Nungon Narratives by Roslyn Ögate and Fooyu

(Finisterre-Huon, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea)

Recorded, transcribed, glossed, and annotated by Hannah S. Sarvasy

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Nungon is a Papuan language of the western, Finisterre, branch of the Finisterre-Huon language family (McElhanon 1973), spoken in Uruwa Ward 1, Kabwum District, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Details on Nungon grammar can be found in Sarvasy (2017), and more resources on various aspects of the language and its functions are in the References here.

Nungon is the umbrella term that can be applied to the dialects of the southeastern villages in an oval-shaped dialect continuum with the Uruwa River running through the middle. The dialects of the northeastern villages can be referred to as Yau (Lauver & Wegmann 1994), but traditionally, each village-lect in the Uruwa River valley was referred to by the name of the village community who spoke it.
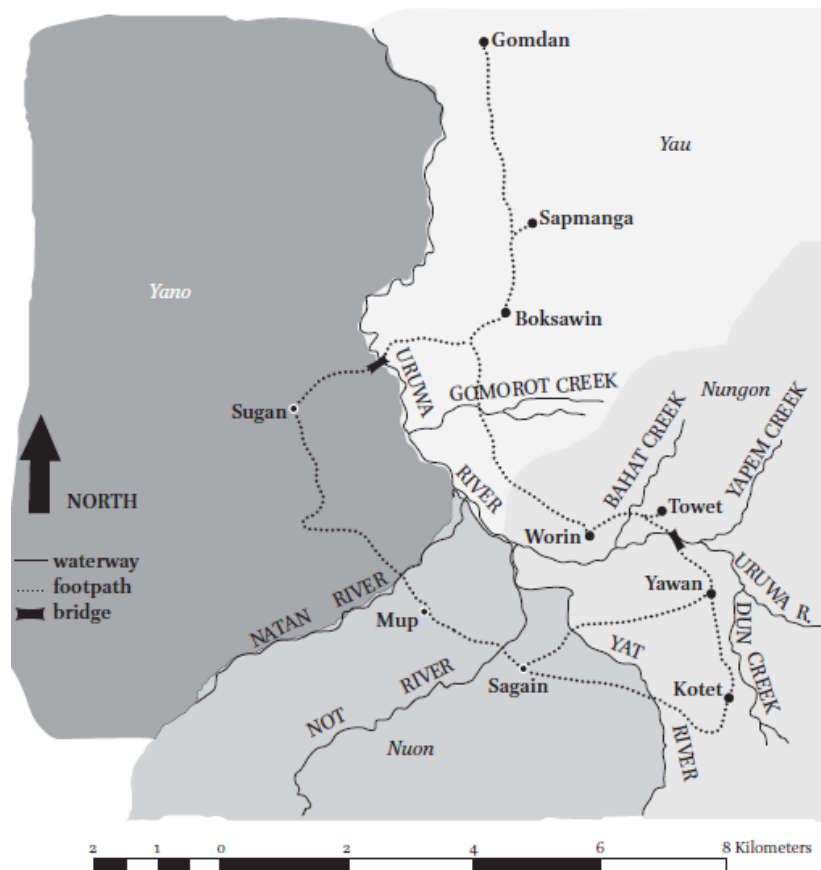

Figure 1. Map of the Uruwa villages, major footpaths, and major dialect areas (Sarvasy 2017: 17)

Nungon is a clause chaining language; alongside options to subordinate and coordinate clauses with predicates that are fully specified for tense and mood, speakers have the option to use strings of "medial" clauses, with predicates that are under-specified for tense and mood, usually followed by a single "final" clause with a predicate that is fully-specified for all categories (but see Sarvasy 2015 on non-canonical clause chains). These clause chains are widespread in many types of Nungon discourse, and acquired early by children (Sarvasy 2020). Because their prototypical function is to describe sequences of related events and actions, clause chains' distribution is especially consistent in narratives (Sarvasy 2021), and this is evident in the two texts presented here.

The first text given here, by Roslyn Ögate, then about 40 years old, took over 18 minutes to tell. As discussed in Sarvasy (2021), this relatively long narrative involves what could be described as a leisurely narrative pace; clause chains are, overall, relatively short, and background detail is rich in this story of a multi-day journey to the Yupno region. Although it might seem strange to include only two narratives in this first collection of interlinearized Nungon texts, I wanted to convey the rich detail possible in Nungon storytelling by including such a long text. The length stems from Roslyn's personality, of course, and verbal abilities, but perhaps also relates to the fact that Roslyn is my adopted sister, and was one of my closest companions in my first years of fieldwork in Towet village. Our close

acquaintance may have contributed to the relative comfort evinced by Roslyn's storytelling style—with me as sole listener, in this case. The second text, by Fooyu, then in her late 50s or early 60s, is typical of shorter, summarizing texts; clause chains are slightly longer, overall, than in the first text, and there is less detail. Of course, the text describes events over the course of just several hours, not multiple days, and the events took place many years before: the baby described in this text was about to get married when it was recorded. In this recording, made relatively early in our acquaintance, Fooyu's speech is more halting than Roslyn's: it seems to evince more discomfort with the recording situation, and perhaps uncertainty as to the amount of detail to supply.

       I hope that the presentation of these two texts will augment the four glossed texts in the Nungon reference grammar, and glossed examples spread throughout my publications on Nungon, to allow those interested a deeper, perhaps even visceral, understanding of Nungon narrative style and discourse.

Abbreviations and Conventions

+	truncation from disfluency
:::	phonetically extended vowel
1SG, 2DU, etc.	person/number
ADJ	adjectivizer
ADV	adverbializer
ALT	alternative
AUTOREFL	autoreflexive
BEN	benefactive
BW	brother's wife
CAUS	causative
COLL	collective
COMIT	comitative
CONTR	counterfactual
DEIC	deictic
DEL.IMP	delayed imperative
DEP	dependent
DESID	desiderative
DIST	distal
DS	different-subject
DU	dual
DUB	dubitative
EMPH	emphatic
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
HES	hesitation
HZ	husband's sister
IJ	interjection

IMP	immediate imperative
INTENS	intensifier
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
LONE	alone (no abbreviation)
MV	medial verb
NEG	negative
NF	near future
NMZ	nominalizer
NP	near past
NSG	non-singular (>1)
O	object
PERF	perfect
PL	plural (>2)
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PRO	pronoun
PROB	probable
PROX	proximal
QUES	polar question
QUOT	quotative
RED	reduplicated
REL	relativizer
RESTR	restrictive
RF	remote future
RP	remote past
SEMBL	semblance
SG	singular
SPEC	specifier
SS	same-subject
SUB	subordinator
TOP	topicalizer

Going to the Yupno area in 2012   **Roslyn Ögate**

Recorded on 28 March, 2013 in Towet village, Uruwa Ward 1. Times represent time points in the recording.

0:00   Nok,   wo-rok,   homu-na,   Dono

1SG.PRO   DIST-SEMBL   HZ.or.BW-1SG.POSS   Dono

oe-no=rot,

woman-3SG.POSS=COMIT

I, that is,[1] with my sister-in-law, Dono's wife,

0:05   Yupno   ha-in   ongo-go-mok=ma=hon   hat   yo-wang-ka-t.

Yupno   area-LOC   go-RP-1DU=SUB[2]=GEN   story   say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG

went to the Yupno area's story, will I tell.[3]

0:12   Wo-rok,   Dono   oe-no=rot   Yupno   ongo-go-mok.

DIST-SEMBL   Dono   woman-3SG.POSS=COMIT Yupno   go-RP-1DU

Op-no,   wo=ma-i,

husband-3SG.POSS   DIST=SPEC-TOP

With Dono's wife, the two of us went to Yupno. Her husband, that is,

0:15   Dono   ino,   Lae   ong-un-a.

Dono   3SG.PRO.EMPH   Lae   go-DS.3SG-MV

Dono himself, having gone to Lae.[4]

0:18   Ongo-go-mok=ma   wo=ma-i,

go-RP-1DU=REL   DIST=SPEC-TOP

We two went, that is,

0:20   ee   yo-ng   tuktuk   maa   wo-rok   ya-a-t,

HES   say-DEP clear   speech   DIST-SEMBL   say-PRES-1SG

eh, the introduction, thus, I've said,[5]

---

1   The frequent discourse-related demonstrative *wo-rok* is variously translated here as 'thus,' 'so,' or 'that's it.'
2   The enclitic *=ma* has a variety of functions (Sarvasy 2017: 531-536) and can occur with constituents of various sizes, from adjectives (*biigo-ni=ma* 'the green one') to nouns (*youp=ma* 'one pertaining to work'), to final clauses, which can be relativized with *=ma*, or subordinated in other ways, such as be made adverbial ('when X happened...'). Rarely, *=ma* actually begins a new sentence, then serving to link the new sentence to the preceding material. Here, *=ma* is glossed as SPEC, SUB, REL, or LINK.
3   I use the reversed auxiliary-verb ordering in the English here because of how the sentence has been broken across two lines here.
4   This is a postposed medial clause (see Sarvasy 2015), in which the switch-reference marking relates back to the preceding clause chain, as if the medial clause actually occurred before the clause with predicate *ongo-go-mok* 'we two went.'
5   Especially with verbs like 'say,' 'burn,' 'eat,' and 'come,' the Nungon Present tense often applies to recently completed actions or events (Sarvasy 2017: 263), where it may overlap with the Near Past tense (from the previous day until the present moment).

4

0:23   nok   maa-na   Rosrin Ögate, nan-na   maa-no.

1SG.PRO   name-1SG.POSS   Roslyn Ögate   father-1SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS

my name is Roslyn Ögate, my father's name.[6]

0:30   Wo-rok   CBO[7]   höan   honggit honggit=ta   t-u-ya,   ongo-go-mok.

DIST-SEMBL   CBO   meeting hold:RED=BEN   do-DS.2/3PL-MV go-RP-1DU

So they readying to hold a CBO meeting, we two went.

0:37   Ongo-go-mok=ma,   wo-rok,   Ali   nan-no

go-RP-1DU=SUB   DIST-SEMBL   Ali   father-3SG.POSS

ongo-rang-na   to-go-mok=ma=dek,

go-PROB.DU-DESID   do-RP-1DU=REL=LOC

When we went, then, Ali's father,[8] at the time that we two were preparing to go,

0:39   wo=ma-i   Ali   nan-no   wo-rok,

DIST=SPEC-TOP Ali   father-3SG.POSS DIST-SEMBL

that is, Ali's father then,

0:40   Ali   mak-no   wo-rok   Yawan hi-nga,

Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   DIST-SEMBL   Yawan put-MV.SS

dowoksi   ng-ondo   ep-bo-k.

evening   PROX-NEAR   come-RP-3SG

Ali's mother, coming from Yawan, arrived here [Towet village] in the evening.

0:44   Ng-ondo   e-un-a,   wo-rok,   ng-ondo   kömiti   au

PROX-NEAR   come-DS.3SG-MV   DIST-SEMBL   PROX-NEAR   committee   other

She coming here, then, here other committees,

0:48   CBO=hon   kömiti   au   önkor-u-ya,

CBO=GEN   committee   other   emerge-DS.2/3PL-MV

"ongo-nang-ka-mong" yo-nga,

go-PROB.PL-NF-1PL   say-MV.SS

the CBO's other committees eventuating, (Ali's mother) saying "let's (all) go,"

0:51   ep-bo-k=ma,   muuno.   Ng-ondo   hi-nga,   nori=nang,

come-RP-3SG=SUB   no   PROX-NEAR   put-MV.SS   PRO.1DU.EMPH=SOLE

gungak   opmou,   Stiwen.   Dewit.

child   small   Stiwen   Dewit

when she came, no. Coming from here, just we two, and a small child, Stiwen. (Son of) Dewit.

---

6   Ögate was the given name of the speaker's late father.

7   CBO: community-based organization; this is a local group related to the Tree Kangaroo Conservation Program.

8   In Nungon, adults are most often referred to with epithets based on the name of one of their children (teknonymy; Sarvasy 2017: 45, 205). The speaker's brother Dono is most often referred to as 'Ali's father.'

0:58	Wo-rog-ot,	noni=nang.	Ongo-go-mong,	ongo-nga,	Worin.
	DIST-SEMBL-COMIT	PRO.1PL.EMPH=SOLE	go-RP-1PL	go-MV-SS	Worin

Together with that one, just us (three). We went, going on, (to) Worin.

1:01	Ongo-nga,	Worin	yo-no-go-mong.	"Hon	CBO	kömiti	au
	go-MV-SS	Worin	3NSG.O-tell-RP-1PL	PRO.2NSG	CBO	committee	other

önkor-u-ya	ongo-nang-ka-mong	ha	muuno?"
emerge-DS.2/3PL-MV	go-PROB.PL-NF-1PL	ALT	no

Going, we addressed the Worin villagers. "If other CBO committees eventuated (among) you, shall we (all) go or not?"

1:05	Yo-no-na-ya,	yu	urop	ni-no-gu-ng.
	3NSG.O-tell-DS.1PL-MV	PRO.3	enough	1NSG.O-tell-RP-2/3PL

"Hon	ongo-nga	Mungku	duo-uny-a,
PRO.2NSG	go-MV-SS	Mungku	sleep-DS.2/3DU-MV

We telling them (that), they then[9] told us: "You two going on, sleeping at Mungku,

1:10	"duo-nga,	Sapmangga=gon	kondong	to-nga
	sleep-MV.SS	Sapmangga=RESTR	joint	do-MV.SS

Sugan	öö-rimorök,	non	ng-eyo=gon	kondong
Sugan	ascend-DEL.IMP.2/3DU	PRO.1NSG	PROX-DEIC=RESTR	joint

to-nga,	Sugan	yangam	waun	to-nga,	ongo-ni-n-ma."
do-MV.SS	Sugan	face	meet	do-MV.SS	go-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF

"sleeping, at Sapmangga turning, ascend to Sugan; we turning from here, meeting at Sugan, we will go (on together)."

1:15	Ongo-go-mok=ma	urop,	"muuno"	yo-gu-ng.
	go-RP-1DU=SUB	enough	no	say-RP-2/3PL

When we went, then, "no," they said.

1:18	"Muuno"	y-u-ya,	wo-rok,	ongo-nga,	duo-go-mok=ma
	no	say-DS.2/3PL-MV	DIST-SEMBL	go-MV.SS	sleep-RP-1DU=SUB

ongo-nga,
go-MV.SS

They saying "no," then, going on, when we had slept, going on,

1:21	Mungku	niip-na,	maa-no	Kumbiyöng.
	Mungku	cousin-1SG.POSS	name-3SG.POSS	Kumbiyöng

at Mungku, my cousin, his name is Kumbiyöng.

---

9   A few frequent words with discourse functions are difficult to evoke in English. *Urop* literally means 'enough,' but in practice this is used to describe event succession, or contrast. Here, this will be variably translated as 'then,' or 'that's it.'

1:27 Wo=rot, w-ondo duo-go-mong.

   DIST=COMIT DIST-NEAR sleep-RP-1PL

   With him, there we slept.

1:30 W-ondo duo-nga, Kumbiyöng ongo-nang-ka-mong yo-nga,

   DIST-NEAR sleep-MV.SS Kumbiyöng go-PROB.PL-NF-1PL say-MV.SS

   Kumbiyöng-ot ongo-nga, Kumbiyöng=ko yo,

   Kumbiyöng-COMIT go-MV.SS Kumbiyöng=FOC QUOT

   "öö,"[10] yo-go-k.

   IJ   say-RP-3SG

   Sleeping there, thinking we will go (with) Kumbiyöng, going on with Kumbiyöng,

   it was Kumbiyöng who said, "Oh," he said.

1:35 "Nok, wo-rok, kaunsöli=hon, e, pölisi=hon höan=dek

   PRO.1SG DIST-SEMBL councillor=GEN HES police=GEN meeting=LOC

   ongo-nga, wo=ma-i, uniföm honggit-ni-n-ma=ha,

   go-MV.SS DIST=SPEC-TOP uniform grab-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF=BEN

   "I, thus, going to the councillor's, eh, police's meeting, that is, so we can get our uniforms,

1:40 "Kabwum ong-i-t-ma.

   Kabwum go-IRR.SG-1SG-RF

   "I'll go to Kabwum.

1:42 "Prestön wo-rok ni-no-wa-k."

   Prestön DIST-SEMBL 1NSG.O-tell-NP-3SG

   "Prestön has told us thus."

1:44 Wo-go ni-n-un-a,   wo=ma-i non

   DIST-ADV 1NSG.O-tell-DS.3SG-MV DIST=SPEC-TOP PRO.1NSG

   irot yoit-ni to-go-mok.

   inside two-ADJ do-RP-1DU

   He telling us like that, that is, we were of two minds.

1:47 Nori=nang, yamuk nungon=dek ongo-ri-n-ma ha

   PRO.1DU.EMPH=SOLE water what=LOC go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RF CONJ

   ma=ngo-ri-n?

   NEG=go-IRR.DU-1NSG

   We two alone, will we go through water and whatnot, or will we not go?

---

10 This interjection can mean 'yes,' as opposed to *muuno* 'no,' but often in this narrative seems to be used to mean simply 'oh,' an alternative meaning.

7

1:50　Wo-go　　　　to-nga,　　　　dombisum　Sapmangga　oo-go-mok,

DIST-ADV　　　do-MV.SS　　　morning　　Sapmangga　descend-RP-1DU

dombisum　　yok　nori　　　　tik　　wo　　yoo-nga=gon.

morning　　　bag　1DU.POSS　　cloth　DIST　NSG.O.take-MV.SS=RESTR

Doing like that, in the morning we descended to Sapmangga, in the morning, just taking our bags and clothes.

1:54　Sapmangga　　oo-nga,　　　　wo-rok,　　　Ali　　mak-no=ho　　　　wo-rok,

Sapmangga　　descend-MV.SS　DIST-SEMBL　Ali　　mother-3G.POSS=FOC　DIST-SEMBL

Descending at Sapmangga, then, it was Ali's mother who, then,

2:00　op=to[11]　　　i-no-ng　　　　yo-go-k,　　urop.

husband=FOC　3SG.O-tell-DEP　say-RP-3SG　　enough

addressed her husband, that's it.

2:01　Yii　　maa=dek.　　I-no-ng　　　　y-un-a,

vine　speech=LOC　3SG.O-tell-DEP　say-DS.3SG-MV

On the landline phone.[12] She addressing him,

2:04　Ali　　nan-no=ho　　　　yo-go-k,　　　"öö"　yo-go-k.

Ali　　father-3SG.POSS=FOC　say-RP-3SG　　IJ　　say-RP-3SG

Ali's father spoke. "Oh," he said,

2:06　"Gok　　　　numa=rot　　　hinom　ongo-rang-na　　　　ta-a-morok=ma

PRO.2SG　　who=COMIT　　INTENS　go-PROB.DU-DESID　　do-PRES-2/3DU=REL

wo=ma-i,　　　　homu-ya　　　　　maa-no　　　y-i-ya,

DIST=SPEC-TOP　HZ.or.BW-2SG.POSS　name-3SG.POSS　say-DS.2SG-MV

orom　　　　hi-wa-ya,　　　　ongo-ra.

understand　put-DS.1SG-MV　go-IMP.1DU

"You and who exactly want to go together, that is, you saying your sister-in-law's name, I hearing it, we'll go.[13]

2:11　"Gok　　　　gaga=nang　　　　　ongo-nga　　hu,

PRO.2SG　　PRO.2SG.EMPH=LONE　go-MV.SS　　DUB

"You yourself alone going, perhaps,

11　This appears to be the focus postposition, but normally this would take the form =po after /p/. It may be a shortened form of the verb to- 'do'; the meaning and function here of either is not fully clear.

12　Until the construction of a Digicel mobile phone tower in the lower Uruwa area in mid-2015, all phone communication had to be carried out over a landline payphone at Sapmangga village, with unreliable connectivity; it was on this that Ali's mother spoke to her husband, who was then in the city of Lae.

13　Presumably, the meaning of 'go' here refers to moving forward with the conversation, not the husband's also traveling.

2:14 "boop, haa morö ongo-nga, odok-ni t-i-ya,

       forest area large go-MV.SS pity-ADJ do-DS.2SG-MV

       numa=ho to-ng hat ge-i-k-ma?"

       who=FOC do-DEP emerge 2SG.O.bite-IRR.SG-3SG-RF

       "in the forest, going a great distance, doing pitifully, who will help you?"

2:18 Wo-go y-un-a, wor-ok, ee, Ali mak-no

       DIST-ADV say-DS.3SG-MV DIST-SEMBL HES Ali mother-3SG.POSS

       i-no-ng yo-go-k=ma,

       3SG.O-tell-DEP say-RP-3SG=REL

       He saying like that, then, eh,[14] when Ali's mother spoke to him,

2:21 yu burer-un-a, bennon, Ali nan-no "muuno"

       PRO.3 finish-DS.3SG-MV afterward Ali father-3SG.POSS no

       yo-go-k.

       say-RP-3SG

       she finishing, afterward, Ali's father said, "no."

2:24 "Nok öfis=dek it-ta-t=ma=ha, orogo, nogo ka-no-ng

       PRO.1SG office=LOC be-PRES-1SG=REL=BEN good PRO.1SG.FOC 2NSG.O-tell-DEP

       yo-wang-ka-t."

       say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG

       "Since I'm in the office, good, I'll ring you."

2:28 T-un-a, urop, i-no-ng yo-ng ku-nga, urop, yo-go-k,

       do-DS.3SG-MV enough 3SG.O-tell-DEP say-DEP SG.O.take.away-MV.SS enough say-RP-3SG

       "nok homu-na=rot ongo-ri-n-ma,"

       PRO.1SG HZ.or.BW-1SG.POSS=COMIT go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RF

       yo-go-k.

       say-RP-3SG

       He having done (that), then, talking to him for a while, then, she spoke, "I and my sister-in-law will go," she said.

2:31 "Ongo-ri-n-ma" y-un-a, "öö" i-no-go-k.

       go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RF say-DS.3SG-MV IJ 3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG

       She having said, "we two will go," he told her, "Oh."

---

14   The text following this 'eh' seems to involve the speaker's stepping back and reframing this portion of the narrative.

2:34   "Homu-ya   maa-no   y-i-ya,

fem.in.law.of.fem.same.gen-2SG.POSS   name-3SG.POSS say-DS.2SG-MV

orom   hi-wa,"   yo-go-k.

understand   put-IMP.1SG   say-RP-3SG

"You saying your sister-in-law's name, let me hear it," he said.

2:35   "Gok   homu-ya   maa-no   au

PRO.2SG   HZ.or.BW-2SG.POSS   name-3SG.POSS other

y-i-ya,   wo=ma-i,   nok   muuno   yo-wang-ka-t,   ongo-nga,

say-DS.2SG-MV   DIST=SPEC-TOP PRO.1SG   no   say-NF.SG-1SG go-MV.SS

asap=dek   orogo ma=to-ng   hat   ge-i-ni-ng."

path=LOC   good   NEG=do-DEP   emerge 2SG.O-bite-IRR.PL-2/3PL

"You saying another sister-in-law's name, that is, I will say no; going on, they will not help you well along the journey."

2:41   Y-un-a,   wo-rok,   nok   maa-na   yo-go-k.

say-DS.3SG-MV DIST-SEMBL   PRO.1SG   name-1SG.POSS say-RP-3SG

He saying that, then, she said my name.

2:43   Nok   maa-na   y-un-a,   wo-rok,   Ali   nan-no

PRO.1SG   name-1SG.POSS say-DS.3SG-MV DIST-SEMBL   Ali   father-3SG.POSS

yo-go-k,   "öö"   yo-go-k.

say-RP-3SG   IJ   say-RP-3SG

She saying my name, then, Ali's father said, "Oh," he said.

2:46   "Homu-ya   ino=rot,   wo=ma-i,

HZ.or.BW-2SG.POSS   PRO.3SG.EMPH=COMIT   DIST=SPEC-TOP

orogo,   ongo-ri-morok-ma.

good   go-IRR.DU-2/3DU-RF

"With that sister-in-law, that is, good, you two shall go.

2:50   "Orogo,   ongo-ri-morok-ma,"   yo-go-k.

good   go-IRR.DU-2/3DU-RF   say-RP-3SG

"Good, you two shall go," he said.

2:50   T-un-a,   w-ondo   hi-nga,   urop,

do-DS.3SG-MV DIST-NEAR   put-MV.SS   enough

He having done that, coming from there, then,

2:52 omot-da   ha(r)-un-a,   apmano,   iyep   usam=ma,

leave-CAUS.1DU emerge-DS.3SG-MV   afternoon   sun   half=SPEC

iyep   bonig-o=dek,   urop,   iyep   usam=ma   haa   w-ondo

sun   middle-3SG.POSS=LOC   enough sun   half=SPEC   area   DIST-NEAR

omot-da   har-un-a,

leave-CAUS.1DU stay.behind-DS.3SG-MV

we leaving it behind, in the afternoon, the sun's second half, when the sun was in the middle, then, the sun's second half, we leaving there behind,

2:57 Asap=bon   ongo-go-mok. Sugan asap=bon.

path=RESTR   go-RP-1DU   Sugan path=RESTR

we went along just on the path. Just Sugan's path.

3:00 Sugan asap=bon   ongo-nga::::

Sugan path=RESTR   go-MV.SS

Just going alo-o-o-ong on the Sugan path,

3:02 Gungak   opm-opmou   yo-no-go-mok,   Sugan=ma,

child   small:RED   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1DU   Sugan=SPEC

elementeri,   gungak   au,

elementary   child   other

We addressed the small children, of Sugan, the other elementary school children,

3:05 yo-no-ra-ya,   wo-rok,   yup   maa   towi-nga

3NSG.O-tell-DS.1DU-MV   DIST-SEMBL   bird   speech   arrange-MV.SS

ma=rom   hi-wi-ng.   Urop,   bumbum   yo-gu-ng.

NEG=understand   put-NP-2/3PL   enough crazy   say-RP-2/3PL

we addressing them, then, they didn't understand Tok Pisin well. That's it, they were confused.

3:10 Bumbum   yo-nga,   yoni-win   maa   y-u-ya,

crazy   say-MV.SS   PRO.3PL.EMPH-GEN   speech   say-DS.2/3PL-MV

They being confused, speaking their language,[15]

3:12 non   wo,   yot-da   har-uy-a,

PRO.1NSG   DIST   NSG.O.take-CAUS.1DU   stay.behind-DS.2/3PL-MV

poto-ng   ongo-go-mok.

desist-DEP   go-RP-1DU

as for us, then, leaving them behind, we gave up[16] and left.

15   Sugan village has its own dialect, which should be more similar to those of Boksawin and Sapmangga (Yau) than to the Nungon dialects.

16   'Give up' is not a perfect translation of *poto-*, variously 'disagree,' 'demur,' 'desist,' 'refuse,' 'decline,' and 'fear.'

3:15   Ongo-nga,   Sugan.

go-MV.SS   Sugan

Going on, (to) Sugan.

3:16   Sugan   ongo-nga,   wo-rok,   kaunsöli   i-no-go-mok.

Sugan   go-MV.SS   DIST-SEMBL   Councillor   3SG.O-tell-RP-1DU

Going to Sugan, then, we addressed their Councillor.

3:19   "Aa,   orogo,   gok   kondong=gon   ongo-nang-ka-mong   ha,

HES   good   PRO.2SG   together=RESTR   go-PROB.PL-NF-1PL   QUES

non   urop,

PRO.1NSG   enough

"Ah, good, shall you and we all go together? We, that's it,

3:22   "höan   to-k-to-k   ong-u-mong."

meeting   do-NMZ:RED   go-PRES.NSG-1PL

"we're going to do the meeting."

3:23   Kaunsöli   urop   yo-go-k,   "öö,"   yo-go-k,

Councillor   enough say-RP-3SG   IJ   say-RP-3SG

"Nok   gungak   yama-nga   it-ta-t,

PRO.1SG   child   3.O.watch.over-MV.SS   be-PRES.SG-1SG

The Councillor then said, "Oh," he said, "I am watching the children,

3:27   "oe-na   urop   Wasu   ongo-go-k,

woman-1SG.POSS   enough Wasu   go-RP-3SG

"my wife has gone to Wasu,

3:29   "gungak   au,   Wasu   gret   eit   tes   to-k-to-k=ka,

child   other   Wasu   grade   eight   test   do-NMZ:RED=BEN

orom hi-k orom hi-k   yoni=hon,

understand put-NMZ:RED   PRO.3PL.EMPH=GEN

"another child, to do the eighth grade test in Wasu, their knowledge,

3:23   "numa   to-k-to-k=ka   t-un-a,   ongo-gu-ng,"   yo-go-k.

who   do-NMZ:RED=BEN   do-DS.3SG-MV   go-RP-2/3PL   say-RP-3SG

"preparing to do what-have-you, they went," he said.

3:37   Y-un-a,[17]   urop,   "babiya bök   yoni   t-un

say-DS.3SG-MV   enough book   house   3PL.POSS   SG.O.take-CAUS.3SG

buret buret=ta,   urop,

finish:RED=BEN   enough

He saying that, that's it, "to make their schooling finish, then,

3:39   "t-u-ya,   ong-i-ng=ma-ha-i,

do-DS.2/3PL-MV   go-NP-2/3PL=REL=BEN-TOP

"preparing, since they went,

3:41   "nok   ma=ng-i-t,"   y-un-a,   urop,   nori=nang=go:::::n

PRO.1SGNEG=go-IRR-1SG   say-DS.3SG-MV enough PRO.1DU.EMPH=RESTR

ongo-go-mok, ongo-go-mok,   ongo-nga,

go-RP-1DU   go-RP=1DU   go-MV.SS

"I won't go (with you)," saying, that's it, just the two of us alo-o-o-one went, we went, going,

3:46   haa   urong-o=dek, Sugan, Sindamon,   taun   yoni=dek,

area   ridge-ADJ=LOC Sugan Sindamon   border 3PL.POSS=LOC

inowak   na-go-mong,

cassava   eat-RP-1PL

in the mountains, Sugan and Sindamon, their border,[18] we ate cassava,[19]

3:52   Stiwen,   Ali   mak-no,   nok.

Stiwen   Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   PRO.1SG

Stiwen, Ali's mother, and I.

3:55   Dowoksisi[20]   urop   ongo-nga:::

evening   enough go-MV.SS

In the evening, then, going o-o-o-on,

3:59   Sindamon   ongo-go-mong.   Ongo-go-mong=ma, wo-rok,

Sindamon   go-RP-1PL   go-RP-1PL=REL   DIST-SEMBL

we went to Sindamon. When we went, then,

---

17   Although this medial verb is marked for different-subject, the following sequence of reported speech appears to be a recasting of the preceding speech; the speaker seems to be elaborating here or correcting the previous stretch of reported speech. For this reason, the subject of the following clause does not actually change.

18   The border here refers to landholdings, not to the actual village settlements. Sindamon is the only village considered to belong to the Uruwa River valley that is located outside the valley, on the other side of the western ridges of the Uruwa River valley, in the meadow area on the way to the Som River region.

19   Cassava: grated and steamed in banana leaf packets, is considered a good food to pack for a journey. It is only prepared this way in Towet village for journeys or for the SDA Sabbath afternoon meal.

20   This is a variant of *dowoksi*. There is one text (N*anno orin orugo ho yup bök togomorok*) in the Nungon adult corpus, by Geisch, in which *dook si-un si-un=to* 'dark ?falling first' occurs, with a verb *si-* that is possibly a precursor to the modern-day *hi-* 'put, place'; this hints at the diachronic origin of *dowoksi* 'evening' in *dowok si-* 'darkness ?fall.'

4:01   Urop,   bip   möng-go-k.   Bip   mö-un mö-un=to,

            enough rain   fall-RP-3SG   rain   fall-DS.3SG:RED=FOC

            That's it, rain fell. Rain first falling,[21]

4:03   ongo-go-mok=ma,   wo=ma-i,   amna   inggouk   Gönggiök=ma,

            go-RP-1DU=REL   DIST=SPEC-TOP   man   one   Gönggiök=SPEC

            urop,   e-nga,   it-do-k.

            enough come-MV.SS   be-RP-3SG

            when we went, that is, one man from Gönggiök,[22] that's it, was coming.

4:07   E-nga   ir-a,   yo-go-k.   Irot-no-n=don   to-ng

            come-MV.SS   be-MV.SS   say-RP-3SG   inside-3SG.POSS-LOC=RESTR   do-DEP

            orom   hi-k   to-go-k,   non   ni-i-nga.

            understand   put-NMZ   do-RP-3SG   PRO.1NSG   1NSG.O-see-MV.SS

            As he was coming, he spoke. Inside him, he pondered, seeing us.

4:10   "Öö,"   yo-go-k.   "Oe   yoi   wo-i   e-wa-morok=ma,

            IJ   say-RP-3SG   woman two   DIST-TOP   come-PRES.NSG-2/3DU=SUB

            "Oh," he said. "(Since) you've come as two women (alone),

4:15   "keembok   orogo, nog-ot   ongo-ni-n-ma."

            tomorrow   good   PRO.1SG-COMIT go-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF

            "tomorrow, good, together with me, we will go."

4:16   Yu,   dombisum   e-nga,   giyöng-no   dawi-k   to-nga,

            PRO.3   morning   come-MV.SS   betelnut-3SG.POSS   search-NMZ   do-MV.SS

            He, coming in the morning, doing his search for his betelnut,[23]

4:17   dokdok yo-nga   it-do-k,   non   dowoksisi   ongo-go-mok.

            ready   say-MV.SS   be-RP-3SG   PRO.1NSG   evening   go-RP-1DU

            he was getting ready, we two went in the evening.

4:20   Ongo-go-mok=ma,   muuno,   Söikböno=dek bip   morö

            go-RP-1DU=REL   no   Thursday=LOC rain   large

            mö-nga=gon=don   i-in-a,

            fall-MV.SS=RESTR=RESTR be-DS.3SG-MV

            When we went, (it was) not (to be); on Thursday heavy rain continuing to fall,

---

21   This "iterative" construction is discussed in Sarvasy (2017: 193-195).

22   Gönggiök is a village in the Som River region, bordering the Uruwa peoples' lands to the southwest.

23   This implies that he searched around the village for people selling betelnut.

4:23   Nenggö=dek,   Nenggö=dek,   mö-nga=gon=don   i-in-a,

         Friday=LOC   Friday=LOC   fall-MV.SS=RESTR=RESTR   be-DS.3SG-MV

         on Friday, on Friday, it continuing to fall,

4:29   urop,   apmano,   iyep   bonig-o=dek.

         enough afternoon   sun   middle-3SG.POSS=LOC

         finally, at noon, in the middle of the sun.

4:31   Urop,   ilewen öklök,   wo-i,   wan öklök,   tu öklök

         enough eleven o'clock   DIST-TOP   one o'clock   two o'clock

         nungon=ta   hom   t-un-a,[24]

         what=BEN   short   do-DS.3SG-MV

         That's it, eleven o'clock, that is, one o'clock, it getting close to two o'clock, whatnot,

4:35   wo-ndo   omot-da   har-un-a,   omot-na

         DIST-NEAR   leave-CAUS.1DU stay.behind-DS.3SG-MV   leave-CAUS.1DU

         hat-do-k,   nok   urop   öö-nga,   haa   aa-wa-ya,

         stay.behind-RP-3SG   PRO.1SG   enough ascend-MV.SS   area   3SG.O.see-DS.1SG-MV

         opmou,

         small

         we leaving there behind, we left there behind, then ascending, I seeing the area, sort of,

4:40   bip   mö-nga   it-do-k,   wo-rok=ko-i   kugum   ma=bööp-bo-k.

         rain   fall-MV.SS   be-RP-3SG   DIST-SEMBL=FOC-TOP   cloud   NEG=sew-RP-3SG

         rain was falling, but the clouds weren't sealed closed.

4:42   "Homu,"   i-no-go-t,   "urop,   ongo-ra."

         HZ.or.BW   3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG   enough go-IMP.1DU

         "Sister-in-law," I told her, "that's it, let's go."

4:43   I-no-wa-ya,   urop,   e-nga,

         3SG.O-tell-DS.1SG-MV   enough come-MV.SS

         I telling her that, that's it, coming,

4:45   Gönggiök   amna   inggouk   aa-nga,   i-no-ng   yo-nga,

         Gönggiök   man   one   3SG.O.see-MV.SS   3SG.O-tell-DEP   say-MV.SS

         seeing one Gönggiök man, she addressing him,

4:48   "orogo"   y-un-a,   urop,   ongo-go-mong.

         good   say-DS.3SG-MV   enough go-RP-1PL

         saying "good," that's it, we went.

---

24   When transcribing, the speaker supplied *to-ng ir=i-in-a* instead of *t-un-a*, but the recording has *t-un-a*.

4:52 Ongo-nga,   hundik   morö   hinom.

go-MV.SS   meadow   large   INTENS

Going, (through) a very large meadow.

4:55 Sindamon=to   ha-in,   eep   dung   muuno.

Sindamon=FOC area-LOC   wood pile   no

in Sindamon's area, there are no clumps of trees.[25]

4:59 Hundik=dek=gon.

meadow=LOC=RESTR

Just meadows.

4:59 Ongo-nga,   aa-go-mong=ma,   wo=ma-i,   yamuk,

go-MV.SS   3SG.O.see-RP-1PL=REL   DIST=SPEC-TOP water

Yireng   yamuk,   irom,

Yireng   water   free

Going on, we saw it, that is, water, the Yireng river, just,

5:01 erop   morö   poto-k poto-g-o   hinom, amna=ho

flood large   desist-NMZ:RED-ADJ   INTENS man=FOC

yemo-k yemo-k-no   muuno.

ford-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS   no

(was in) a huge, scary flood, a man's fording (it) not (being possible).

5:05 Oe,   non   wo=go-no,   yemo-k yemo-k-no   muuno

woman PRO.1NSG   DIST=ADV-ADJ   ford-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS   no

nori=nang   hut=ta-i,   iwar-a   ep-tam.

PRO.1DU.EMPH=LONE   truly=BEN-TOP turn-MV.SS   come-CONTR.1DU

Fording it by women, like that, not (being possible); had the two of us been alone, we would have turned around and come (back).

5:08 Wo-rok=ko-i,   amna wo=ho   ongo-go-k=ma=ha,

DIST-SEMBL=FOC-TOP   man   DIST=FOC   go-RP-3SG=REL=BEN

ongo-nga,   yo-go-k,

go-MV.SS   say-RP-3SG

However, when the man went, going, he said,

5:12 "Orogo,"   yo-go-k.

good   say-RP-3SG

"Good," he said.

---

25   See Sarvasy (2017: 453-457) on such negative existential verbless clauses.

16

5:13 "Hon w-ondo hi-nga, nok na-a-nga

PRO.2NSG DIST-NEAR put-MV.SS PRO.1SG 1SG.O-see-MV.SS

i-iny-a, yamuk torok to-wa.

be-DS.2/3DU-MV.SS water test do-IMP.1SG

"You watching me from there, let me test the water.

5:15 "Onding t-un-a, wo=ma-i, ma=ngo-ni-n.

strong do-DS.3SG-MV DIST=SPEC-TOP NEG=go-IRR.PL-1NSG

"It proving strong, that is, we won't go.

5:18 "Yemo-wa-ya, orogo t-un-a, wo=ma-i, ongo-nang-ka-mong."

ford-DS.1SG-MV good do-DS.3SG-MV DIST=SPEC-TOP go-PROB.PL-NF-1PL

"I fording it, it being good, that is, we will go."

5:10 Yo-nga, giyöng-no yok-no

say-MV.SS betelnut-3SG.POSS bag-3SG.POSS

mende-nga, yamuk yemo-go-k.

carry.under.arm.with.handle.over.shoulder-MV.SS water ford-RP-3SG

(So) saying, carrying his betelnut bag under his arm, he forded the water.

5:23 Yamuk yemo-nga ongo-nga::: urop, boop mee[26] ongo-nga,

water ford-MV.SS go-MV.SS enough forest behind go-MV.SS

giyöng-no yok-no ku-ng hi-nga,

betelnut-3SG.POSS bag-3SG.POSS SG.O.take.away-DEP put-MV.SS

urop, ep-bo-k.

enough come-RP-3SG

He fording the water and going o-o-o-on, that's it, going outside, taking his betelnut bag away and placing it down, that's it, he came (back).

5:29 E-nga,[27] non ng-engo=gon[28] it-da-ya, urop, Stiwen,

come-MV.SS PRO.1NSG PROX-FAR=RESTR be-DS.1DU-MV enough Stiwen

Coming, we just being here, that's it, Stiwen,

5:32 gungak opmou Stiwen Dewit urop, to-ng,

child small Stiwen Dewit enough do-DEP

the little child, Stiwen Dewit, that's it, doing,

---

26   The expression *boop mee* literally means 'forest behind', but in practice means 'outside.'
27   The speaker appears to self-repair after the word *e-ng-a*, which ends in a glottalized, cut-off manner; this explains the apparent switch-reference mismatch, where the verb 'come' appears to be a recapitulative bridging clause with the previous sentence's last clause, but the same-subject form here implies that the man remains the subject. In the next clause, the speaker repairs this with a clause in which the two women are the subject.
28   The expression *ng-engo*, combining the proximal demonstrative prefix with the farthest-distance suffix, might seem oxymoronic. In practice, this refers to the greater area around the speaker: 'hereabouts' (Sarvasy 2017: 364).

5:34   dök-no=dek,   yarug-o=dek,   hi-go-k.

         piggyback-3SG.POSS=LOC   shoulder-3SG.POSS=LOC put-RP-3SG

         piggyback, on his shoulders, he placed him.

5:37   Urop, yamuk yemo-go-morok.   Yamuk   yemo-nga,[29]   ku-ng

         enough water ford-RP-2/3DU   water   ford-MV.SS   SG.O.take.away-DEP

         og-ego.

         SAME.LEVEL-FAR

         That's it, the two of them forded the water. Fording the water, taking him away on the other side.

5:40   Hi-nga   e-nga,   urop,   yok   to-nga   ongo-go-k,

         put-MV.SS   come-MV.SS   enough bag   SG.O.take-MV.SS go-RP-3SG

         möunten bek[30].

         backpack

         Putting him down, coming, that's it, taking the bag, he went, the backpack.

5:45   Möunten bek   ku:::ng   og-ego   hi-nga,   ep-bo-k.

         backpack   SG.O.take.away-DEP   SAME.LEVEL-FAR put-MV.SS   come-RP-3SG

         Taking the backpack awa-a-a-a-y and putting it down on the other side, he came (back).

5:47   E-nga,   urop,   nok   obu   na-mo-go-k.

         come-MV.SS   enough PRO.1SG   hand   1SG.O-give-RP-3SG

         Coming, that's it, he gave me his hand.

5:50   Obu   na-mo-go-k=ma,   eet   nori   non   gurok=dek

         hand   1SG.O-give-RP-3SG=SUB foot   1DU.POSS   PRO.1NSG   ground=LOC

         ma=taambit-do-mok,

         NEG=3SG.O.tread-RP-1DU

         When he gave me his hand, we didn't tread on the ground with our feet,

5:54   urop,   yamuk=ko   yuu-ng   yuu-ng   to-go-k.

         enough water=FOC   3.O.roll-DEP   3.O.roll-DEP   do-RP-3SG

         that's it, the water did rolling them back and forth.[31]

---

29   The recapitulative bridging clause here seems to refer just to the man, not to both the man and the boy, but this is not made explicit through any subject inflection in this elliptical clause.

30   The loan *möunten bek*, from English *mountain bag*, refers to backpacks, as opposed to *yok* 'bilum (string bag with a single long handle)' and *bek* 'sack (rice or coffee sack).' But *yok* is also used as a general term, encompassing both of the other terms: in this line, *yok* is used and then further specified as *möunten bek*.

31   The rolling verb used is the same one used most commonly to describe the way women roll fibers into thread.

5:55   Urop,   amna   wo   onding-o,   urop,   non   obu

enough man   DIST   strong-ADJ   enough PRO.1NSG   hand

ni-m-un-a,   urop,   ogo-n=ton.

1NSG.O-give-DS.3SG-MV enough SAME.LEVEL-LOC=GEN

That's it, the man, he was strong, that's it, giving us his hand: (we got to) the other side.

6:00   Non   og-o-n=ton   hi-nga,   aa-nga

PRO.1NSG   SAME.LEVEL-NEAR-LOC=GEN   put-MV.SS   3SG.O.see-MV.SS

it-da-ya,   urop,   Ali   mak-no.

be-DS.1DU-MV   enough Ali   mother-3SG.POSS

We two being on the other side, looking (back), that's it, Ali's mother [it was her turn].

6:03   Ali   mak-no   obu   i-mo-ng   ku-ng

Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   hand   3SG.O-give-DEP   SG.O.take.away-DEP

og-o-n=ton   hi-un-a,   urop,   ongo-go-mong.

SAME.LEVEL-NEAR-LOC=GEN   put-DS.3SG-MV   enough go-RP-1PL

He giving Ali's mother his hand, taking her away, and placing her on the other side, that's it, we went.

6:05   Ongo-nga,   hundik   morö   poto-k poto-g-o.   Ongo-nga::::

go-MV.SS   meadow   large   desist-NMZ:RED-ADJ   go-MV.SS

Going, (to) a scarily large meadow. Going o-o-o-on—

6:10   urop,   Ali   mak-no   urop   hundik=ko   taman-o=dek

enough Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   enough   meadow=FOC   nose-3SG.POSS=LOC

haga-un-a,   urop,   nogot   morö   to-go-k.

scrape-DS.3SG-MV   enough blood   large   do-RP-3SG

that's it, Ali's mother, a blade of grass scraping her on her nose, then, it made much blood.

6:15   Nogot morö t-un-a,   urop, Ali   mak-no   urop

blood large do-DS.3SG-MV   enough Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   enough

irot-no   moin-no   orom   hi-go-k.

inside-3SG.POSS bad-ADJ   understand   put-RP-3SG

It making much blood, that's it, Ali's mother then felt disgruntled.

6:18   "Nungon=ta, urop, gurok asap hinom wo-go   e-nga,   wo=ma-i,

what=BEN   enough dirt   path   INTENS DIST-ADV   come-MV.SS   DIST=SPEC-TOP

nogot waga-ha-t?!"

blood pat-PRES.SG-1SG

"Why, then, coming like that on the absolute dirt path, that is, am I patting blood?!"

19

6:23   Yo-nga,   irot-no   moin-no   orom   hi-go-k!

say-MV.SS   inside-3SG.POSS bad-ADJ   understand   put-RP-3SG

(So) saying, she felt disgruntled!

6:25   Orom   hi-nga,   muyu,   bip   ganang=gon   ongo-go-mong.[32]

understand   put-MV.SS   nevertheless   rain   inside=RESTR   go-RP-1PL

Feeling (thus), nevertheless, we went on, just in the rain.

6:27   Ongo-nga,   ongo-nga,   ongo-nga,   ongo-nga,   urop,   Söm   yamuk=dek.

go-MV.SS   go-MV.SS   go-MV.SS   go-MV.SS   enough Söm   water=LOC

Going, going, going, going, that's it, to the Som River.

6:28   Söm   yamuk=dek,   yamuk morö   hinom.

Söm   water=LOC   water large   INTENS

The Som River is a very large waterway.

6:32   Urop, ongo-nga,   amna wo   yu   osuk ongo-nga,   urop

enough go-MV.SS   man   DIST   PRO.3 first   go-MV.SS   enough

niing hor-a,[33]   ongo-go-k.

1NSG.O pass-MV.SS   go-RP-3SG

That's it, going, that man, he first going, that's it, passing us, he went.

6:35   Niing hor-a   ongo-nga:::   urop,   hagam=dek.

1NSG.O pass-MV.SS   go-MV.SS   enough bridge=LOC

Passing us, going o-o-on, that's it, (he went) on the bridge.

6:37   Ongo-nga,   giyöng   yok-no   to-nga,

go-MV.SS   betelnut   bag-3SG.POSS   SG.O.take-MV.SS

Going, taking his betelnut bag,

6:39   urop,   og-o-n=ton   öö-go-k.

enough SAME.LEVEL-NEAR-LOC=GEN   ascend-RP-3SG

that's it, he ascended on the opposite (bank).

6:41   Og-o-n=ton   öö-nga,

SAME.LEVEL-NEAR-LOC=GEN   ascend-MV.SS

Ascending on the opposite (bank),

---

32   This is another instance of switch-reference mismatch; possibly due to a change of plan by the speaker (she could have been planning to continue with Ali's mother as sole actor, but instead the whole group are the ones who act in the next clause). This change in the speaker's thinking is hinted at through what seems to be a slightly longer last vowel on *hi-nga*, and discontinuity between the pitch of that final syllable in *hi-nga* and the starting pitch of *muyu*. The subject of the first clause here is apparently 'Ali's mother,' but there is no different-subject marker on the verb, despite the fact that the subject of the second clause is 'we' (1pl) (the usual pattern in Nungon is that same-subject marking requires exact co-reference, not overlapping reference; see Sarvasy 2017: 299, and 2021, and other instances in these texts).

33   This construction is considered a verb-adjunct type; *niing* looks like *ni-i-ng* '1NSG.O-see-DEP,' but the 'adjunct' form used with third person object arguments, *yeng*, differs from the counterpart forms of 'see,' *aa-ng* '3SG.O.see-DEP' and *y-aa-ng* '3NSG.O-see-DEP.'

6:42   urop,   e-nga,   e,   hagam opmou   au   hi-go-k,   yoit-ni.

enough come-MV.SS   HES   bridge small   other   put-RP-3SG   two-ADJ

That's it, coming, eh, he laid another small bridge, two.

6:47   Urop,   wo-rok,   eep   garuwa,   eep   hai-go-k,   yoit-ni.

enough DIST-SEMBL   tree   garuwa   tree   cut-RP-3SG   two-ADJ

That's it, then, the tree *garuwa*, he felled the trees, two.

6:50   Hai-go-k,   urop,

cut-RP-3SG   enough

He felled (them), that's it,

6:53   hagam hi-go-k.   Hagam hi-nga+   Stiwen   wo=ma-i,

bridge put-RP-3SG   bridge put-MV.SS[34]   Stiwen   DIST=SPEC-TOP

he laid a bridge. Laying a bridge- Stiwen, as for him,

6:55   amna   ketket opmou,   urop,   ino=wut   ongo-go-k,   yungan-o.

man   boy   small   enough PRO.3SG=AUTOREFL   go-RP-3SG   lightweight-ADJ

a small young man, that's it, he went on his own, (being) lightweight.

6:59   Non   urop,   meep   to-go-mok.

PRO.1NSG   enough heavy   do-RP-1DU

(But) we two became heavy.

7:01   Meep   to-nga,   poto-nga,   yamuk akka=gon   hinggan

heavy   do-MV.SS   desist-MV.SS   water   bank=RESTR   go.around

ongo-nga,   on-eno   hi-nga,   ep-bo-mok.

go-MV.SS   UPHILL-FAR   put-MV.SS   come-RP-1DU

Becoming heavy, declining (to cross on the bridge), going around just on the riverbank, heading from up above, we came.

7:05   E-nga,   amna   urop   "usam og-ego   e-ng   e-nga"

come-MV.SS   man   enough half   SAME.LEVEL-FAR come-DEP   come-MV.SS

to-go-k,   "om-emo   ongo-run,"   to-go-k.

do-RP-3SG   DOWNHILL-FAR go-IMP.2/3DU   do-RP-3SG

coming, the man, that's it, did: "Come around on the other side, go down below," he did.[35]

7:10   "Om-emo   ongo-run,   om-emo   ongo-run,"   yo-nga=gon.

DOWNHILL-FAR go-IMP.2/3DU   DOWNHILL-FAR go-IMP.2/3DU   say-MV.SS=RESTR

(He kept) saying: "Go down below, go down below."

---

34   The last vowel of the first clause is audibly truncated, and the speaker then changes course, going into an aside about the child Stiwen.

35   Here, the verb *to-* 'do' is used instead of the verb *yo-* 'say'; this is not common, and I do not know of any other such instances in the 221 Nungon texts.

7:14   Om-emo   ongo-ra-ya,   aa,   obu   ni-mo-wang-na   to-go-k.

        DOWNHILL-FAR   go-DS.1DU-MV   HES   hand   1NSG.O-give-PROB.SG-DESID   do-RP-3SG

        We going down below, ah, he tried to give us his hand.

7:15   Obu   ni-mo-wang-na   to-go-k=ma,   muuno.

        hand   1NSG.O-give-PROB.SG-DESID   do-RP-3SG=REL   no

        When he tried to give us his hand, (it did) not (work).

7:16   Ali   mak-no   i-no-go-k.   "Orogo,"   i-no-go-k.

        Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG   good   3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG

        He addressed Ali's mother. "Good," he told her.

7:19   "Hap   obu   yoo-p yoo-p,   hagam=dek   honggir-a,

        dog   hand   NSG.O.take-NMZ:RED   bridge=LOC   hold-MV.SS

        wo=ma-i,   böörong=dek   öö-hi,"   i-no-go-k.

        DIST=SPEC-TOP   rock=LOC   ascend-IMP.2SG   3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG

        "Dog-crawling, holding onto the bridge, that is, ascend onto the rocks," he told her.

7:24   Ali   mak-no   urop,   oe   morö,   wo-i,   meep   to-go-k.

        Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   enough woman large   DIST-TOP   heavy   do-RP-3SG

        Ali's mother, that's it, (being) a big woman, became heavy.

7:26   "Nok   yamuk=dek   mö-ang-ka-t,"   yo-go-k.

        PRO.1SG   water=LOC   fall-PROB.SG-NF-1SG   say-RP-3SG

        Poto-k poto-k   i-mo-go-k.

        desist-NMZ:RED   3SG.O-give-RP-3SG

        "I will fall into the water," she said. It made her afraid.

7:29   Poto-k poto-k   i-m-un-a,   nok   urop   i-no-go-t.

        desist-NMZ:RED   3SG.O-tell-DS.3SG-MV   PRO.1SGe   nough   3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG

        It making her afraid, I then addressed him.

7:31   Nok   urop,   Gönggiök   amna   i-no-go-t.

        PRO.1SG   enough Gönggiök   man   3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG

        I then addressed the Gönggiök man.

7:34   "Eep   yoit-ni   hai-nga   hi-wa-rok=ma,

        wood   two-ADJ   cut-MV.SS   put-NP-2SG=REL

        "The two logs that, felling, you placed,

7:36 "nok yamuk=dek ongo-nga," i-no-go-t,

PRO.1SG water=LOC go-MV.SS 3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG

"gok usam böörong=dek i-in-a honggir-i-ya,

PRO.2SG half stone=LOC be-DS.3SG-MV hold-DS.2SG-MV

"I going into the water," I told him, "part being on the rocks, you holding it,

7:38 "nok usam honggir-e-ya, a, oe

PRO.1SG half hold-DS.1SG-MV HES woman

homu-na, urop,

HZ.or.BW-1SG.POSS enough

"I holding (the other) part, ah, the woman, my sister-in-law, that's it,

7:43 "ongo-nga, e-wang-ka-k."

go-MV.SS come-NF.SG-3SG

"going, will come."

7:45 Yu urop, ongo-go-k. Ongo-nga og-ego ö-un-a,

PRO.3 enough go-RP-3SG go-MV.SS SAME.LEVEL-FAR ascend-DS.3SG-MV

That's it, he went. Going, ascending on the other side,

7:47 ongo-nga og-ego hi-nga,

go-MV.SS SAME.LEVEL-FAR put-MV.SS

going, heading from the other side,[36]

7:50 yu=ho eep honggir-a agep to-nga i-in-a,

PRO.3=FOC wood hold-MV.SS firm SG.O.take-MV.SS be-DS.3SG-MV

nok eep usam=ma=dek=gon honggir-a ongo-nga,

PRO.1SG wood half=SPEC=LOC=RESTR hold-MV.SS go-MV.SS

he holding the log firm, I holding the other end of the log, going on,

7:53 og-o-n=ton, ongo-wa-ya, urop, ongo-go-mong.

SAME.LEVEL-NEAR=GEN go-DS.1SG-MV enough go-RP-1PL

I going to the other side, that's it, we went.

7:55 Aa, urop, amna wo yo-go-k. "Nok urop biyum-na

HES enough man DIST say-RP-3SG PRO.1SG enough tobacco-1SG.POSS

dawi-k to-wang-na ta-a-t, hon ongo-rut."

search-NMZ do-PROB.SG-DESID do-PRES-1SG PRO.2/3NSG go-IMP.2/3PL

Ah, that's it, the man spoke. "That's it, I want to do searching for my tobacco, you all go."

---

36   The prosody here (pitch reset at the beginning of this clause, relative to the previous clause) seems to confirm that this clause represents a re-casting of the preceding clause. This could be partly because the speaker realized that she needed to mark the medial verb with same-subject switch-reference, not different-subject.

23

7:59 Non urop, yu biyum dawi-k t-un-a,

PRO.1NSG enough PRO.3 tobacco search-NMZ do-DS.3SG-MV

non ongo-go-mong.

PRO.1NSG go-RP-1PL

We then, he doing his tobacco-searching, we went on.

8:01 "Orogo," yo-go-k. "Nok urop, irot yi-i-k yi-i-k

good say-RP-3SG PRO.1SG enough inside 3.O-bite-NMZ:RED

ma=t-i-t, yamuk urop, yemo-ng=dup to-mong,

NEG=do-IRR.SG-1SG water enough ford-DEP=COMPL do-NP.1PL

"Good," he said. "Now I won't be nervous, the waterways, that's it, we've forded them all,

8:06 "oke, honi=nang. Honi=nang, wo=ma-i, ongo-nang-ka-ng."

okay PRO.2/3PL.EMPH=LONE PRO.2/3PL.EMPH=LONE DIST=SPEC-TOP go-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL

"okay, you alone. You alone, that is, you will go."

8:09 Wo-go y-un-a, urop, ongo-go-mong.

DIST-ADV say-DS.3SG-MV enough go-RP-1PL

He saying that, that's it, we went.

8:10 Ongo-nga::::::, urop wo=ho=gon,

go-MV.SS enough DIST=FOC=RESTR

Going o-o-o-on, from there,

8:16 bot[37] banis=dek. Kaö. Bot morö=ma.

pig pens=LOC cow pig large=SPEC

the beast pens. Cows. Large beasts.

8:20 Bot morö=ma, kaö=ho[38] banis=dek w-ondo

pig large=SPEC cow=FOC pens=LOC DIST-NEAR

ongo-nga, non urop,

go-MV.SS PRO.1NSG enough

By the large beasts', cows', pens, going there, we thus,

8:23 poto-k poto-k ni-mo-go-k.

desist-NMZ:RED 1NSG.O-give-RP-3SG

it made us afraid.

---

37   Just as *yok* 'bilum (string bag)' is now used both specifically for string bags (also, *yok hinom* 'true/old bag') and as a general term encompassing all sorts of bag, so can *bot* 'pig' apply to introduced large husbanded animals, such as cows.

38   See Sarvasy (2017: 388-393) on use of the focus postposition with genitive function in a noun phrase that is marked for locative with =*dek* or -*in*.

8:24

Non	urop,	bin,	tiik,	urop,	gomon-o	hi-go-mok.	Stiwen-ot.
PRO.1NSG	enough	skirt	shirt	enough	red-ADJ	put-RP-1DU	Stiwen-COMIT

That's it, we two had put on red skirts and shirts. Stiwen and (I).

8:29

Nok	urop,	Ali	mak-no	i-no-nga,	"karup,
PRO.1SG	enough	Ali	mother-3SG.POSS	3SG.O-tell-MV.SS	quick

karup,"	yo-go-t=ma-i,
quick	say-RP-1SG=REL-TOP

I then, addressing Ali's mother, since I said, "Quick, quick,"

8:31

eet	towi-nga	ma=taambit-do-k,	poto-k poto-k	yo-go-mong,
foot	arrange-MV.SS	NEG=3SG.O.tread-RP-3SG	desist-NMZ:RED	say-RP-1PL

urop,	bot	morö	ya-a-nga.
enough	pig	large	3NSG.O-see-MV.SS

she did not tread carefully with her feet; we were afraid, that's it, seeing the large beasts.

8:36

Poto-nga::::::,	urop	on-eno	öö-go-mong.	Öö-nga:::::,
desist-MV.SS	enough	UPHILL-FAR	ascend-RP-1PL	ascend-MV.SS

Feari-i-ing, that's it, we ascended uphill. Ascendi-i-ing,

8:40

urong-o-n=don	hi-nga	aa-go-mong=ma,	urop,
ridge-3SG.POSS-LOC=RESTR	put-MV.SS	3SG.O.see-RP-1PL=REL	enough

heading just along the ridges, we saw it, that's it,

8:43

bot	morö	morö	urop	e-nga,	urop,	bök	yoni-n,
pig	large	large	enough	come-MV.SS	enough	house	3PL.POSS-LOC

bök	yoni-n.
house	3PL.POSS-LOC

the very large beasts coming, that's it, (to) their homes, their homes.

8:44

Asap=dek!	Bök	yoni.
path=LOC	house	3PL.POSS

On the path! Their homes.

8:46

Asap=dek.	Urop,	öö-nga,	bök	yoni-n	ö-u-ya,
path=LOC	enough	ascend-MV.SS	house	3PL.POSS-LOC	ascend-DS.2/3PL

(Were) on the path. That's it, ascending, they going up into their homes,

8:50

wo-ndo	it-du-ng=ma-i,	bot	opmou au,	göut,	meemeek,
DIST-NEAR	be-RP-2/3PL=REL-TOP	pig	small other	goat	goat

other small beasts, goats, *meemeek*,

8:54   kaö   ambarak   ir-a-ng.

cow   all   be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL

cows, everything are there.

8:55   W-ondo   ongo-nga,   urop   ongo-go-mok.

DIST-NEAR   go-MV.SS   enough go-RP-1DU

Going there, that's it, we went.

8:57   Ongo-nga:::::   Gönggiök,   urop,   bök=dek   öö-ng   ongo-nang-na

go-MV.SS   Gönggiök   enough house=LOC   ascend-DEP   go-PROB.PL-DESID

to-na-ya,   urop,   dook   yo-go-k.

do-DS.1PL-MV   enough dark   say-RP-3SG

Going o-o-o-on, Gönggiök, that's it, (as) we were about to go ascend to the village, that's it, darkness fell.

9:04   Urop,   dook   t-un-a,

enough dark   do-DS.3SG-MV

That's it, it becoming dark,

9:08   dook   y-un-a,   yamuk guo-nga,

dark   say-DS.3SG-MV water bathe-MV.SS

darkness falling,[39] bathing in the water,

9:12   w-ondo   hi-nga,   tiik   noni   nungon   au   hi-nga,

DIST-NEAR   put-MV.SS   cloth 1PL.POSS   what   other put-MV.SS

heading from there, putting on our shirts and whatever else,

9:14   w-ondo   hi-nga,   ya-a-go-mok=ma,   wo-rok,   oe,

DIST-NEAR   put-MV.SS   3NSG.O-see-RP-1DU=REL DIST-SEMBL   woman

coming from there, we saw them, that is, a woman,

9:16   mak-no=rot,   wie-no=rot,   ep-bo-morok.

mother-3SG.POSS=COMIT daughter-3SG.POSS=COMIT   come-RP-2.3DU

a mother with her daughter, came.

9:19   E-nga,   wo-rok,   odok-ni,   non=ta   odok-ni   morö   hinom

come-MV.SS   DIST-SEMBL   pity-ADJ   PRO.1NSG=BEN pity-ADJ   large   INTENS

orom   hi-go-k.

understand   put-RP-3SG

Coming, that is, pity, she felt great pity for us.

---

39   The usual way to describe the onset of night is *dook yo-*, literally 'darkness say,' not *dook to-* 'darkness do,' so this appears to be a self-correction.

9:24   Oe,   wo.

woman DIST

The woman, there.

9:25   Non=ta   odok-ni   morö hinom orom   hi-nga,   yo-go-k.

PRO.1NSG=BEN pity-ADJ   large INTENS understand   put-MV.SS   say-RP-3SG

Feeling very great pity for us, she spoke.

9:27   "Odok-ni,"   yo-go-k.

pity-ADJ   say-RP-3SG

"A pity," she said.

9:28   "Hon   amna=rot   ew-ep-no=ho,   oe=ho=gon

PRO.2NSG   man=COMIT   come.NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS=FOC   woman=FOC=RESTR

e-wa-morok=ma,   orogo muuno,

come-NP.NSG-2/3DU=REL   good   no

"Had you come with men; you two came as just women, is not good,"

9:31   "odok-ni   hinom,"   ni-no-go-k.

pity-ADJ   INTENS   1NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG

"very pitiful," she told us.

9:34   Wo-go   ni-n-un-a,   w-ondo   hi-nga   ongo-go-mong.

DIST-ADV   1NSG.O-tell-DS.3SG-MV DIST-NEAR   put-MV.SS   go-RP-1PL

She telling us like that, heading from there, we went.

9:36   W-ondo   hi-nga   ongo-nga,   urop,   numa=dek,

DIST-NEAR   put-MV.SS   go-MV.SS   enough who=LOC

Heading from there, going, enough, on what,[40]

9:40   asap=dek   ongo-ng-gong=ka,

path=LOC   go-DEP-PART=BEN

to go on the path,

9:43   kaunsöli,   kaunsöli,   e,   Manasuppe   nain-e=hon

Councillor   Councillor   HES   Manasuppe   where-ADV=GEN

kaunsöli   yoni.

Councillor   3PL.POSS

Councillor, Councillor, eh, Manasuppe, where's Councillor?

---

40   See Sarvasy (2017: 468-476) on the blurring of the distinction between (human) *numa* 'who' and (non-human) *nungon* 'what' in syntactic roles other than S/A.

9:49   Gönggiök=kon.

Gönggiök=GEN

Gönggiök's.

9:51   Wo=ma-i,   bök-no-n   on-eno,   urong-o=dek.

DIST=SPEC-TOP   house-3SG.POSS-LOC   UPHILL-FAR   ridge-3SG.POSS=LOC

That is, his house is up there, on the ridge.

9:53   W-ondo   ongo-na-ya,   ketket-no   ni-i-nga   muna,

DIST-NEAR   go-DS.1PL-MV   boy-3SG.POSS   1NSG.O-see-MV.SS   PERF.3SG

wo-rok,

DIST-SEMBL

We going there, his son seeing us, then,

9:54   karup,   karup,   dum dum   oo-ng   ep-bo-k.

quick   quick   running   descend-DEP   come-RP-3SG

quickly, quickly, he came down running.

9:55   Dum dum   oo-ng   e-nga,   non   bak   ni-mo-nga,

running   descend-DEP   come-MV.SS   PRO.1NSG   lap   1NSG.O-give-MV.SS

obu   noni-n   honggir-a,   yo-go-k,

hand   1PL.POSS-LOC   hold-MV.SS   say-RP-3SG

Coming down running, hugging us, shaking our hands, he said,

10:00   "Nan-na=ho,   nan-na=ho   na-no-wa-k=ma=ha,

father-1SG.POSS=FOC   father-1SG.POSS=FOC   1SG.O-tell-NP-3SG=REL=BEN

"My father, because my father told me,

10:04   "wo=ma-i   e-nga,   hon=ta   hori-nga   it-ta-t,

DIST=SPEC-TOP   come-MV.SS   PRO.2NSG=BEN   wait-MV.SS   be-PRES.SG-1SG

"that is, coming, I am waiting for you,

10:05   "hon   e-uny-a   ka-a-nga   wo-rok

PRO.2NSG   come-DS.2/3DU-MV   2NSG.O-see-MV.SS   DIST-SEMBL

dum dum   ep-pa-t,"   yo-go-k.

running   come-PRES.SG-1SG   say-RP-3SG

"you two coming, seeing you, then I've come running," he said.

10:08 Yo-nga,   urop,   wo-rok,   obu   nori-n   honggir-a,

say-MV.SS   enough DIST-SEMBL   hand   1DU.POSS-LOC   hold-MV.SS

wo-rok,   ni-ngat   yoo-nga   ongo-go-k.

DIST-SEMBL   1NSG.O-escort   NSG.O.take-MV.SS   go-RP-3SG

(So) saying, that's it, then, shaking our hands, then, escorting us, he went.

10:12 Ni-ngat   h-öö-nga,   bög-in.

1NSG.O-escort   NSG.O-ascend-MV.SS   house-LOC

Escorting us up, to the house.

10:15 Bög-in   hi-un-a,   nan-no   e-nga,

house-LOC   put-DS.3SG-MV   father-3SG.POSS   come-MV.SS

He putting (us) in the house, his father coming,

10:17 odok-ni   ni-no-nga,   obu   sigan   to-ng

pity-ADJ   1NSG.O-tell-MV.SS   hand   handshake   do-DEP

ni-mo-nga,   yo-go-k.

1NSG.O-give-MV.SS   say-RP-3SG

Telling us sorry, giving us a handshake, he spoke.

10:19 "öö,"   yo-go-k.

ij   say-RP-3SG

"Oh," he said.

10:21 Ali   mak-no   i-no-go-k.

Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG

He addressed Ali's mother.

10:23 "Oe   mananug-a   wo-i,   ng-ondo   ma=e-k,   urop,

woman   friend-2SG.POSS DIST-TOP   PROX-NEAR   NEG=be-NP.3SG   enough

Bunggawat   ongo-k.

Bunggawat   go-NP.3SG

"The woman, your friend, that is, is not here, she's already gone to Bunggawat.

10:26 "Gungak,   gungag-ot,   naga=rot   ir-a-mong,   orogo,

child   child-COMIT   PRO.1SG.EMPH=COMIT   be-PRES.NSG-1PL   good

duo-nang-ka-mong,"   yo-go-k.

sleep-PROB.PL-NF-1PL   say-RP-3SG

"The children, I and the children are together, good, we'll all sleep (together)," he said.

10:32 Yo-nga,[41]   w-ondo   it-na-ya,

      say-MV.SS   DIST-NEAR   be-DS.1PL-MV

      He saying (that), we being there,

10:33 ketket-no,   gungak-n-in   yoit-ni,

      boy-3SG.POSS   child-3SG.POSS-DU   two-ADJ

      his son, his two children,

10:36 gungak-n-in   imbange=gon.

      child-3SG.POSS-DU   wonderful=RESTR

      his two children (were) just wonderful.

10:37 Urop, pelet söpen   hak   to-nga,   yamuk get get   to-nga,

      enough plate saucepan   wash do-MV.SS   water fetch.NMZ:RED do-MV.SS

      tanak ho-ng   ni-mo-go-morok.

      food   cook-DEP   1NSG.O-give-RP-2/3DU

      That's it, washing the plates and saucepans, doing the water fetching, they cooked food for us.

10:42 Nan-no=rot.

      father-3SG.POSS=COMIT

      With (their) father.[42]

10:43 Tanak ho-ng   ni-m-u-ya,   na-nga,   w-ondo

      food   cook-DEP   1NSG.O-give-DS.2/3PL-MV   eat-MV.SS   DIST-NEAR

      duo-go-mong, sabat   it-do-mong,

      sleep-RP-1PL Sabbath   be-RP-1PL

      They cooking food for us, eating, we slept there, we stayed on the Sabbath.

10:47 sönda-in   dombi:::::sum, urop,

      Sunday-LOC   early.morning   enough

      Early in the morning on Sunday, that's it,

10:51 w-ondo=ma   yo-no-go-mong.

      DIST-NEAR=SPEC   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1PL

      we addressed the ones of that place.

---

41   There is no clear disfluency here, but the switch-reference marking is somewhat unexpected, given the usual patterns in Nungon. It might be expected that this medial clause (comprising just a medial verb) is a recapitulative bridging clause, with the man Manasuppe as subject argument, hence should be marked for different-subject, since the referent of the subject of the following clause includes Manasuppe but also includes other people. It could be that Nungon can be more flexible than previously known in applying same-subject marking when the subject of the second clause includes the subject of the first clause—or this could simply be a case of the speaker's moving in an unexpected direction after supplying the recapitulative bridging clause.

42   This appears to be an instance of the 3sg possessive marker used in a context when 3du would be expected; see Sarvasy (2017: 439-440).

10:53 W-ondo=ma   yo-no-na-ya,   wo-rok,

DIST-NEAR=SPEC   3NSG.O-tell-DS.1PL-MV   DIST-SEMBL

We addressing the ones of that place, then,

10:53 yo-gu-ng.   "Muuno,   au   urop,   dombi ong-i-ng,

say-RP-2/3PL   no   other   enough night   go-NP-2/3PL

they spoke. "No, the others already left in the night,

10:56 "non   au   keembok   ongo-ni-n-ma,"   wo-go   yo-gu-ng.

PRO.1NSG   other   tomorrow   go-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF   DIST-ADV   say-RP-2/3PL

"others of us will go tomorrow," they spoke like that.

10:57 Wo-go   y-u-ya,   urop,   non   noni=nang.

DIST-ADV   say-DS.2/3PL-MV   enough PRO.1NSG   PRO.1PL.EMPH=LONE

They speaking like that, that's it, we (were) by ourselves.

11:01 Non   noni=nang   ongo-nga,   Kowop Horo=gon

PRO.1NSG   PRO.1PL.EMPH=LONE   go-MV.SS   Kowop Horo=RESTR

hinggar-a,   og-o-n=don   it-na-ya,[43]

go.around-MV.SS   SAME.LEVEL-NEAR-LOC=RESTR   be-DS.1PL-MV

We going by ourselves, going around Kowop Horo,[44] staying on the other side,

11:04 hinggar-a   og-o-n=don   it-na-ya,[45]   hinggar-a

go.around-MV.SS   SAME.LEVEL-NEAR-LOC=RESTR   be-DS.1PL-MV   go.around-MV.SS

ogo-n=don   it-da-ya,   ongo-nga:::::   wo=ho=gon,

SAME.LEVEL-NEAR-LOC=RESTR   be-DS.1DU-MV   go-MV.SS   DIST=FOC=RESTR

going around, we (all) staying on the other side, going around, we (two) staying on the other side, going o-o-o-on, just like that,

11:08 Kewieng   asap=pa   bumbum   yo-nga,   urop,

Kewieng   path=BEN   crazy   say-MV.SS   enough

getting confused about the Kewieng path, that's it,

11:10 Kewieng   asap   omot-na   har-un-a,   boop.

Kewieng   path   leave-CAUS.1PL   stay.behind-DS.3SG-MV   forest

we leaving the Kewieng path behind, (we were in) the forest.

---

43   This use of DS marking may be due to a disfluency, since there is no apparent change in subject in the following clause, at 11:04.
44   This is said to be the name of a place in the Yupno region.
45   The use of DS marking here seems to imply that the whole group (two women and one boy) are the subject referents in this clause, but that the subject of the following clause refers to only two of them, not all three.

11:13 Asap au=ma tungtung=gon ongo-go-mong=ma, ongo-nga,

path other=SPEC steep=RESTR go-RP-1PL=REL go-MV.SS

wo-rok, Isan bök=dek.

DIST-SEMBL Isan house=LOC

When we went on another path, just steep, going on, then, (we got to) Isan village.

11:17 Isan bök=dek ongo-nga, asap morö au it-ta-k.

Isan house=LOC go-MV.SS path large other be-PRES.SG-3SG

Going to Isan village, there is another large path.[46]

11:21 Isan bök=dek=don omot-na har-un-a, asap morö au,

Isan house=LOC=RESTR leave-CAUS.1PL stay.behind-DS.3SG-MV path large other

"asap wo-rok" yo-nga,

path DIST-SEMBL say-MV.SS

we leaving behind Isan village, the other large path, saying, "that's the path,"

11:24 "Kewieng asap wo-rok" yo-nga ongo-go-mong.

Kewieng path DIST-SEMBL say-MV.SS go-RP-1PL

saying,[47] "that's the Kewieng path," we went on.

11:26 "Kewieng asap wo-rok" yo-nga ongo-go-mong=ma-i,

Kewieng path DIST-SEMBL say-MV.SS go-RP-1PL=REL-TOP

When we went, saying "that is the Kewieng path,"

11:26 ongo-nga, ongo-ng, boni=gon w-eyo hi-nga,

go-MV.SS go-DEP middle=RESTR DIST-DEIC put-MV.SS

tot-na ma=so-go-k, bennon, iwar-a ep-bo-mong.

SG.O.take.CAUS-1PL NEG=eventuate-RP-3SG afterward turn-MV.SS come-RP-1PL

going on, going, heading from the middle of that region, we tried to no avail, then turning around, we came (back).

11:32 Iwar-a e-nga::::, Isan bök=dek öö-nga

turn-MV.SS come-MV.SS Isan house=LOC ascend-MV.SS

y-aa-go-mong=ma, wo=ma-i,

3NSG.O-see-RP-1PL=REL DIST=SPEC-TOP

Turning around, comi-i-ing, ascending to Isan village, we saw them, that is,

11:36 Teptep=ma, amna inggouk,

Teptep=SPEC man one

of Teptep, one man,

---

46   The second clause here breaks the main event line and seems to be an aside, providing background information.
47   This could have been actual speech, but it likely represents internal speech (Aikhenvald 2008), or an attitude/belief, rather than a direct quotation.

11:39   gungak   opm-opmou,   oe   torop.

child   small:RED   woman group

a group of small children and women,

11:42   urop, Bunggawat   ep-nang-na,   wo-rok,

enough Bunggawat   come-PROB.PL-DESID   DIST-SEMBL

that's it, wanting to come to Bunggawat, thus,

11:45   e,   fiis   yoni=ha,   yiit-no   hu-nga   muya,

HES   fish   3PL.POSS=BEN   seed-3SG.POSS   NSG.O.take.away-MV.SS   PERF.2/3PL

wo=ma-i,

DIST=SPEC-TOP

eh, for their fish, taking away 'seedlings', that is,

11:47   fiis   yoni   towi-nga   hig-ik=ka.

fish   3PL.POSS   arrange-MV.SS   put:RED=BEN

for arranging for their own fish.[48]

11:50   W-ondo   ong-u-ya,   e,   w-ondo   e-u-ya,   wo-rok,

DIST-NEAR   go-DS.2/3PL-MV HES   DIST-NEAR   come-DS.2/3PL-MV   DIST-SEMBL

non   ongo+ ep-bo-mong.

PRO.1NSG   go   come-RP-1PL

They going there, eh, they coming there, thus, we wen- came.

11:52   Bök   morum to+[49]   handan   yo-nga   ep-bo-mong.

house   owner ?do   3NSG.O.follow say-MV.SS   come-RP-1PL

Thinking that we were following residents of the village, we came.

11:54   Ep-na-ya,   "öö,"   yo-gu-ng.

come-DS.1PL-MV   IJ   say-RP-2/3PL

We coming, they said, "Oh."

11:55   "Non   Teptep=pa   e-wa-mong,"   yo-gu-ng.   "Non,

PRO.1NSG   Teptep=BEN   come-NP-1PL   say-RP-2/3PL   PRO.1NSG

"We are coming for Teptep," they said. "We,

11:59   "asap   ngo   towi-nga   ma=rom   hi-mong.

path   PROX   arrange-MV.SS   NEG=know   put-NP.1PL

"we don't know this path well.

---

48   That is, to 'seed' in their own fish ponds.

49   This *to-* seems to be a disfluency; it could represent the beginning of a word like *to-nga* (do-mv.ss), but it is truncated, and Roslyn did not advise transcribing it.

12:01 "Non=to   asap   wo   ka-no-na-ya   ongo-nang-ka-ng,   wo=ma-i,"

1NSG.PRO=FOC path   DIST   2NSG.O-tell-DS.1PL-MV   go-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL   DIST=SPEC-TOP

yo   yo-go-k,

QUOT   say-RP-3SG

"(If) we telling you that path, you will go, that is," he said,[50]

12:04 "asap   opm-opmou   koit-no   ir-a-ng,   ongo-nga

path   small:RED   many-ADJ   be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL   go-MV.SS

to-ng   imbun   to-nang-ka-ng."

do-DEP   mix   do-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL

"there are many small paths; going on, you will get mixed up."

12:05 Wo-go   y-un-a,   non   poto-nga   e-wa-mong+

DIST-ADV   say-DS.3SG-MV   PRO.1NSG   desist-MV.SS   come-NP.NSG-1PL

poto-go-mong.

desist-RP-1PL

He speaking like that, declining (to go on), we came- we declined.

12:08 Poto-nga,   e-nga,   ketket   yoi   au   asap=dek   ya-a-go-mong.

desist-MV.SS   come-MV.SS   boy   two   other   path=LOC   3NSG.O-see-RP-1PL

Declining, coming, we saw two other boys on the path.

12:10 Ya-a-nga,   yo-no-go-mong.

3NSG.O-see-MV.SS   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1PL

Seeing them, we addressed them.

12:15 W-ondo   hi-nga,   urop,   yo-no-go-mong.   "Deogo,"

DIST-NEAR   put-MV.SS   enough 3NSG.O-tell-RP-1PL   how

yo-no-go-mong.

3NSG.O-tell-RP-1PL

Heading from there, we addressed them. "How," we told them.

12:18 "Metyu   orin   bakbasu   maa-no,   Metyu+"

Metyu   CONJ   teacher   name-3SG.POSS Metyu

"Metyu and a teacher named, Metyu-"

12:22 Metyu wo=ma-i,   Seims gomong   youp   yoni   inggouk.

Metyu DIST=SPEC-TOP Seims COLL   work   3PL.POSS   one

Metyu, that is, James and company, their work is the same.[51]

---

50   The speaker conceived of as plural before is now presented as singular: one among those speaking.
51   This note is an aside to me (H. Sarvasy), the listener, explaining that Metyu did the same kind of work as Towet men I knew.

34

12:24   Wikta, Wikta, youp   yoni   inggouk.

       Wikta   Wikta   work   3PL.POSS   one

       Wikta, Wikta, their work is the same.

12:26   O,   bakbasu   au   maa-no,   Yokkun.

       CONJ   teacher   other   name-3SG.POSS Yokkun

       And, the other teacher (was) named Yokkun.

12:28   Wo-rok=ka   yo-no-go-mong,   "ir-a-ng   ha?"

       DIST-SEMBL=BEN   3NSG.O-tell-RP-1PL   be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL   QUES

       About them we addressed them, "Are they there?"

12:31   T-un-a,   "Öö,   muuno,"   yo-gu-ng.[52]

       do-DS.3SG-MV IJ   no   say-RP-2/3PL

       That happening, "Oh, no," they said.

12:33   "Yokkun   wo=ma-i,   gungak-no   obur-o   obö-un-a,

       Yokkun   DIST=SPEC-TOP child-3SG.POSS arm-3SG.POSS   break-DS.3SG-MV

       "Yokkun, as for him, his child's arm breaking,

12:36   "urop   to-nga   ongo-k.

       enough SG.O.take-MV.SS go-NP.3SG

       "that's it, taking him, he went.

12:37   "Ma,   Metyu,   wo=ma-i,   bök-no   ganang-e.

       LINK   Metyu   DIST=SPEC-TOP house-3SG.POSS inside-ADV

       "And, Metyu, as for him, his house is in the bush.

12:40   "Ongo-nga,   elementeri   babiya bök=dek   hori-nga

       go-MV.SS   elementary   book   house=LOC   stare-MV.SS

       aa-nang-ka-ng=ma,   wo=ma-i,   Metyu=hon   bök   it-ta-k."

       3SG.O.see-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL=REL   DIST=SPEC-TOP Metyu=GEN   house be-PRES.SG-3SG

       "Going on, looking from the elementary school building, you will see it, that is, Metyu's house is there."

12:45   T-u-ya,   wo-rok,   Ali   mak-no=ho   ongo-nga,

       do-DS.2/3PL-MV DIST-SEMBL   Ali   mother-3SG.POSS=FOC go-MV.SS

       bök=ka   dawi-un-a,   nogo   i-no-go-t.

       house=BEN   search.for-DS.3SG-MV   PRO.1SG.FOC   3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG

       They doing (so), thus, Ali's mother going on, looking for the house, I addressed her.

---

52   Note that originally the interlocutors were introduced as two boys, but here and in the utterance at 13:01, they are the subjects of verbs inflected for plural, mplying that their group in fact included three or more people.

12:48 "Ali   mak-no,"   i-no-go-t,   "Homu,"

Ali   mother-3SG.POSS   3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG   HZ.or.BW

i-no-go-t.

3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG

"Ali's mother," I told her. "Sister-in-law," I told her.

12:50 "Ketket   on-ondo   hat   ngo-go-rok   ni-no-i-ng.

boy   UPHILL-NEAR   story   PROX-ADV-SEMBL   1NSG.O-tell-NP-2/3PL

"Those boys up there told us the story like this.

12:54 "Ketket   hat   ngo-go-rok   ni-no-i-ng.

boy   story   PROX-ADV-SEMBL   1NSG.O-tell-NP-2/3PL

"The boys told us the story like this.

12:57 "Metyu=hon   bök   ganang-e   om-emo   hinom

Metyu=GEN   house   inside-ADV   DOWNHILL-FAR INTENS

aa-nang-ka-ng   e-nga,   wo=ma-i,

3SG.O.see-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL   come-MV.SS   DIST=SPEC-TOP

"You will see Metyu's house in the bush, really far down there, being the case, that is,

12:58 "bön-no   Metyu=hon,   wo-rok.

true-ADJ   Metyu=GEN   DIST-SEMBL

"Metyu's will truly be like that.

13:00 "Bök   ambesek   ambesek,   wo=ma-i,   au=hon."

house near   near   DIST=SPEC-TOP other=GEN

"Houses very close to each other, that is, are others'."

13:01 Wo-go   y-u-ya,   nok   Ali   mak-no

DIST-ADV   say-DS.2/3PL-MV   PRO.1SG   Ali   mother-3SG.POSS

wo-go   i-no-wa-ya,   ongo-go-mok.

DIST-ADV   3SG.O-tell-DS.1SG-MV   go-RP-1DU

They having said it like that, I having told Ali's mother like that, we went.

13:03 Ongo-go-mok=ma,   oe   hinom-no   au,   oe   taambong-o

go-RP-1DU=REL   woman old-3SG.POSS   other   woman ancient-ADJ

pelet   söpen   hak   to-nga   it-do-k.

plate   saucepan   wash   do-MV.SS   be-RP-3SG

When we went, another old woman, an ancient woman was washing plates and saucepans.

36

13:07   Hak   to-nga   i-in-a,   wo-rok   i-no-go-mok.

         wash   do-MV.SS   be-DS.3SG-MV   DIST-SEMBL   3SG.O-tell-RP-1DU

         "Metyu=hon   asap   nai?"

         Metyu=GEN   path   where

         She washing them, thus, we addressed her. "Metyu's path is where?"

13:11   "Metyu=hon   asap   wo   og-ese   wo-rok,"   yo-go-k.

         Metyu=GEN   path   DIST   SAME.LEVEL-DEIC   DIST-SEMBL   say-RP-3SG

         "Metyu's path is yonder, there," she said.

13:15   "Wo   ongo-nga,   Metyu=hon   bök=dek   ongo-rang-ka-morok."

         DIST   go-MV.SS   Metyu=GEN   house=LOC   go-PROB.DU-NF-2/3DU

         "Going there, you will go to Metyu's house."

13:15   Ongo-nga::::,   wo=ma-i,[53]   Metyu   ino   urop   w-ondo   ma=it-do-k.

         go-MV.SS   DIST=SPEC-TOP   Metyu   PRO.3SG.EMPH   enough   DIST-NEAR   NEG=be-RP-3SG

         Going o-o-o-on, that is, Metyu himself was not there.[54]

13:19   Urop,   söla-no   ngo-n=ton,   pauk   dung=dek   hi-nga,

         enough   solar-3SG.POSS   PROX-LOC=GEN   sweet.potato   mound=LOC   put-MV.SS

         ino,   urop,

         PRO.3SG.EMPH   enough

         That's it, putting his solar panel on this side, on a sweet potato mound, he himself, that's it,

13:23   wo   yamuk=dek   ongo-nga   it-do-k.

         DIST   water=LOC   go-MV.SS   be-RP-3SG

         was going to the waterside.

13:25   T-un-a,   non   w-ondo   ongo-nga   aa-nga,

         do-DS.3SG-MV   PRO.1NSG   DIST-NEAR   go-MV.SS   3SG.O-see-MV.SS

         That happening, we going there and looking,

13:27   Ali   mak-no=ho   yo-go-k.

         Ali   mother-3SG.POSS=FOC   say-RP-3SG

         Ali's mother spoke.

13:28   "Maa-no   maa-no-no   imbange   orogo   hinom   wo=ma-i

         name-3SG.POSS   name-3SG.POSS-3SG.POSS   wonderful   good   INTENS   DIST=SPEC-TOP

         ngo-rok   it-ta-k,   ino   ma=ngo-k.

         PROX-SEMBL   be-PRES.SG-3SG   PRO.3SG.EMPH   NEG=go-NP.3SG

         "His wonderful, very nice thing is right here, (so) he himself didn't go (far).

---

53   The expression *wo=ma-i* here may signal a self-repair (there should be DS marking on *ongo-* 'go'.

54   Pausing between the first medial clause and the rest of this utterance implies that the second clause here represents an aside, departing from the clause chain begun with the first, medial, clause; the mismatch in switch-reference would also seem to

13:32 "Maa-no   maa-no   ngo-rok=gon   yama-nga

name-3SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS PROX-SEMBL=RESTR   3.O.watch.over-MV.SS

it-nang-ka-mong."

be-PROB.PL-NF-1PL

"We will just stay watching over his thing right here."

13:35 Wo-go   yo-nga   i-in-a,   w-ondo   yama-nga

DIST-ADV   say-MV.SS   be-DS.3SG-MV   DIST-NEAR   3.O.watch.over-MV.SS

it-na-ya,

be-DS.1PL-MV

As she was speaking like that, as we were watching over it there,

13:35 urop,   Metyu ino   w-ondo   ongo-go-k.

enough Metyu PRO.3SG.EMPH   DIST-NEAR   go-RP-3SG

that's it, Metyu himself went there.

13:38 W-ondo   ongo-nga,   urop,   ni-no-go-k.

DIST-NEAR   go-MV.SS   enough 1NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG

Going there, that's it, he addressed us.

13:40 Dowoksi   orogo ni-no-nga,   obu   nori-n   honggir-un-a

evening   good   1NSG.O-tell-MV.SS   hand   1DU.POSS-LOC   hold-DS.3SG-MV

i-no-go-mong.

3SG.O-tell-RP-1PL

Telling us good evening, he shaking our hands, we addressed him.

13:45 "Non   wo-rok   goga=gon   dawi-ng   e-nga

PRO.1NSG   DIST-SEMBL   PRO.2SG.BEN=RESTR   search.for-DEP come-MV.SS

motnaina,

PERF.1PL

"We thus coming along, searching just for you,

13:47 "gogo   bök=dek   ngo-rok   e-wa-mong.

PRO.2SG.FOC   house=LOC   PROX-SEMBL   come-NP.NSG-1PL

"have come to your house like this.

13:49 "Ongo-ng,   asap   ma=rom   hi-mong=ma=ha,   Kewieng   asap

go-DEP   path   NEG=know   put-NP.1PL=REL=BEN   Kewieng   path

ma=rom   hi-mong.

NEG=know   put-NP.1PL

"Going, since we didn't know the way, we did not know the Kewieng path.

reflect this.

38

13:52 "Non asap boop to-ng imbun to-ra-ya,

PRO.1NSG path forest do-DEP mix do-DS.1DU-MV

ongo-nga, Isan e-wa-mong."[55]

go-MV.SS Isan come-NP.NSG-1PL

"Mixing up the paths in the forest, going on, we have come to Isan."

13:55 Wo-go i-no-na-ya, Metyu=ho yo-go-k.

DIST-ADV 3SG.O-tell-DS.1PL-MV Metyu=FOC say-RP-3SG

"Öö," yo-go-k.

IJ say-RP-3SG

We addressing him like that, Metyu spoke. "Oh," he said.

13:57 "Nok ngo oip=bon ongo-wang-na to-go-t=ma,

PRO.1SG PROX yesterday=RESTR go-PROB.SG-DESID do-RP-1SG=REL

"Although I had here wanted to go yesterday,

14:00 "hon=to ep-nang-na t-u-ya hu, nok irot

PRO.2NSG=FOC come-PROB.PL-DESID do-DS.2/3PL-MV DUB PRO.1SG insides

meep to-nga, giip-na meep t-un-a, wo-rok,

heavy do-MV.SS skin-1SG.POSS heavy do-DS.3SG-MV DIST-SEMBL

"(thinking of) you being about to come, perhaps, I feeling heavy, my body becoming heavy, thus,

14:03 "hori-nga yoo-ng mor-a, wo=dek wo-n-in won-in

wait-MV.SS NSG.O.take-DEP throw-MV.SS DIST=LOC DIST-?-LOC:RED

to-nga i-in-a,[56] urop, hon unga em wo-rok

do-MV.SS be-DS.3SG-MV enough PRO.2NSG right.now DIST-SEMBL

e-wa-ng."

come-PRES.NSG-2/3PL

"leaving behind waiting, moving from here to there, that's it, you have come just now."

14:08 Wo-go yo-nga, dokdok yo-un y-un-a,

DIST-ADV say-MV.SS ready say-IMP.3SG say-DS.3SG-MV

He saying it like that, saying that he should get ready,

---

55 Note that the switch-reference shows that the two women mixed up the paths, but the entire group (including the boy, as well) came.

56 Since the inflection here is for a 3sg subject, it is possible that the perspective shifts here, from that of Metyu to that of the storyteller.

14:10   Isan   b-ök=dek   on-eno   omot-na   har-un-a,

Isan   house=LOC   UPHILL-FAR   leave-CAUS.1PL   stay.behind-DS.3SG-MV

ganang-e   w-eyo=gon,

inside-ADV   DIST-DEIC=RESTR

we leaving behind Isan village up there, (we went) just into the bush yonder.

14:15   Dewit   orin   Kuna=ho,   urop,   ongo-nga,   haa   tau-no=ha,

Dewit   CONJ   Kuna=FOC   enough do-MV.SS   area   border-3SG.POSS=BEN

Dewit and Kuna had, that's it, going on, for the area border,

14:19   möng-ku-ng,   asap   win-du-ng=ma,   ööp   w-eyo=gon   ongo-nga,

fall-RP-2/3PL   path   record-RP-2/3PL=REL   quiet   DIST-DEIC=RESTR   go-MV.SS

om-emo   asap   morö=ma=dek   öngkor-a,

UPHILL-FAR   path   big=SPEC=LOC   emerge-MV.SS

planted (markers), where they recorded the path, going along hidden over there, down below, emerging onto the large path,

14:21   ongo-go-mong.   Ongo-nga,   dööng-o-n,   nai-n-e,

go-RP-1PL   go-MV.SS   steep-ADJ-LOC   where-LOC-ADV

we went. Going on, in a steep area, where,

14:27   urop,   urop   w-ondo,

enough enough DIST-NEAR

that's it, that's it, there,

14:29   katnang   hor-o   yeng hor-a,   urop,

bamboo   base-3SG.POSS   3.O.pass-MV.SS   enough

passing a stand of bamboo, that's it,

14:31   yamuk au   oo-nga   oo-nga,

water   other   descend-MV.SS descend-MV.SS

descending, descending along another waterway,

14:32   urop,   og-ego   ongo-ra-ya,   kugum bööp-bo-k,   haa   moin-no=dek.

enough SAME.LEVEL-FAR go-DS.1DU-MV cloud sew-RP-3SG   area   bad-ADJ=LOC

that's it, we going over there, the clouds sealed up, in bad weather.

14:35   Kugum   bö-un-a,   ongo-nga,   ongo-nga:::::

cloud   sew-DS.3SG-MV go-MV.SS   go-MV.SS

urop,   om-emo   ongo-nga,

enough DOWNHILL-FAR go-MV.SS

The clouds sealing up, (we) going, going o-o-o-on, that's it, going down there,

14:37 Teptep asap to-ng omot-na har-un-a, urop, ganang-e.

Teptep path do-DEP leave-CAUS.1PL stay.behind-DS.3SG-MV enough inside-ADV

abandoning the Teptep path, that's it, (we were) in the bush.

14:41 Ongo-nga:::::: urop, yamuk=dek ongo-na-ya,

go-MV.SS enough water=LOC go-DS.1PL-MV

urop, Kewieng yamuk=dek hinom ongo-go-mong=ma, urop,

enough Kewieng water=LOC INTENS go-RP-1PL=REL enough

Going o-o-o-on, that's it, going to the waterside, that's it, when we went to the very Kewieng River, that's it,

14:46 nongom oo-go-k=ma-i, asap nai-n ongo-wang-ka-rok,

gloaming descend-RP-3SG=REL-TOP path where-LOC go-PROB.SG-NF-2SG

usam, usam, ambarak, dööng-o,

half half all steep-ADJ

since darkness descended, on what path are you going to go, on both sides, steep drop-offs,

14:50 yamuk akka=gon hinggar-a=gon i-i-ya, wo-rok,

water bank=RESTR go.around-MV.SS=RESTR be-DS.2SG-MV DIST-SEMBL

öö-ng on-eno ongo-wang-ka-k, bök=dek.

ascend-DEP UPHILL-FAR go-PROB.SG-NF-3SG house=LOC

you going along on the riverbank, then, ascending up there, it will go to the village.

14:54 Wep=dek wo-go hi-nga, hinggar-a=gon i-i-ya,

Wep=LOC DIST-ADV put-MV.SS go.around-MV.SS=RESTR be-DS.2SG-MV

Kurawiöng wo-i, ambesek,

Kurawiöng DIST-TOP nearby

Like you heading from the Uruwa River, just going around, Kurawiöng, that is, is close.[57]

14:57 Haanggo Bö nai-n-e, wo-go ongo-wang-ka-rok, uwin.

Haanggo Bö where-LOC-ADV DIST-ADV go-PROB.SG-NF-2SG far

Haanggo Bö, where else, you will go like that, far.

15:00 Ongo-go-mong, ongo-nga, yamuk opm-opmou w-eyo,

go-RP-1PL go-MV.SS water small:RED DIST-DEIC

yamuk hagam=dek ongo-nga,

water bridge=LOC go-MV.SS

We went, going, (at) the small waterways thereabouts, going on bridges,

---

57   The speaker here compares distances on her journey in the Yupno region to distances back home, within the Uruwa River valley. The Uruwa comparison proposes that one travel from the main Uruwa River up to two different places: Kurawiöng, at the upper end of the farmed areas above Towet village, and about an hour's brisk walk uphill from the Uruwa River, and Hanggo Bö, in the non-farmed forest area, several hours' hike uphill from Towet village.

15:04   omot-na   har-un-a,   yamuk opm-opmou   wo

leave-CAUS.1PL stay.behind-DS.3SG-MV water   small:RED   DIST

w-eyo   dombi na-nga,

DIST-DEIC   night   eat-MV.SS

we leaving (there) behind, at the small waterways thereabouts eating at night,

15:06   öö-ng   ongo-go-mong. Gop=dek=gon.   Hundik   morö,

ascend-DEP   go-RP-1PL   torch=LOC=RESTR   meadow   large

haa   urong-o   urong-o.

area   ridge-ADJ   ridge-ADJ

we ascended onward. Just by torchlight. (Across) a large meadow, a mountainous area.

15:10   Ongo-nga,   ongo-nga,   ongo-nga,   pauk   dung=dek

go-MV.SS   go-MV.SS   go-MV.SS   sweet.potato mound=LOC

w-eyo   ongo-ng,   orom hi-go-mong=ma,   urop,

DIST-DEIC   go-DEP   know put-RP-1PL=REL   enough

Going, going, going, going by a sweet potato mound thereabouts, we heard it, that's it,

15:14   Kewieng   amna   au   w-eyo   e-nga   muya,   urop,

Kewieng   man   other DIST-DEIC   come-MV.SS   PERF.2/3PL   enough

yo-ng   iran   to-gu-ng.

say-DEP   call.and.response   do-RP-2/3PL

other Kewieng men thereabouts coming, that's it, they did call-and-response.

15:20   Yo-ng   iran   t-u-ya,   wo-rok,   aap,

say-DEP   call.and.response   do-DS.2/3PL-MV DIST-SEMBL   song

aap   yoni,   könggap[58]   yo-gu-ng.

song   3PL.POSS   name.tune   say-RP-2/3PL

They doing call-and-response, thus, song, their song, they called *könggap*.

15:23   Yu   indin, usam könggap   y-u-ya,

PRO.3 also   half   name.tune   say-DS.2/3PL-MV

Yupno amna könggap   yo-go-k.

Yupno man   name.tune   say-RP-3SG

They also, calling the counterpart *könggap*, the Yupno man (with us) called *könggap*.

15:25   Könggap   yo-nga   muya,   wo-rok,

name.tune   say-MV.SS   PERF.2/3PL   DIST-SEMBL

They calling *könggap*, thus,

---

[58]   For more on the Yupno *könggap* "name tune" tradition, including additional references, see Amha *et al.* (2021).

42

15:30   aa,   urop   ongo-nga,   yu   usam   y-u-ya,   yu   usam

       HES   enough go-MV.SS   PRO.3 half   say-DS.2/3PL-MV   PRO.3 half

       y-u-ya,

       say-DS.2/3PL-MV

       they singing the counterpart, (the others) singing the counterpart,

15:32   wo-go   to-nga,   non   asap=dek   giip   honggit

       DIST-ADV   do-MV.SS   PRO.1NSG   path=LOC   skin   hold

       to-go-mong=ma,   wo=ma-i,   eit öklök.

       do-RP-1PL=REL   DIST=SPEC-TOP eight o'clock

       doing like that, as we rested on the path, then it was, eight o'clock.

15:36   Eit öklök   urop   asap=dek   id-it   onding   to-go-mong.

       Eight o'clock   enough path=LOC   be:RED strong   do-RP-1PL

       At eight o'clock, that's it, we gathered our strength on the path.

15:38   Id-it   onding   to-nga,   eit,   nain,   bonik yori=dek,

       be:RED strong   do-MV.SS   eight nine   middle 3DU.POSS=LOC

       urop,   ongo-go-mong. Bög-in   ongo-nang-na.

       enough go-RP-1PL   house-LOC   go-PROB.PL-DESID

       Gathering our strength, eight, nine, in the middle of the two of them, that's it, we went. Wanting to go to the village.

15:45   Bög-in   ongo-nang-na   ongo-nga::::::,

       house-LOC   go-PROB.PL-DESID   go-MV.SS

       Going o-o-o-on to go to the village,

15:48   urop,   bög-in.   Bög-in   it-na-ya,   wo-rok,

       enough house-LOC   house-LOC   be-DS.1PL-MV   DIST-SEMBL

       amna   hinom-no   hinom-no

       man   old-ADJ   old-ADJ

       that's it, the village. While we were in the village, thus, very old men,

15:51   oe   hinom-no   hinom-no,   eep,   gop   to-ng   h-e-nga::::::,[59]

       woman old-ADJ   old-ADJ   wood   torch do-DEP NSG.O-come-MV.SS

       urop,   w-ondo   duo-go-mong.

       enough DIST-NEAR   sleep-RP-1PL

       very old women, bringi-i-i-ing firewood and dry bamboo, that's it, we slept there.

---

[59]   This is an apparent instance of switch-reference mismatch, unless the people bringing the firewood were actually the travellers themselves.

15:56 Oe   amna   au   ma=ngo-gu-ng.

woman   man   other   NEG=go-RP-2/3PL

Other people did not go (there).

15:57 W-ondo   it-na-ya,   urop,   wo-rok,   dombi,

DIST-NEAR   be-DS.1PL-MV   enough DIST-SEMBL   night

As we were there, that's it, thus, at night,

16:00 aap   irom,   Kewieng=ko   aap   hatdek wet-du-ng.

song   free   Kewieng=FOC   song   much   3SG.O.beat-RP-2/3PL

music, freely, Kewieng (villagers) beat out much music.

16:04 Bök   föö   ambarak   to-ng   inggouk   to-nga   wet-du-ng.

house   four   all   do-DEP   one   do-MV.SS   3SG.O.beat-RP-2/3PL

Four villages made into one, they beat out the music.

16:06 Wer-uy-a,   non   dombi:::::sum   bonig-o-n,   urop,

3SG.O.beat-DS.3SG-MV   PRO.1NSG   morning   middle-3SG.POSS-LOC   enough

hup   maa-no   y-un-a,   oo-nga,

chicken   speech-3SG.POSS   ay-DS.3SG-MV   descend-MV.SS

They having beat it out, we very early, in the middle of the morning, that's it, the rooster having crowed, descending (from the house),

16:10 Metyu=ho   e-nga,   non   ni-n-un-a,   urop,   ongo-nga,

Metyu=FOC   come-MV.SS   PRO.1NSG   1NSG.O-tell-DS.3SG-MV   enough go-MV.SS

kondong=gon   hinggan-do-mong.

together=RESTR go.around-RP-1PL

Metyu coming, addressing us, that's it, going, we went around together.

16:15 Hinggar-a   ya-a-nga,   it-na-ya,   iso-un-a,

go.around-MV.SS   3NSG.O-see-MV.SS   be-DS.1PL-MV   dawn-DS.3SG-MV

Going around, seeing them, we staying there, it dawning,

16:17 urop,   Mönda-in,   balusi   ep-bo-k.

enough Monday-LOC   airplane   come-RP-3SG

Amna   yoo-nga.   Lisa[60]   gomong.

man   NSG.O.take-MV.SS   Lisa   COLL

that's it, on Monday, an airplane came. Bringing men. Lisa and colleagues.

16:21 Lisa,   Sekari   gomong   yoo-nga   ep-bo-k.

Lisa   Sekari   COLL   NSG.O.take-MV.SS   come-RP-3SG

bringing Lisa, Zachary, and colleagues, it came.

---

60   Dr. Lisa Dabek, founder and Director of the Tree Kangaroo Conservation Program, along with Zachary Wells, and associates.

16:25   Kuna,   Gebbi,   hailansi=ma   oe   au,

         Kuna   Gaby   Highlands=SPEC   woman   other

         Kuna,[61] Gaby,[62] another woman from the Highlands,

16:30   Medeng=ma,   amna   au,

         Madang=SPEC   man   other

         another man from Madang,

16:33   yoo-nga   ep-bo-k.

         NSG.O.take-MV.SS   come-RP-3SG

         bringing them, it came.

16:35   E-u-ya,   urop,   wo-rok,   höan   honggit-du-ng.

         come-DS.2/3PL-MV   enough   DIST-SEMBL   meeting   hold-RP-2/3PL

         Aap   wet   yangat yangat=ta.

         song   3SG.O.beat   escort:RED=BEN

         They coming, that's it, thus, they held the meeting. (First,) to welcome them, beating out music.

16:36   Höan   honggir-a,   Lisa   wo-rok   dombisum   ni-i-nga,

         meeting   hold-MV.SS   Lisa   DIST-SEMBL   morning   1NSG.O-see-MV.SS

         Holding the meeting, Lisa thus seeing us in the morning,

16:42   e-nga,   non   bak   honggir-a   wo-rok,

         come-MV.SS   PRO.1NSG   lap   hold-MV.SS   DIST-SEMBL

         ut   morö   hinom   ut-do-k.

         cry   large   INTENS   cry-RP-3SG

         coming, hugging us, thus, she wept a great big weeping.

16:45   "Odok-ni,"   yo-go-k.

         pity-ADJ   say-RP-3SG

         "Sorry," she said.

16:47   "Amna=rot   ew-ep-no,   hon   oe=ho   hinom

         man=COMIT   come:RED-ADJ   PRO.2NSG   woman=FOC   INTENS

         haa   uwin,   yamuk=dek,

         area   far   water=LOC

         "Coming with men (would have been better), truly just women a long distance, in water,

---

61   Kuna Karau, then an official of the Tree Kangaroo Conservation Program.
62   Gabriel Porolak, biologist, now at the University of Papua New Guinea.

16:52 "e-nga   mö-nga   ka-a-p ka-a-p-no   yamuk=ko

come-MV.SS   fall-MV.SS   2NSG.O.beat-NMZ:RED-ADJ   water=FOC

ka-a-ng   yoo-ng-gong-ni   e-wa-morok,"

2NSG.O-beat-DEP   NSG.O.take-DEP-PART-ADJ   come-PRES.NSG-2/3DU

coming, falling, hurting you, the water hurting and taking you along, you two have come,"

16:55 yo-nga,   urop,   ni-i-nga,   ut-do-k.

say-MV.SS   enough   1NSG.O.see-MV.SS   cry-RP-3SG

(so) saying, that's it, seeing us, she wept.

16:56 Amna   morö=ma-no   au,   amna   taambong-o,   kombör-o   morö!

man   large=SPEC-3SG.POSS   other   man   ancient-ADJ   stomach-3SG.POSS   large

Her other supervisor, an ancient man, his stomach (being) very large!

17:00 wo-rog-ot   ep-bo-morok.

DIST-SEMBL-COMIT   come-RP-2/3DU

She and that one came.

17:02 E-nga,   urop,   wo-rok,   höan   honggit-du-ng.

come-MV.SS   enough   DIST-SEMBL   meeting   hold-RP-2/3PL

Coming, that's it, thus, they held a meeting.

17:04 Höan   honggir-a,   torop   au,

meeting   hold-MV.SS   group   other

Having held the meeting, another group,

17:06 Söikbono=dek   ong-u-ya,

Thursday=LOC   go-DS.2/3PL-MV

leaving on Thursday,

17:10 non   wo=ma-i,   nenggö=dek,

PRO.1NSG   DIST=SPEC-TOP   Friday=LOC

we, as for us, on Friday,

17:15 wo-rok,   balusi   o-un-a,

DIST-SEMBL   airplane   descend-DS.3SG-MV

that is, the airplane descending,

17:16 Gebbi, Lisa,   Bensamin,   Deniel,

Gebbi   Lisa   Bensamin   Deniel

Gaby, Lisa, Benjamin, Daniel,

17:23 Ali mak-no, nok,

   Ali mother-3SG.POSS PRO.1SG

   Ali's mother, I,

17:26 e, numa, Timi,

   HES who Timi

   eh, who, Timmy,

17:30 orogo, oo-nga, Sapmangga oo-nga, yu mö-ng,

   good descend-MV.SS Sapmangga descend-MV.SS PRO.3 fall-DEP

   good, descending, descending at Sapmangga,

17:33 au Sigok ongo-gu-ng,

   other Sigok go-RP-2/3PL

   others went to Sigok.

17:35 Lisa gomong wo(mai) Sigok ongo-gu-ng. Gebbi wo=ma-i,

   Lisa COLL   DIST   Sigok go-RP-2/3PL Gebbi DIST=SPEC-TOP

   Lisa and company, as for them, went to Sigok. Gaby, as for him,

17:39 Sigok öö-nga, ongo-nga, om-emo,

   Sigok ascend-MV.SS go-MV.SS DOWNHILL-FAR

   going up to Sigok, going, down there,

17:43 Sombom=bon hinggar-a,

   Sombom=RESTR go.around-MV.SS

   going around at Sombom,

17:45 haa usam=ma, top asap om-emo e-nga,

   area half=SPEC sea path DOWNHILL-FAR come-MV.SS

   half the area, coming to the sea path down there,

17:48 e-nga,   w-ondo ep-bo-k.

   come-MV.SS DIST-NEAR come-RP-3SG

   coming, he came there.

17:50 T-un-a,   Ali mak-no   non   wo=ma-i,

   do-DS.3SG-MV Ali mother-3SG.POSS PRO.1NSG   DIST=SPEC-TOP

   h-e-ng   n-ö-un-a,   wo=ho=gon,   wo-rok,

   NSG.O-come-DEP 1.O-ascend-DS.3SG-MV DIST=FOC=RESTR   DIST-SEMBL

   ep-bo-mok.

   come-RP-1DU

   He doing that, Ali's mother and I, that is, it bringing us up, after that, that's it, we two came.

17:57   E-nga   ng-ondo   sabat=dek   ng-ondo   ep-bo-mok.

         come-MV.SS   PROX-NEAR   Sabbath=LOC   PROX-NEAR   come-RP-1DU

         Coming, here, on the Sabbath, we two came here.

17:59   Nenggö=dek.   Nenggö=dek,   e,   sabat=dek   ng-ondo   it-do-mok,

         Friday=LOC   Friday=LOC   HES   Sabbath=LOC   PROX-NEAR   be-RP-1DU

         Gebbi   wo-rok,

         Gebbi   DIST-SEMBL

         On Friday, on Friday, eh, on the Sabbath we two were here. Gaby, that is,

18:01   om-emo   hinggan-do-k=ma,   e-nga,   ng-ondo,

         DOWNHILL-FAR   go.around-RP-3SG=REL   come-MV.SS   PROX-NEAR

         when he went around down there, coming, here,

18:04   sönda   inggouk=ko   irot-no-n   hu.

         week   one=FOC   inside-3SG.POSS-LOC   DUB

         within one week, perhaps.

18:06   Yoit-ni!   Yoit-ni,   w-ondo   it-do-k.

         two-ADJ   two-ADJ   DIST-NEAR   be-RP-3SG

         Two! Two (weeks), he stayed there.

18:07   Ir-a,   urop,   balus=dek   ongo-go-k.

         be-MV.SS   enough   airplane=LOC   go-RP-3SG

         Having stayed (there), that's it, he left.

18:09   Yupno   ha-in   hinggan-do-mong=ma,   wo=ma-i,   urop,

         Yupno   area-LOC   go.around-RP-1PL=REL   DIST=SPEC-TOP   enough

         hat   yo-wa-ya,   e-nga,   urop,   buret-ta-k.

         story   say-DS.1SG-MV   come-MV.SS   enough   finish-PRES.SG-3SG

         When we went around in the Yupno area, that is, that's it, I telling the story, (it) coming (to this point),
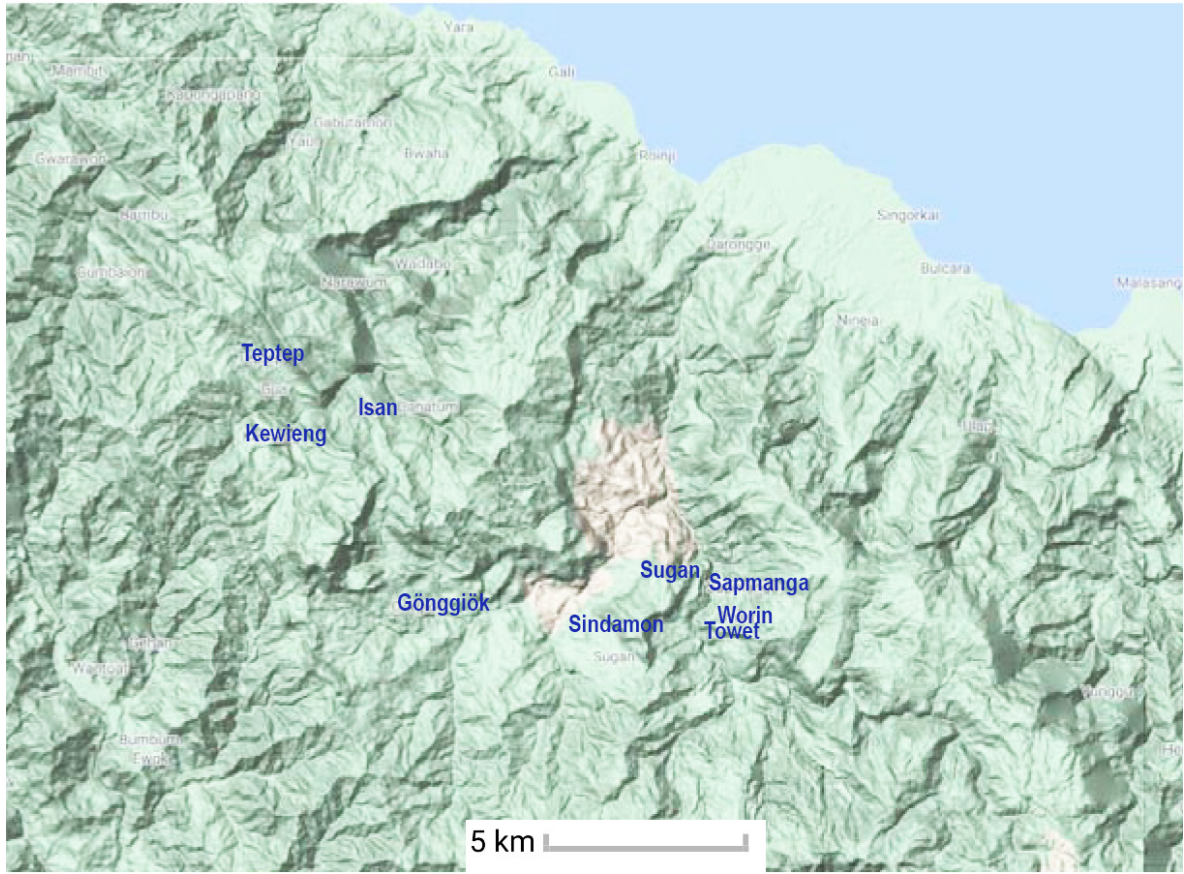
         finishes.

Figure 2. Map of the main villages mentioned by Roslyn Ögate

Figure 3. Roslyn Ögate felling bamboo for a new shelter for firewood in Kurawiöng, above Towet, Nov. 2011

When my son Gipsön was ill   Fooyu

Recorded in Towet village, Uruwa Ward 1, 28 February, 2012

0:00   Ng-ondo   id-a,   gungak-na,   Gipsön.

           PROX-NEAR   be-MV.SS   child-1SG.POSS Gipsön

           Being hereabouts, my child, Gipsön.

0:05   Opmo-in.

           small-LOC

           When (he was) small.

0:06   Him   t-un-a;   him   toup   hinom to-go-k.

           sick   do-DS.3SG-MV sick   too.much   INTENS do-RP-3SG

           He becoming sick;[63] he became really extremely sick.

0:09   T-un-a,   to-nga,   Worin ongo-go-mok,

           do-DS.3SG-MV SG.O.take-MV.SS Worin go-RP-1DU

           He doing so, taking him, the two of us went to Worin.

0:12   Omo-ng   gopbor-a   i-in-a.

           die-DEP   disappear-MV.SS be-DS.3SG-MV

           he being disappearing (into) dying.[64]

0:13   To-nga,   Worin ongo-da-ya,[65]

           SG.O.take-MV.SS Worin go-DS.1DU-MV

           Taking him, the two of us going to Worin,

0:15   dökta[66]=ho   aa-nga,   madasen[67]

           doctor=FOC   3SG.O.see-MV.SS medicine

           the doctors seeing him,

0:18   sut   i-m-u-ya,   ma=ut-do-k,   urop,   omo-ng

           shot   3SG.O-give-DS.2/3PL-MV NEG=cry-RP-3SG   enough die-DEP

           gopbot-do-k.

           disappear-RP-3SG

           giving him a shot, he did not cry, that's it, he disappeared into dying.

---

63   This verb is followed by a disfluency (a pause) and apparent redirection by the speaker; the different-subject marking here does not correspond to an actual change in subject in the following clause.

64   A Nungon speaker assisting me to transcribe this in 2011 gave *omo-nga i-in-a* 'die-MV.SS be-DS.3SG-MV' as the equivalent of this expression. This medial clause is postposed ("right-dislocated") to the end of the clause chain to which it relates.

65   This speaker has a Yawan dialect accent, hence *-da-* for Towet *-ra-*.

66   Nungon for 'doctor' would be *guram amna* 'medicine man'

67   In Nungon, *guram* 'medicine/blessing.'

0:21   Omo-ng   gopb-un-a,

die-DEP   disappear-DS.3SG-MV

He disappearing into dying,

0:23   to-nga,   asaw-in   ep-bo-mok.

SG.O.take-MV.SS path-LOC   come-RP-1DU

taking him, the two of us came along the path.

0:25   E-nga,   Bahat=dek   hi-nga[68],

come-MV.SS   Bahat=LOC   put-MV.SS

Coming, being at the Bahat stream,

0:26   yo-go-k,   nan-no[69]=ho.

say-RP-3SG   father-3SG.POSS=FOC

he said, his father did.

0:28   "Ng-ondo   id-a,

PROX-NEAR   be-MV.SS

"Being here,

0:29   "gumi,   goreng,   buyöm,   giyöng,

bracelet   necklace   tobacco   betelnut

"bracelets, necklaces, tobacco, betelnut,"

0:33   "goreng   banga-ya-n   ir-a-ng=ma   ambarak   yoo-ng

necklace   neck-2SG.POSS-LOC   be-PRES-2/3PL=REL   all   NSG.O.take-DEP

gurok=dek   hit-ti,"   y-un-a,

ground=LOC   put-IMP.2SG   say-DS.3SG-MV

he saying, "the necklaces that are on your neck, take them all and put them on the ground,"

0:36   yoo-ng   gurok=dek   hi-go-t.

NSG.O.take-DEP ground=LOC   put-RP-1SG

I took them and put them on the ground.

0:37   Hi-wa-ya,   wo-rok,

put-DS.1SG-MV   DIST-SEMBL

I putting them, thus,

0:39   nunumuk[70]   yo-go-k.

prayer   say-RP-3SG

he said a prayer.

---

68   The usual way to say 'coming from' or 'from' a location involves the same-subject medial verb form of *hi-* 'put.'

69   Here, the speaker refers to her own husband through his relationship to their child.

70   This is from Kâte, the missionary lingua franca used in church and education in this region in approximately the 1950s to 1980s; the Nungon is *bunak.*

0:40 Gungak wo-i,   doun omo-ng gopbot-do-k.

child   DIST-TOP   forever die-DEP disappear-RP-3SG

As for the child, he was lost forever in dying.

0:42 Nunumuk y-un-a,

prayer   say-DS.3SG-MV

He having said the prayer,

0:43 to-nga,   öö-ng ep-bo-mok**.**

SG.O.take-MV.SS ascend-DEP come-RP-1DU

taking him, we ascended and came.

0:45 Öö-ng   ep-da-ya,   asap=dek hi-nga,

ascend-DEP come-DS.1DU-MV   path=LOC put-MV.SS

We ascending and coming, (he) being at the path,

0:47 Urong Arang w-ondo e-nga,   urop,

Urong Arang DIST-NEAR come-MV.SS enough

coming to Urong Arang there, that's it,

0:48 daar-o   hori-go-k.

eye-3SG.POSS stare-RP-3SG

he stared (with) his eyes.[71]

0:49 Daar-o   hori-nga, mum na-go-k.

eye-3SG.POSS stare-MV.SS breast eat-RP-3SG

Staring (with) his eyes, he drank milk.

0:51 Na-un-a,   k-e-nga   w-ondo hi-nga   it-da-ya,

eat-DS.3SG-MV SG.O.-come-MV.SS   DIST-NEAR put-MV.SS be-DS.1DU-MV

He drinking, bringing him, as we were being there,

0:54 Riringgi op-no=ho   ep-bo-k.

Riringgi husband-3SG.POSS=FOC come-RP-3SG

Riringgi's husband[72] came.'

0:56 E-nga,   ng-ondo   id-a,

come-MV.SS PROX-NEAR be-MV.SS

Coming, being here,

---

71 Although the verb is inflected for singular subject, this could still mean that both eyes opened.

72 Riringgi is a Towet woman, full sister of former Uruwa Ward 1 Councillor Dono. She married into Worin village, and her move there is memorialized in at least three Nungon songs: Oreng's address to Riringgi, 'In the shell of the Dunginon place, turn an object (to let it glint in the sun), and let me see it. A pity, a pity'; Reringgi's sung reply to Oreng: 'My sis, my sis, my sis, at the Huang stream [in Towet]'; and then a parody song created by her nephew Kim, chronicling her marriage and move to Worin, then return to Towet when her husband died.

0:57   to-nga   bennon   mö-ng,

SG.O.take-MV.SS afterward   fall-DEP

taking him, afterward,

0:59   om-emo   Umep Bö   ongo-go-mok.

DOWNHILL-FAR Umep Bö   go-RP-1DU

the two of us went down there to Umep Bö.

1:01   Ku-nga   bök   opmo-in,

take.away-MV.SS house   small-LOC

Taking him away to a little house,

1:02   hi-nga   it-da-ya,   iram   onggom

put-MV.SS   be-DS.1DU-MV banana.leaf   dead

nungon   tuo-nga,

what   tie.up-MV.SS

putting him down, tying up dry banana leafs and whatnot,

1:04   bök   ami-no   goni-nga,   w-ondo   eep   di-hun

house   bed-3SG.POSS dig-MV.SS   DIST-NEAR   wood   burn-IMP.3SG

di-nga   it-na-ya[73],

burn-MV.SS   be-DS.1PL-MV

digging a foundation for a hut, that the wood would burn, we burning it there,

1:07   Siliwen,

Siliwen

Siriwen,[74]

1:08   e,   Riringgi   op-no=ho,   wo-rok,

HES   Riringgi   husband-3G.POSS=FOC DIST-SEMBL

eh, Riringgi's husband, thus,

1:10   ongo-nga   ni-ingat   yoo-nga   ep-bo-k,

go-MV.SS   1NSG.O-escort NSG.O.take-MV.SS   come-RP-3SG

going, escorting us, came,

1:11   "gungak   ngo-go   t-u-ya,

child   PROX-ADV   do-DS.2/3PL-MV

"Children doing like this,

---

73   It is important to note the slight difference in subject reference between *it-na-ya* here and *it-da-ya* in the beginning of the clause chain here. That is, the referents of the subject of *it-da-ya* (1du) are included among the referents of the subject of *it-na-ya* (1pl), but since the subject arguments are not exactly coreferent, different-subject marking occurs on *it-da-ya.* See also Sarvasy (2017: 299).

74   The speaker here mistakenly says the name of Reringgi's oldest daughter, Siriwen, instead of Reringgi's name.

1:13   "yoo-nga,   ganang-e   ma=ngo-ng   ir-a-ng."

NSG.O.take-MV.SS   inside-ADV   NEG=go-DEP   be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL

"taking them, they don't go to the bush."

1:14   Yo-nga,   ni-ingat   yoo-nga,   bög-in   ep-bo-k.   Towet.

say-MV.SS   1NSG.O-escort   NSG.O.take-MV.SS   house-LOC   come-RP-3SG   Towet

(So) saying, escorting us, he came to (our) village. Towet.

1:17   Yoo-nga,   e-un-a,   hi-nga,   it-da-ya,

NSG.O.take-MV.SS   come-DS.3SG-MV   put-MV.SS   be-DS.1DU-MV

Taking (us), coming, we putting (the child) down,

1:19   hok   waga-go-k.

white   rub-RP-3SG

he turned pale.

1:20   Hok   waga-nga   mum   na-k-na-k   to-nga   i-in-a,

white   rub-MV.SS   breast   eat-NMZ:RED   do-MV.SS   be-DS.3SG-MV

(As he was) turning pale, trying to nurse,

1:22   on-ino,   Worin   oeamna   ambarak

UPHILL-FAR   Worin   people   all

up yonder, all the Worin villagers

1:25   "hi-ng   k-u-ya[75]   it-nang-ka-mong"   yo-nga,

put-DEP   SG.O.take.away-DS.2/3PL-MV   be-PROB.PL-NF-1PL   say-MV.SS

ep-bu-ng=ma,

come-RP-2/3PL=REL

saying, "keeping them company, we'll stay," they had come,

1:27   bennon,   Riringgi   op+   a,   Riringgi,

afterward   Riringgi   husband   HES   Riringgi

then, Riringgi's husband- ah, Riringgi,

1:29   Riringgi   op-no=ho,   wo-rok,   öö-ng   ongo-nga,

Riringgi   husband-3SG.POSS=FOC   DIST-SEMBL   ascend-DEP   go-MV.SS

Riringgi's husband, thus, going up,

1:32   "Muuno,"   yo-go-k.   "Gungag-i   daar-o   hori-nga   it-ta-k.

no   say-RP-3SG   child-TOP   eye-3SG.POSS   stare-MV.SS   be-PRES.SG-3SG

said, "No. As for the child, he is staring with his eyes."

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[75]   For aspectual uses of the verb *ku-* 'take away,' see Sarvasy (2017: 344).

1:35   "Nogo   aa-nga   ep-pa-t,"   y-un-a,

PRO.1SG.FOC   3SG.O.see-MV.SS come-PRES.SG-1SG   say-DS.3SG-MV

He saying, "Having seen him, I have come,"

1:37   poto-nga,   ongo-gu-ng.

desist-MV.SS   go-RP-2/3PL

declining (to stay), they left.

1:38   Urop, hat   opmou,   wo-rok,   ya-a-t.

enough story small   DIST-SEMBL   say-PRES-1SG

That's it, a small story, thus, I have told.

Figure 4. Fooyu in Towet village after a recording session in March, 2013

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Au urop omogung, non awe iramong.