL.U
 Because of the coconut smell, ants came out,²⁰
- T9:110 *mes ago nda-d-a-p- abotoka epe, sote nda-d-a-p-*
 [old.coconut(III) PROW LOC-DUR-3SG.A-CT- put.PLA:III.U DIST] [palm.sp LOC-DUR-3SG.A-CT-
abotoka epe.
 put.PLA:III.U DIST]
 where the coconut was lying on the whatchamacallit, where it was lying on the
 palm leaf.
- T9:111 *Musamus otih ø-d-a- ø-et, menda-b-na- ghei.*
 ant.sp many NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV PERF-ACT-3PL.A- eat:III.U
 There were lots of ants, and they started eating [the coconut].
- T9:112 *Agi epe nd-a- awat-a-m manggluli ago imu lek epe,*
 PROW:I/II.PL DIST LOC-3SG.A- run.PL-EXT-VEN lizard.sp PROW smell(III) from DIST:III
mes-imu lek epe yahaaa mes a-d-ø- ola epe.
 old.coconut-smell from DIST until [old.coconut DEP-DUR-3SG.A- be:III.U DIST]
Manggluli lizards came running because of the smell, the coconut smell, all the way
 to where the coconut was.
- T9:113 *Agi epe nd-ø-i- awat-a-m kalkolo, imu lek epe ta-m-ø-*
 PROW:I/II.PL DIST LOC-3SG.A-RE- run.PL-EXT-VEN lizard.sp smell(III) from DIST:III GIV-OBJ-3SG.A-
awat-a-m.
 run.PL-EXT-VEN
 Then *kalkolo* lizards came running, because of that smell they came running.
- T9:114 *Anem epe hyadih sa-d-a-p- w-a, musamus a kalkolo a*
 man(I) DIST:I see:2|3PL.U ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-AUX ant.sp PTCL lizard.sp PTCL
manggluli a menda-b-na- ghei ago epe mes epe.
 lizard.sp PTCL PERF-ACT-3PL.A- eat:III.U PROW:III DIST:III old.coconut(III) DIST:III
 The man just looked at them, the ants and the lizards were eating from the co-
 conut.
- T9:115 *Tis ka nama epe k-a- hwetok: "Mat-i-ap- ghei ehe namakad ehe."*
 that's.it now DIST DIR-3SG.A- think HORT-RE-CT- eat:III.U PROX:III thing(III) PROX:III
 Then he thought: "I'll eat some of this thing."
- T9:116 *"Musamus a kalkolo a manggluli a mbat ø-a- ghahwahwi-h*
 ant.sp PTCL lizard.sp PTCL lizard.sp PTCL NEG NTRL-3SG.A- die.PL-2|3PL.U
ehe namakad a-d-na- ghei-ti ehe."
 [PROX:III thing(III) DEP-DUR-3PL.A- eat:III.U-DUR PROX:III]
 "The ants and the lizards didn't die after eating this thing."
- T9:117 *Hyakod kalab-ti a- w-a ago nanggo epe ghei nanggo epe.*
 one dehusk:III.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX PROW for DIST:III eat:III.U for DIST:III
 He dehusked one in order to eat it.

T9:118 *Nd-ah-a-p- balen mes kalab epe, nd-ø-um- og a,*
 [LOC-DEP-3SG.A-CT- finish:III.U old.coconut(III) dehusk:III.U DIST] LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL
manggluli a kalkolo a musamus a mbat ø-a- ghahwahwi-h.
 lizard.sp PTCL lizard.sp PTCL ant.sp PTCL NEG NTRL-3SG.A- die.PL-2|3PL.U

Then when he had finished dehusking the coconut, he looked, and the lizards and ants were not dead.

T9:119 *Epe k-a- hwetok: "Ihe namakid mbat ø-a- ghahwahwi-h."*
 DIST DIR-3SG.- think PROX:I/II.PL animals NEG NTRL-3SG.A- die.PL-2|3PL.U

Then he thought: "These animals didn't die."

T9:120 *Asak-ti a- w-a epe, kanap kw-ahus-ti a-*
 break.open:III.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX DIST cotyledon(III) INESS-pull.out:III.U-PERI 3SG.A-
w-a, papas nd-a-p- kimaleb, ghei-ti a- w-a, tanama
 3SG.U-AUX small LOC-3SG.A-CT- break.off:III.U eat:III.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX again
og-ti a- w-a:
 do-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX

He opened one, took out the sprout, took a little piece off, ate it, and then he did it again:

T9:121 *"O! Mba mak-a-na- dahuk."*
 oh NEG NAFUT-3SG.A-1.DAT- die
 "Oh! I won't drop dead."²¹

T9:122 *Mayub ti ø-d-a- ø-et epe anem epe.*
 plaited.hairdo with NTRL-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV DIST:I man(I) DIST:I
 The man had his hair extensions on.

T9:123 *Tanama kalab-ti a- w-a hyakod, asak-ti a- w-a,*
 again dehusk:III.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX one break.open:III.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX
kanap kw-ahus-ti a- w-a, nd-ø-um- og a, halai
 cotyledon(III) INESS-pull.out:III.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL clear
kumagh nda-d-ø- kw-asad-a.
 inside LOC-DUR-3SG.A- INESS-form.pool-EXT

Again he dehusked one, hit it open, removed the sprout, and to his surprise there was a clear liquid inside it.

T9:124 *Halai epe wahani k-a- ewai yaaaa nda-d-a-p- idih*
 clear DIST:III body(III) DIR-3SG.A- rub:III.U until LOC-DUR-3SG.A-CT- see:III.U
k-ø-o- gheile.
 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- shine

He rubbed his body with it until he saw that it was shining on him.

T9:125 *Nda-d-a-p- idih aaaaa: "O, mba k-a- Ø, waninggap gha*
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A-CT- see:III.U until oh NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP good real
k-a- Ø-et."
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

When he saw it, he said: "Oh no, it is really beautiful!"

T9:126 *Tis kaet nama mayub k-a- ewai, mayub epe ka-d-φ-*
 that's.it now plaited.hairdo(III) DIR-3SG.A- rub:III.U plaited.hairdo DIST:III DIR-DUR-3SG.A-
w-a gheile-la.
 3SG.U-AUX shine-EXT

Then he rubbed it on his hair extensions, and the hair extensions shone.

T9:127 *“O, mba k-a- φ, nama ehe mayub waninggap gha*
 oh NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP now PROX:III plaited.hairdo(III) good real
k-a-na- φ-et.”
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-1.DAT- COP-IPFV

“Oh, no, now my hair extensions are really beautiful!”

T9:128 *Usus k-a-p- a haua milah.*
 afternoon DIR-3SG.A-CT- AUX:3SG.U emerge:3SG.U village

In the afternoon he went back home.

T9:129 *Isi ipe nda-n-um- og a, mayub ka-d-φ-o- w-a*
 other DIST:I/II.PL LOC-3PL.A-FRUS- do PTCL plaited.hairdo DIR-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- 3SG.U-AUX
gheile-la ago lek mes lek.
 shine-EXT PROW:III from old.coconut(III) from

To the surprise of the others, his hair extensions were shining from the coconut.

T9:130 *Mayub waninggap gha φ-d-φ-o- ola-ti, mes*
 plaited.hairdo(III) good real NTRL-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- be:III.U-DUR old.coconut(III)
lek epe, ago a wahani a.
 from DIST:III PROW:III PTCL body(III) PTCL

His hair extensions were really beautiful, because of the coconut, and his body [too].

T9:131 *Age menda-d-φ- ola-ti ihamok-namek menda-d-φ- ola, epe*
 PROW:I PERF-DUR-3SG.A- be:3SG.U-DUR sibling.in.law:3-clanmate PERF-DUR-3SG.A- be:3SG.U DIST:I
end milah epe nda-d-φ- φ-et.
 POSS village DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

His whatchamacallit was there — his relative was there,²² he was in his house.

T9:132 *Epe k-φ-o- kabed: “Namek ai, mayub waninggap gha*
 DIST:I DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- ask clanmate VOC plaited.hairdo good real
k-φ-a- φ-et, wahani a waninggap gha k-φ-a-
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-2SG.DAT- COP-IPFV body PTCL good real PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-2SG.DAT-
φ-et.”
 COP-IPFV

He asked him: “Mate, your hair extensions are really beautiful, and your body is really beautiful.”

T9:133 *“To φ-d-o-s-o-b- ewai-ti mayub waninggap gha*
 what:III NTRL-DUR-2SG.A-ROG-2SG.A-ACT- rub:III.U-DUR plaited.hairdo good real
k-φ-a- φ-et?”
 PRS.NTRL-3SG.A-2SG.DAT- COP-IPFV

“With what did you rub them? Your hair extensions are so beautiful.”

- T9:134 *Epe te- \emptyset - \emptyset -o-* *aghi: "Namakad mba \emptyset -no-d- ewai-ti*
DIST:I GIV:I-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say thing NEG NTRL-1.A-DUR- rub:III.U-DUR
mayub."
plaited.hairdo(III)
 He said to him: "I didn't rub my hair extensions with anything."
- T9:135 *Epe te- \emptyset - \emptyset -o-* *aghi: "Mba k-a- \emptyset namek, namakad*
DIST:I GIV:I-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say NEG PRS.NTRL-3SG.A- COP clanmate thing
mend-o-d- ewai-ti mayub."
PERF-2SG.A-DUR- rub:III.U-DUR plaited.hairdo(III)
 He said to him: "No, mate, you have rubbed them with something."
- T9:136 *Ghap menda-b- \emptyset - ai ihamok epe k-a- w-a dahetok*
night(III) PERF-ACT-3SG.A- become:III.U sibling.in.law:3 DIST:I DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX return
anep end aha.
EMPH:I POSS house
 It became night and the relative returned to his own house.
- T9:137 *Epe k-a- hwetok: "Ade, mak-i-o-p- esoh a-me- \emptyset - umuh*
DIST DIR-3SG.A- think EXCLAM FUT:1.A-RE-3SG.DAT-CT- follow [DEP-FUT-3SG.A- go:3SG.U
aghak epe."
go.inland DIST:I]
 Then [the relative] thought: "Hm, I will follow him when he goes to the garden."
- T9:138 *Ihamok epe dino-dino a- ka-timin nu lek, namek k-a-*
sibling.in.law:3 DIST:I dark-REDUPL 3SG.A- INESS-wake.up sleep from clanmate DIR-3SG.A-
w-alok kind.
3SG.U-stab eye
 The relative woke up in the morning, and looked for his mate.²³
- T9:139 *Epe nu lek ah- \emptyset - ka-timin epe, umuh-ti a- w-a yahaana*
[DIST:I sleep from DEP-3SG.A- INESS-wake.up DIST] go:3SG.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX until
onggat a-d- \emptyset - itala epe.
[coconut DEP-DUR-3SG.A- be.standing DIST]
 When [the man] woke up, he went away to where the coconut palm was.
- T9:140 *Namek epe es nd- \emptyset -is- lemed-et alil end.*
clanmate(I) DIST:I behind LOC-3SG.A-SEP- stand.PLA-IPFV slow INSTR
 The relative went carefully behind him at a distance.
- T9:141 *Waninggap sal(e)tok-a ka-d- \emptyset -is- ola, esoh-a sa-d- \emptyset -o-p-*
good hide(3SG.U)-EXT DIR-DUR-3SG.A-SEP- be:3SG.U follow-EXT ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT-
ola yahaana k- \emptyset -o-p- lemed onggat epe sai epe.
be:3SG.U until DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- stand.PLA coconut(III) DIST:III place(III) DIST:III
 He hid well from him, and just followed him until he reached the place with the coconut palm.
- T9:142 *Epe nda-d-a-p- idih-ti: "O, e= ta-m- \emptyset -ind- um-et ehe*
DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A-CT- see:III.U-DUR oh PROX:III GIV-OBJ-3SG.A-ALL- go.PLA:3SG.U-IPFV PROX:III
namakad ehe."
thing(III) PROX:III
 Having seen it, [he said]: "Oh, he always comes here for this thing."

T9:143 *Epe nda-d-ø-o-p- takit-a yahaaa papes-mandin k-a-p-*
 DIST LOC-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- wait-EXT until small:III-long.time(III) DIR-3SG.A-CT-
ai, epe idih sa-d-a-p- w-a namakad a-d-ø-
 become:III.U DIST:I see:3SG.U ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-CT- 3SG.U-AUX [thing DEP-DUR-3SG.A-
og-ti epe.
 do-DUR DIST]

He waited there for a while, and just looked at [the man], who was doing something.

T9:144 *Tis ka mes k-a- bik hyakod nd-a- k-umuh,*
 that's.it old.coconut(III) DIR-3SG.A- grasp:III.U one LOC-3SG.A- WITH-go:3SG.U
kalab-ti a- w-a.
 dehusk:III.U-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX

Then [the man] picked up a coconut, went away with it, and dehusked it.

T9:145 *Mes epe nd-a- asak, kanap kw-ahus-ti a-*
 old.coconut(III) DIST:III LOC-3SG.A- break.open:III.U cotyledon(III) INESS-pull:III.U-PERI 3SG.A-
w-a, ghei-ti a yahaaaa kanap epe k-a-p- balen.
 3SG.U-AUX eat:III.U-PERI PTCL until cotyledon DIST:III DIR-3SG.A-CT- finish:III.U

He split the coconut open, removed the sprout, and ate it²⁴ until it was all gone.

T9:146 *Ihanos-namek epe itala sa-d-ø-o-p- ola-la.*
 cross.cousin:3-clanmate(I) DIST:I be.standing ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-CT- be:3SG.U-EXT
 The relative just kept snooping on him.²⁵

T9:147 *Namakad ah-ø- og-ti epe, menda-da-b-a-p- idih.*
 [thing(III) DEP-3SG.A- do-DUR DIST:III] PERF-DUR-ACT-3SG.A-CT- see:III.U
 The relative had already seen what he was doing.

T9:148 *K-a- w-a dahetok ihanos-namek epe anep end milah.*
 DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX return cross.cousin:3-clanmate(I) DIST:I EMPH:I POSS village
 Then the relative returned home.

T9:149 *Kwemek gha m-a- ka-timin ihanos-namek epe.*
 morning real OBJ-3SG.A- INESS-wake.up cross.cousin:3-clanmate(I) DIST:I
 Early the next morning the relative woke up.

T9:150 *Ehe anep onggat-anem epe k-a- w-a hwil agi mit namik*
 PROX:I EMPH:I coconut-man(I) DIST DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX wander PROW:I/II.PL near clanmates
mit.
 near

The man with the coconut palm had gone to visit his clanmates.

T9:151 *Namek ehe nama k-a- w-a umuh onggat a-d-ø- ø-et*
 clanmate(I) PROX:I now DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX go:3SG.U [coconut DEP-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
epe, nd-ø-um- og a,
 DIST] LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL

Then the relative went to where the coconut palm was, and [said] in surprise:

T9:152 *"Tepoti a! Onggat epe lel gha ø-a- k-itala."*
 EXCLAM coconut(III) DIST:III abundant real NTRL-3SG.A- WITH-be.standing
 "Oh my! That coconut palm is standing full of fruit!"

T9:153 *Nda-d-ϕ- ghet-ti epe, hyakod mes s-a- bik, ya*
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A- be.moving-DUR DIST one old.coconut(III) ONLY-3SG.A- grasp:III.U but
onggat makan nda-d-ϕ- kw-itala, mbat ϕ-a- umuh isi
 coconut ground LOC-DUR-3SG.A- INESS-be.standing NEG NTRL-3SG.A- go:3SG.U other
milah nanggo.
 village towards

Then he went, he just picked up a coconut, and stood by the coconut palm, and didn't go anywhere else.

T9:154 *Mengga ihano ka-d-ϕ-ind- a hituk-a mbaku*
 young.leaf(IV) secretly DIR-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- AUX:3SG.A go.straight:IV.U-EXT nape(III)
k-ϕ-o- kipalud, mengga ipe.
 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- tie:III.U young.leaf(IV) DIST:IV

Secretly, a young coconut leaf²⁶ stretched towards him, and it wrapped itself around his neck, that leaf.

T9:155 *Mengga ipe mbaku gha s-ϕ-o- kipl(i)tuk, ago*
 young.leaf(IV) DIST:IV nape(IV?) real ONLY-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- tie(IV.U) PROW
menda-d-ϕ-o- ola-ti mayub.
 PERF-DUR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- be:III.U-DUR plaited.hairdo(III)

The leaf tied itself right around his neck,^{27,28} and around the hair extensions.

T9:156 *Mengga isi ago k-ϕ-o- k(y)amin, mayub k-ϕ-o-*
 young.leaf(IV) other PROW:III DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- enter(IV.U) plaited.hairdo(III) DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT-
k(y)amin onggat-mengga ipe.
 enter(IV.U) coconut-young.leaf DIST:IV

A part of the leaf entered his whatchamacallit, the coconut leaf entered into his hair extensions.

T9:157 *Onggat-mengga a-n- timin epe, anem epe mengga lahwalah*
 [coconut-young.leaf(IV) DEP-3PL.A- wake.up DIST] man(I) DIST:I young.leaf on.top
nda-d-ϕ- ϕ-et.
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

When the leaf unfolded,²⁹ the man [who discovered the coconut palm] was on top of it.

T9:158 *Ihanos-namek nd-ϕ-um- og a, anem k-a- idih mengga*
 cross.cousin:3-clanmate LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL man DIR-3SG.A- see:3SG.U young.leaf
lahwalah nda-d-ϕ- ϕ-et.
 on.top LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

The relative was surprised as he saw that the man was on the leaf.

T9:159 *Onggat a-d-ϕ- itala epe, ago-milah nda-d-ϕ- ϕ-et*
 [coconut DEP-DUR-3SG.A- be.standing DIST] PROW:III-village LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV
Sanggahe-milah.
 (placename)-village

[The place] where that coconut palm was standing was in a village, the Sanggase village.

- T9:160 *Ihanos-namek epe te- ϕ - ϕ -o- aghi: "Ah, namek, ogh*
 cross.cousin:3-clanmate(I) DIST:I GIV:III-NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say EXCLAM, clanmate 2SG
ndom gha-in anep sa-bat- ϕ - gha-in."
 bad 2SG.U-become EMPH:I ONLY-AFF-3SG.A- 2SG.U-become
 The relative said to [the man]: "Ah, mate, you have done something very bad."
- T9:161 *Onggat epe epe nd-a- umuh epe a yahaaa ago Imog epe*
 coconut(III) DIST:III DIST LOC-3SG.A- go:3SG.U DIST PTCL until PROW:III (placename) DIST
nda-d-a-ka- ϕ -et adida.
 LOC-DUR-3SG.A-PRI- COP-IPFV temporarily
 The coconut palm went away from there to Imog,³⁰ where it stayed temporarily.
- T9:162 *Ihanos-namek epe epe nd-a- umuh aaaa namik k- ϕ -e-*
 cross.cousin:3-clanmate(I) DIST:I DIST LOC-3SG.A- go:3SG.U until clanmates DIR-3SG.A-2|3PL.DAT-
aghi ago:
 say QUOT
 The relative went from there and said to his clanmates:
- T9:163 *"Yogh namek epe namakad abn ma-d- ϕ - w-a-ti, nama epe gha*
 2PL clanmate(I) DIST:I thing theft OBJ-DUR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX-DUR now DIST:I real
ehe nd-a-p- kw-itala, de lahwalah nd-a-p- kw-itala."
 PROX LOC-3SG.A-CT- INESS-be.standing tree on.top LOC-3SG.A-CT- INESS-be.standing
 "Your relative has stolen something, and now he is standing here, he is standing on top of the tree."
- T9:164 *Namik umah-ti ϕ -um- y-a epe ka-n-o- aghi:*
 clanmates go:2|3PL.U-PERI 3SG.A-FRUS- 2|3PL.U-AUX DIST:I DIR-3PL.A-3SG.DAT- say
"Nd-o-s-o-b- gh-a og nama ndom-mbambali ah-o-
 LOC-2SG.A-ROG-2SG.A-ACT- 2SG.U-AUX do [now bad-custom DEP-2SG.A-
gha-in ehe."
 2SG.U-become PROX]
 The clanmates went and said to him: "How did you do it, this bad deed that you committed?"
- T9:165 *Namik ipe kandel ϕ -n-um-o- ka-lengged.*
 clanmates DIST:I/II.PL stick.with.hook NTRL-3PL.A-FRUS-3SG.DAT- WITH-catch.by.hooking
 The clanmates tried to catch him with a hooked stick.
- T9:166 *Epe nd- ϕ -e- umuh aaaaa Oyub.*
 DIST LOC-3SG.A-ACPN- go:3SG.U until (placename)
 From there the coconut palm brought him to Oyub.³¹
- T9:167 *Namik ipe dahetok-ti an- y-a yahaaa ago milah.*
 clanmates DIST:I/II.PL return-PERI 3PL.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX until PROW village
 The clanmates returned home.
- T9:168 *A-n- dahetok milah nanggo epe, nama kai k-a- y-a-em ago*
 [DEP-3PL.A- return village towards DIST] crying path DIR-3SG.A- 2|3PL.U-AUX-VEN PROW
lek namek lek.
 from clanmate from
 As they were returning home, they cried on the way because of their clanmate.

T9:169 *Namik ipe y-alau-ti n-um- y-a, mbat \emptyset -an- idih,*
 clanmates DIST:I/II.PL 2|3PL.U-search-PER1 3PL.A-FRUS- 2|3PL.U-AUX NEG NTRL-3PL.A- see:3SG.U
heindun ka-n-o-p- esoh, yahaaa Umanggi.
 forever DIR-3PL.U-3SG.DAT-CT- follow until (placename)

The clanmates tried to search for him, they didn't find him, and they followed him to Umanggi.³²

T9:170 *Namik ipe epe nda-n-is- dahetok.*
 clanmates DIST:I/II.PL DIST LOC-3PL.A-SEP- return

The relatives returned [home] from there.

T9:171 *Onggat epe heindun s-a- ghet-ti yahaaaa ago*
 coconut(III) DIST:III forever ONLY-3SG.A- be.moving-DUR until PROW
salegh ah- \emptyset - hai.
 [coconut.inflorescence(III?) DEP-3SG.A- fall:III.U]

The coconut palm went on until its inflorescence fell off.³³

T9:172 *Salegh ah- \emptyset - hai epe, onggat epe sai epe k-a-*
 [coconut.inflorescence(III?) DEP-3SG.A- fall:III.U DIST] coconut(III) DIST:III place DIST DIR-3SG.A-
esak, ago-milah Dib-milah nd-a- \emptyset -et.
 cut PROW-village (placename)-village LOC-3SG.A- COP-IPFV

When the inflorescence fell, the coconut palm broke up the land [so that a gully formed], where Dib is.³⁴

T9:173 *Anem epe nda-d- \emptyset -um- ola anem gha, agi k-a- w-in*
 man(I) DIST:I LOC-DUR-3SG.A-FRUS- be:3SG.U man real PROW:IV DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-become
mengga papis, lagh nd-ah- \emptyset -o- ithuab-et ipe.
 young.leaf(IV) small:IV [side LOC-DEP-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- stick.to.surface:IV.U DIST:IV]

The man was a real human, [but] he turned into a small, young coconut leaf, that stuck to [the larger coconut leaf].

T9:174 *Onggat epe nd-a- umuh yahaaa ago Weyu, mba age*
 coconut DIST LOC-3SG.A- go:3SG.U until PROW (placename) all PROW:I
sa-d- \emptyset -ind- ghet-ti napet-dema.
 ONLY-DUR-3SG.A-ALL- be.moving-DUR banana-dema

The coconut palm went from there to Weyu, where he came across a banana dema.³⁵

T9:175 *Napet-dema epe milah ago nda-d- \emptyset - \emptyset -et Napet-Yawal.*
 banana-dema(I) DIST:I village PROW LOC-DUR-3SG.A- COP-IPFV (placename)

The banana dema lived in a place — Napet-Yawal.

T9:176 *Nd- \emptyset -um- og a: "Ai, namek, ogh end k-o-s-o-b- man-em?"*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL EXCLAM clanmate 2SG where DIR-2SG.A-ROG-2SG.A-ACT- COM-VEN

He was surprised [seeing the coconut palm]: "Hey mate, where are you coming from?"

T9:177 *Onggat \emptyset - \emptyset -o- aghi: "Namek ai, ndom \emptyset -naka-ka-p- man-em."*
 coconut NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say clanmate VOC bad? NTRL-1.A-PRI-CT- come-VEN

The coconut palm said: "Mate, I just came here by chance."³⁶

- T9:178 *Tis ka napet k-a- w-a k(w)amin milah kumagh, onggat*
 that's.it banana DIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX enter(3SG.U) house inside coconut
k-ø-o- aghi: "Namek ai, ah- ka(gh)amin."
 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say clanmate VOC IMP- enter(2SG.U)
 Then the banana entered his house, and said to the coconut: "Mate, come in."
- T9:179 *Onggat epe k(w)amin-ti a- w-a, nd-ø-um- og a, napet*
 coconut(III) DIST:III enter(3SG.U)-PERI 3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL banana
k-a- idih.
 DIR-3SG.A- see:3SG.U
 The coconut palm entered, and unexpectedly, he saw the banana.
- T9:180 *Nd-ø-um- og a: "Ai namek, epe ka-bam-ø- w-a gha-in."*
 LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL EXCLAM clanmate DIST DIR-MIR-3SG.A- 3SG.U-AUX 2SG.U-become
 Surprised, [he said]: "Mate, you have changed."
- T9:181 *Tis ka napet k-ø-o- aghi: "Namek ai, ha-i-ap- hau-gh."*
 that's.it banana DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say clanmate VOC IMP-RE-CT- emerge-2SG.U
 Then he said to the banana: "Mate, please go out."
- T9:182 *Napet nd-ø-um- og a, onggat milah nda-d-ø- itala, onggat*
 banana LOC-3SG.A-FRUS- do PTCL coconut village LOC-DUR-3SG.A- be.standing coconut
k-ø-o- aghi: "Ogh mat- ø-et."
 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say 2SG HORT- COP-IPFV
 Unexpectedly, the coconut was standing by the house, and [the banana] said to the coconut: "You just stay there."
- T9:183 *Nu inah epe k-a- hok.*
 sleep two DIST DIR-3SG.A- lie.down.PL
 The two of them went to sleep.
- T9:184 *Epe k-ø-o- aghi: "Namek ai, nok ka-p-i-ap- n-a uma(n)ah,*
 DIST DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say clanmate VOC 1 DIR-FUT:1.A-RE-CT- 1.U-AUX go(1.U)
nahan ø-no- hwil-a-m."
 1.EMPH NTRL-1.A- wander-EXT-VEN
 He said to him: "Mate, I will leave again, I just wandered here."
- T9:185 *Napet ø-ø-o- aghi: "Namek ai, uma(gh)ah sa-mo- gh-a."*
 banana NTRL-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- say clanmate VOC go(2SG.U) ONLY-FUT:2SG.A- 2SG.U-AUX
 The banana said to him: "Mate, you just go away."
- T9:186 *Onggat nd-a- umuh a, yahaaa Yobi sikoko epe*
 coconut LOC-3SG.A- go:3SG.U PTCL until (placename) dry.coconut(III) DIST
k-ø-o- e-hai.
 DIR-3SG.A-3SG.DAT- PLA-fall:III.U
 Then the coconut palm went to Yobi,³⁷ and some dry old coconuts fell off.
- T9:187 *Tanama nd-a- umuh aaaaa ago Wodub.*
 again LOC-3SG.A- go:3SG.U- until PROW (placename)
 Then he went to Wodub.
- T9:188 *Onggat epe milah heindun ago k-a- ambid Wodub.*
 coconut DIST:III village(III) forever PROW DIR-3SG.A- sit.down (placename)
 The coconut palm stayed for good at that place — Wodub.

T9:189 *Tatik-mean e= k-a- hai-la.*
legend-speech(III) PROX= DIR-3SG.A- fall:III.U-EXT
Here the legend ends.

Notes

1. The Deictic verb prefixes (Proximal *eh-*, Distal *ep-* etc.) are used on the verb in subordinate clauses with present time reference (also e.g. T9:13), instead of the Dependent *ah-* (which is used in past and future subordinate clauses).
2. *Ihanos* is the 3rd person form of *onos*, which denotes all cousins who are not members of one's patrilineal clan, i.e. father's sister's children, mother's brother's children, and mother's sister's children.
3. Drabbe's original has *yahasud*, which is the correct form in the Eastern dialect, but which must be an error since I have only heard this word pronounced *yaghasud* (i.e. [jayaʃud]) in the West. This verb means 'grow big' and is mostly used of fruits, tubers and other crops, but it can be used with a plural subject to mean '[people's] bodies to grow big'. The speaker with whom I worked suggested the more literal translation 'had the same build', whereas Drabbe suggests 'were born at the same time', anticipating the following clause.
4. The placement of the 'pro-word' *agi* in the pre-verbal (focus) position (anticipating the clause final *ihe* 'his grandchildren') is interesting. This phenomenon is common in spontaneous speech, and the pro-word then functions as a placeholder ('whatchamacallit') when the speaker has trouble retrieving a word, which can be filled in at the end of the utterance. But it appears that these texts originated in written form, and it seems unlikely that a disfluency phenomenon should make it into a written text, which makes the use of *agi* quite mysterious.
5. *Nggat-zi* (Far Western *nggat-hi*; erroneously transcribed *gad-zi* in the ethnographic literature) refers to a type of dancing and singing for pleasure (as opposed to ritual celebrations). See van Baal (1966: 822).
6. The use of the general ersatz verb *og* 'do' immediately followed by the more precise *kamin* 'make' looks very much like a hesitation, as this use of *og* is common in recorded speech when the speaker cannot retrieve the right verb stem. This is surprising if the text was originally produced in written form — see also note 4 for a similar observation.
7. I am not familiar with the verb *waghid*. 'Help' is usually expressed by *heina* (in the Eastern dialect; Geurtjens 1933: 143) or *gheyna* (in the Western dialect).
8. The FUT:2SG.A form *ndom-* is an optional metathesised variant of *ndamo-* (cf. Olsson 2017: 71 for the Western dialect).
9. The Deictic verb prefixes (e.g. Distal *ep(a)-*) have an attentional or epistemic use in main clauses, marking (roughly) states-of-affairs that the addressee do not have access to (see Olsson 2019a, where I named these prefixes the 'Absconditive' series).
10. The verb *uhu* is presumably the same for as Western dialect *huhu* (the Pluractional form of *hawa*, roughly 'emerge repeatedly, in many places, etc.'), but I do not know whether the deletion of initial /h/ is a typo or an irregular feature of the Far Western variety.
11. 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).
12. The Accompaniment applicative *e-* normally introduces co-participants in motion events, but with verbs meaning 'cry' it introduces a participant over whom one cries.
13. This is a rare instance of reported speech that is not direct speech (the pronominal is not shifted).
14. The verb *yaghoh* (Eastern dialect *yahov*) is a Pluractional verb and typically describes several long items (sticks, spears, arrows, etc.) penetrating s.t., or being inserted into s.t. Here, however, there seems to be only one leaf, so it is unclear what meaning is contributed by the Pluractional form.
15. This appears to be a clear instance of hesitation and self-repair, as reflected in my translation (cf. note 4).
16. The translation of this passage is tentative.
17. In his glossed version of this text, Drabbe (1955: 177) interprets the prefix sequence *k- \emptyset -ind-* as the noun *kind* 'eye' (which is then repeated at the end of the line), leaving the verb stem uninflected. In fact, this construction, consisting of the verb *umuh* 'go' marked with the Allative applicative *ind-*, and the noun 'eye' as an adjunct, has the idiomatic meaning 'go have a look at'.
18. The gloss that speakers gave for *kahib* (Eastern *kavib*, Western *kahwib*) is 'praise', with the person who is being praised indexed by the Dative prefix series (see also Geurtjens 1933: 198).
19. *Kanap* is the coconut sprout, or cotyledon, a sponge-like edible ball that forms inside the coconut as it germinates.

20. The original has *haugh* for ‘come out’, which must be a typo for *hauh*.
21. The verb *dahuk* is used as a one-place predicate ‘die’ (with its sole argument indexed by the Dative prefix series). Speakers consider it harsher and less polite than *kahid* (plural *ghahwahwih*), with the same meaning (Eastern dialect *kahivd/havaviz*).
22. The author uses the compound *ihamok-namek* (consisting of the 3rd person form of *sahok* ‘wife’s younger sibling’ and *namek* ‘[male] clanmate’) but switches to *ihanos-namek* (*ihanos* is the 3rd person form of *onos* ‘cross-cousin’) starting in line T9:146, for what seems to be the same referent. This shift is perhaps due to a mix-up by the original author, and I use the gloss ‘(his) relative’ in the English translation. I have never encountered these kin terms compounded with *namek*, so it is unclear if these combinations have special meanings (or if they just specify that the referent is male).
23. The verb *walok* ‘stab’ in combination with *kind* ‘eye’ means ‘look for’. The verb agrees in person/number with the participant that one searches for, so ‘eye’ seems to function as an adjunct in this idiom, i.e. something like ‘stab someone [with] one’s eyes’.
24. This is a rare instance in which the Auxiliary that normally predicates a *ti*-marked verb stem seems to have been elided.
25. Verbs of standing, sitting, etc. are used as 2-place predicates, with the patient-like participant indexed by the Dative prefix series, with the meaning ‘sit/stand/etc. [in wait] for someone’. In this context, the most appropriate gloss is probably ‘snoop, lurk, spy on someone’.
26. The *mengga* leaves are the young, undeveloped leaves that emerge at the top of the coconut palm.
27. The intensifier *gha* (Eastern dialect *ha*) is used with body part nouns to mean ‘exactly at the [body part]’, often with a verb marked with the Restrictive Orientation prefix *s-* (Olsson 2017: 173–174).
28. Here, the verb ‘tie’ occurs in its Gender IV form *kipl(i)tuk*, whereas the previous line (T9:154) employs the Gender III form *kipalud* — despite both clauses sharing the same participants in the same roles (the leaf frond tying itself around the neck). I have no explanation for this. I have recorded some speaker variation in the assignment of the noun *mbaku* ‘nape of neck’ in the (contemporary) Western variety spoken in Wambi, with one (elder) speaker preferring Gender IV instead of the more common Gender III preferred by other speakers (the other attestations of *mbaku* in Drabbe’s texts exhibit Gender III agreement; see T5:18 and T5:25, in the Eastern dialect). It is possible that the switch between Genders III and IV in these two lines reflect two equally acceptable agreement variants. Another possibility is that the unusual participant-role constellation used with this verb causes the speaker to hesitate. ‘Tie’ normally exhibits Undergoer indexing according to the O-argument (i.e. *kiplita(n)uk* ‘tie me’, *kiplita(gh)uk* ‘tie you (sg)’), but here the context suggests an intransitive use (‘the leaf tied itself’) in which Gender IV agreement with *mengga* ‘young coconut leaf’ would be expected (as it is the sole argument, ‘neck’ functioning as a locative adjunct). Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to investigate this further.
29. This is one of the rare instances in which a Gender IV noun in an S/A role triggers 3pl indexing in the Actor prefix series. Most verbs that allow inanimate nouns as the S or A default to 3sg Actor marking, but *timin* ‘(animate) wake up, (inanimate) rise’ is one of a handful of verbs with which Gender III subjects trigger 3sg Actor indexing, and Gender IV subjects trigger 3pl Actor indexing. The pervasive syncretism between Gender IV nouns and plural nouns is further discussed in Olsson (2019b).
30. A speaker suggested that the correct name of this place is *Imogh*, but I could not confirm that this is the same place as the one referred to in the original text. Drabbe adds a note locating this place in *Nggalum*, which refers to the area where the Yelmek and Maklew languages are spoken, immediately northwest of the Coastal Marind area.
31. Drabbe informs us that this is a place between Yowid and Nggalum (cf. note 30), but I have not been able to locate it more precisely.
32. Umanggi is somewhere between Dokib (on the coast) and Ilwayab (where Yelmek is spoken), according to Drabbe.
33. The use of the Gender III form of the verb ‘fall’ is surprising, as I have only recorded Gender IV assignment of *salegh* ‘coconut inflorescence’ in the Western dialect spoken in Wambi. Perhaps this is a dialectal feature of the Far Western dialect.
34. The translation of this line is tentative. Drabbe adds the clarification that a gully was formed. He also adds a parenthesis claiming that *Dib* refers to the Frederik Hendrik Island (nowadays known as the Kimaam Island), but I have never heard this placename used for the island. One of the rivers that flows into the Muli Strait is named *Dib* on one of the Dutch colonial maps produced in the 1940s, so this is perhaps the location referred to in the text.
35. 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 (in Part I) turns into the first coconut palm. See van Baal (1966: 178–190) for a detailed explication of the dema concept.

36. It is unclear whether *ndom* is the adjective 'bad', or perhaps the additive particle *ndom* 'also, too' or the temporal adverb *ndom* 'still'. In any case, it seems that this is an (unknown) idiomatic construction, which a speaker rendered with Malay *sembarang saja* 'randomly, any old way, etc.'
37. According to Drabbe, Yobi is a garden site near the village Dokib.

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