A 'Family Problems' Narrative in Arta:
Interlinear Text with Grammatical Notes*

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This article aims to provide a narrative text of the 'Family Problems' story as told in the Arta language, currently spoken by ten people in Quirino and Aurora Provinces in Luzon, the Philippines. This article briefly introduces the sociolinguistic situation of the Arta language. The grammatical overview of the language then is provided, focusing on its typological characteristics and some grammatical features not extensively discussed in Philippine linguistics. The body of this article analyzes an excerpt of 'Family Problems' narrative discourse into a four-line interlinear text: original text, morphologically-segmented text, gloss, and English translation.

Keywords: Arta, the Philippines, Northern Luzon, 'family problem' story, narrative text

1. Language profile
2. Grammatical overview
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1. Language profile

This article concerns the documentation of the "Family problem" narrative text of Arta [ISO code: atz], or Edilod, a Philippine language.[1] The Philippines is home to a rich linguistic and cultural diversity. Geographically, the country consists of around 7,641 islands, and *Ethnologue* (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2020) lists 186 languages as spoken in the country, of which 175 are indigenous and 9 are non-indigenous including those used by members of diasporas.

The Arta language is currently spoken by about ten indigenous people in Quirino and Aurora Provinces in Luzon. The language genetically belongs to the Northern Luzon branch of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. The Northern Luzon subgroup is composed of 54 languages, including such major languages as Ilokano/Ilocano [ISO code: ilo], Pangasinan [pag], Ibanag [ibg], Ibaloi [ibl], and varieties of the Bontoc and Ifugao

macrolanguages. Arta is a language isolate within the Northern Luzon subgroup.

The Arta language is the smallest language of all the subgroup, and is severely endangered. There is no distinct speech community of the language, and all of the speakers live in Casiguran Agta [dmg] speech communities in Quirino and Aurora Provinces. Most of the speakers are over fifty years old. The younger generations are not able to speak the language, and have shifted to Casiguran Agta, Ilokano, and Tagalog [tag] (Kimoto 2017b, 2021).

2. Grammatical overview

2.1. Phonology and orthography

In Arta, the phonemic inventory comprises 18 consonants and 6 vowels. Consonant inventory is similar to those attested in other Philippine languages: /p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, g, m, n, ŋ, s, h, tʃ, dʒ, r, l, w, j/. As for the vowel inventory, Arta has the six-vowel system /i, ɛ, a, ɔ, u, ə/ with a short-long contrast in each vowel. The phoneme /i/ phonetically ranges between [i] and [e], and /u/ between [u] and [o]. A number of minimal pairs support the analysis of the six-vowel system.[2]

In this article, the standard IPA system is applied consistently to the phonemic transcription of the text. This differs from the standard phonemic transcriptions used in Austronesian linguistics. For example, the letter <y> is not used to stand for the glide /j/; <j> is used for that purpose. The digraph <ng> is not used to represent velar nasal, but <ŋ> is adopted instead.

2.2. Grammar

The major typological features of the Arta language are mostly identical with those of other Philippine languages. The language is morphologically agglutinative, with relatively clear morphological boundaries. Syntactically, the constituent order is verb-initial: VS/VAO.

The case marking system in Arta is ergative-absolutive (see Kimoto 2017b, 2018). As shown in (i)–(iii), the case is indicated by the determiner in the case of lexical NPs:

(i)   S = *i* (absolutive)

Nab-bulag   *=di*   *[**i**   mata =na   =j],   ...*
PST.AV-swollen =POST ABS.DEF eye   =3MIN.GEN =SPC ...
Her eyes swelled up, ... (=67)

(ii)   A = *ni* (ergative/genitive)

*Pap-paːkɔ-pakɔːl-ən =dɛː   [**ni**   pulis] Ø*
NF-PLR-hit-PV   =POST GEN.DEF police (him)
The policeman is hitting him. (=86)

(iii)   P = *i* (absolutive)

Ni-nta   *=di*   *=d*   *[i*   *barkaːda*   *=na*   *=j]*   ...

ᴘsᴛ.ᴘᴠ-see   =3ᴀᴜɢ.ɢᴇɴ   =ᴘᴏsᴛ   ᴀʙs.ᴅᴇғ   friend   =3ᴍɪɴ.ɢᴇɴ   =sᴘᴄ   ...

and they found **his friends** ... (=133)

In these examples, S and P are marked by the determiner *i*, while A is marked as *ni*, which shows ergative-absolutive alignment (see also Table 1).

Table 1   Determiners

			ABSOLUTIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
INDEFINITE			Ø	*na*	*ta*
DEFINITE	SINGULAR	(COMMON)	*i*	*ni*	*ti*
		(PERSONAL)	*ti*	*ni*	*ni*
	PLURAL		*tidi*	*didi*	*didi*

In full NP, there may often be a postposed nominal marker *=i/j*, *=ti* or *=tidi*. These markers indicate specificity (glossed as sᴘᴄ), meaning that the referent is specific, known to the speaker (see, for example (1)). The form *=i/j* is a default, unmarked form, while *=ti* is used to indicate that the specific object is invisible, absent, or already dead, and *=tidi* is used for plural objects. Consider, for example, *=ti* in 'my wife' (84). In this situation, the man is in jail, and cannot see his wife, thus construing her as a person invisible to him.

Pronominal forms inflect for person, number, and case (Table 2). The numbers include 1st person (speaker), 2nd person (addressee), 1st+2nd (speaker and addressee), and 3rd person (other). Each person has minimal and augmented numbers, which are, in most cases, identical with singular and plural as in 1ᴍɪɴ 'I', 2ᴍɪɴ 'thou', 3ᴍɪɴ 'he/she/it', 1ᴀᴜɢ 'I and other(s)', 2ᴀᴜɢ 'you all', and 3ᴀᴜɢ 'they'. In the case of 1st-2nd category, however, the minimal and augmented meanings are different from the familiar singular-plural concepts (1+2ᴍɪɴ 'thou and I' and 1+2ᴀᴜɢ 'we all').[3]

Verbs may be morphologically complex, due to the voice affixes that most verbs obligatorily take. Voice affixes are mostly cognates with those found in other Philippine languages, such as the actor voice affixes *<um>, maN-, maC-*[4], patient voice affix *-ən*, locative voice *-an*, and conveyance voice affix *i-*. One thing to note is that Arta extensively uses what may be called pluractional reduplication (ᴘʟʀ). This is the reduplication that occurs between a voice affix and the stem to indicate the multiplicity of actions, their prolongation, or multiple participants performing actions. It is also used in the negated event to reinforce the negation 'at all'. Some of the examples are found in the below text such as *maka-**tiː**-tim* 'drink and drink' in (22), *pan-**nɔː**-nɔːnɔːtən* 'think for a long time' in (82), and *paŋ-**aːr**-aratən* 'bite many times' in (98).

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[3] In the below text, see, for example, (2) for 1ᴍɪɴ.(ᴀʙs), (69) for 1ᴀᴜɢ.(ɢᴇɴ), (69) for 2ᴍɪɴ.(ɢᴇɴ), (22) for 2ᴀᴜɢ.(ᴀʙs), (111) for 1+2ᴍɪɴ.(ᴀʙs), (74) for 1+2ᴀᴜɢ.(ᴀʙs), (15) for 3ᴍɪɴ.(ɢᴇɴ), and (74) for 3ᴀᴜɢ.(ᴀʙs).

[4] The prefix *maC-* (C: consonant gemination) is inherited from *maR- in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian.

Table 2   Pronominal forms

person	topical	absolutive	genitive	oblique
1MIN	*tən*	*=tən*	*=ku, =u*	*dən*
1AUG	*tami*	*=ami*	*=mi*	*dami*
2MIN	*taw*	*=a, =taw*	*=mu*	*daw*
2AUG	*tam*	*=am*	*=muyu*	*dam*
1+2MIN	*tita*	*=ita*	*=ta*	*dita*
1+2AUG	*titam*	*=itam*	*=tam*	*ditam*
3MIN	*sija*	*Ø, =sija*	*=na*	*dʒa*
3AUG	*tidu*	*=tid*	*=di*	*did*

Adjectives are either marked by *meC-* or left unmarked, as in *meppija* 'good' and *siran* 'old'.

3. Data collecting method

Following the task instruction designed by San Roque et al. (2012), I recorded three sessions for family problem tasks. In this activity, sixteen pictures are used as stimuli, listed in Table 3.

Table 3   The pictures, listed in presentation order

1	Homecoming	9	Taken by police
2	Receiving clothes	10	Thinking about gaol
3	Alone in the cell	11	Refusing to drink
4	Drunken gossip	12	Hitting
5	In court	13	Family talking together
6	Walking together	14	Standing in light
7	Sitting drinking	15	About to hit
8	Garden together	16	Thinking of home

Two participants are given the sixteen pictures one by one, and asked to describe what each shows. The participants then arrange them as a consistent story that they are then asked to tell the story (San Roque et al. 2012):

- **Individual card description** (task phase 1): the participants are given the pictures from No. 1 to No. 16, and describe the content of each
- **Arranging into order** (task phase 2): the participants are asked to arrange the pictures as an ordered narrative, working together
- **Narration** (task phase 3): participants are asked to tell the story from start to finish, from both third person and first-person perspectives

Table 4   List of Arta recordings

	ELAN File name (.eaf)	Recording date	Duration	Participant
1.	SocCog-atz01-arta0603	2017 Oct. 30	36'56	one male, one female
	SocCog-atz01-arta0604	2017 Oct. 30	16'03	one male, one female
2.	SocCog-atz02-arta0655	2020 Mar. 4	26'09	one male
3.	SocCog-atz03-arta0657	2020 Mar. 6	26'07	one male, one female

Following the above instruction, the first session, named `SocCog-atz01-arta0603` and `SocCog-atz01-arta0604` was recorded in 2017, and the other sessions, `SocCog-atz02-arta0655` and `SocCog-atz03-arta0657`, were recorded in 2020. In the first recording, one old male speaker and his younger sister participated in the session. The session included task phases one to three, following the instruction of family problem tasks. However, it seemed that the task was an unusual one for them, as they found it difficult to arrange sixteen cards to create a story.

The second and third sessions were conducted in 2020 with other speakers. At this time, the researcher (the present author) fixed the order of cards in advance to make the activity easier. He asked the speakers to narrate the events shown in each card. The participants narrated what is described in the cards. In order to elicit as much data as possible, the researcher asked the speaker to retell the story after the first narration in `SocCog-atz02-arta0655`. This was successful, and the speakers engaged enthusiastically in the activity. Thus this session (`atz02-arta0655`) includes two narrations by the same speaker.

The text transcribed in this paper was taken from the recording of `SocCog-atz02-arta0655` (00:13:42 – 00:25:28). This is shown as a four-line interlinear text. The first line is a phonological transcription with no affix or enclitic separation. The second and third lines are the morphological parsing of the first line. The second line includes morphological segmentation with X-Y for prefixes or suffixes, <X> for infix, and X=Y for clitics. The third line consists of grammatical glosses in small capital, and lexical glosses in lower case. Abbreviated grammatical glosses not listed in the Leipzig glossing rules are listed before the references.

4. Text: A 'family problems' story

Garden together (1)–(9)

(1)　Ta dutul, aːjiː passaːsawəj, amma, iŋŋarigan, arta, maŋaːna i asawanəj,

Ta,	*dutul*	*aːjiː*	*passa-asawa*	*=j,*	*amma,*	*iŋŋarigan,*	*arta,*
OBL.INDF	first	DEM.PROX	NF.RECP-spouse	=SPC	if	for.example	Arta.people

maŋ-aːna	*i*	*asawa*	*=na*	*=j,*
AV-say	ABS.DEF	spouse	=3MIN.GEN	=SPC

A long time ago, there was a couple, if, for example, (they are) Arta, the wife would say,

(2)　"Iggamammu maŋalaːpa ti karabaːsəj da maŋalaptən ta karabaːsa,"

"Iggam-an	*=mu*	*maŋ-alap*	*=a*	*ti*	*karabaːsa*	*=i*	*da*
carry-LV	=2MIN.GEN	AV-get	=2MIN.ABS	OBL.DEF	pumpkin	=SPC	because

maŋ-alap	*=tən*	*ta*	*karabaːsa,"*
AV-get	=1MIN.ABS	OBL.INDF	pumpkin

"Carry it. Take the pumpkins because I will take the pumpkins,"

(3)　"da iggamanta, maŋaːjta ta bunbunnja."

"da	*iggam-an*	*=ta*	*m-aŋaj*	*=ita*	*ta*	*bunbun*
because	carry-LV	=1+2MIN.GEN	AV-go	=1+2MIN.ABS	OBL.INDF	house

=ja"
=DEM.DIST

"Let's get them and go back to that house."

(4)　"Manakan ta jakkanta."

"Man-dakan	*ta*	*jakkan*	*=ta."*
AV-cook	OBL.INDF	side.dish	=1+2MIN.GEN

"Let's cook our dishes."

(5)   Agagarigan, amma laman, "jaːligta ta laman,"

Agagarigan,   amma laman,   "i-aːlig   =ta   ta   laman,"
for.example   if   wild.boar cv-transfer =1+2ᴍɪɴ.ɢᴇɴ =ᴅᴇᴍ.ᴅɪsᴛ.ᴏʙʟ wild.boar
For example, if you've got a wild pig, "let's bring the wild boar home."

(6)   Nallaman, pinaggaddu, gadduwandi i lamani.

Nal-laman,   p<in>ag-gaddu,   gaddu-an =di   i   laman   =i.
ᴘsᴛ.ᴀᴠ-wild.boar <ᴘsᴛ.ᴘᴠ>ᴄᴀᴜs-half half-ᴘᴠ   =3ᴀᴜɢ.ɢᴇɴ   ᴀʙs.ᴅᴇF   wild.boar =sᴘᴄ
When you have got a wild boar, they divided the wild boar into half.

(7)   "Iggamammu lipat, iggamaːŋu lipat, ta maŋaːjta ta bunbuni,"

"Iggam-an   =mu   lipat, iggam-an =u   lipat, ta   m-aŋaj
hold-ʟᴠ   =2ᴍɪɴ.ɢᴇɴ part   hold-ʟᴠ   =1ᴍɪɴ.ɢᴇɴ part   ᴏʙʟ.ɪɴᴅF   ᴀᴠ-go

=ita   ta   bunbun   =i,"
=1+2ᴍɪɴ.ᴀʙs   ᴏʙʟ.ɪɴᴅF   house   =sᴘᴄ
"Carry this part, and I will carry this part, so go back to home,"

(8)   "da manakaːŋita, takɛːta mamaŋaːŋita."

"da   man-dakan =ita,   takɛːta mam-paŋ-an =ita."
because   ᴀᴠ-cook   =1+2ᴍɪɴ.ᴀʙs   so.that   ᴀᴠ-ɴF-eat   =1+2ᴍɪɴ.ᴀʙs
"and cook it in order to eat it."

(9)   Punannata⁵ aj ta dutul.

Punan =na   =ta   aj   ta   dutul.
say   =3ᴍɪɴ.ɢᴇɴ   ᴅᴇᴍ.ᴅɪsᴛ.ᴏʙʟ ᴛᴏᴘ   ᴏʙʟ.ɪɴᴅF   first
He would say that before.

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[5] *Punan* is a transitive verb to introduce or quote direct speech or thought. The exact translation is closer to 'He was like that'. *Maŋ-aːna* is its intransitive counterpart (see (10)). The transitive verb, however, unexpectedly takes the oblique demonstrative as the P argument, as found in this segment.
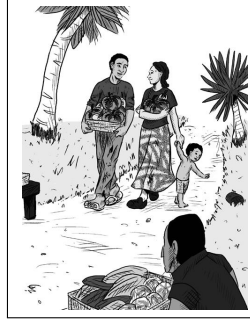
Walking together (10)–(19)

(10)   Pigwa tamman. Maŋaːna⁶ i gilǝŋani,

    Pigwa   tamman. Maŋ-aːna   i   gilǝŋan   =i,
    repeat   again   AV-say   ABS.DEF   male   =SPC
    Again, the man said,

(11)   "Iggamammu kara-"

    "ggam-an   =mu   kara-"
    hold-LV   =2MIN.GEN   (cuf-off)
    "Carry pum-."

(12)   Aj maŋaːna i bukaːgani,"Iggamammu tiddʒa aːduwani karabaːsa,"

    Aj   maŋ-aːna i   bukaːgan =i   "Iggam-an =mu   =tidi-ja
    oh.no   AV-say   ABS.DEF   female   =SPC   hold-LV   =2MIN.GEN   =PL-DEM.DIST

    aːduwan   =i   karabaːsa,"
    some/others =SPC   pumpkin
    No,⁷ the woman said, "Bring the other pumpkins,"

(13)   "da iggamaːŋu i siːpaŋ a karabaːsa"

    "da   iggam-an   =u   i   siːpaŋ   a   karabaːsa"
    because   hold-LV   =1MIN.GEN   ABS.DEF one   LIG   pumpkin
    "so that I will bring one pumpkin"

(14)   "da attiː tiggamaːŋu kanakannak."

    "da   attiː   tig-gam-an   =ku   kanakannak."
    because   exist   STV-hold-LV   =1MIN.GEN   child
    "because I will seize the child's hand."

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⁶ *Maŋ-aːna* is an intransitive verb used exclusively to introduce or frame direct speech or thought. *Punan* is its transitive counterpart (see (9)).

⁷ This is a repaired utterance. The intended person was not a man, but a woman.

(15) "da awaːŋujna amma iggamanna, ma atti i kanakannaki."

"da	*awan*	*=u*	*=ina*	*amma*	*iggam-an*	*=na,*	*ma*	*atti*
because	NEG	=1MIN.GEN	=DEM.MED	if	hold-LV	=3MIN.GEN	if	exist

i	*kanakannak*	*=i."*
ABS.DEF	child	=SPC

"because I cannot (carry) that, if I seize the child, if we have the child with us."

(16) Saja[8] iggamammud attanan i karabaːsa aːduwan,

Sa-ja	*iggam-an*	*=mu*	*=d*	*attanan*	*i*	*karabaːsa*	*aːduwan,*
TOP-DEM.DIST	hold-LV	=2MIN.GEN	=POST	all	ABS.DEF	pumpkin	others

"So carry all the other pumpkins,"

(17) "da iggamaːŋu gissəj"

"da	*iggaman*	*=u*	*gissa*	*=j"*
because	hold-LV	=1MIN.GEN	one	=SPC

"then I carry one"

(18) "ta attiː paŋaːbitaːŋu kanakannak a anaːtəj."

"ta	*attiː*	*paŋ-abit-an*	*=u*	*kanakannak*	*a*	*anaː*	*=ta*	*=j."*
OBL.INDF	exist	NF-hold-LV	=1MIN.GEN	child	LIG	child	=1+2MIN.GEN	=SPC

"because I will seize our young child."

(19) Saja nibudna.

Saja	*n-i-bud*	*=na.*
DEM.DIST	PST-CV-say	=3MIN.GEN

She said that (lit. That is what he said).

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[8] *Saja* is a distal demonstrative form occurring in a sentence-initial position. In this case, however, it does not serve as an argument in the clause. It is grammaticalised to function as a connective meaning 'so that' or 'that is why'. This is a peculiar development only found in this distal form. *Saja* in (19) is, by contrast, a bridging case in which the form serves as an argument and as a linking element in the current discourse.

Sitting drinking (20)–(32)

(20) A:ji:, maŋa:nadta, maŋa:na a:ji:.

   A:ji:,   maŋ-a:na =d   =ta,   maŋ-a:na a:ji:.
   DEM.PROX   AV-say   =SPC =DEM.DIST.OBL AV-say   DEM.PROX
   This one said that, this one said.

(21) Aj maŋa:na a:ji: ti ajti talliptidi,

   Aj   maŋ-a:na a:ji: ti   ajti   tallip =tidi,
   TOP   AV-say   DEM.PROX OBL.DEF DEM.PROX.OBL two   =SPC.PL
   This one said to the two guys,

(22) "Makati:ti:mamtɛ:. Awa:ŋamdi mattim."

   "Maka-ti:-tim   =am   =tɛ:. Awan =am   =di   mat-tim."
   POT.AV-PLR-drink =2AUG.ABS =only NEG   =2AUG.ABS =POST AV-drink
   "Just drink and drink. You are not drinking."

(23) "Ta:mu i tɔ:ptami, makati:timdi."

   "Ta-n   =mu   i   tɔ:p   =tam   =i,   maka-ti:-tim
   look-PV =2MIN.GEN ABS.DEF companion =1+2AUG.GEN =SPC POT.AV-PLR-drink
   =di."
   =POST
   "Look at your companions, who are drinking a lot."

(24) A:ji: pabbud ni a:ji: babakati, "Matti:mamdi."

   A:ji: pab-bud   ni   a:ji: babakat   =i,   "Mat-tim =am
   DEM.PROX NF.CV-say GEN.DEF DEM.PROX old.woman =SPC AV-drink =2AUG.ABS
   =di."
   =POST
   The old woman said, "You have to drink."

(25) Punanna ti ajta tallipi.

Punan =na   ti   ajta   tallip =i.
say   =3MIN.GEN OBL.DEF DEM.DIST two   =SPC
She said to those two guys.

(26) Atta:munɛn i a:ji:. Pappunapunannati,

Atta-n   =mu   =nɛn   i   a:ji:.   Pap-puna-punan =na
look-PV =2MIN.GEN =please ABS.DEF DEM.PROX   NF-PLR-like   =3MIN.GEN

=ti,
=DEM.PROX.OBL
Look at this. He is doing like this.

(27) uputanna:dina tidi binara:jani.

uput-ən =na   =d   =ina   tidi   binara:jan =i.
finish-PV =3MIN.GEN =POST =DEM.MED   PL.ABS.DEF alcohol   =SPC
He is finishing up those drinks.

(28) "Akkari:, matti:mamdi."

"Akkari:, mat-tim =am   =di."
oh.no   AV-drink =2AUG.ABS =POST
"Oh, you should drink."

(29) Ajmantɛ:ji da awandi mattim.

Aj-man   =tɛ: =i   da   awan =di mat-tim.
TOP-CONTR =only =DEM.PROX because   NEG =POST AV-drink
This one, because he stopped drinking.

(30) "Matti:mad." Punan ni ajni.

"Mat-tim =a   =d."   Punan ni   ajni.
AV-drink =2MIN.ABS =POST say   GEN.DEF DEM.PROX.GEN
"Drink!" This one said.

(31) "Matti:mad, upputanna:di ni binara:jani."

"Mat-tim =a   =d,   uput-ən =na   =di   ni   binara:jan =i."
AV-drink =2MIN.ABS =POST finish-PV =3MIN.GEN =POST GEN.DEF alcohol   =SPC
"Drink it. He is finishing up the alcohol bottle."

(32) Si:na munata istɔria ni ajni.

Si:na   muna-ta   istɔria ni   ajni.
so.that like-DEM.DIST story   GEN.DEF DEM.PROX.GEN
That is why the story is like that.

Drunken gossip (33)–(43)

(33) Maŋaːna aːjiː,

    maŋ-aːna   aːjiː,
    AV-say   DEM.PROX
    This one said,

(34) "Aːnuŋ a makatiːtim? Taːmunɛn i asawamuja."

    "Aːnuŋ a   maka-tiː-tim?   Ta-n   =mu   =nɛn   i   asawa
    why   LIG POT.AV-PLR-drink look-PV =2MIN.GEN =please ABS.DEF spouse

    =mu   =ja."
    =2MIN.GEN   =DEM.DIST
    "Why do you keep on drinking? Look at your wife."

(35) "Attiːdi giləŋan a pɛːbɛːbuːdanna."

    "Attiː =di   giləŋan a   pɛː-bɛː-buːd-an =na."
    exist   =POST male   LIG COM-PLR-say-LV =3MIN.GEN
    "who has a man to talk with together."

(36) "Aːnu kabbatna punan munati? Kabbatna aːjiː?"

    "Aːnu kabbat =na   punan muna-ti   kabbat =na   aːjiː?"
    what   want   =3MIN.GEN say   like-DEM.PROX want   =3MIN.GEN DEM.PROX
    "What does she want, like this? Does she want this?[9] (Clenching his fist as a gesture of punching)"

(37) "Awaːŋa mansuːbəg,"

    "Awan =a   man-suːbəg,"
    NEG   =2MIN.ABS AV-angry
    "Don't be angry," (said a friend of the husband)

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[9] In this utterance with the verb 'want', the actual speech act is a threat, not eliciting her wants.

(38) "da intammu asawamni attiːdi gilə̄ŋani a tɔːtɔpna."

"da   inta-n   =mu   asawa   =m   =ni   attiː =di
because see-PV =2MIN.GEN spouse =2MIN.GEN =DEM.PROX.GEN exist =POST

gilə̄ŋan =i   a   tɔː-tɔp   =na."
male   =SPC LIG PL-companion =3MIN.GEN

"just because your wife has male companions."

(39) Maŋaːna aːjiː,

maŋ-aːna aːjiː,
AV-say   DEM.PROX

This one (another friend of the husband) said,

(40) "ɔːni, taːmup i binaraːjani. Pakatiːtiːmammuju."

"ɔːni ta-n   =mu   =p   i   binaraːjan =i.
yes   look-PV =2MIN.GEN =for.a.while ABS.DEF alcohol   =SPC

Paka-tiː-tiːm-ən   =muju."
NF.POT.AV-PLR-drink-PV =2AUG.GEN

"Yes, look at the bottle. Just keep on drinking."

(41) "Amma sijɛː napaŋɔbraːmu a makatiːtimi,"

"Amma sijɛː   na-paŋ-ɔbra   =mu   a   maka-tiː-tim   =i,"
if   TOP.DEM.PROX PST.POT-NF-work =2MIN.GEN LIG POT.AV-PLR-drink =SPC

"If you concentrate on drinking,"

(42) "awammu ittan i asawamuj a attiː gilə̄ŋan a tɔpna."

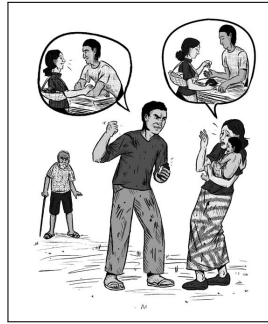*"awan =mu   itta-n   i   asawa   =mu   =j   a   attiː gilə̄ŋan*
NEG   =2MIN.GEN see-PV ABS.DEF spouse =2MIN.GEN =SPC LIG exist male

a   tɔp   =na."
LIG companion =3MIN.GEN

"then you need not pay attention to your wife, who has a male companion."

(43) Munata.

Muna-ta.
like-DEM.DIST

(The friend said) like this.

About to hit (44)–(58)

(44) "Kabbatmu aːjiː? Suntukəntataw."

    "Kabbat =mu   aːjiː?   Suntuk-ən =ta   =taw."
    want   =2MIN.GEN   DEM.PROX   punch-PV   =1+2MIN.GEN   =2MIN.ABS
    (The husband says) "Do you want this (=a punch)? I will punch you."

(45) Maŋaːna aːjiː dupuːji,

    maŋ-aːna aːjiː   dupuː   =i,
    AV-say   DEM.PROX old.man =SPC
    The old man said,

(46) "Awan, passuntukən, da attiː kanakannaki, iggamna."

    "Awan pas-suntuk-ən, da   attiː kanakannak =i   iggam
    NEG   NF-punch-PV   because exist child   =SPC something.held
    =na."
    =3MIN.GEN
    "Do not punch her, because she is holding a child."

(47) "Awaːnina." Punanna ti inaːjini.

    "Awan =ina."   Punan =na   ti   ina   =i   =ni.
    NEG   =DEM.MED say   =3MIN.GEN OBL.DEF mother =SPC =DEM.PROX.GEN
    (The wife) "Don't do that." Said the mother of this (child).

(48) Nassubəgdɛːti da attiː asawa-, aj giləŋani ajtiː bukaːgani.

    Nas-subəg   =dɛːti da   attiː asawa-,   aj   giləŋan =i   ajtiː
    PST.AV-angry   =now   because exist (cut-off)- (filler) male   =SPC DEM.PROX.OBL
    bukaːgan   =i.
    female   =SPC
    He got angry because the woman has another man.

(49) "Ataʔaj a atti: tɔpmu a giləŋan?"

"Ataʔaj a atti: tɔp =mu a giləŋan?"
why LIG exist companion =2MIN.GEN LIG male
(The husband) "Why do you have your male companion?"

(50) "Aːnu kabbatmu?" Punan ni ajni, giləŋani.

"Aːnu kabbat =mu?" Punan ni ajni giləŋan =i.
what want =2MIN.GEN say GEN.DEF DEM.PROX.GEN male =SPC
(The husband) "What do you want?" This man said.

(51) Sinuntuknad. Natannagdi kanakannaki.

S<in>untuk =na =d. Na-tannag =di kanakannak =i.
<PV.PST>punch =3MIN.GEN =POST PST.AV-fall.down =POST child =SPC
He punched her.[10] The child fell down.

(52) Awannatɛp sinuntuk.

Awan =na =tɛp s<in>untuk.
NEG =3MIN.GEN =still <PV.PST>punch
He had not punched (the child).[11]

(53) "Awammutɛp a suntukən da atti: kanakannak." Punan ni bukaːgan.

"Awan =mu =tɛp a suntuk-ən da atti: kanakannak =i." Punan
NEG =2MIN.GEN =still LIG punch-PV because exist child =SPC say
ni bukaːgan.
GEN.DEF female
(The wife) "Do not punch (me/us), because we have a child." The woman said.

(54) Awannatɛp sinuntuk. Mansuːbəg.

Awan =na =tɛp s<in>untuk. Man-suːbəg.
NEG =3MIN.GEN =still <PV.PST>punch AV-angry
He has not punched the child. He is angry.

(55) Mansuːbəg i aːjiː da atti:di, atti: pɛːlɛːlaːgipanna giləŋan.

Man-suːbəg i aːjiː da atti: =di, atti: pɛː-lɛː-laːgip-an
AV-angry ABS.DEF DEM.PROX because exist =POST exist COM-PLR-talk-LV
=na giləŋan.
=3MIN.GEN male

---

[10] The narrator rejected this statement in the next utterance, noticing that the man has not punched his wife in this card.

[11] The narrator noticed that he has not punched his wife in this card.

This guy is angry because she has a male to intimately talk with.

(56) Naŋabuluːdi aːjiː giləŋani, aj bukaːgani.

> *Naŋ-abuluː*   *=di*   *aːjiː*   *giləŋan* *=i,*   *aj*   *bukaːgan* *=i.*
> PST.AV-infidelity   =POST DEM.PROX male   =SPC (filler) female   =SPC
> This male, ah, this woman did infidelity (i.e. was unfaithful).

(57) Attiː pɛːbɛːbudanna giləŋan.

> *Attiː* *pɛː-bɛː-bud-an*   *=na*   *giləŋan.*
> exist COM-PLR-say-LV =3MIN.GEN male
> She has a man to intimately talk with.

(58) Munata.

> *Muna-ta.*
> like-DEM.DIST
> (The situation is) like that.

Hitting (59)–(64)

(59) Ittammud, da sinuntuknad i ŋippənnəj.

> *Itta-n*   *=mu*   *=d,*   *da*   *s<in>untuk*   *=na*   *=d*   *i*
> see-PV =2MIN.GEN =POST because <PV.PST>punch =3MIN.GEN =POST ABS.DEF
> *ŋippən*   *=na*   *=j.*
> tooth   =3MIN.GEN =SPC
> Look. He punched her teeth.

(60) Nalagsiwannad i kanakannaki.

> *Na-lagsiw-an*   *=na*   *=d*   *i*   *kanakannak* *=i.*
> PST.AV-let.free-LV =3MIN.GEN =POST ABS.DEF child   =SPC
> She dropped the child.

(61)   Natannagdi anaʔannaji, da sinuntuknad i ŋippǝnnǝj,

Na-tannag   *=di*   *anaʔanna =i,*   *da*   *s<in>untuk*   *=na*
PST.AV-fall.down =POST baby   =SPC because <PV.PST>punch =3MIN.GEN

=d   *i*   *ŋippǝn* *=na*   *=j,*
=POST ABS.DEF tooth   =3MIN.GEN =SPC
The baby fell down because he punched her teeth,

(62)   da minakɛːnum i gilǝŋani.

da   *mina-kɛːnum*   *i*   *gilǝŋan* *=i.*
because PST.AV-intoxicated ABS.DEF male   =SPC
because the man is drunk.

(63)   Maŋaːnajː, "Awan passuntukǝn."

Maŋ-aːna *=iː,*   *"Awan pas-suntuk-ǝn."*
AV-say   =DEM.PROX NEG   NF-punch-PV
This (old man) said, "Don't punch."

(64)   Sinuntuknatɛː.

S<in>untuk   *=na*   *=tɛː.*
<PV.PST>punch   =3MIN.GEN   =only
(But) he punched her.

Taken by police (65)–(71)

(65)   Ajtaj, numaŋajdi pɔlis. Niggamandid.

Ajtaj, *n-um-aŋaj =di*   *polis.* *N-iggam-an =di*   *=d.*
now   PST-AV-go =POST police PST-hold-LV =3AUG.GEN =POST
Now, the policemen have come. They grabbed him.

(66) Saddʒa i bukaːgandiːti.

Sa-d-ja   *i*   *bukaːgan*   *=diːti.*
TOP-POST-DEM.DIST   ABS.DEF   female   =before
That is the woman.

(67) Nabbulagdi i matanəj, tiggamanna i kanakannaknəj.

Nab-bulag   *=di*   *i*   *mata* *=na*   *=j,*   *ti-iggam-an* *=na*
PST.AV-swollen =POST   ABS.DEF   eye   =3MIN.GEN   =SPC   STV-hold-LV   =3MIN.GEN

i   *kanakannak* *=na*   *=j.*
ABS.DEF   child   =3MIN.GEN   =SPC
Her eyes are swollen, and she is holding her child.

(68) Naŋaːnatid pɔlisi,

Naŋ-aːna *=tid*   *polis* *=i,*
PST.AV-say =3AUG.ABS   police   =SPC
The police said,

(69) "Amma awammumina sinuntuk i asawamuj, awammimina iniggaman," ajti pɔlisi.

"Amma *awan* *=mu*   *=mina*   *s<in>untuk* *i*   *asawa* *=mu*
if   NEG   =2MIN.GEN =hopefully   <PV.PST>punch   ABS.DEF   spouse   =2MIN.GEN

=j,   *awan* *=mi*   *=mina*   *in-iggam-an,"* *aj-ti*   *polis* *=i.*
=SPC   NEG   =1AUG.GEN =hopefully   PST-hold-LV   TOP-DEM.PROX.OBL   police   =SPC
"If you had not punched your wife, we would not arrest you." This policeman (said).

(70) "Ajtaj, jaŋajmitaw iparɛːsu ta ajta municipijɔj,"

"Ajtaj, *i-aŋaj* *=mi*   *=taw*   *i-parɛːsu* *ta*   *ajta*
now   CV-go   =1AUG.GEN =2MIN.ABS   CV-jail   OBL.INDF   DEM.DIST.OBL

municipijɔ   *=j,"*
municipality   =SPC
"Now, we are going to bring you to a jail in the municipality,"

(71) punandi ti giləŋani.

punan *=di*   *ti*   *giləŋan* *=i.*
say   =3AUG.GEN   OBL.DEF   male   =SPC
they said to the man.
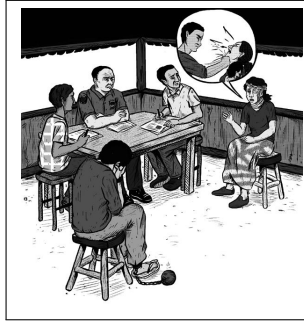
In court (72)–(79)

(72) Sadtidiː. "Aːnu ginimitna daw ni asawamu?"

sa-d-tidi-iː.   *"Aːnu g<in>imit =na daw ni asawa*
TOP-POST-PL-DEM.PROX   what   <PV.PST>do =3MIN.GEN 2MIN.OBL GEN.DEF spouse

=mu?"
=2MIN.GEN

Here they are. (A judge) "What did he, your husband, do to you?"

(73) "Sinuntuknatən ni sija."

"S<in>untuk =na =tən ni sija."
<PV.PST>punch =3MIN.GEN =1MIN.ABS GEN.DEF 3MIN.ABS

(The wife) "He punched me."

(74) "ɔː sigɛ, maŋgimiːtitam ta tuːrək." Nantuːrəktid.

"ɔː sigɛ maŋgimit =itam ta tuːrək." Nan-tuːrək =tid.
yes okay AV-do =1+2AUG.ABS OBL.INDF writing PST.AV-write =3AUG.ABS

(A judge) "Okay, we are going to write it down." They wrote it down.

(75) "Pirmammu aːjiː da ibaːludtam i asawamuj."

"Pirma-n =mu aːjiː da i-baːlud =tam i
write.down-PV =2MIN.GEN DEM.PROX because cv-jail =1+2AUG.GEN ABS.DEF

asawa =mu =j."
spouse =2MIN.GEN =SPC

"Write this down because we will send your husband to jail."

(76) Saddʒa ajtidi tallipi, pabbuːbuːdandi asawanəj.

Sa-d-ja aj-tidi tallip =i pab-buː-buːd-an =di asawa
TOP-POST-DEM.DIST TOP-PL.ABS.DEF two =SPC NF-PLR-say-LV =3AUG.GEN spouse

=na =j.
=3MIN.GEN =SPC

They are the ones, asking his wife.

(77)   "Siːjɛj kanakannaːkuj aːjiː, nɛːsuntukannad i matanəj."

"Siːjɛj   kanakannak =u   =j   aːjiː,   nɛːsuntukan
TOP.DEM.PROX child   =1MIN.GEN =SPC DEM.PROX PST.COM-punch-LV

=na   =d   i   mata =na   =j."
=3MIN.GEN =POST ABS.DEF eye   =3MIN.GEN =SPC

(The wife) "This is my child, this (boy), whose eyes he punched."

(78)   "Gəptammuju tijədna, pati limana, da jaŋajmu ipariːsu."

"Gəpət-an =muju   tijəd =na   pati lima =na,   da   j-aŋaj
tie-LV   =2AUG.GEN foot   =3MIN.GEN even hand =3MIN.GEN because cv-go

=mu   i-parɛːso."
=2MIN.GEN cv-jail

(The wife) "Bind up his legs, even his arms, and send him to jail."

(79)   Punandi.

Punan =di.
say   =POST

The one (=the wife) said.
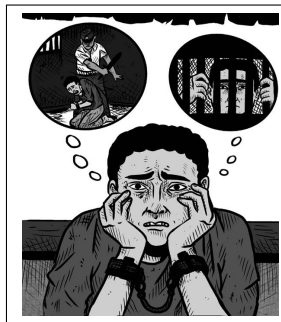
Thinking about gaol (80)–(92)

(80)   Taːmud saːdiː. Pappaːrigaːtəndid.

Ta-n   =mu   =d   sa-d-iː.   Pap-paː-rigaːt-ən =di
look-PV =2MIN.GEN =POST TOP-POST-DEM.PROX NF-CAUS-difficult-PV =3AUG.GEN

=d.

=POST

Look at this. They are torturing him.

(81)   Njaŋajdid nipariːsu ti wəj baluːdan.

N-i-aŋaj	*=di*	*=d*	*n-i-parɛːso*	*ti*	*wa*	*=j*	*baluːdan.*
PST-CV-go	=3AUG.GEN	=POST	PST-CV-jail	OBL.DEF	PLH	=SPC	jail

They sent him to, whatchamacallit,[12] jail.

(82)   Pannɔːnɔːnɔːtənna i liwatna ta kaparɛːhuna a ajti asawanəj.

Pan-nɔː-nɔːnɔːt-ən	*=na*	*i*	*liwat*	*=na*	*ta*	*ka-parɛːhu*
NF-PLR-think-PV	=3MIN.GEN	ABS.DEF	crime	=3MIN.GEN	OBL.INDF	NMZ-pair/same

=na	*a*	*ajti*	*asawa*	*=na*	*=j.*
=3MIN.GEN	LIG	DEM.PROX.OBL	spouse	=3MIN.GEN	=SPC

He is thinking about his crime (that he committed) to his wife.

(83)   Maŋaːna nɔːnɔtnəj ajni,

Maŋ-aːna	*nɔːnɔt*	*=na*	*=j*	*ajni,*
AV-say	mind	=3MIN.GEN	=SPC	DEM.PROX.GEN

His heart is like,

(84)   "Awaːŋumina sinuːsuntuk i asawakuti, awanminatən numaŋaj ti ajti."

"Awan	*=u*	*=mina*	*s<in>uː-suntuk*	*i*	*asawa*	*=ku*
NEG	=1MIN.GEN	=hopefully	<PV.PST>PLR-punch	ABS.DEF	spouse	=1MIN.GEN

=ti,	*awan*	*=mina*	*=tən*	*n-um-aŋaj*	*ti*	*ajti."*
=DEM.PROX.OBL	NEG	=hopefully	=1MIN.ABS	PST-AV-go	OBL.DEF	DEM.PROX.OBL

"If I had not punched my wife, I would not have come here."

(85)   "ənsiːna mɛmɛmmarakətsika i paggimit ta mɛdɛddəs a ugaːli."

"ənsiːna	*mɛmɛm-marakət*	*=sika*	*i*	*pag-gimit*	*ta*	*mɛdɛd-dəs*	*a*
so.that	ADJ.INT-bad	=MIR	ABS.DEF	NF.AV-do	OBL.INDF	ADJ.INT-bad	LIG

ugaːli."
habit

"That is why it is bad to practice a sinful habit."

(86)   Pappaːkɔpakɔːləndɛː ni pulis.

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[12] *wa* and *kuwa* are identified as so-called placeholders (Hayashi and Yoon 2006, Kimoto 2020). This is similar to interjective hasitator or fillers, in that they are used when a precise expression cannot be recalled. But the placeholder differs from interjections or fillers in that the placeholders occupy a certain morphosyntactic slot to form a syntactic phrase. In this case, *wa* occupies the NP slot, occurring between the oblique determiner *ti* and the specificity marker *j*, before it is substituted by the target word *baluːdan*.

Pap-pa:kɔ-pakɔl-ən =dɛː   ni   pulis.
NF-PLR-hit-PV   =POST   GEN.DEF   police
The policeman is hitting him.

(87)   Maŋantiŋti.

Maŋ-antiŋ =ti.
AV-afraid   =DEM.PROX.OBL
He is afraid of this.

(88)   Maŋantiŋdi a:ji: paggimit ta mɛdɛddəs da ajtidi pulisi, pappa:lɔpalɔkəndi.

Maŋ-antiŋ =di   a:ji: *pag-gimit* ta   *mɛdɛd-dəs* da
AV-afraid   =POST   DEM.PROX   NF.AV-do   OBL.INDF   ADJ.INT-bad   because
ajtidi   *pulis* =i,   *pap-pa:lɔ-palɔk-ən* =di.
TOP-PL.ABS.DEF   police   =SPC   NF-PLR-hit-PV   =3AUG.GEN
He got afraid of this, practicing a bad habit, because he is being hit by these policemen.

(89)   "Munatisika i nakaliwat," punan ni ajni.

"Muna-ti   =sika i   *naka-liwat,"* punan ni   ajni.
like-DEM.PROX   =MIR   ABS.DEF   PST.POT.AV-sin   say   GEN.DEF   DEM.PROX.GEN
"Committing a sin causes this." this (man) thought.

(90)   "Amma nakaliwattaw, aj pulis ni gubiɛrnɔ, saja pappa:lɔpalɔkənditaw."

"Amma naka-liwat   =taw,   aj   pulis   ni   gubiɛrnɔ,   *sa-ja*
if   PST.POT.AV-sin   =2MIN.ABS   TOP   police   GEN.DEF   government   TOP-DEM.DIST
pap-pa:lɔ-palɔk-ən =di   =taw."
NF-PLR-hit-PV   =3AUG.GEN   =2MIN.ABS
"If you committed a crime, the policemen of the government would keep on hitting you."

(91)   Saja pananna ta,

Saja   *panan* =na   ta,
TOP-DEM.DIST   panan   =3MIN.GEN   OBL.INDF
He thought,

(92)   "Mɛmɛmmarakətsika i paggimittami, wa, marakət ta kaparɛːhu a tɔːlaj."

"Mɛmɛm-marakət =sika i   *pag-gimit* =tam   =i,   wa   marakət
ADJ.INT-bad   =MIR   ABS.DEF   NF.AV-do   =1+2AUG.GEN   =SPC   PLH   bad
ta   *ka-parɛːhu*   a   *tɔːlaj."*
OBL.INDF   NMZ-pair/same   LIG   human
"How bad it is for us to do a sinful thing to our people."

Alone in the cell (93)–(103)

(93) Taːmud, saːdi.

> *Ta-n   =mu   =d,   sa-d-i.*
> look-PV   =2MIN.GEN   =POST   TOP-POST-DEM.PROX
> Look at this guy.

(94) Tikkamultəddi, awandεː ta wa, uləuləsna.

> *Tik-kamul   =təddi,   awan =dεː   ta   wa,   ulə-uləs   =na.*
> STV-huddle.up =just   NEG   =POST OBL.INDF PLH   PL-blanket   =3MIN.GEN
> He is huddling up, without any clothes.

(95) Attiː anənna, awannad tataw mamaŋan,

> *Attiː   anən =na,   awan =na   =d   tataw   mam-paŋ-an,*
> exist   food =3MIN.GEN   NEG   =3MIN.GEN   =POST   know   AV-NF-eat
> He has food, but he does not want to eat,

(96) da pappaːnɔːnɔːtənnəj ta attiːna ti wəj, baluːdan.

> *da   pap-paː-nɔːnɔːt-ən =na   =j   ta   attiː =ina   ti*
> because   NF-PLR-think-PV   =3MIN.GEN   =SPC OBL.INDF exist =DEM.MED OBL.DEF
> *wa =j,   baluːdan.*
> PLH =SPC jail
> because he was thinking, when this guy was in jail.

(97) Awandεːta tɔːtɔpna, sissiːpaŋtəddi a tikkaməl,

> *Awan =dεː   ta   tɔː-tɔp   =na,   sis-siːpaŋ =təddi a*
> NEG   =POST OBL.INDF PL-companion =3MIN.GEN   INT-one   =only   LIG
> *tik-kaməl,*
> STV-huddle.up
> He has no companion, huddling up alone,

(98) Paŋaːrartən na buŋɔr.

Paŋ-aːr-arat-ən   na   buŋɔr.
NF-PLR-bite-PV   GEN.INDF mosquito
being bitten by mosquitos.

(99) Buŋɔrtidi, taːmuptɛː tidi buŋɔrtɛːji.

Buŋɔr   =tidi,   ta-n   =mu   =p   =tɛː   tidi   buŋɔr   =tɛː
mosquito =SPC.PL   look-PV =2MIN.GEN =just =only PL.ABS.DEF mosquito =just

=i.
=SPC

These mosquitos. Look at these mosquitos.

(100) Paŋaːnaːnəndid i matləmnəj.

Paŋ-aːn-aːn-ən   =di   =d   i   matləm =na   =j.
NF.PLR-eat-PV   =3AUG.GEN =POST ABS.DEF blood   =3MIN.GEN =SPC
They are eating his blood.

(101) Baruwaːsinəj, awandɛː ta siːsɛrbi ni baruwaːsinəj.

Baruwaːsi =na   =j,   awan =dɛː   ta   siː-sɛrbi   ni
clothes   =3MIN.GEN =SPC   NEG   =POST OBL.INDF PLR-usefulness GEN.DEF

baruwaːsi =na   =j.
clothes   =3MIN.GEN =SPC

There are clothes, but no one cared about his clothes.

(102) Mina-, minapiːpissajdi.

Mina-,   mina-piː-pissaj   =di.
(cut-off) PST.POT.PV-PLR-torn =POST
They are torn.

(103) Uləsnəj, tinuttudannad i uləsnəj.

Uləs   =na   =j,   t<in>uttud-an   =na   =d   i   uləs
blanket =3MIN.GEN =SPC   <PV.PST>sit.down-LV =3MIN.GEN =POST ABS.DEF blanket

=na   =j.
=3MIN.GEN =SPC

He has a blanket, (but) he is sitting on his blanket.

Thinking of home (104)–(113)

(104) Taːmu, taːmunɛn saːdi.

> *Ta-n*   *=mu,*   *ta-n*   *=mu*   *=nɛn*   *sa-d-i.*
> look-PV   =2MIN.GEN   look-PV   =2MIN.GEN   =please   TOP-POST-DEM.PROX
> Look at this.

(105) Maŋaːpagəsdi da kaːmandi anaːnəj.

> *Maŋaː-pagəs*   *=di*   *da*   *kaːman*   *=di*   *anaː*   *=na*   *=j.*
> PRG.AV-happy   =POST   because   big   =POST   child   =3MIN.GEN   =SPC
> He looks happy to find that his boy grew up.

(106) Nanaːhɔŋdija. Maŋaːragsaːkandi aːjiː kanakannaknəj da nintanad i amanəj.

> *Na-naːhɔŋ*   *=dija.*   *Maŋaː-ragsaːk-an*   *=di*   *aːjiː*   *kanakannak*
> PST.AV-greet   =3MIN.OBL   PRG.POT-happy-LV   =POST   DEM.PROX   child
>
> *=na*   *=j*   *da*   *n-inta*   *=na*   *=d*   *i*   *ama*   *=na*
> =3MIN.GEN   =SPC   because   PST.PV-see   =3MIN.GEN   =POST   ABS.DEF   father   =3MIN.GEN
>
> *=j.*
> =SPC
> He met and greeted him. His boy was happy to see his father.

(107) Ajdiː asawanəj, maŋutsaldɛː ti addani, aŋaːŋajdɛːdi.

> *Ajdiː*   *asawa*   *=na*   *=j,*   *maŋ-utsal*   *=dɛː*   *ti*   *addan*   *=i,*   *aŋ-aːŋaj*
> and   spouse   =3MIN.GEN   =SPC   AV-go.down   =POST   OBL.DEF   stairs   =SPC   PLR-go
>
> *=dɛːdi.*
> =soon
> And his wife came down from the road. She is coming.

(108) "Salamat da minatɔːlaj a kaːmaːŋad."

> *"Salamat*   *da*   *mina-tɔːlaj*   *a*   *kaːman*   *=a*   *=d."*
> thank   because   PST.AV-alive   LIG   big   =2MIN.ABS   =POST

"I am thankful you survived and grew up."

(109) "Nintatatɛptaw naraputən ta baluːdannja."

"N-inta   *=ta*   *=tɛp*   *=taw*   *na-rapu*   *=tən*   *ta*
PST.PV-see   =DEM.DIST.OBL   =still   =2MIN.ABS   PST.AV-come.from   =1MIN.ABS   OBL.INDF

baluːdan   *=ja."*
jail   =DEM.DIST

"I just saw you, coming out of that jail."

(110) "Tawdi, nintaku a kinumaːmaːŋad,"

"Taw   *=di,*   *n-inta*   *=ku*   *a*   *k<in><um>aːman*   *=a*   *=d,"*
2MIN.ABS   =POST   PV.PST-see   =1MIN.GEN   LIG   <PV.PST><AV>big   =2MIN.ABS   =POST

"You have grown up, I found,"

(111) "maski awanaːŋita naŋittɔːtɔp."

"maski   *awanan*   *=ita*   *naŋit-tɔː-tɔp."*
even   awanan   =1+2MIN.ABS   PST.RECP.AV-PLR-companion

"even though we did not (have a chance to) meet."

(112) "Salamat ti inamuj da inanʔanuːsannataw a pinakaːman."

"Salamat   *ti*   *ina*   *=mu*   *=j*   *da*   *in-an-anuːs-an*
thank   ABS.PSN   mother   =2MIN.GEN   =SPC   because   PST-PLR-tolerate-LV

=na   *=taw*   *a*   *p<in>a-kaːman."*
=3MIN.GEN   =2MIN.ABS   LIG   <PST.PV>CAUS-big

"I am also grateful to your mother, because she raised you up in spite of hardships."

(113) Punanna ajni giləŋan.

Punan   *=na*   *ajni*   *giləŋan.*
say   =3MIN.GEN   DEM.PROX.GEN   male

The man said.

Receiving clothes (114)–(121)

(114) Punannad ti ajti,

Punan =na =d ti ajti,
say =3MIN.GEN =POST OBL.DEF DEM.PROX.OBL
This (policeman) said to the guy,

(115) "Ajtaj da naraputaw ti baludani,"

"Ajtaj da na-rapu =taw ti baludan =i,"
now because PST.AV-come.from =2MIN.ABS OBL.DEF jail =SPC
"Since you are leaving jail,"

(116) "awaːŋad paggimigimit ta mɛdɛddəs a ugaːli."

"awan =a =d pag-gimi-gimit ta mɛdɛd-dəs a ugaːli."
NEG =2MIN.ABS =POST NF.AV-PLR-do OBL.INDF ADJ.INT-bad LIG habit
"do not practice bad habits any longer."

(117) "Palubuːsantadtaw, massɔːlidtaw ta narapuwammu asawamuja."

"Palubuːs-an =ta =d =taw, mas-sɔːli =d =taw
allow-LV =1+2MIN.GEN =POST =2MIN.ABS AV-return =POST =2MIN.ABS
ta na-rapu-an =mu asawa =mu =ja."
OBL.INDF PST.PST-come.from-LV =2MIN.GEN spouse =2MIN.GEN =DEM.DIST
"I will allow you to go back to your wife, from whom you came."

(118) "Kɔnta gimitəmmu mɛpɛppijad a ugaːli awaːŋa paggimit ta marakət."

"Kɔnta gimit-ən =mu mɛpɛp-pija =d a ugaːli awan =a
but do-PV =2MIN.GEN ADJ.INT-good =POST LIG habit NEG =2MIN.ABS
pag-gimit ta marakət."
NF.AV-do OBL.INDF bad
"But practice good habits, do not behave badly."

(119) "Palubuːsantadtaw." Punan ni ajni sindaːluj.

    "Palubuːs-an   *=ta*   *=d*   *=taw."*   *Punan*   *ni*   *ajni*

    allow-LV   =1+2MIN.GEN   =POST   =2MIN.ABS say   GEN.DEF   DEM.PROX.GEN

    sindaːlu   *=j.*

    officer   =SPC

    "I allow you." This officer said.

(120) "ɔːni," punanna. "Maŋikkamaːitad da maddimadtən."

    "ɔːni," *punan*   *=na.*   *"Maŋik-kama*   *=ita*   *=d*   *da*

    yes   say   =3MIN.GEN   AV.RECP-reconcile =1+2MIN.ABS =POST because

    mad-dima   *=d*   *=tən."*

    AV-walk   =POST   =1MIN.ABS

    "Yes." he said. "Let's reconcile because I will leave."

(121) Maŋiʔalamaːnotid ajti.

    Maŋi-ʔalamaːno   *=tid*   *ajti.*

    AV.RECP-shake.hands   =3AUG.ABS   DEM.PROX.OBL

    They shook hands here.
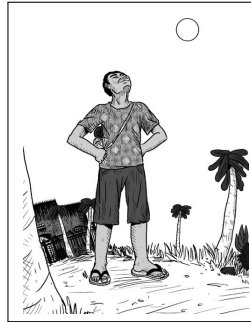
Standing in the light (122)–(126)

(122) Tammu aːjiː. Pappaːnɔːnɔːnɔːtənnad i ginimigimitnəj.

    Ta-n   *=mu*   *aːjiː.*   *Pappaː-nɔː-nɔːnɔːt-ən* *=na*   *=d*   *i*

    look-PV   =2MIN.GEN DEM.PROX NF.PLR-PLR-think-PV   =3MIN.GEN =POST ABS.DEF

    g<in>imi-gimit *=na*   *=j.*

    <PST.PV>PLR-do   =3MIN.GEN =SPC

Look at this (picture). He is thinking deeply about what he did.

(123) "Marakətsika paggimigimit ta mɛdɛddəs."

"Marakət =sika pag-gimi-gimit ta   mɛdɛd-dəs."
bad   =MIR   NF.AV-PLR-do   OBL.INDF ADJ.INT-bad
"How bad it is to do sinful behavior."

(124) "da tinumaŋadtən ti laŋiti, ajdiː mata ni laŋiti."

"da   t<in><um>aŋad   =tən   ti   laŋit =i,   ajdiː mata
because   <PV.PST><AV>look.up   =1MIN.ABS   OBL.DEF   sky   =SPC   and   eye

ni   laŋit =i."
GEN.DEF   sky   =SPC
"so I looked up at the sky, and the sun."

(125) Paŋaːnanna ta "Marakətsika paggimigimitən mɛddəs a ugaːli."

Paŋ-aːna-n =na   ta   "Marakət =sika pag-gimi-gimit-ən mɛddəs a
NF-say-LV   =3MIN.GEN   OBL.INDF   bad   =MIR   NF-PLR-do-PV   bad   LIG

ugaːli."
habit
He realised, "How bad it is to repeat a sinful habit."

(126) "Awaːŋud sɔːlin i a ginimigimiːtu a marakət." Punannad.

"Awan =u   =d   sɔːlin   i   a   g<in>imi-gimit =u   a
NEG   =1MIN.GEN   =POST   return-LV   ABS.DEF   LIG   <PV.PST>PLR-do   =1MIN.GEN   LIG

marakət." Punan =na   =d.
bad   say   =3MIN.GEN   =POST
"I will not repeat the bad things I did," he thought.

Homecoming (127)–(129)

(127) Saːdɛ: maŋəlləlla da nintanad i anaːnəj a maŋaj tinumim ta wagət.

sa-d-i:	*maŋ-əll-əlla*	*da*	*n-inta*	*=na*	*=d*
TOP-POST-DEM.PROX	AV-PLR-laugh	because	PST.PV-see	=3MIN.GEN	=DEM.PROX

i	*ana:*	*=na*	*=j*	*a*	*m-aŋaj*	*t<in><um>im*	*ta*	*wagət.*
ABS.DEF	child	=3MIN.GEN	=SPC	LIG	AV-go	<PV.PST><AV>drink	OBL.INDF	water

This man is happy because he saw his child going to drink water.

(128) Attiːtadman i asawanəj, attiː nalapna jakkandi, ajdiː apunəj.

Atti:	*=tadman*	*i*	*asawa*	*=na*	*=j,*	*atti:*	*n-alap*	*=na*
exist	=also	ABS.DEF	spouse	=GEN.INDF	=SPC	exist	PST.PV-get	=3MIN.GEN

jakkan	*=di,*	*ajdi:*	*apu*	*=na*	*=j.*
side.dish	=3AUG.GEN	and	grandfather	=3MIN.GEN	=SPC

His wife is also there, holding their food, and his grandfather is also there.

(129) Maŋaːna aːjiː, "Bahagatti, anakku da maŋiːkaːkəbkəbita."

Maŋ-a:na	*a:ji:,*	*"Bahagat*	*=ti*	*anak*	*=ku*	*da*
AV-say	DEM.PROX	come	=DEM.PROX.OBL	child	=1MIN.GEN	because

maŋi:-ka:-kabkab	*=ita."*
RECP.AV-PLR-embrace	=1+2MIN.ABS

This guy said, "Come here, my child. Let's embrace."
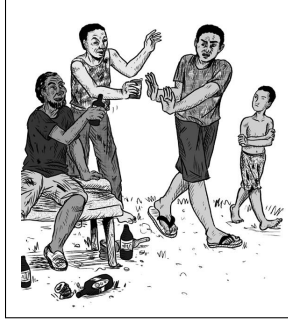
Refuse to drink (130)–(139)

(130) Saːdi paːtiːman i [laugh]

Sa-d-i: pat-tiːm-ən   i
TOP-POST-DEM.PROX   NF-drink-PV   ABS.DEF

These guys are still drinking.

(131) Punaːna,

Punaː =na,
say   =3MIN.GEN

He said,

(132) naŋibbuːlundɛːtid ti anaː=nəj, dupuː.

naŋib-buːlun   =dɛː   =tid   ti   anaː =na   =j,   dupuː.
PST.RECP.AV-accompany   =POST =3AUG.ABS OBL.DEF child =3MIN.GEN =SPC old.man

He and his child were together,

(133) Nintadid i barkaːdanəj, maŋaːna aːjiː,

Ni-nta   =di   =d   i   barkaːda =na   =j,   maŋ-aːna
PST.PV-see   =3AUG.GEN =POST ABS.DEF friend   =3MIN.GEN =SPC AV-say

aːjiː,
DEM.PROX

and they found his friends. This guy said,

(134) "Atdammu i baːsuj da ipatiːmammu."

"Atd-an   =mu   i   baːsu =i   da   i-pa-tiːm-an   =mu."
give-LV   =2MIN.GEN ABS.DEF cup   =SPC because   CV-CAUS-drink-LV =2MIN.GEN

"Give him the glass, and ask him to drink."

(135) Punanna taː ʝiː, "Ballaːŋuːdinaj."

Punan	*=na*	*ta*	*aːʝiː,*	*"Ballan*	*=u*	*=d*	*=ina*	*=j."*
say	=3MIN.GEN	OBL.INDF	DEM.PROX	hate	=1MIN.GEN	=POST	=DEM.MED	=SPC

He said like this. "I hate that now."

(136) "Ballaːŋuːdina. Marakətdɛːina."

"Ballan	*=u*	*=d*	*=ina.*	*Marakət*	*=dɛː*	*=ina."*
hate	=1MIN.GEN	=POST	=DEM.MED	bad	=POST	=DEM.MED

"I hate that. That is bad."

(137) "Amma massɔːlimandɛːtəntinəj."

"Amma	*mas-sɔːli*	*=mandɛː*	*=tən*	*=tina*	*=j."*
perhaps	AV-return	=again	=1MIN.ABS	=DEM.MED.OBL	=SPC

"I would have to come back there (if I were drunk)."

(138) "Baka massɔːlidɛːtən ti pagbaluːdannja."

"Baka	*mas-sɔːli*	*=dɛː*	*=tən*	*ti*	*pagbaluːdan*	*=ja."*
perhaps	AV-return	=POST	=1MIN.ABS	OBL.DEF	jail	=DEM.DIST

"Maybe I would have to go back to jail."

(139) ɔːni, panaːnan. "Ballaːŋu."

ɔːni	*panaːnan*	*"Ballan*	*=u."*
yes	say	hate	=1MIN.GEN

Yes, (he) said "I hate it."
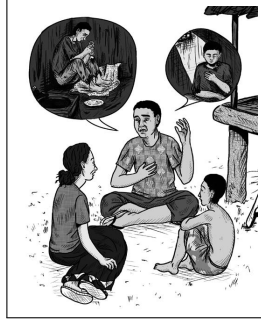
Family talking together (140)–(154)

(140) "Aːjɛ: gusuːkuj, awandɛː ta marakət attiː ti gusuːkuj,"

"Aːjɛ:	*gusuː*	*=ku*	*=j*	*awan*	*=dɛː*	*ta*	*marakət*	*attiː*	*ti*
DEM.PROX	chest	=1MIN.GEN	=SPC	NEG	=POST	OBL.INDF	bad	exist	OBL.DEF

gusuː	*=ku*	*=j,"*
chest	=1MIN.GEN	=SPC

"In my chest, there is no vice in my chest."

(141) "Mɛpɛppijad attiː ti gusuːkuj,"

"Mɛpɛp-pija	*=d*	*attiː*	*ti*	*gusuː*	*=ku*	*=j,"*
ADJ.INT-good	=POST	exist	OBL.DEF	chest	=1MIN.GEN	=SPC

"I have a virtue in my chest,"

(142) "da narapudtən ti baluːdannja."

"da	*na-rapu*	*=d*	*=tən*	*ti*	*baluːdan*	*=ja."*
because	PST.AV-come.from	=POST	=1MIN.ABS	OBL.DEF	jail	=DEM.DIST

"because I came from that jail."

(143) "Attanan na mɛdɛddəs a ugaːli,"

"Attanan	*na*	*mɛdɛd-dəs*	*a*	*ugaːli,"*
all	GEN.INDF	ADJ.INT-bad	LIG	habit

"All of the sinful habits are"

(144) "ajta baluːdannja, taːjaː kuwa."

"ajta	*baluːdan*	*=ja*	*taː*	*=jaː*	*kuwa."*
DEM.DIST.OBL	jail	=DEM.DIST	OBL.INDF	=DEM.DIST	PLH

"in the jail."

(145) "Ajtaj, naparusaʔandɛːtən ta baluːdannja."

"Ajtaj	*na-parusa-an*	*=dɛː*	*=tən*	*ta*	*baluːdan*	*=ja."*
now	PST.POT-suffer-LV	=POST	=1MIN.ABS	OBL.INDF	jail	=DEM.DIST

"Now I have experienced suffering in jail."

(146) "Attanan na ginimigimiːtu, marakət." Saja.

"Attanan	*na*	*g<in>imi-gimit*	*=u,*	*marakət."*	*Sa-ja.*
all	GEN.INDF	<PST.PV>PLR-do	=1MIN.GEN	bad	TOP-DEM.DIST

"All of the things I did were bad."

(147) "Aːjiː pusukuj, napiːpijad a pɛrmi pusukuj."

"Aːjiː	*pusu*	*=ku*	*=j*	*na-piː-pija*	*=d*	*a*	*pɛrmi*	*pusu*
DEM.PROX	heart	=1MIN.GEN	=SPC	PST.POT.PV-PLR-good	=POST	LIG	really	heart

=ku	*=j."*
=1MIN.GEN	=SPC

"This is my heart, and my heart has become good."

(148) "Awandɛː ta marakət."

"Awan	*=dɛː*	*ta*	*marakət."*
NEG	=POST	OBL.INDF	bad

"There is no vice."

(149) "Taw, asawaku, pakɔːmammutən ta ginimiːtu daw."

"Taw	*asawa*	*=ku*	*pakɔːm-an*	*=mu*	*=tən*	*ta*
2MIN.ABS	spouse	=1MIN.GEN	forgive-LV	=2MIN.GEN	=1MIN.ABS	OBL.INDF

g<in>imit	*=u*	*daw."*
<PST.PV>do	=1MIN.GEN	2MIN.OBL

"You, my wife, please forgive me for what I did to you."

(150) Punanna ti limana.

Punan	*=na*	*ti*	*lima*	*=na.*
say	=3MIN.GEN	OBL.DEF	hand	=3MIN.GEN

He did his arm like that.

(151) "Aːjiː gusuːkuj, awandɛː ta marakət a gimitəŋu daw." Punanna.

"Aːjiː	*gusuː*	*=ku*	*=j,*	*awan*	*=dɛː*	*ta*	*marakət*	*a*	*gimit-ən*
DEM.PROX	chest	=1MIN.GEN	=SPC	NEG	=POST	OBL.INDF	bad	LIG	do-PV

=u	*daw."*	*Punan*	*=na.*
=1MIN.GEN	2MIN.OBL	say	=3MIN.GEN

"This is my chest, there is no vice that I did to you."

(152) "Sijɛː anaːtəj, tittuttud, ti bijəntaj."

"Sijɛː	*anaː*	*=ta*	*=j,*	*tit-tuttud,*	*ti*	*bijən*	*=ta*
TOP.DEM.PROX	child	=1+2MIN.GEN	=SPC	STV-sit	OBL.DEF	near	=1+2MIN.GEN

=j."
=SPC

"He is our child, sitting near us."

(153) "Aːji: gusuːkuj, mɛpɛppij=d, awandɛː ta marakət." Punandɛː ta ajni.

"Aːji:	*gusuː*	*=ku*	*=j,*	*mɛpɛp-pija*	*=d,*	*awan*	*=dɛː*	*ta*
DEM.PROX	chest	=1MIN.GEN	=SPC	ADJ.INT-good	=POST	NEG	=POST	OBL.INDF

marakət."	*Punan*	*=dɛː*	*=ta*	*ajni.*
bad	say	=POST	=DEM.DIST.OBL	DEM.PROX.GEN

"This is my chest; it became good. There is no vice any longer." This guy said.

(154) Nasuŋdud.

Na-suŋdu	*=d.*
PST.AV-finish	=POST

Finished.

Abbreviations (not listed in Leipzig glossing rules)

AUG	augmented	NF	nonfinite
AV	actor voice	PLH	placeholder (filler-like element)
COM	comitative verb	PLR	pluractional
CONTR	contrastive	POST	phasal polarity
CV	conveyance voice		(posterior) 'already, soon'
LIG	ligature (linker)	POT	potentive verb
LV	locative voice	SPC	specificity
MIN	minimal	STV	stative verb

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