Five Mori Bawah folktales, circa 1918

by
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DESCRIPTION

This work reproduces the five Mori Bawah folktales which originally appeared in Van Eelen and Ritsema (1918-1919). These folktales are significant as they appear to be the only native Mori texts collected during the Dutch colonial era that survived the ravages of World War II and subsequent periods of civil strife. The texts, which originally appeared side by side a Dutch free translation, are presented here with updated spelling, morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, English free translation, and annotations. The original grammar notes that accompanied the texts have not been reproduced, as these were superseded by the publication of S. J. Esser's grammar of Mori (1927, 1933).

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Introduction; The story of Monkey and Turtle; How it was when Monkey and Turtle planted bananas; The story of Tarsier; The story of Orphan; The story of Monsiari; List of abbreviations; Orthographic conventions; References.

SOURCE

Eelen, H. G. van and J. Ritsema. 1918-1919. Morische verhalen opgeteekend door H. G. van Eelen en J. Ritsema. Edited by N. Adriani. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 62:211–229, 276–295; 63:312–327.

VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [19 February 2012] Texts keyboarded, glossed, translated and annotated September 2000; revised for publication September 2010.

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Introduction

The following set of five folktales—told in the Tinompo dialect of the Mori Bawah language of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia—originally appeared in a publication by H. G. van Eelen and J. Ritsema (1918–1919). In the original, each Mori text appeared side by side a Dutch free translation, followed by grammatical and lexicographical notes by the linguist Nicolaus Adriani. Only the texts are reproduced here, as Adriani's notes were rendered superfluous by the publication of Samuel J. Esser's extensive grammar of Mori (1927, 1933), a translation of which has also been published (Esser 2011). As stated in the introduction, Adriani's intent was to publish all eighteen texts collected by Van Eelen and Ritsema, but for whatever reason only five stories made it into print. These five are significant because they are, apparently, the only Mori texts from the period of Dutch administrative control and missionary activity (1907–1942) which survived World War II (1942–1945), the Indonesian war for independence (1945–1950), and the ravages of the Darul Islam rebellion in Sulawesi (1950–1965). Sadly, even Esser's own Mori text collection along with his extensive lexicographical notes were also lost during this time.

Esser himself (1927:1, footnote 4) warned that Van Eelen and Ritsema's stories contained misprints. Accordingly, I have examined these texts carefully so as to remove as many spelling errors as possible. Obvious spelling errors have been corrected without note. (In addition I have globally replaced the vowel digraph *oe* with the single character *u*.) Where something was a probable spelling error, then the change was made, but with the original spelling given in an annotation. In yet a number of further cases, no change was made to the text, but a potential 'improvement' is noted in the annotations. A number of these kinds of annotations have come by way of Mrs. Pauline Labiro Ntaola, a native speaker of Mori Bawah, whom I was fortunate to have inspect the texts from the viewpoint of a present-day Mori speaker. Her comments are indicated with the wording "PLN suggests…" The reason for not including every potential 'improvement' is to be able to present the texts close to how they were originally published. Interestingly, Ms. Pauline suggested far more changes to the first text than to any of the remaining texts, indicating that this text may have been poorly transcribed and edited in the original.

Here each text is presented in the following format: (a) the Mori text with indication of morpheme breaks and morpheme-by-morpheme glossing; (b) a set of notes (annotations) to the text, keyed by sentence number; (c) English free translation of the text. A list of abbreviations and a discussion of orthographic conventions follow the five texts.

Paragraph breaks follow those given in the original. Sentence numbering, morpheme breaks and morpheme-by-morpheme glossing are later additions by my own hand.

The story of Monkey and Turtle

1. *Tutulu-no*   *i*   *Bange*   *ka*   *i*   *Re'a.*
story-3SG.G   PN   Monkey   and   PN   Turtle

2. *Me-bonde-bonde*   *punti*   *i*   *Bange*   *ka*   *i*   *Re'a.*
PART:INTR-REDP-garden   banana   PN   Monkey   and   PN   Turtle

3. *Ka-i*   *meene*   *ka-i*   *lako*   *k[um]ita-kita-o*   *bonde-no.*
and-3SG.N   bright   and-3SG.N   go   PART:REDP-see-3SG.A   garden-3SG.G

4. *Ke*   *tuwu-o-mo*   *punti-no?*   5. *I*   *Bange*   *i-tandapi-o*
QUES   live-3SG.A-PERF   banana-3SG.G   PN   Monkey   3SG.N-sit.over-3SG.A

punti-no.   6. *Potae*   *i*   *Re'a,*   *"Tandapi-o*   *koa,*   *nggaa-nggaa*
banana-3SG.G   say   PN   Turtle   sit.over-3SG.A   just   REDP-LG:eat

m-padole."   7. *I*   *Re'a*   *langkai-o-mo*   *punti-no,*   *i*   *Bange*
LG-leaf.sprout   PN   Turtle   big-3SG.A-PERF   banana-3SG.G   PN   Monkey

pingko-mo   *punti-no.*
finish.up-PERF   banana-3SG.G

8. *Ka-do*   *lako*   *k[um]ita-kita-o;*   *i*   *Re'a*   *anu-no*
and-3PL.N   go   PART:REDP-see-3SG.A   PN   Turtle   what's.it-3SG.G

mewua-mo;   *i*   *Bange*   *na-m-i*   *hina.*   9. *I*   *Re'a*
PART:have.fruit-PERF   PN   Monkey   NEG-PERF-3SG.N   exist.   PN   Turtle

ta   *ronga*   *motaha*   *punti-no,*   *i*   *Bange*   *na-m-i*   *hina.*
3SG.F   with   ripe   banana-3SG.G   PN   Monkey   NEG-PERF-3SG.N   exist

10. *Motaha-mo*   *punti-no*   *i*   *Re'a.*   *ka-i*   *hawe,*   *ta*
ripe-PERF   banana-3SG.G   PN   Turtle   and-3SG.N   arrive   3SG.F

momaru-o,   *ka-i*   *pomaru*   *nahi*   *te'ala.*   11. *Mewolili,*
PART:climb-3SG.A   and-3SG.N   climb   NEG(3SG.N)   able   PART:turn.around

moboi-o   *i*   *Bange,*   *ka-i*   *pomaru-ako-'ira.*
PART:call-3SG.A   PN   Monkey   and-3SG.N   climb-APPL-3PL.A

12. *Ka-i*   *pomaru*   *i*   *Bange,*   *hawe*   *i*   *untu-no,*   *ka-i*
and-3SG.N climb   PN   Monkey   arrive   at   top-3SG.G   and-3SG.N

pong-kaa   *punti*   *taha.*   13. *Ka-i*   *po-'ema*   *i*   *Re'a,*   *ka-i*
APASS-eat   banana   ripe   and-3SG.N   APASS-request   PN   Turtle   and-3SG.N

teta'iki-o	*kuli*	*punti*	*ka-i*	*amba*	*wee-ako-no*	*i*	*Re'a.*
defecate.on-3SG.A	skin	banana	and-3SG.N	next	give-APPL-3SG.A	PN	Turtle

14.
Ka-i	*kita-kita*	*i*	*Re'a*	*ta'i-no*	*Bange,*	*potae*
and-3SG.N	REDP-see	PN	Turtle	feces-3SG.G	Monkey	say

i	*Re'a,*	*"Po'ia-'ia*	*ka-ku*	*po-weweu-akomu*	*pentoa-a-mu."*
PN	Turtle	stay	and-1SG.N	APASS-make-APPL:2SG.A	jump.down-LOC-2SG.G

15.
Ka-i	*pon-tasomi*	*ampa*	*i*	*Re'a*	*ka-i*	*ampa-o.*
and-3SG.N	APASS-sharpen	stake	PN	Turtle	and-3SG.N	stake-3SG.A

16.
Ka-i	*sikeno-o*	*tabulu*	*mo-hopa-o-mo*	*dahu-dahu*
and-3SG.N	ask-3SG.A	when	PART:APASS-bark-3SG.A-PERF	k.o.bat

n-to-lahumoa,	*pentoa-mo*	*mbole-mbolene-a-no.*	17.	*Ka-i*	*lako*
LG-people-gods	jump.down-PERF	REDP-calm-LOC-3SG.G		and-3SG.N	go

i	*Re'a*	*mo-hopa*	*ka-i*	*pentoa*	*i*	*Bange.*
PN	Turtle	PART:APASS-bark	and-3SG.N	jump.down	PN	Monkey

18.
Mentoa	*i*	*Bange*	*me-sunsu-sunsu*	*ia*	*ampa-no*
PART:jump.down	PN	Monkey	PART:INTR-REDP-pierce	at	stake-3SG.G

i	*Re'a.*	19.	*I*	*Re'a*	*hawe*	*k[um]ita-kita-o,*
PN	Turtle		PN	Turtle	arrive	PART:REDP-see-3SG.A

me-sunsu-sunsu-o-mo	*i*	*Bange*	*mate-o-mo.*	20.	*Potae*	*i*
PART:INTR-REDP-pierce-3SG.A-PERF	PN	Monkey	die-3SG.A-PERF		say	PN

Re'a,	*"Ia-po*	*namia*	*loso-ko-mo,*	*nde*	*nah-u*
Turtle	3SG.INDEP-INCOMP	EMPH	regret-2SG.A-PERF	because	NEG-2SG.N

po-wee-'aku	*punti-ku,*	*ta'i-mu*	*koa*	*u-dontai-akune."*
APASS-give-1SG.A	banana-1SG.G	feces-2SG.G	just	2SG.N-drop-APPL:1SG.A

21.
Ka-i	*tembi-o*	*i*	*Re'a*	*i*	*Bange,*	*ka-i*
and-3SG.N	carry.on.back-3SG.A	PN	Turtle	PN	Monkey	and-3SG.N

wawa-o	*i*	*rodoha,*	*ka-i*	*tunu-o*	*ensea*	*wuku-no.*
carry-3SG.A	at	house	and-3SG.N	roast-3SG.A	lime	bone-3SG.G

22.
Ka-i	*pokoli-o*	*a*	*balo*	*ka-i*	*tambe-o*	*i*
and-3SG.N	put-3SG.A	at	bamboo	and-3SG.N	place-3SG.A	at

tapaa.
drying.rack

23. *Ka-do*   *n-telalo*   *wali-no*   *bange;*   *ira*   *lako*
and-3PL.N   PL-pass.by   companion-3SG.G   monkey   3PL.F   go

m-ponga'e.   24. *Tetoro-'ira*   *m-pebaku.*   25. *Umari-do*
PL-headhunt   sit-3PL.A   PL-have.provisions   finish-3PL.G

m-pebaku,   *ira*   *m-po-mama,*   *na-hina*   *ensea.*
PL-have.provisions   3PL.F   PL-APASS-chew.betel   NEG-exist   lime

26. *M-pewolili-'ira,*   *men-sikeno-o*   *i*   *Re'a*   *ba*   *na-hina*   *ensea.*
PL-turn.around-3PL.A   PL-ask-3SG.A   PN   Turtle   if   NEG-exist   lime

27. *Potae*   *i*   *Re'a,*   *"O*   *ensea*   *hadio!"*   28. *"Ala-akita-mo*
say   PN   Turtle   CN   lime   many   get-APPL:1PLN.A-PERF

o   *ensea,*   *kami*   *m-po-mama."*   29. *Ka-i*   *ala-ako-'ira*
CN   lime   1PLX.F   PL-APASS-chew.betel   and-3SG   get-APPL-3PL.A

i   *Re'a*   *o*   *ensea.*
PN   Turtle   CN   lime

30. *Ka-do*   *m-petia-o*   *ka-do*   *umari*
and-3PL.N   PL-divide.with.each.other-3SG.A   and-3PL.N   finish

m-po-mama,   *ka-do*   *m-po-liwo*   *ira-mo*   *me-lako.*
PL-APASS-chew   and-3PL.N   PL-APASS-prepare.for.journey   3PL.F-PERF   PL-go

31. *Ndi-'ira*   *me-'olai,*   *i-booli-'ira-mo*   *i*   *Re'a,*
be.here-3PL.A   PL-far   3SG.N-call-3PL.A-PERF   PN   Turtle

"Do-meng-kaa-no-mo   *ta-wuku-no*   *wali-do."*   32. *Ka-do*
3PL.N-PL-eat-3SG.A-PERF   old-bone-3SG.G   companion-3PL.G   and-3PL.N

m-pekule   *me-hawe-'ira,*   *na-m-i*   *ndio*   *i*   *Re'a.*
PL-return   PL-arrive-3PL.A   NEG-PERF-3SG.N   be.here   PN   Turtle

33. *Ka-do*   *men-sikeno-o,*   *ka-i*   *sangki,*   *"Ndi-'aku*   *api*
and-3PL.N   PL-ask-3SG.A   and-3SG.N   answer   be.here-1SG.A   slit

m-po-wutu."   34. *Ka-do*   *lako*   *meng-kita-kita-o,*   *nahi*   *rau,*
LG-APASS-bind   and-3PL.N   go   PL-REDP-see-3SG.A   NEG(3SG.N)   be.over.there

kutu   *koa*   *asa,*   *ka-do*   *men-tiho-o.*
louse   just   one   and-3PL.N   PL-squish-3SG.A

35. *Ka-do*   *men-sikeno-o,*   *"Sua-sua-ko-mo,*   *Re'a?"*
and-3PL.N   PL-ask-3SG.A   REDP-where-2SG.A-PERF   Turtle

36. *"Ndi-'aku   i   toto   sambi."*   37.   *Ka-do   me-lako*
    be.here-1SG.A   at   underside   shelf   and-3PL.N   PL-go

meng-kita-kita-o,   nahi   rau,   kutu   koa   asa.   38.   *Ka-do*
PL-REDP-see-3SG.A   NEG(3SG.N)   be.over.there   louse   just   one   and-3PL.N

men-sikeno-o,   "Sua-sua-ko-mo,   Re'a?"   38.   *"Ndi-'aku   a*
PL-ask-3SG.A   REDP-where-2SG.A-PERF   Turtle   be.here-1SG.A   at

m-puu   ensa.   40.   *Ka-do   me-lako   meng-kita-kita-o,   nahi*
LG-vicinity   ladder   and-3PL.N   PL-go   PL-REDP-see-3SG.A   NEG(3SG.N)

lou,   simo   koa   asa.   41.   *Ka-do   men-sikeno-o,*
be.down.there   clothes.louse   just   one   and-3PL.N   PL-ask-3SG.A

"Sua-sua-ko-mo,   Re'a?"   42.   *"Ndi-'aku   a   n-toto*
 REDP-where-2SG.A-PERF   Turtle   be.here-1SG.A   at   LG-underside

nohu."   43.   *Ka-do   me-bangku-o   io   nohu,*
rice.mortar   and-3PL.N   PL-knock.down-3SG.A   CN   rice.mortar

lou-o-m-i   lo'ai.
be.down.there-3SG.A-PERF-at   down.there

    44.   *Pelonsoki-o-mo   tapongka.*   45.   *Mengese-o-mo,   "Hu,   hu!"*
        jump.on-3SG.A-PERF   large.monkey   PART:weep-3SG.A-PERF   huu   huu

46.   *"Anu   koa   nahi   to-kakahani-o,   onae   koa   i-wee-kita.*
    REL   just   NEG   1PLN.N-esteem.good-3SG.A   3SG.INDEP   just   3SG.N-give-1PLN.A

Me-'ala-akita   po'isa,   kita   men-tunduhi-o."   47.   *Ka-i*
PL-get-APPL:1PLN.A   pestle   1PLN.F   PL-hit.with.hard.object-3SG.A   and-3SG.N

pengese,   "Hu,   hu!"   48.   *"Anu   koa   nahi   to-kakahani-o,*
weep   huu   huu   REL   just   NEG   1PLN.N-esteem.good-3SG.A

onae   koa   i-wee-kita.   *Me-wawa-akita   kolongga,   kita*
3SG.INDEP   just   3SG.N-give-1PLN.A   PL-bring-APPL:1PLN.A   chicken.basket   1PLN.F

me-'uko-o,   kita   lako   me-dontai-o   a   untu-no   keu."
PL-place.inside-3SG.A   1PLN.F   go   PL-drop-3SG.A   at   top-3SG.G   tree

49.   *Ka-i   pengese,   "Hu,   hu!"*   50.   *"Anu   koa   nahi*
    and-3SG.N   weep   huu   huu   REL   just   NEG

to-kakahani-o,   nde   wainto,   onae   koa   i-wee-kita."
1PLN.N-esteem.good-3SG.N   ??   poor.thing   3SG.INDEP   just   3SG.N-give-1PLN.A

51. *Ka-do*   *me-lako*   *m-pomarurako-no*   *a*   *untu-no*   *keu.*
and-3PL.N   PL-go   PL-climb.with-3SG.A   at   top-3SG.G   tree

52. *Ka-do*   *men-sikeno-o,*   *"I-ndi'a-ndi'ai-mo,*   *Re'a?"*
and-3PL.N   PL-ask-3SG.A   at-REDP-here-PERF   Turtle

53. *"Na-na-po*   *lahi,*   *taha-tahane-ako*   *mbo'u."*
REDP-NEG-INCOMP   too   REDP-go.thither.upward-APPL   again

54. *Ka-i*   *pomaru.*   55. *"I-ndi'a-ndi'ai-mo,*   *Re'a?"*   56. *"Humbee."*
and-3SG.N   climb   at-REDP-here-PERF   Turtle   yes

57. *Do-me-dontai-o-mo*   *a*   *uwoi,*   *mengingisi-o-mo,*   *"Hi… hi… hi… !*
3PL.N-PL-drop-3SG.A-PERF   at   water   PART:laugh-3SG.A-PERF   hee   hee   hee

Ku-hawe-hawe-o-mo   *inia-no*   *ine-ku!"*
1SG.N-REDP-encounter-3SG.A-PERF   village-3SG.G   mother-1SG.G

58. *Ka-do*   *me-lako*   *m-po-'oli*   *ambau*   *o*   *laki*   *ka*
and-3PL.N   PL-go   PL-APASSI-buy   carabao   CN   male   and

bira,   *ka-do*   *mem-pae-ako-no*   *ka-i*   *inu-o*   *uwoi*
female   and-3PL.N   PL-lead.on.tether-APPL-3SG.A   and-3SG.N   drink-3SG.A   water

po'ia-nga-no   *i*   *Re'a.*
reside-LOC-3SG.G   PN   Turtle

59. *Ka-i*   *pengese*   *i*   *Re'a.*   60. *Potae*   *Kolele,*
and-3SG.N   cry   PN   Turtle   say   k.o.crab

"Si   *pengese,*   *ka-ku*   *kasi-o*   *ambau*   *arau*   *a*
NEG.IMPV   cry   and-1SG.N   pinch-3SG.A   carabao   that.over.there   at

su'ului-no."   61. *Ka-i*   *kasi-o*   *Kolele*   *a*   *n-su'ului-no,*
testicle-3SG.G   and-3SG.N   pinch-3SG.A   k.o.crab   at   LG-testicle-3SG.G

mate-o-mo.   62. *Ka-i*   *kasi-o*   *mbo'u*   *o*   *bira*   *ia*
die-3SG.A-PERF   and-3SG.N   pinch-3SG.A   again   CN   female   at

n-sele-no,   *maate.*
LG-vagina-3SG.G   die

63. *Mo'unde-o-mo*   *i*   *Re'a,*   *nde*   *mate-o-mo*
PART:rejoice-3SG.A-PERF   PN   Turtle   because   die-3SG.A-PERF

ambau.
carabao

Notes

This story was collected by H. G. van Eelen in 1914 from two young Mori people, who also helped him to translate it.

3, 4. I follow the original here and treat sentence 4 as an independent clause. However, we suspect that it should be joined with the preceding sentence as an indirect (subordinate) question, thus '…they went and looked at their garden, (to see) whether their bananas were growing.' In the English translation we use 'they,' 'their.' Literally the story reads 'he went … his garden … his bananas,' that is, Turtle and Monkey went individually.

7. *pingko-mo*, PLN suggests *pingko-o-mo* thus with third person pronoun.

8. *mewua-mo*, PLN suggests *mewua-o-mo*, thus with third person pronoun.

10. *motaha-mo*, PLN suggests *motaha-o-mo*, thus with third person pronoun.

12. *punti taha*, PLN suggests *punti motaha* without clipping of the derivational affix.

14. *potae i Re'a*, PLN suggests *i-potae i Re'a*, thus with third person pronoun.

20. *Ia-po*, to be regarded as a contraction of *iao-po*, in which *iao* is an old form of the third person singular independent pronoun; see Esser (1927:116) and Mead (1998:148ff.). *namia*, emphatic particle, derived from third person singular pronoun *nae* plus *mia* 'person' (Esser 1927:118, postscript).

31. *ta-wuku-no*, in the original, spelled *tawukuro*, but almost certainly a misprint.

34. *kutu koa asa*, PLN suggests *kutu koa aasa*. Likewise in 37 and 40.

45, also 47. In this version, the turtle cries, perhaps inciting the monkeys to think up an even more fiendish punishment. In other versions, the turtle typically laughs at the monkeys' threats, crying only when they threaten to throw her in the water.

46, also 48, 50. *onae koa i-wee-kita* (in the original *iwekita*) literally 'just that she gives us.' The English translation follows the Dutch *dat juist doen we haar aan* 'that's what we'll do to her, that's what we'll subject her to.'

50. *nde wainto*, the function of *nde* is not clear, but is closely tied to *wainto* as an expression of pity. A similar phrase, also expressing pity in Mori Bawah, is *nde mia*, as in *I'alaomo nde mia asa mpuru kinaa kai kaano* 'he took a bit of rice in his fingers, poor guy, and ate it.' Whether this *nde* is related to the hortative particle *nde'e* (variant *nde*) is presently unknown.

53. *Na-na-po*, PLN suggests *Naa-naa-po*.

58. *Ka-i inu-o* 'and it drank it,' even though there are clearly two carabao, the pair are treated as singular, thus as non-personified characters (as brute animals).

60. *Potae Kolele*, PLN suggests *I-potae i Kolele*, thus with third person pronoun preceding *potae* and with personal name marker preceding *Kolele* (thus marking 'Crab' as a personal name).

61. *Ka ikasio Kolele*, PLN suggests *Ka ikasio i Kolele*. See note to sentence 60.

Translation

1. The story of Monkey and Turtle.

   2. Monkey and Turtle had a banana garden. 3. And it was day, and they went and looked at their garden. 4. Were their bananas growing? 5. Monkey sat over his banana plant. 6. Turtle said, "Just sit, eating the leaf sprouts." 7. As for Turtle, her banana plant became big; as for Monkey, his banana plant was used up.

   8. And they went to look; as for Turtle, hers was fruiting; as for Monkey, he no longer had any. 9. As for Turtle, hers were almost ripe; as for Monkey, he no longer had any.

   10. Turtle's banana's were ripe, and she came, and was going to climb, and she climbed but she was not able. 11. She turned around and called Monkey to come climb for them.

   12. And Monkey climbed to the top, and he ate the ripe bananas. 13. And (when) Turtle asked for some, he defecated on some banana skins and then he gave those to Turtle.

   14. And (when) Turtle saw Monkey's feces, Turtle said, "Stay (there) and I will make a place for you to jump down." 15. And Turtle sharpened bamboo stakes , and she staked them into the ground. 16. And she asked, when the bat of the gods barked, jump down on the nice spot. 17. And Turtle went barking, and Monkey jumped down.

   18. When Monkey jumped, he was pierced through and through on Turtle's stakes. 19. Turtle came and looked at him, Monkey was pierced through, he was dead. 20. Said Turtle, "Now you regret it, that you didn't give me my bananas, only your feces did you drop for me." 21. Then Turtle put Monkey on her back, and she carried him home, and she roasted his bones into lime. 22. Then she put it into a bamboo container, and she placed it on the drying rack.

   23. And Monkey's companions passed bay, they were going to go headhunting. 24. They sat eating provisions. 25. When they were finished having provisions, they were going to chew betel, but they didn't have any lime. 26. They turned around, and asked Turtle whether she had any lime. 27. Said Turtle, "Oh, I have a lot of lime." 28. "Get some lime for us, we're going to chew betel." 29. And Turtle got lime for them.

   30. And they divided it amongst themselves, and they finished chewing, and they prepared to go.

31. When they were far, Turtle called to them, "They ate the bones of their companion." 32. And they returned and arrived, (but) Turtle was not there.

33. And they asked, and she answered, "Here I am between the bindings." 34. And they went and inspected it, and there was nothing over there, just a single louse, and they squished it.

35. And they asked, "Wherever are you, Turtle?" 36 "Here I am under the shelf." 37. And they went and inspected it, there was nothing over there, just a single louse. 38. And they asked, "Wherever are you, Turtle?" 39. "Here I am under the ladder." 40. And they went and inspected it and there was nothing down there, just a single clothes louse. 41. And they asked, "Wherever are you, Turtle?" 42. "Here I am under the mortar." 43. And they knocked over the mortar, there she was down there.

44. A large monkey jumped on her. 45. Turtle cried, "Boo, hoo!" 46. "That which we don't think is good, that's what we'll do to her. Get a pestle for us, and we'll pound her." 47. And she wept, "Boo, hoo!" 48. "That which we don't think is good, that's what we'll do to her. Fetch us a chicken basket, we will place her inside and we will drop her from the top of a tree." 49. And she wept, "Boo, hoo!" 50. "That which we don't think is good, poor thing, that's what we'll do to her." 51. And they went climbing with her to the top of a tree.

52. And they asked, "About here, Turtle?" 53. "Not yet, still a little higher." 54. And he climbed. 55. "About here, Turtle?" 56. "Yes." 57. (As) they dropped her into the water, Turtle laughed, "Hee, hee hee! I have come to my mother's village!"

58. And they went and bought a male and a female carabao, and they led them, and it drank up the water in Turtle's abode.

59. Then Turtle cried. 60. Said Crab, "Don't cry, I'll pinch that carabao on his testicles." 61. And Crab pinched it on his testicles, and it died. 62. And he pinched again, the female on her vagina, and it died.

62. Turtle was happy because the carabao had died.

How it was when Monkey and Turtle planted bananas

1. *Pu'u-no,*   *ondae*   *i*   *Bange*   *ka*   *i*   *Re'a*   *mom-paho*
base-3SG.G   3PL.INDEP   PN   Monkey   and   PN   Turtle   PART:APASS-plant

punti.
banana

     2. *Pohona*   *do-lako*   *mom-paho*   *punti,*   *i*   *Bange*   *ka*   *i*
once   3PL.N-go   PART:APASS-plant   banana   PN   Monkey   and   PN

Re'a,   *te-'o-'asa-do.*   3. *Umari-do*   *paho-o,*   *mekule-'ira-mo.*
Turtle   DISTR-REDP-one-3PL.G   finish-3PL.G   plant-3SG.A   PART:return-3PL.A-PERF

     4. *Meene-o-mo,*   *l[um]ako-'ira-mo*   *k[um]ita-o.*
bright-3SG.A-PERF   PART:go-3PL.A-PERF   PART:see-3SG.A

5. *Hawe-'ira*   *a*   *punti*   *p[in]aho-do,*   *ko-hawe-no*   *koa*   *i*
arrive-3PL.A   at   banana   PASS:plant-3PL.G   at-arrive-3SG.G   just   PN

Bange,   *t[um]andapi-o*   *punti*   *p[in]aho-no*   *ka-i*   *kaa-no*
Monkey   PART:sit.on-3SG.A   banana   PASS:plant-3SG.G   and-3SG.N   eat-3SG.A

padole-no.
leaf.sprout-3SG.G

     6. *Me-sikeno*   *i*   *Bange,*   *"Pia*   *tangke-mo*   *ke*   *omue*
PART:INTR-ask   PN   Monkey   how.many   stalk-PERF   QUES   2SG.INDEP

lewe-no   *punti-mu,*   *Re'a?"*   7. *S[um]angki*   *i*   *Re'a,*   *"Da*   *asa*
leaf-3SG.G   banana-2SG.G   Turtle   PART:reply   PN   Turtle   still   one

tangke lewe-no."   8. *Onae-mo*   *ka-i*   *pe-sikeno*   *mbo'u*   *i*   *Re'a,*
stalk   leaf-3SG.G   3SG.INDEP-PERF   and-3SG.N   INTR-ask   also   PN   Turtle

"Pia   *tangke-mo,*   *ke*   *Bange,*   *lewe-no*   *punti-mu?"*
how.many   stalk-PERF   QUES   Monkey   leaf-3SG.G   banana-2SG.G

9. *S[um]angki*   *i*   *Bange,*   *"Tandapi-o,*   *n-tumburi-o,*   *nggaa-nggaa*
PART:reply   PN   Monkey   sit.on-3SG.A   LG-peel-3SG.A   REDP-LG:eat

m-padole-no."
LG-leaf.sprout-3SG.G

     10. *Umari-do*   *k[um]ita-o*   *andio,*   *mekule-'ira-mo.*
finish-3PL.G   PART:see-3SG.A   this   PART:return-3PL.A-PERF

11. *Ka-i* *meene* *ka-do* *lako.*
and-3SG.N bright and-3PL.N go

12. *Kanandio-mo* *w[in]eweu-do*
like.this-PERF PASS:do-3PL.G

sompo *oleo.*
each day

13. *Sine* *punti-no* *i* *Bange* *onae* *maate,*
but banana-3SG.G PN Monkey 3SG.INDEP die

nde *i-pewela* *k[um]aa-no* *padole-no.*
because 3SG.N-regularly PART:eat-3SG.A leaf.sprout-3SG.G

14. *Punti-no*
banana-3SG.G

i *Re'a,* *onae* *mewua-o-mo.*
PN Turtle 3SG.INDEP PART:have.fruit-3SG.A-PERF

15. *Tehi-tehine* *motaha-o-mo* *a* *n-tuwu* *ng-keu-no.*
REDP-long.time ripe-3SG.A-PERF at LG-sprout LG-tree-3SG.G

16. *L[um]ako-o-mo* *i* *Re'a* *ta* *momaru-o*
PART:go-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle 3SG.F PART:climb-3SG.A

punti-no, *ka-i* *pomaru-ako* *hori-no,* *nahi* *te'ala.*
banana-3SG.G and-3SG.N climb-APPL side-3SG.G NEG(3SG.N) able

17. *Ka-i* *pomaru-ako* *bungku-no,* *nahi* *te'ala.*
and-3SG.N climb-APPL back-3SG.G NEG(3SG.N) able

18. *Te'osa-o-mo* *momaru,* *mekule* *moboi-o*
leave.off-3SG.A-PERF PART:climb PART:return PART:invite-3SG.A

i *Bange.*
PN Monkey

19. *Hawe-no* *koa* *i* *Bange,* *momaru,*
arrive-3SG.G just PN Monkey PART:climb

ka-i *pong-kaa;* *onae-mo* *ka-i* *pom-pepe-dontai* *i*
and-3SG.N APASS-eat 3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N APASS-REQUEST-drop PN

Re'a.
Turtle

20. *Ka-i* *dontai-ako-no* *i* *Bange* *kuli-no* *koa.*
and-3SG.N drop-APPL-3SG.A PN Monkey skin-3SG.G just

21. *Onae-mo* *ka-i* *akala-o* *i* *Re'a* *i* *Bange,*
3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N deceive-3SG.A PN Turtle PN Monkey

i-potae, *"Dontai-akune* *ari,* *Bange,* *owu-mu!"*
3SG.N-say drop-APPL:1SG.A only Monkey machete-2SG.G

22. *Mansa-no*
at.once-3SG.G

d[um]ontai-ako-no *owu-no,* *i-bini-o-mo* *i* *Re'a,*
PART:drop-APPL-3SG.A machete-3SG.G 3SG.N-pick.up-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle

ka-i *pon-tasomi* *ampa.*
and-3SG.N APASS-sharpen stake

23. *Umari-no* *t[um]asomi-o,*
finish-3SG.G PART:sharpen-3SG.A

i-ta'o-o-mo. 24. *I-oliwi-o-mo* *i* *Re'a* *i* *Bange,* *"Ba-u*
3SG.N-set-3SG.A-PERF 3SG.N-advise-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle PN Monkey if-2SG.N

ronge-o-mo *da* *te'ingka,* *Bange,* *dahu-do* *Datu* *mo-hopa,*
hear-3SG.A-PERF still soon Monkey dog-3PL.G Monarch PART:APASS-bark

pentoa-mo *indi'ai,* *a* *ng-kolingaa-no* *andio."* 25. *Ka-i*
jump.down-PERF here at LG-clear.place-3SG.G this and-3SG.N

potae mbo'u *i* *Re'a,* *"Sine* *pon-tandua* *koa* *punti* *ka*
say also PN Turtle but APASS-hold.in.teeth just banana and

po-'asingkeke." 26. *S[um]angki* *i* *Bange,* *"Humbee!"*
APASS-hold.under.arm PART:reply PN Monkey yes

27. *L[um]ako-o-mo* *raane* *i* *Re'a* *a* *wiwi* *n-tobu,*
PART:go-3SG.A-PERF go.thither.level PN Turtle to edge LG-forest

mo-hopa. 28. *Mansa-no* *r[um]onge-o* *i* *Bange* *nganga-no*
PART:APASS-bark at.once-3SG.G PART:hear-3SG.A PN Monkey voice-3SG.G

i *Re'a* *mo-hopa,* *mentoa-o-mo,* *kona* *ampa,* *maate.*
PN Turtle PART:APASS-bark PART:spring.down-3SG.A-PERF hit stake die

29. *Mekule-o-mo* *i* *Re'a,* *hawe-no* *k[um]ita-o,*
PART:return-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle arrive-3SG.G PART:see-3SG.A

mate-o-mo *i* *Bange.* 30. *I-'ala-'ira-mo* *punti*
die-3SG.A-PERF PN Monkey 3SG.N-get-3PL.A-PERF banana

t[in]andua-no *ka-i* *kaa-no.* 31. *Umari-no* *k[um]aa-'ira,*
PASS:hold.in.teeth-3SG.G and-3SG.N eat-3SG.A finish-3SG.G PART:eat-3PL.A

mekule-o-mo *i* *raha-do.*
PART:return-3SG.A-PERF to house-3PL.G

32. *Moboo-o-mo* *i* *Bange* *l[um]ako-o-mo* *i* *Re'a*
rotten-3SG.A-PERF PN Monkey PART:go-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle

um-ala-o *wuku-no* *i* *Bange,* *ka-i* *tunu-o* *ensea.*
PART-get-3SG.A bone-3SG.G PN Monkey and-3SG.N roast-3SG.A lime

33. *Mansa-do* *n-telalo* *wali-no* *m-po-'ema* *ensea,*
at.once-3PL.G PL-pass.by companion-3SG.G PL-APASS-ask.for lime

i-wee-'ira-mo *wuku-no* *wali-do* *anu* *t[in]unu-no*
3SG.N-give-3PL.A-PERF bone-3SG.G companion-3PL.G REL PASS:burn-3SG.G

indi'upua. 34. *Ndi-'ira* *me-'olai,* *i-booli-'ira* *i* *Re'a,* *i-potae,*
some.time.ago here-3PL.A PL-far 3SG.N-call-3PL.A PN Turtle 3SG.N-say

"Nahi *do-men-to'ori-o* *wuku-no* *koa* *wali-do* *ku-wee-'ira."*
NEG 3PL.N-PL-know-3SG.A bone-3SG.G just companion-3PL.G 1SG.N-give-3PL.A

35. *Onae-mo* *ka-do* *m-pekule* *ira* *m-pepate-o* *i* *Re'a.*
3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3PL.N PL-return 3PL.F PL-kill-3SG.A PN Turtle

36. *Me-hawe-'ira* *me-'ala-o* *uase,* *ira* *me-'uase-o* *i* *Re'a.*
PL-arrive-3PL.A PL-get-3SG.A axe 3PL.F PL-axe-3SG.A PN Turtle

37. *Sine,* *mengingisi* *i* *Re'a,* *i-potae-ako-'ira* *bange,*
but PART:laugh PN Turtle 3SG.A-say-APPL-3PL.A monkey

"Lara-no *koa* *pendamu-a-do* *i* *Ine* *ka* *i* *Ama*
scar-3SG.G just hack.with.axe-LOC-3PL.G PN Mother and PN Father

a *bungku-ku* *andio!"*
on back-1SG.G this

38. *Do-m-potae,* *"To-mem-pokoli-o* *a* *ng-kolongga* *ka-to*
3PL.N-PL-say 1PLN.N-PL-put-3SG.A at LG-k.o.basket and-1PLN.N

me-dontai-o *a* *uwoi."* 39. *Mansa-no* *r[um]onge-o* *i* *Re'a*
PL-drop-3SG.A at water at.once-3SG.G PART:hear-3SG.A PN Turtle

pau-do *bange* *motae* *ira* *mem-pokoli-o* *a* *ng-kolongga*
talk-3PL.G monkey PART:say 3PL.F PL-put-3SG.A at LG-k.o.basket

ka-do *me-dontai-o* *a* *uwoi,* *mompe-ngese-ngese-o-mo* *i*
and-3PL.N PL-drop-3SG.A at water PART:SIMUL-REDP-weep-3SG.A-PERF PN

Re'a, *i-potae* *ta-mo* *mate.*
Turtle 3SG.N-say 3SG.F-PERF die

40. *Me-lako* *ira-mo,* *me-dontai-o* *a* *uwoi,* *da-'ia-po*
PL-go 3PL.N-PERF PL-drop-3SG.A at water be-3SG.INDEP-INCOMP

i-tii *a* *uwoi,* *tehehe* *i* *Re'a,* *mawongko* *aroa-no*
3SG.N-descend at water laugh PN Turtle high spirits-3SG.G

nde *ta* *koa* *tuwu.* 41. *I-potae-ako-'ira* *bange,*
because 3SG.F just live 3SG.N-say-APPL-3PL.A monkey

i-hawe-o-mo *po'ia-nga-do* *ine-no* *ka* *ama-no.*
3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF reside-LOC-3PL.G mother-3SG.G and father-3SG.G

42. *N-teriso-'ira*   *bange,*   *ka-do*   *me-lako*   *me-'ala-'ira*
    PL-assembled-3PL.A   monkey   and-3PL.N   PL-go   PL-get-3PL.A

ambau-do   *Datu*   *ka-do*   *men-soso-o*   *ka-i*   *mate*   *koa*
carabao-3PL.G   Monarch   and-3PL.N   PL-suck-3SG.A   and-3SG.N   die   just

i   *Re'a.*   43. *Mansa-do*   *men-soso-o*   *uwoi*   *andio,*   *mo'are*   *koa.*
PN   Turtle   at.once-3PL.G   PL-suck-3SG.A   water   this   dry   just

44. *M-po'unde-'ira-mo*   *bange*   *nde*   *ta-mo*   *mate*   *i*   *Re'a.*
    PL-rejoice-3PL.A-PERF   monkey   because   3SG.F-PERF   die   PN   Turtle

45. *Onae-mo*   *ka*   *i-potae-ako-'ira*   *i*   *Re'a*   *bungka,*   *"Kasi-kasi*
    3SG.INDEP-PERF   and   3SG.N-say-APPL-3PL.A   PN   Turtle   crab   REDP-pinch

n-tawu,   *kasi*   *n-tawu-no*   *laki!*   *Kasi-kasi*   *n-tawu,*
LG-genitals   pinch   LG-genitals-3SG.G   male   REDP-pinch   LG-genitals

kasi   *n-tawu-no*   *bira!"*   46. *N-te'eme*   *ira-mo*   *ambau,*
pinch   LG-genitals-3SG.G   female.carabao   PL-urinate   3PL.N-PERF   carabao

wali-o-mo   *hadio*   *uwoi.*   47. *Gaagi,*   *tuwu-o-mo*   *i*
become-3SG.A-PERF   much   water   therefore   live-3SG.A-PERF   PN

Re'a,   *nde*   *wali-o-mo*   *hadio*   *uwoi.*
Turtle   because   become-3SG.A-PERF   much   water

Notes

This story was collected by J. Ritsema.

4. *meene-o-mo* literally 'it was bright,' by implication 'on the morrow, the next day…'

6. *tangke* 'stalk, stem' is a numeral classifier for counting leaves; it is left untranslated in the English.

24. In the original spelled *koliwiomo*. The root *oliwi* is a noun meaning 'advice,' which can also be used as a transitive verb base meaning 'to advise (someone).' The form *koliwi*, however, was not recognized by any of my Mori respondents, and as suggested here I believe that the initial 'K' should be read as a misprint for 'I' (third person singular pronoun), the interpretation which makes best sense in this context.

40. *tehehe* means to laugh like a woman; to laugh like a man is *tehaha*. In *da-'ia-po*, *ia* is a short form of *iao*, an old form of the third person singular pronoun.

Translation

1. How it was when Monkey and Turtle planted bananas.

2. One time, Monkey and Turtle went to plant bananas, each of them one plant. 3. When they had finished planting them, they returned.

4. The next day they went to see them. 5. They came to the bananas which they had planted, and upon his arriving Monkey got down over the banana which he had planted, and he ate the leaf sprouts of it.

6. Monkey asked, "How many leaves on your banana plant, Turtle?" 7. Replied Turtle, "Still one leaf." 8. Thereupon Turtle also asked, "How many leaves on your banana plant, Monkey?" 9. Replied Monkey, "Sit over it, peel it, eat, eat its leaf sprouts!"

10. When they had finished looking at them, they returned. 11. And it was next day, and they went. 12. They did like that every day. 13. But Monkey's banana plant, it was the one dying, because again and again he ate the leaf sprouts of it. 14. Turtle's banana plant, it was the one bearing fruit.

15. A good while after that and it was ripe on the new growth of her tree. 16. Turtle went to climb her banana tree, and she climbed on her side, it was not to be done. 17. And she climbed on her back, it was not to be done. 18. Leaving off climbing, she returned and invited Monkey. 19. Upon his arriving, he climbed and ate; thereupon Turtle requested some to be dropped. 20. So then Monkey dropped just the peels.

21. Then Turtle deceived Monkey, saying "Drop just your machete for me, Monkey!" 22. As soon as he had dropped his machete for her, Turtle picked it up and sharpened some stakes. 23. When she had finished sharpening them, she set them out. 24. Turtle advised the Monkey, "If soon you hear Monarch's dogs barking, jump down here on this clear place." 25. And Turtle also said, "But just take some bananas in your teeth and hold them under your arm." 26. Replied Monkey, "Okay!"

27. Then Turtle went there to the edge of the forest, barking. 28. As soon as Monkey heard the voice of Turtle barking, he jumped, encountered the stakes, and died. 29. Turtle returned, arrived, and saw that Monkey had died. 30. She took the bananas which he had held in his teeth, and she ate them. 31. When she had finished eating them, she returned to their house.

32. When Monkey was rotten, Turtle went and took Monkey's bones, and she burned them into lime.

33. As soon as his friends passed by asking for lime, she gave them the bones of their companion which she had burned previously. 34. When they had gone so far, Turtle called them, saying, "They don't know it, I gave them just the bones of their companion." 35. Thereupon they returned in order to kill Turtle. 36. They arrived bringing an ax, they

were going to chop Turtle. 37. However, laughing Turtle said to the monkeys, "The scars of where Mother and Father chopped with an ax are on my back!"

38. They said, "Let's put her in a basket and drop her into the water." 39. As soon as Turtle heard the monkeys' talk, that they were going to put her in a basket and drop her into the water, Turtle feigned weeping, and said she was about to die.

40. They went and dropped her into the water; as she was still descending into the water Turtle laughed and was in high spirits, because she was only going to live. 41. She said to the monkeys, she had found the home of her mother and father.

42. The monkeys assembled, and they went and fetched Monarch's carabaos so that they should suck it (the water) so that Turtle would die. 43. As soon as they had sucked that water, it was dry. 44. The monkeys rejoiced because Turtle was going to die. 45. Then Turtle said to the crabs, "Pinch, pinch genitals, pinch the bulls' genitals! Pinch, pinch genitals, pinch the cows' genitals!" 46. The carabaos urinated, there came lots of water. 47. As a result, Turtle lived, because there came lots of water.

The story of Tarsier

1. *Tutulu   i   Nggasi.*
   story   PN   Tarsier

2. *L[um]ako   mo'itu-'itu,   i-hawe-o   ta'i*
   PART:go   PART:walk.about   3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A   excrement

ambau   ka-i   ala-o,   mo-'ala   lewe ng-keu ka-i
carabao   and-3SG.N get-3SG.A PART:APASS-get   leaf LG-tree and-3SG.N

tutuwi-ako-no   io   ta'i   ambau   ka   bate-no.
cover-APPL-3SG.A   CN   excrement carabao and head.cloth-3SG.G

3. *Ka-i   pen-toro-toro   um-iangako-no   melalei-o.*
   and-3SG.N   INTR-REDP-sit   PART-guard-3SG.A PART:chase.flies.from-3SG.A

4. *Ka-do   n-telalo   anu   n-te'inso   m-pelauro,*
   and-3PL.N   PL-pass.by REL   PL-be.from   PL-collect.rattan

ka-do   men-sikeno-o,   "Hapa koa   ke,   Nggasi,
and-3PL.N   PL-ask-3SG.A   what just   QUES   Tarsier

t[in]utuwi-mu   atuu?" 5. Ka-i   potae-ako-'ira   i   Nggasi,
PASS:cover-2SG.G that   and-3SG.N   say-APPL-3PL.A PN Tarsier

"Si   lako me-lelua-o   kinaa-do   ue-ku."
 NEG.IMPV go   PL-move-3SG.A cooked.rice-3PL.G grandparent-1SG.G

6. *I-potae   i   Nggasi, "Nahi   komiu   me-'oli-o?"*
   3SG.N-say PN   Tarsier NEG   2PL.F   PL-buy-3SG.A

7. *Do-m-potae, "Opia   ke,   Nggasi,   oli-no?"*
   3PL.N-PL-say how.much QUES Tarsier   buy-3SG.G

8. *"Opaa lipa   mo'ito ka   bate   asa."*
   four sarong black   and   head.cloth one

9. *"Hee-mo   nde'e, Nggasi,   lipa   mo'ito opaa."*
   here.you.go-PERF   HORT   Tarsier   sarong black   four

10. *Ka-i   potae i   Nggasi, "Si-po   nde ari*
   and-3SG.N say   PN   Tarsier   NEG.IMPV-INCOMP HORT only

ka-ku   lako-lako, aku   koa   booli-komiu,   tabulu
and-1SG.N   REDP-go   1SG.F   just   call-2PL.A   when

komiu-mo   *meng-kale-o.”*   11. *Ka-i*   *lako*   *i*   *Nggasi*
2PL.F-PERF   PL-open-3SG.A   and-3SG.N   go   PN   Tarsier

ndio   *ola-olai,*   *me-booli-o-mo,*   *“Meng-kale-o-mo!”*
be.here   REDP-far   PART:INTR-call-3SG.A-PERF   PL-open-3SG.A-PERF

12. *Ka-do*   *meng-kale-o,*   *ta’i*   *ambau*   *koa.*
   and-3PL.N   PL-open-3SG.A   excrement   carabao   just

     13. *Ka-do*   *me-’ungke-o*   *i*   *Nggasi,*   *do-me-hawe-o*
       and-3PL.N   PL-seek-3SG.A   PN   Tarsier   3PL.N-PL-encounter-3SG.A

a   *ng-karadali,*   *mo-weweu*   *nana*   *n-su’ului-no.*   14. *Ka-i*
at   LG-recess   PART:APASS-make   discharge   LG-testicle-3SG.G   and-3SG.N

pokoli-o   *ia*   *balo,*   *asa*   *ng-karadali.*   15. *Do-m-potae,*
put-3SG.A   at   bamboo.cooker   one   LG-recess   3PL.N-PL-say

“Omue-mo   *nae,*   *Nggasi,*   *mokongkooro-kami!”*   16. *I-potae*
  2SG.INDEP-PERF   3SG.INDEP   Tarsier   PART:cheat-1PLX.A   3SG.N-say

i   *Nggasi,*   *“See,*   *bela,*   *miu*   *mbe’e.*   *Isema*   *koa*   *ta*
PN   Tarsier   phooey   friend   2PL.INDEP   friend   who   just   3SG.F

h[um]awe-komiu   *indi-loane?*   *Ndi-’aku*
PART:encounter-2PL.A   here-go.thither.downward   be.here-1SG.A

mo-’iangako   *baru-ku.*   *Komba*   *ndio*   *asa-mo*   *koa*
PART:APASS-guard   palm.wine-1SG.G   by.no.means   be.here   one-PERF   just

andio   *nggasi.*   *Mapa-nggasi-nggasi:*   *nggasi*   *n-to*   *lewe-lewe,*
this   tarsier   MULTIPLE-REDP-tarsier   tarsier   LG-people   REDP-leaf

nggasi   *n-to*   *doe*   *nunu,*   *hadio*   *nggasi!*   *Nahi*   *komiu*
tarsier   LG-people   hang   banyan   many   tarsier   NEG   2PL.F

me-’oli-o   *baru-ku*   *alou?”*
PL-buy-3SG.A   palm.wine-1SG.G   that.down.there

     17. *“Opia*   *ke,*   *Nggasi,*   *oli-no?”*
       how.much   QUES   Tarsier   price-3SG.G

     18. *“Tende-a-no-mo*   *alou*   *ku-po-’ema-ako-no*
       satisfied-LOC-3SG.G-PERF   that.down.there   1SG.N-APASS-request-APPL-3SG.A

asa   *tawa-tawa.*   *Sine*   *ka-ku*   *lako;*   *tabulu*   *me-tawa-tawa-’aku-mo*
one   gong   but   and-1SG.N   go   when   PART:INTR-gong-1SG.A-PERF

i-m-petia-mo.”
2PL-PL-divide.with.each.other-PERF

19. *Ka-i*   *lako*   *i*   *Nggasi,*   *olai-o-mo,*
and-3SG.N   go   PN   Tarsier   far-3SG.A-PERF

me-booli-o-mo,   *“Me-’inu-o-mo!”*   20. *Mewolili,*
PART:INTR-call-3SG.A-PERF   PL-drink-3SG.A-PERF   PART:turn.around

me-tawa-tawa,   *“Ndelenu,*   *ndelenu,*   *oli-’oli-no*   *nana*
PART:INTR-gong   gong   gong   REDP-buy-3SG.G   discharge

n-du’ului-ku!”
LG-testicle-1SG.G

21. *Ka-do*   *me-lako*   *me-’ungke-o,*   *do-me-hawe-o*
and-3PL.N   PL-go   PL-seek-3SG.A   3PL.N-PL-encounter-3SG.A

mo-’iangako   *su’ului-no*   *saa.*   22. *Do-men-sikeno-o,*   *“Omue-mo*
PART:APASS-guard   egg-3SG.G   python   3PL.N-PL-ask-3SG.A   2SG.INDEP-PERF

atuu   *hieno,*   *Nggasi,*   *mokongkooro-kami;*   *mpe’aroa*   *koa,*   *mbe’e!”*
that   near.past   Tarsier   PART:cheat-1PLX.A   be.aware   just   friend

23. *“Ndi-’aku*   *mo-’iangako*   *su’ului*   *manu-ku.*   *Nahi*
be.here-1SG.A   PART:APASS-guard   egg   chicken-1SG.G   NEG

komiu   *m-po-’oli*   *sului*   *manu?”*
2PL.F   PL-APASS-buy   egg   chicken

24. *“Ho’io,*   *kami*   *koa*   *m-po-’oli.*   *Opia*   *ke*   *oli-no?”*
yes   1PLX.F   just   PL-APASS-buy   how.much   QUES   buy-3SG.G

25. *“Io*   *sului*   *manu*   *alou*   *tende-a-no-mo*
CN   egg   chicken   that.down.there   satisfied-LOC-3SG.G-PERF

ku-po-’ema-ako-no   *asa*   *ringgi.”*
1SG.N-APASS-request-APPL-3SG.A   one   rix.dollar

26. *Ka-do*   *me-wee-ako-no*   *asa*   *ringgi.*   27. *“Si-po*
and-3PL.N   PL-give-APPL-3SG.A   one   rix.dollar   NEG.IMPV-INCOMP

nde   *ari*   *ka-ku*   *lako,*   *ku*   *koa*   *booli-komiu*   *te’ingka;*
HORT   only   and-1SG.N   go   1SG.F   just   call-2PL.A   near.future

pom-pokau-mo   *koa*   *umari*   *api.”*
APASS-light-PERF   just   finish   fire

28. *Ka-i   lako;   olai-o-mo,   me-booli-o-mo,*
and-3SG.N go   far-3SG.A-PERF   PART:INTR-call-3SG.A-PERF

"Men-saka-o-mo!"   29. *Ka-do   men-saka-o,   ka-do   meng-kaa-no,*
PL-boil-3SG.A-PERF   and-3PL.N PL-boil-3SG.A   and-3PL.N PL-eat-3SG.A

tewali-'ira   luwu   saa,   asa   mia-mo   koa   anu   nahi   tewali
become-3PL.A   all   python one   person-PERF just REL NEG   become

saa.   30. Ka-i   lako   um-ungke-'ungke-o,   i-hawe-o-mo
python   and-3SG.N go   PART-REDP-seek-3SG.A 3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF

kon-toro-toro   ia   ng-keu.
DIFFUSE-REDP-sit   at   LG-tree

31. *"Siko-sikori-'aku,   Nggasi! Omue-mo   mokongkooro-kami*
REDP-wait-1SG.A   Tarsier   2SG.INDEP-PERF PART:cheat-1PLX.A

ka-do   n-tewali   saa   wali-ku."
and-3PL.N   PL-become   python companion-1SG.G

32. *"Nahi   komba   ongkue,   to-lako-mo   ari."*
NEG   by.any.means 1SG.INDEP   1PLN.N-go-PERF only

33. *Ka-do   lako   k[um]ita-kita-'ira,   ka-do   lako   do-hawe-mo*
and-3PL.N go   PART:REDP-see-3PL.A   and-3PL.N go   3PL.N-encounter-PERF

keu   langkai.   34. "Po'ia-'ia nde   ari   ka-ku   lako   te'eme
tree   big   remain HORT only   and-1SG.N go   urinate

a   m-pu'u-no   keu   arau."
at   LG-base-3SG.G tree that.over.there

35. *Ka-i   lako   metendelako   ia   ng-keu   arau,*
and-3SG.N go   PART:toss.oneself.up at LG-tree that.over.there

ka-i   hawe   untu-no,   hawe   me-tawa-tawa,   "Ndelenu, ndelenu,
and-3SG arrive top-3SG.G   arrive PART:INTR-gong gong   gong

oli-'oli-no   nana   n-du'ului-ku!"
REDP-buy-3SG.G discharge LG-testicle-1SG.G

Notes

This story was collected by H. G. van Eelen in 1914 from two young Mori people, who also helped him to translate it.

1. *Tutulu i Nggasi*, PLN suggests *Tutulu-no i Nggasi*, thus with third person possessive pronoun.

8. *ka bate asa* 'and a (one) head cloth.' This should probably read as *ka bate aasa*.

10. *"Si-po nde ari…* In the original, spelled *"si ponde'ari…*; likewise in sentenc 27. *aku koa booli komiu…* In the original, the verb 'to call' is incorrectly spelled *boli* (without geminate vowel); likewise in .sentences 11, 19, 27 and 28.

15. *Ndi aku* 'here I am.' In the original spelled *Indi aku*.

15. *mokongkooro kami!* In the original, the verb 'to cheat' is incorrectly spelled *mokongkoro* (without geminate vowel); likewise in sentences 22 and 31. This verb is almost certainly contains the potential prefix *mokoN-* 'able to,' but the stem *kooro* is otherwise unknown to me.

16. *bela* 'friend.' In the original, spelled *belaa*, perhaps indicating a certain enunciation of this word. Both *bela* and *mbe'e* (sentence 22) indicate an annoyance on the part of the speaker with his audience.

18. *Tende-a-no* means literally 'its place of being satisfied.' In respect to Tarsier's giving a price, it could be translated loosely as 'it would be sufficient,' 'merely,' etc. Compare likewise *tendeano* in sentence 25.

18. *asa tawa-tawa* 'a (one) gong.' This should probably be read as *aasa tawa-tawa*.

19. *olai* 'far.' In the original, spelled *ulai*; likewise in sentence 28.

20. One might suspect that *tawa-tawa* is a Tinompo term, while *ndelenu* an Upper Mori term. This remains to be verified, however, and in fact the two terms may refer to gongs of different sizes. From my own notes I have from Kulisusu (a language of Southeast Sulawesi) *tawa-tawa* 'medium-sized gong' versus *ndengu-ndengu* 'a small gong about the size of a small plate or saucer.'

20. The prenasalized stop at the beginning of *n-du'ului-ku* 'my testicle(s)' reflects taboo deformation of *n-su'ului-ku* (stem *su'ului* 'egg, testicle').. Likewise in sentence 35.

22. The prenasalization of *mpe'aroa* is unexplained.

22. *mbe'e* 'friend,' see note to sentence 16.

24. *Ho'io* 'yes' (in response to a negative question). In the original, spelled *hoio* without glottal stop.

25. *asa ringgi* 'a (one) rix-dollar.' This should probably be read as *aasa ringgi*.

27. *pom-pokau-mo* 'light (a fire).' In the original, misspelled as *pompokaamo*.

29. *nahi tewali saa* '(who) didn't become a python.' In the original, misspelled *nahi tewia saa*.

31. *Siko-sikori-'aku, Nggasi* 'Wait for me, Tarsier.' In the original, written *si ko, si ko, ri aku, Nggasi*, but no other reasonable interpretation is available. Compare also the Dutch free translation: *Wacht jij, wacht jij maar op mij, Spookaap!*

33. *k[um]ita-kita-'ira* 'look at them.' In the original, written *kumita-kitao ira*, thus with a double occurrence of the absolutive pronoun.

33. *do-hawe-mo keu langkai* 'they came across a large tree.' A third person singular pronoun has been omitted, read: *do-hawe-o-mo keu langkai*.

34. *po'ia-'ia nde ari* 'just stay here.' In the original, written *po'ia'ia nde'ari*.

Translation

1. The story of Tarsier.

2. Once upon a time, he (Tarsier) was going around, and he found some carabao dung, and he took it, and he got some tree leaves and he covered the dung therewith and with his head cloth. 3. And he set himself down, and he tended it, chasing away flies.

4. And there passed by some (people) from collecting rattan, and they asked him, "What is that, Tarsier, that you have covered there?" 5. Then Tarsier told them, "Don't uncover my lord's rice!" 6. Said Tarsier, "Will you all not buy it?"

7. They said, "How much, Tarsier, is its price?"

8. "Four black sarongs and a headcloth."

9. "Here, Tarsier, have four black sarongs."

10. Then Tarsier said, "Don't (do anything), wait so that I can go a little ways and call to you, when you all can open it." 11. The Tarsier went away; when he was somewhat distant, he called out, "open it!" 12. And they opened it, it was just carabao dung.

13. Then they sought Tarsier, and they found him in the recess of a tree, discharging semen. 14. And he was putting it in bamboo cookers, an entire tree-recess full. 15. They said, "You are the one, Tarsier, who has cheated us!" 16. Said Tarsier, "Phooey on you, friends! Who indeed would meet you down there? Here I am tending my palm wine. By no means is there just one tarsier here. There are many kinds of tarsiers: the tarsier tribe of the leaves, the tarsier tribe of the fringes of the banyan tree, many tarsiers! Will you not buy my palm wine down there?"

17. "How much, Tarsier, is the price?"

18. "As a sufficient price for that, I ask one gong for it. But let me go away; when I strike the gong, then divide (the palm wine) among yourselves."

19. Then Tarsier left; when he was already far away, he called out, "Drink it up!" 20. He turned round, striking the gong: "Gong, gong, the purchase of the discharge of my scrotum!"

21. Then they went searching for him, and they found him guarding some python eggs. 22. They asked him, "You are the one just now, Tarsier, who cheated us. You'd better watch it, friend!"

23. "Here I am tending my chicken eggs. Will you all not buy some chicken eggs?"

24. "Certainly, we'll buy some. How much is their price?"

25. "For the chicken eggs, I merely ask a rix-dollar for them."

26. Then they gave him a rix-dollar. 27. "Stay until I go away, then I will soon call to you; in the meantime, just make a fire."

28. Then he went; when he was far away, he called out to them, "Boil them!" 29. Then they boiled them and ate them up, and they all became pythons, only there was one man who didn't become a python. 30. Then this one went seeking him, and he found him sitting in a tree.

31. "Wait, you, wait for me, Tarsier! You are the one who deceived us, so that my companions became pythons!"

32. "No, not I. Let's just go." 33. Then they went to look at them, and as they were going they came to a large tree. 34. "Wait here first, so that I can go relieve myself at the foot of the tree." 35. Then he went and sprang up into the tree and climbed to the top; arriving there he played on the gong: "Gong, gong, the purchase of the discharge of my scrotum!"

The story of Orphan

1. *Tutulu-no   i   Elu-'elu.*
story-3SG.G   PN   Orphan

2. *Mo'ia-'ira   Datu   me-kombia,   nahi   do-pompoli,*
PART:live-3PL.A   Monarch   PART:have.spouse   NEG   3PL.A-wealthy

na-hina   ata-do.   3. *Tehi-tehine   do-pekombia*
NEG-exist   slave-3PL.G   REDP-long.time   3PL.N-have.spouse

me'ana-'ira-mo,   orua-'ira,   pada   beine.   4. *Tehine-o-mo*
PART:have.child-3PL.A-PERF   two-3PL.A   equal   female   long.time-3SG.A-PERF

do-m-po'ia   mate-o-mo   ama-do   ka   ine-do.   5. *Gaagi*
3P.N-PL-live   die-3SG.A-PERF   father-3PL.G   and   mother-3PL.G   therefore

oru-'orua-'ira-mo   koa   mo'ia   a   rodoha-do.
REDP-two-3PL.A-PERF   just   PART:live   at   house-3PL.G

6. *Onae   koa   w[in]eweu-do   lako   me'oti-'oti*
3SG.INDEP   just   PASS:do-3PL.G   go   PART:scavange.at.low.tide

a   wiwi   n-tahi.   7. *Tehi-tehine   i-hawe-o-mo*
at   edge   LG-sea   REDP-long.time   3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF

uai-no   kola-kolame   wulaa.   8. *Asa   do-hawe-o*
younger.sibling-3SG.G   REDP-shrimp   gold   one   3PL.N-encounter-3SG.A

kola-kolame   wulaa   andio,   mekule-'ira-mo   i   rodoha.
REDP-shrimp   gold   this   PART:return-3PL.A-PERF   at   house

9. *Ka-do   hawe   i   rodoha   ka-i   ala-o*
and-3PL.N   arrive   at   house   and-3SG.N   get-3SG.A

uai-no   kola-kolame,   ka-i   sikeno-o   kolame,   "Ke
younger.sibling-3SG.G   REDP-shrimp   and-3SG.N   ask-3SG.A   shrimp   QUES

isua-mo   ine-mu   ka   ama-mu?"   10. *"Ongkue   da   ongkue,*
where-PERF   mother-2SG.G   and   father-2SG.G   1SG.INDEP   INTENS   1SG.INDEP

mate-o-mo   ine-ku   ka   ama-ku."   11. *Borono   pengese*
die-3SG.A-PERF   mother-1SG.G   and   father-1SG.G   then   weep

elu-'elu   andio.   12. *Nahi   tehine   do-po'ia,   hawe-o-mo*
orphan   this   NEG(3SG.N)   long.time   3PL.N-live   arrive-3SG.A-PERF

ana-no	*Datu*	*tama*	*asa.*	13.	*Borono*	*i-hawe,*
child-3SG.G	Monarch	male	one		then	3SG.N-arrive

mepau-ako-'ira		*ta*	*k[um]ombia-'ira.*	14.	*Sine*	*nahi*	*do-behe.*
PART:speak-APPL-3PL.A		3SG.F	PART:marry-3PL.A		but	NEG	3PL.N-want

Notes

This story was collected by J. Ritsema.

1. Orphans are a popular subject matter for stories, because their natural caretakers have passed on, and they thus stand in close connection to the dead.

2. Third person plural forms in this sentence reflect the use of the plural to refer respectfully to a singular referent, in this case the monarch. *Datu* is a title which can also be used as a name, similar to 'Pharaoh' or 'Caesar' in English.

3. Third person plural pronouns here are interpreted as referring respectfully to the monarch, e.g. *When he had been married…* Alternatively, the third person forms could refer to the ruler and his spouse, thus: *When they had been married…*

8. *Asa dohaweo…* following the original. However one might expect instead *Asa-do h[um]awe-o…*

11. *Borono pengese…* A third person singular clitic has been omitted, read: *Borono i-pengese…*

12. *tama asa*. Probably this should read as *tama aasa*.

Translation

1. The story of Orphan.

   2. There once was a Monarch who was married, he was not rich, he had no slaves. 3. When he had been married a long time, he had two children, both girls. 4. After they had lived together a long time, their father and their mother died. 5. Thus just the two of them lived in the house.

   6. Their occupation was to go at low tide to scavenge along the seashore. 7. After a period of time, the younger one found a golden shrimp. 8. As soon as they had found this golden shrimp, they returned home.

   9. When they had arrived home, the younger one took the shrimp, and the shrimp asked her, "Where are your mother and your father?" 10. (She replied,) "As for me, my mother and my father are already dead." 11. Then this orphan wept. 12. Not long afterward, there arrived the son of a monarch. 13. When he arrived, they discussed that he would marry them. 14. But they would not.

The story of Monsiari

1. *Tutulu-no*   *i*   *Monsiari.*
story-3s.G   PN   Monsiari

2. *Mekombia-'ira*   *Datu*   *i*   *wita.*   3. *Tehi-tehine*
PART:have.spouse-3PL.A   Monarch   at   earth   REDP-long.time

me'ana-'ira-mo   *tama,*   *nee-no*   *ana-do*
PART:have.child-3PL.A-PERF   male   name-3SG.G   child-3PL.G

i   *Monsiari.*   4. *Langkai-o-mo*   *i*   *Monsiari,*   *tehine*
PN   Monsiari.   big-3SG.A-PERF   PN   Monsiari   long.time

mo-liwo-o-mo   *ta*   *l[um]ako*
PART:APASS-prepare.for.journey-3SG.A-PERF   3SG.F   PART:go

mepe-labu-o   *koroi-no*   *a*   *m-paa-paa,*   *ka-i*   *gagi*
PART:REQUEST-iron-3SG.A   body-3SG.G   at   LG-crow   and-3SG.N   become

motea   *koroi-no.*
hard   body-3SG.G

5. *Tehine*   *umari-o-mo*   *mepe-labu-o*   *koroi-no,*
long.time   finish-3SG.A-PERF   PART:request-iron-3SG.A   body-3SG.G

ta-mo   *mekule*   *lako*   *monga'e*   *a*   *iwali-no.*
3SG.F-PERF   PART:return   go   PART:headhunt   at   enemy-3SG.G

6. *Onae-mo*   *ka-i*   *hina*   *pau-do*   *paa-paa*   *ndi*   *Monsiari,*
3SG.INDEP-PERF   and-3SG.N   exist   talk-3PL.G   crow   at   Monsiari

"Kita-o   *koa*   *ko*   *aiwa*   *s[um]apoi-kami,*   *nde*   *motea-o-mo*
see-3SG.A   just   2SG.F   come   PART:attack-1PLX.A   because   hard-3SG.A-PERF

koroi-mu   *ki-me-weweu-akomu."*   7. *Onae-mo*   *ka-i*   *sangki,*
body-2SG.G   1PLX.N-PL-make-APPL:2SG.A   3SG.INDEP-PERF   and-3SG.N   answer

"Komba   *ndi-'aku*   *mekombe*   *aiwa*   *s[um]apoi-komiu,*
by.no.means   be.here-1SG.A   crazy   come   PART:attack-2PL.A

umari   *me-weweu-akune*   *koroi-ku*   *ka*   *aku*   *mepate-komiu?"*
finish   PL-make-APPL:1SG.A   body-1SG.G   and   1SG.F   PART:kill-2PL.A

8. *Umari-do*   *m-pepau*   *paa-paa*   *atuu*   *borono*   *i-pekule*   *ta*
finish-3PL.G   PL-speak   crow   that   then   3SG.N-return   3SG.F

monga'e   *i*   *inia*   *susua.*
PART:headhunt   at   village   different

9. *Tehine*   *i-lako,*   *i-hawe-o-mo*   *i*   *inia-do*   *i*
   long.time   3SG.N-go   3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF   at   village-3PL.G   PN

Datu.   10. *Borono*   *i-pewinsongi-o,*   *s[um]apoi-o*   *mia*   *atuu.*
Monarch   then   3SG.N-enter.upon-3SG.A   PART:attack-3SG.A   person   that

11. *Onae-mo*   *ka-i*   *pekule*   *i*   *inia-no.*
   3SG.INDEP-PERF   and-3SG.N   return   at   village-3SG.G

12. *Nahi*   *tehine*   *mo-liwo-o-mo*   *mbo'u*
   NEG(3SG.N)   long.time   PART:APASS-prepare.for.journey-3SG.A-PERF   again

ta   *l[um]ako*   *s[um]apoi-o*   *inia-do*   *langgoe,*   *ka-i*   *lako*
3SG.F   PART:go   PART:attack-3SG.A   village-3PL.G   civet   and-3SG.N   go

13. *Tehine*   *i-hawe-o-mo*   *asa*   *langgoe.*   14. *Borono*
   long.time   3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF   one   civet   then

i-pelonsongi-o   *langgoe*   *atuu*   *k[um]apo-o;*   *borono*
3SG.N-spring.on-3SG.A   civet   that   PART:claw-3SG.A   then

i-padii-o   *ponai-no*   *ka-i*   *impahi-o.*   15. *Borono*
3SG.N-draw-3SG.A   sword-3SG.G   and-3SG.N   hack.at-3SG.A   then

do-m-pentoa   *meng-kududui-o*   *wali-do.*   16. *Onae-mo*
3PL.N-PL-jump.down   PL-assist-3SG.A   companion-3PL.G   3SG.INDEP-PERF

ka-i   *pepate-'ira*   *luwu,*   *borono*   *i-pekule*   *i*   *inia-do.*
and-3SG.N   kill-3PL.A   all   then   3SG.N-return   at   village-3PL.G

Notes

This story was collected by J. Ritsema.

7. *umari me-weweu-akune*, PLN suggests *umari i-me-weweu-akune*, thus with second person plural pronoun.

8. In the original, written as *Umari dompepau…*, thus with *do* interpreted as a conjugating prefix. The context, however, strongly suggests that *do* here is a possessive suffix which belongs with the preceding word.

13. The original spelling—*asa langgoe*—is maintained, but is probably a misprint for *aasa langgoe*, since the numeral occurs without classifier.

16. *inia-do* with third person plural pronoun, compare *inia-no* in sentence 11. The shift from singular to plural is unexplained; perhaps the storyteller now using a plural form to refer respectfully to Monsiari.

Translation

1. The story of Monsiari.

 2. Datu married on the earth. 3. After a time he had a son; the name of his son was Monsiari. 4. When Monsiari was big, after a while he made preparations to go have his body armored by the crows, in order for his body to become strong.

 5. A while after his body had been armored, he was about to return to go make war (go headhunting) against his enemies. 6. Thereupon (then) the crows said to Monsiari, "See to it that you do (not) come fight (kill) us, seeing as how we have brought your body into a hard condition for you." 7. Then he answered, "I am not crazy that I should come fight you; you all have prepared my body for me, and should I kill you?" 8. When the crows had spoken, then he returned in order to go take heads in another village.

 9. After he had gone a long time, he came to the village of those of Datu. 10. Then he went inside, in order to fight those people. 11. Then he returned to his village.

 12. Not long thereafter he made himself ready again to set out to undertake a raid against the village of the civets, and he set off. 13. After a long time he encountered a civet. 14. Then the civet sprang upon him, in order to seize him in its claws; then he drew his sword and hacked on it. 15. Then they (the other civets) sprang down in order to stand with their companion. 16. Then he killed them all, and afterward he returned to his village.

List of abbreviations

The following conventions are used to gloss pronouns:

1	first person	N	nominative
2	second person	F	future nominative
3	third person	A	absolutive
SG	singular	G	genitive
PL	plural	INDEP	independent
PLN	plural inclusive	ADD	additive
PLX	plural exclusive		

Other abbreviations used to gloss grammatical morphemes are:

APASS	antipassive	NEG	negative
APPL	applicative	PART	participle
CN	common noun marker	PASS	passive
EMPH	emphatic particle	PERF	perfective
HORT	hortative particle	PL	plural subject marker
IMPV	imperative	PN	personal name marker
INCOMP	incompletive	QUES	question marker
INTENS	intensive particle	REDP	reduplication
INTR	intransitive	REL	relative clause marker
k.o.	kind of	REQUEST	requestive
LG	(nasal) ligature	SIMUL	simulative
LOC	locative nominalizer		

Punctuation used in the gloss line:

-	(hyphen)	morpheme boundary
:	(colon)	used when glossing infixes and morphemes of nasal replacement; two morphemes are present but cannot be linearly separated
.	(period)	the entire meaning is to be ascribed to a single morpheme in the text line
( )	(parentheses)	used only for the surface form *nahi*, in cases where it could *potentially* be analyzed as a contraction of the negator *nahi* + *i* (third person singular nominative clitic); in the gloss line written NEG(3SG.N). Compare *nahu*, contracted form of *nahi* + *u* (second person singular nominative clitic).

Orthographic conventions

The digraph *ng* represents a velar nasal /ŋ/. The letter *w* represents a bilabial fricative /β/. Word-medially, glottal stop is represented by apostrophe ('). Word-initially glottal stop is not represented but can be assumed preceding most words, e.g. *ana* /ʔana/ 'child,' *uwoi* /ʔuβoi/ 'water.' Only a handful of words, mostly clitic in nature—including the personal name marker *i*, the prepositions *i* and *a*, and the nominative pronouns *i* (third person singular) and *u* (second person singular)—are truly vowel initial. Other symbols have their expected phonemic value. Notably, apart from recent loan words Mori Bawah is lacking in approximants and palatal consonants.

To this day there remain questions as to whether certain forms should be written as one or two orthographic words. The thorniest issues in this regard concern pronominal forms. For consistency, I have adopted the following conventions:

- future pronouns are written separately from the verb stem which follows.

- nominative pronouns, which are all single syllable clitics, are written joined to the verb stem which follows, with the following exceptions: (a) when a nominative pronoun is preceded by *ka* 'and' or *ba* 'if,' it is written joined instead to the particle; (b) when third person singular *i* or second person singular *u* has contracted with a preceding negator, it is written with the negator.

- for purposes of this paper, absolutive pronominal clitics are written joined to the preceding stem, even though Mori Bawah writers prefer orthographically separating (by space) absolutive pronouns which consist of two or more syllables.

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