



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Mualang : an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia

Tjia, J.

Citation

Tjia, J. (2007, April 25). *A grammar of Mualang : an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/11862>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/11862>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Appendix 1: Texts

In this appendix some texts are presented with their glosses and free translation. All the texts were collected during fieldwork between May 2002 – January 2003 and in June 2005 in the Upstream area from several female and male informants ranging in age from 45 to 65 years old. Text 1 is a long story narrated by an old man, about 65 years old by the time of recording, from the village of Tabuk Hulu. Text 2 is a story about Aluy's father, a funny, stupid-like but tricky character. The story was recorded from a man of about 50 years old, who originated from the village of Ijuk, very close to Tabuk Hulu. Text 3 is of a procedural genre, described by a woman of above 40 years old from Tabuk Hulu. Text 4 contains *pantuns* collected from a couple of above 50 years old from Landau Menarau. Text 5 is a collection of *sempang* 'proverbs', gathered from several informants from different villages. Finally, text 6 presents some samples of *petataw* 'riddles', given by informants from different villages.

Text 1: *Mulah nsia* 'Creating man'

Aday kisah urang tuay kelial' tih, kisah mula-mula
exist story person old old.time tih story beginning-RED

menua tu' da-pulah urang.
world this PASS-make person

There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of how this world was made by somebody in the beginning.

Jadi, kisah urang tuay N-padah, menua tu' da-tempa'
So story person old ACT-say world this PASS-forge

Burung Tempa'.
Bird Forge

So, the story from our ancestors tells that this world was forged by the Forging Bird.

Nti' masa tu' mah, Tuhan ti N-pulah dunia.
if time this mah Lord REL ACT-make world

But now (we know), it was God who made the world.

Ulih kisah urang tuay kita Mualang, Burung Tempa'.
But story person old 1p.incl Mualang Bird Forge

But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, it was the Forging Bird.

Jadi Burung Tempa' N-tempa' tanah, N-tempa' langit,
So Bird Forge ACT-forge soil ACT-forge sky

N-tempa' apa semua tay aday.
ACT-forge what all REL exist

Thus, the Forging Bird forged the earth, forged the sky, forged all that exists.

Keban tanam, keban kayu, rumput, ikan, jelu, burung,
kind plant kind tree grass fish animal bird

semua da-tempa' ia, sampay ia N-tempa' nsia.
all PASS-forge 3s until 3s ACT-forge human

Various kinds of plants, various kinds of trees, grass, fishes, animals, birds, all were forged by him, and then he forged man.

Jadi mula ia N-tempa' nsia tih, kisah, da-tangkal
so beginning 3s ACT-forge human tih story PASS-cut

uwi sega', da-tegah.
rattan sega' PASS- startle

So, in the beginning when he forged man, so the story goes, *sega'* rattan was cut, then startled.

Da-tegah, ketawa' ka ketawa', nitaw' jadi nsia.
PASS-startle laugh to laugh can't become human

Being startled, it laughed and laughed, (but) couldn't become a human being.

Baru' ia ba-pikir: "N-pulah tanah", jaku' ia.
then 3s ANPAS-think ACT-make soil say 3s

Then he thought: "I make soil," he said.

Baru' ia N-pulah tanah.
then 3s ACT-make soil

Then he made soil.

Da-bentuk pulah tubuh, pulah kaki jari, pulah mata
PASS-form make body make foot arm make eye

mua, idung nyawa, pen'ing telinga.
face nose mouth ear ear

He shaped it and formed a body, formed feet and hands, formed eyes and a face, a nose and mouth, (and) ears.

Da-tegah, baru' jadi nsia idup.
PASS-startle then become human live

It was startled, and then it became a living human being.

S-iku' da-pulah ia, nama ia Am'un Menurun.
ONE- CLASS PASS-make 3s name 3s A M

One was made by him, his name was AM.

S-iku' ti in'u' nama Pukat Bengawan.
ONE- CLASS REL female name P B

The other one that was female was named PB.

Jadi Am'un Menurun aba' Pukat Bengawan tu', nya'
so A M and P B this that

mula-mula nsia ti aday di menua tu'.
beginning-RED human REL exist LOC world this

So, as for AM and PB, those were the first human beings in this world.

Aw', ba-laki ba-bini=m seniku' jara', upa Adam
well ANPAS-husband ANPAS-wife=m 3d jara' like A

aba' Awa.
and A

Well, they then became husband and wife, like Adam and Eve.

Ba-laki-bini, *bar-anak,* *bar-anak* *ka*
ANPAS-husband-wife ANPAS-child ANPAS-child to

Ruay *Mana* *aba'* *Bintang* *Muga.*
R M and B M

Having become husband and wife, they had children; they gave birth to Ruay Mana and Bintang Muga.

Jadi *per-anak* *Am'un* *Menurun* *aba'* *Pukat* *Bengawan* *tu'*
so NOM-child A M and P B this

bar-anak *ka* *Ruay* *Mana* *aba'* *Bintang* *Muga.*
ANPAS-child to R M and B M

So, as for the descendants of AM and PB, they gave birth to RM and BM.

Bintang *Muga* *laki,* *Ruay* *Mana* *in'u'.*
B M male R M female

BM was a male, RM a female.

Jadi *seniku'* *ia'* *menyadi'.*
so 3d that sibling

Thus, the two of them were siblings.

Ulih *nema* *bedaw* *isi'* *nsia,* *aw',* *te-paksa* *seniku'*
but because not.yet content human well MID-force 3d

ba-laki-bini.
ANPAS-husband-wife

But because there were no other human beings yet, well, the two of them were forced to marry each other.

Ba-laki-bini *seniku'.*
ANPAS-husband-wife 3d

(And) the two of them became husband and wife.

Jadi *ba-laki-bini,* *nema* *seniku'* *jadi* *ka*
so ANPAS-husband-wife because 3d get.married to

diri' *menyadi',* *bar-anak,* *bar-anak* *ka* *mpalang* *darah.*
self sibling ANPAS-child, ANPAS-child to clot blood

So they became husband and wife; because the two siblings married each other, they gave birth, they gave birth to a clot of blood.

Aduh, utay ia'!
ouch thing that

O no! What kind of a thing was that!

Keba'=m kisah kita Mualang tu' nitaw' jadi ka diri'
therefore=m story 1p.incl Mualangthis can't so to self

menyadi' ataw manal¹.
sibling or cousin

That's why, as our Mualang story goes, one can't marry one's own sibling or cousin.

Kerna² ia jadi mali tih, bar-anak ka mpalang
because 3s get.married taboo tih, ANPAS-child to clot

darah.
blood

Because she entered a taboo marriage, she gave birth to a clot of blood.

N-peda' pia' da-gantung ka pucuk kayu.
ACT- see like.that PASS-hang to top.of.tree tree.

Seeing this, it was hung on the top of a tree.

Da pucuk kayu tih mpalang darah tu' jadi rajang.
LOC top.of.tree tree tih clot blood this become k.o.fern

At the top of the tree the clot of blood became a fern.

Baru', ti labuh ka tanah jadi tanah badi.
then', REL fall to ground become soil cursed

Then, the part that fell to the ground became cursed (or taboo) soil.

Keba' sampay ka tu' aday tanah badi, wih, n'u'?
therefore' until to this exist soil curse wih TOA

Therefore, until now there is cursed soil, isn't there, sister? (The speaker side-commented to a woman who was listening to the story)

1 *Manal* is a child of the sibling of one's parent (father or mother).

2 *Kerna* because' is borrowed from Indonesian *karena*.

Aa, ia' bar-anak pertama.
 aa that ANPAS-child first

Ah, that was the first delivery.

Bar-anak ke-dua, baru' bar-anak ka utay ia',
 ANPAS-child ORD- two, then ANPAS-child to thing that

nisi' peda' kaki jari, nisi', ah, upa apa utay ia',
 nothing see leg arm nothing ah like what thing that

naday kelala nsia.
 NEG recognize human

Giving birth for the second time, she then gave birth to that thing; there were no feet and hands to be seen, nothing was there. Ah, what was that thing like; it did not look like a human being.

Ah, karna³ nsia mali tu', nitaw' jadi ka diri'
 ah because human taboo this may.not get.married to self

menyadi'.
 sibling

Ah, because the humans violated a taboo, they should not get married to their own sibling.

Keba' sampay ka tu' jalay adat ia', urang menyadi'
 therefore until to now way custom that person sibling

nitaw' ba-laki-bini.
 can't ANPAS-husband-wife

Therefore until now the custom is that siblings can't get married to each other.

Adat ia' pe-mali.
 custom that NOM-taboo

The custom for that is that it is a taboo / According to customary law/our customs that is a taboo.

Jadi, N-peda' ia naday jadi nsia, da-any'ung apay inay
 so, ACT-see that NEG become human PASS-escort father mother

ka pala' darung, da utan, da kampung babas.
 to head valley LOC forest LOC dense.forest former.rice.field

³ See footnote 2.

So, seeing that it hadn't become a human being, it was brought away by the father and mother to the entrance of the valley, into the forest, into the wilderness.

Pia' kisah.
like.that story

So that was the story / That's how the story goes.

Baru', udah ia', bar-anak ka Puyang Gana.
then after that ANPAS-child to P G

Then, after that, they gave birth to Puyang Gana.

Mula-mula ka' jadi nsia, tapi bedaw jadi nsia
beginning-RED FUT become human but not.yet become human

amat.
true

In the beginning it was going to become a human but did not yet become a true human.

Udah ia' baru' bar-anak ka Bejit Manay, Belang Ping'ang,
after that then ANPAS-child to B M B P

Belang Kana', Belang Baw, Buwi Nasi, Putung Empat.
B K B B B N P K

After that they gave birth to Bejit Manay, Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, Buwi Nasi, and Putung Empat.

Putung Empat in'u', anak Bintang Muga aba' Ruay Mana tih.
P K female child B M and R M tih.

Putung Empat was a female, the daughter of Bintang Muga and Ruay Mana.

Baru' hilang kisah ia' tih, aday kisah antu.
then lost story that tih, exist story ghost

Then, after that story, there was a story of a ghost.

Antu ia' Raja Sua nama.
ghost that King S name

That ghost was called King Sua.

Jadi Raja Sua tu' N-asu.
 so King S TOP ACT-hunt

So, King Sua, (he) went hunting.

N-asu ka kampung ngeN-bay' ukuy.
 ACT-hunt to dense.forest ACT-bring dog

(He) went hunting in the jungle taking along a dog.

Ke-panyay-panyay ia ba-jalay ka kampung tih, baru' ukuy
 NOM-long-RED 3s ANPAS-road to dense.forest tih then dog

ia N-pelung Puyang Gana tay da-any'ung apay inay ka
 3s ACT-bark P G REL PASS-escort father mother to

alam darung tadi'.
 inside valley a.while.ago

A very long time he walked into the jungle, then his dog barked at Puyang Gana who had been thrown away by his parents into the valley.

Salak.
 bark

It barked.

Da-gusung jara', da-gusung kia'.
 PASS-chase jara' PASS-chase thither.(near)

It was chased, it was chased over there.

Baru', N-peda' utay ia' ukay jelu.
 then ACT-see thing that not animal

Then he (Raja Sua) saw that thing was not an animal.

Aw', N-peda' ia' nsia n'a' nsia, apa lah utay ia'
well ACT- see that human not human what lah thing that

naday jadi, da-bay' ka rumah jara'.
 NEG become PASS-bring to house jara'

Well, seeing that it was not really a human, (but) a thing that had not become anything, it was then taken home.

Da-intu, ah, da-piara ia.
 PASS-take.care ah PASS-look.after 3s

It was taken care of, uh, it was looked after by him.

Ntah kati-kati cara ia N-intu nsia ia' sampay
 not.know how-RED way 3s ACT-take.care human that until

jadi nsia.
 become human

God knows how on earth he (King Sua) took care of that human until it became a real human.

Ah, pia', jadi nsia biasa upa kita pitu'.
 ah like.that', become human normal like 1p.incl like.this

Ah, so, it became a normal human like we are.

N-peda' pia', tu' jaku' ia: "Tu' ngaw anak menantu
 ACT-see like.that this say 3s This for child child.in.law

ku, nti' ia nyaw jadi nsia ti amat-amat."
 1s if 3s already become human REL true-RED

Seeing this, he (King Sua) said: "This (one) is meant to become my son-in-law, if he has become a real human.

Ah, ba-macam-macam cara ia N-pulah isa' nsia ia' tih
 ah ANPAS-kind-RED way 3s ACT-make so.that human that tih

jadi urang ti nsia amat-amat.
 become person REL human true-RED

Ah, all kinds of methods he applied so that that human creature became someone who was a real human being.

Udah ia jadi nsia amat-amat upa kita pitu', baru'
 after 3s become human true-RED like 1p.incl like.this then

ia di-cuba lagi', jaku' kisah kita Mualang.
 he PASS-try again say story 1p.incl Mualang

After he had become a real human being like we are, then he was tempted again, says the story of us, the Mualang.

Aa *macam beji,* *suruh beji* *N-tijang*
 ah kind strong.human command strong.human ACT-step.on

mata pedang, naday bakal, N-rejang sangkuh
 eye sword NEG wound ACT-stab.upwards spear

da-anu' *k=ataw pia', ia naday kena'.*
 PASS-INDEF.PRON to=top like.that 3s NEG afflict

Ah, like a strong man, (when) the strong man was ordered to step on a sword, he did not get wounded; (they) stabbed a spear to be ... what-shall-we-call-it ... upwards like that, it missed.

"Uh," jaku' ia, "Asa pia', taw'=m ngaw anak menantu ku."
 oh say 3s whenever like.that can=m for child son.in.law 1s

"Oh," he said, "In that case, he can become my son-in-law."

Jadi Raja Sua tih aday anak in'u' nama Dara Reja'.
 so King S tih exist child female name D R.

So, King Sua, you know, had a daughter named Dara Reja'.

Aa, pia'.
 ah like.that

Yes, like that.

"Aw'," jaku' ia: "Tu'=m, n'u', ngaw laki di'.
 well say 3s this=m TOA for husband 2s.fem

"Well," he said, "My daughter, this is to be your husband."

Tu', Puyang Gana tu', nisi' urang N-kilah ia tih.
 this P G this nothing person ACT-surpass 3s tih

"Look here, this Puyang Gana, nobody surpasses him, you know."

Sapa urang menua tu' tay ba-kuasa ari ia?
 who person world this REL ANPAS-power from 3s

"Who in this world is more powerful than he is?"

Ia ti taw' ngaw anak menantu ku."
 3s REL can for child son.in.law 1s

"He is the one who can be my son-in-law."

Ia' menantu kawin resmi jara'.
that son.in.law get.marry official *jara'*

So, the son-in-law got officially married indeed.

Jadi, ting'al gisah ia' tih, ting'al lagi' kisah sida' Bejit Manay,
so leave story that *tih* remain again story 3p B M

sida' Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, sida'
3p B P B K B B 3p

Buwi Nasi tu', ka' ba-dua' arta apay inay.
B N this FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC) wealth father mother

Thus, after that (part of the) story, there is another story of the people of Bejit Manay, of Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, of Buwi Nasi, who were going to divide up their parents' wealth (among themselves).

Karna apay inay mati tih, sida' menyadi' ia' nyaw
because father mother die *tih* 3p sibling that already

taw' uga' N-simpan arta ben'a.
can all ACT-keep wealth thing

Because their parents had died, those siblings had been able to keep all the wealth.

Jadi arta ben'a ti aday di-bagi.
so wealth thing REL exist PASS-divide

Thus, all the wealth that existed was divided.

Aw', waktu ka' ba-bagi ia', Raja Sua, nama s-igi'
well time FUT ANPAS-divide that king S name ONE-CLASS

antu jara', taw' ia bada', amat nisi' urang N-padah.
ghost *jara'* know 3s *bada'* although nothing person ACT-say

Well, when they were going to divide it, King Sua, so it is with a ghost, he knew it, even though nobody told him.

"Uh, anu', laki n'u'," jaku' ia.
oh what.is.it husband TOA say 3s

"Oh, what is it, my son-in-law (lit. husband of my daughter)," he said.

"Tu' menyadi' kita' ba-pe-dua' arta
this sibling 2p ANPAS-NOM-divide.(PREC) property

da rumah sida', kita' din.
 LOC house 3p 2p there.(far)

“Well, your siblings are going to divide up the wealth (among themselves) at their house, at your house over there.”

Jadi kula' menyadi' tuay sida',” jaku' ia.
 so TOA sibling old 3p say 3s

“So, my son-in-law, you are their oldest brother,” he said.

“Kula' kin N-pinta' bagi ga'.”
 TOA thither.(far) ACT-ask.for divide also

“My son-in-law, you go there to ask for your share too.”

Aw', angkat udah Puyang Gana tu' tih.
 well go udah P G TOP tih

Well, off he went, Puyang Gana.

Datay kin, ia naday N-tiki' ka rumah, pas
 come thither.(far) 3s NEG ACT-climb to house at.same.time

ia', sida' ka' ba-dua' bala utay.
 that 3p FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC) all.(kinds) thing

Arriving there, he didn't go up into the house; at the same moment they were going to divide up all kinds of wealth.

Ari tanah: “Ih,” jaku' ia, “Anu', ku menyadi' kita'.
 from ground hey say 3s what.is.it 1s sibling 2p

From below he said: “Hey! Uh, I am your brother.”⁴

Anti' anu', kita' ba-dua' keban ramu arta
 if what.is.it 2p ANPAS-divide.(PREC) kind wealth property

apay inay kita, ku da-untung kah ga'!”
 father mother 1p.incl 1s PASS-share kah also

If, uh, you all are dividing up our parents' property, share it with me too!”

⁴ Traditional Mualang (long)houses are built on poles, high above the ground.

Baru' sida' menyadi': "Nisi'," jaku' Bejit Manay,
 then 3p sibling nothing say B M

"Nisi' tuay ari ku.
 nothing old from 1s

Then (on behalf of) those siblings Bejit Manay said: "No, we won't. Nobody is older than I am.

Ku lah menyadi' tuay kita.
 1s lah sibling old 1p.incl

I am the one who is our oldest brother.

Diang pay Diang nay n'a' b-isi' N-padah
 the.late father the.late mother not ANPAS-content ACT-say

aday menyadi' kita bukay ari ku."
 exist sibling 1p.incl other from 1s

Our late parents never said that there was an (older) sibling other than me."

"Ba-kati naday," jaku' ia, "Ku matang menyadi' kita'.
 ba-how NEG say 3s 1s persistently sibling 2p

"How could it not be so," he (Puyang Gana) said, "I am really your brother.

Ku aday, da-any'ung apay inay ku ka alam babas."
 1s exist PASS-escort father mother 1s to inside forest

(When) I was born, I was brought away by my parents into the forest."

Ulih matang naday percaya ama sida'.
 but persistently NEG believe with 3p

But they refused to believe it.

Matang N-padah "nisi'".
 insistent ACT-say nothing

They kept saying no.

N-peda' pia': "Aw', naday!"
 ACT-see like.that well NEG

Seeing this (Puyung Gana said), "Come on, don't do that!"

“Anu’,” *jaku’ sida’*.
 well say 3p

“What is it” they said.

Teka ia’ da-beri’ ka ia, anu’, tempa tanah
 right.away that PASS-give to 3s what.is.it anvil soil

tay ngaw ba-tempa’.
 REL for ANPAS-forge

Right away a what-is-it-called, an anvil made of soil which was used for forging was given to him.

Mm, tibar tanah.
 Hm throw ground

Hm, they threw it to the ground.

“*Tu’ untung m’ih!*”
 this share 2s.masc

“This is your share!”

Tang’ung da-bay’ ka rumah.
 carry.on.the.shoulder PASS-bring to house

It was carried home (by Puyang Gana).

“*Ee, kati kula’?*”
 Eh how TOA

“Eh, how was it, my son-in-law? (King Sua asked after Puyang Gana came home)

Aday sida’ N-beri’?” jaku’ Raja Sua.
 exist 3p ACT-give say king S

“Did they give you something?” said King Sua.

“*Nisi’.*”
 nothing

“Nothing.

Nisi', nema sida' naday pecaya ku menyadi', jaku' ia.
 nothing because 3p NEG believe 1s sibling say 3s

Nothing, because they did not believe that I am (their) sibling," said he.

"Padah sida' ukay'.
 say 3p no

"They said no.

Tu' tay da-beri' sida'."
 this REL PASS-give 3p

This is what they gave me."

"Wih, untung kula'!
 wow fortunate TOA

"Wow, how fortunate you are, my son-in-law!

Sapa urang N-hak tanah bukay kula'.
 who person ACT-rights land other TOA

Who is it that has the rights over the land other than you, my son-in-law.

Urang, nti' ka' ba-kerja ba-uma, alah N-pinta'.
 person if want ANPAS-work ANPAS-rice.field must ACT-ask.for

If anybody wants to work the rice field, he must ask you (for permission).

Nti' naday N-pinta', kula' kena' hak N-tuntut,"
 if NEG ACT-ask.for TOA afflict rights ACT-claim

jaku' ia.
 say 3s

If that person doesn't ask for your permission, you have the right to claim it," said he (King Sua).

Baru' pulay ka kisah ia', kisah sida' Bejit Manay, menyadi'
 then return to story that story 3p B M sibling

tu' tih, ka' ba-uma, pia'.
 this tih want ANPAS-rice.field like.that

Then going back to the story, the story of those siblings of Bejit Manay, they wanted to work the rice field, you know.

Ka' ba-uma sida' tih, udah senta masa N-pabat
 want ANPAS-rice.field 3p tih after time time ACT-slash

N-tebang upa sengkit tih, ba-uma wih.
 ACT-cut like usual tih ANPAS-rice.field wih

They wanted to work the rice field. So, after the time of slashing and cutting (bushes and trees) as usual, they worked on the rice field.

Anu' lay, ba-balik sikit, kelupa ku kisah.
 well lay ANPAS-turn.around little forget 1s tell.story

Well, wait a second, I'm going back a bit, I forgot to tell the (following) story.

Waktu sida' aday aba' apay inay, naday N-pakay umpan,
 when 3p exist with father mother NEG ACT-eat cooked.rice

N-pakay arang, pia' kisah.
 ACT-eat k.o.fruit like.that story

When they were with their parents, they did not eat rice, (but) they ate *arang* fruit, that was the story.

Jadi, menyadi' sida' tu' ba-pan'uk arang sengabut.
 so sibling 3p this ANPAS-burn k.o.fruit continuously

So, those siblings kept baking *arang* fruit.

Tebang kayu, ba-tunu, arang da-pakay.
 cut tree ANPAS-burn k.o.fruit PASS-eat

(While) cutting down trees, (and) burning, (they) ate *arang* fruit.

Semenjak aday Buwi Nasi tih, serta ia N-sabak: "Asi, asi",
 since exist B N tih so.as 3s ACT-cry asi asi

aa, baru' sida' taw' bada' asi ia', nasi' da-giga' ia.
 ah then 3p know bada' asi that cooked.rice PASS-look.for 3s

As soon as Buwi Nasi was born, he cried out: "ice!, ici!", ah, then they knew that "ice" was the cooked rice that he was looking for.

"Uh," jaku' sida', "Menyadi' kita tu' nyaw ka'
 oh say 3p sibling 1p.incl this already want

N-pakay umpan, N-pinta' nasi', tu' naday kita taw'.
 ACT-eat cooked.rice ACT-ask.for cooked.rice this NEG 1p.incl know

“Oh,” they said, “This brother of ours already wants to eat rice, he asks for rice, this we don’t know/have.

N-pan’uk arang agi’ aja’.
ACT-burn k.o.fruit again just

We just bake *arang* again.”

Uh, baru’ apay inay N-pesaw ka sida’:
oh then father mother ACT-give.message to 3p

“*Kasih bada’ ia N-giga’ nasi’.*
feel.pity bada’ 3s ACT-look.for cooked.rice

Oh, then their parents gave a message to them: “Pity on him, he is looking for rice.

Aa ia’ ba-balik lagi’ kisah ku ia’.
ah that ANPAS-turn.around again story 1s that

Ah, that goes back again to that story of mine.

“*Asa kemua nyaw mati, kubur.*
whenever 1d.excl PERF die bury

“When we have died, bury us.

Asa aday ti tim’ul d=ataw kubur ia’, intu
whenever exist REL emerge LOC=top grave that take.care

piara ulih kita’.
look.after by 2p

When something emerges from the grave, you all take care of it.

Pin’ah kah apa tay aday tim’ul ia’.
move kah what REL exist emerge that

Move what comes out of there.”

Aa, baru’ da-kubur apay inay ia’, mati tih.
ah then PASS-bury father mother that die tih

Ah, then the parents were buried, they died.

Baru’, sida’ N-peda’ baka aday utay tum’uh, aday juna’.
then 3p ACT-see body exist thing grow exist k.o.leek

aday padi, aday lia', aday apa semua, da-intu
 exist rice.plant exist ginger exist what all PASS-take.care

ulih sida'.
 by 3p

Then, they saw on the bodies there were things growing, there were leeks, there were rice plants, there was ginger, there were all (kinds of) things - they took care of those things.

Aa, baru' ti tadi' jadi padi.
 ah then REL a.while.ago become rice.plant

Ah, then the things that were taken care of became rice plants

Baru' kita nsia N-pakay umpan, badu' N-pakay arang.
 then 1p.incl human ACT-eat cooked.rice stop ACT-eat k.o.fruit

Only since we human beings eat rice, have (we) stopped eating *arang*.

Baru' pulay ka kisah ti tadi' tih, sida' ka'
 then return to story REL a.while.ago tih 3p FUT

ba-uma, N-pang'ul.
 ANPAS-rice.field ACT-slash.for.sign

Then returning to the story (mentioned) a while ago: they were going to work the rice field, (so) they did *mang'ul*.⁵

Adat kita Mualang, asa ka' ba-uma,
 custom 1p.incl Mualang whenever FUT ANPAS-rice.field

N-pang'ul, dulaw N-tan'a dini ka'
 ACT-slash.symbolically first ACT-sign where FUT

ba-uma.
 ANPAS-rice.field

Our Mualang tradition is that whenever we're going to work the rice field, we mark the area first indicating where (we) will make the rice field.

Baru' pabat sida'.
 then slash 3p

Then they slashed (bushes and trees).

⁵ *Mang'ul* means slashing an area as a sign for others that somebody is going to work on that part of the area.

Kisah, tujuh darung tujuh bukit udah pabat s-ari.
 story seven valley seven hill already slash ONE-day

As the story goes, they slashed (an area of) seven valleys and seven hills in a day.

Ah, maktum kisah antu, duning ia' bah.
 ah be.understood story ghost fairy.tale that bah

Ah, you must know, it's a ghost story, it's really a fairy tale.

Aw', udah N-pabat, jaku' ntua Puyang Gana: "Anu",
 well after ACT- slash say parent.in.law P G well

kati kula', tu' hak kula' ba-tin'ak.
 how TOA this rights TOA ANPAS-act

Well, after they had done slashing, the father-in-law of Puyang Gana said: "Well, what do you think, my son-in-law, now it is your right to act.

Tu' menyadi' kula' ba-uma, N-pabat
 this sibling TOA ANPAS-rice.field ACT-slash

N-tebang, nisi' N-padah, nisi' N-pinta'.
 ACT- cut nothing ACT-say nothing ACT-ask.for

(You see), your siblings are working the rice field, slashing and cutting bushes and trees, without telling anything, without asking anything.

Kin kula', pe-diri kah kayu ti dah da-pabat
 thither.(far) TOA CAUS-self kah tree REL PERF PASS-slash

tebang sida'."
 cut 3p

Go there, my son-in-law, put the trees upright that have been slashed and cut by them."

Uh, angkat jara' Puyang Gana tu', datay mah N-peda'
 oh go jara' P G this come mah ACT-see

pabat sida', tujuh darung tujuh bukit pe-luah.
 slash 3p seven valley seven hill NOM-large

Oh, Puyang Gana went there immediately, he really came to see their slashing, the size of seven valleys and seven hills.

Luah uma ia' tih, kisah.
 large rice.field that tih story

(And) large was that rice field, the story goes.

Ah, baru' ia ngeN-bay': "Uy," Dara Belin'ung, Munsang,
 ah then 3s ACT-summon hey D bee weasel

Bujang Penyadung, kak Dara Itung."
 B P crow D I

Ah, then he (Puyang Gana) summoned: "Hey, Dara Belin'ung (bee), Munsang (weasel), Bujang Penyadung, crow Dara Itung."

Sa' ia' macam-macam, semua jenis jelu da-kumay.
 3p that kind-RED all kind animal PASS-call

They were of all kinds, all sorts of animals (they) were called.

"Datay kita' kitu'!"
 come 2p hither

"Come here you all!"

Datay sida' ia' jara'.
 come 3p that jara'

And come they did.

"Bah, apa tay m'ih ka' kumay kami?"
 bah what REL 2s.masc want call we.excl

"Huh, what (names) is it you want to call us?"

"Naday apa, kita tu' ba-surup ngeN-diri bala kayu
 NEG what 1p.incl TOP ANPAS-help ACT-stand all tree

ti dah pabat," jaku' Puyang Gana.
 REL PERF slash say P G

"Nothing, we'll just help each other putting upright all the trees that have been cut down," said Puyang Gana.

Da-pe-diri semua, nisi' tan'a, nisi' N-peda' bekaw
 PASS-CAUS-stand all nothing sign nothing ACT-see trace

abi ba-kerja.
 trace ANPAS-work

All were put up, no signs, no traces of working could one see.

Malam, dah tin'uk ngantuk, tawas ari ka' kia'
 night PERF sleep feel.sleepy day.time day want thither.(near)

agi', sida' ka' ba-kerja.
 again 3p want ANPAS-work

At night, after having slept, during day time (the siblings) wanted to go there again, they wanted to work.

Datay kia', nisi'.
 come thither.(near) nothing

Arriving there, there was nothing.

"Ih, ngapa ditu' langan kita kemari'?"
 hay why here sitting.place 1p.incl yesterday

"Hay, what is going on here with our sitting place (we made) yesterday?"

Ngapa kita kitu' nisi' agi' ti da-pabat kita
 why 1p.incl hither nothing again REL PASS-slash 1p.incl

ditu', nisi' peda'?"
 here nothing see

Why is it, we came here (but) there is nothing left of what was cut down by us here, nothing to be seen?

Kayu tu' diri uga'."
 tree this stand all

These trees are all standing."

"Tu' ditu' abi pabat kita," jaku' sida' ke-dua jara'.
 this here trace slash 1p.incl say 3p ORD-two jara'

"This here is the trace of our cutting," said the second sibling.

"Ah, mm se-macam!"
 ah hm ONE-strange

"Ah, hm, it's strange!"

Aw', N-pabat agi' s-ari ia'.
 well ACT-slash again ONE-day that

Well, they cut down trees again that whole day.

Udah N-pabat sida' upa ti kemari' tih, pulay.
 after ACT- slash 3p like REL yesterday tih go.home

After they had cut down (trees) like the the day before, they went home.

Malam datay lagi' Puyang Gana aba' keban ulun, keban
 night come again P G and kind helper kind

pe-suruh ia tih.
 NOM-command 3s tih

At night there came again Puyang Gana and his helpers, his servants.

Ba-diri kayu lagi'.
 ANPAS-stand tree again

The trees stood again.

Pulay asal lagi' jadi utan ti dia'.
 return origin again become forest REL there.(near)

They had been restored into their original state, becoming the forest that had been there.

N-peda' pia', turun sida' ari ti ke-tiga, N-peda'
 ACT-see like.that descend 3p day REL ORD-three ACT-see

dah nisi' agi' upa ia', nisi' bekas sekali'.
 already nothing again like that nothing trace at.all

Seeing it was like that, they (the siblings) went down on the third day and saw there was nothing like they had done, no trace at all.

"Asa pia', kita ipa'," jaku' sida', "Tu' naday, biar
 whenever like.that 1p.incl peek say 3p this NEG let

ba-bunuh.
 ANPAS-kill

"If so, let's take a peek," they said, "We can't let this (happen), even if we have to kill each other.

Naday kita sang'up, mati kita kerja pitu'.
 NEG 1p.incl be.able die 1p.incl work like.this

We can't (go on), we will die if we keep working like this.

Rugi dih ia'.
loss *dih* that

It's indeed a loss.

Sa-sapa urang tu'?"
who-RED person this

Who are doing this?."

Sida' nitaw' bada', aday antu jara'.
3p not.know *bada'* exist ghost *jara'*

They didn't know there were ghosts.

Baru' di-ipa', sida' selabuk se-belah pun-pun kayu.
then PASS-peek 3p hide ONE- side stem-RED tree

Then they peeked, they hid behind the trees.

Pia'.
like.that
So it was.

Nyaw malam ari, N-dinga=m datay Puyang Gana tu'
after night day ACT- hear=m come P G TOP

ngeN-bay' keban ulun ia.
ACT-summon kind helper 3s

When evening had come, they heard Puyang Gana come summoning all his helpers.

"Uy," jaku' ia, "Munsang, Bujang Penyadung, kak Dara Itung!"
hey say 3s weasel B P crow D I

"Hey," he said, "Munsang, Bujang Penyadung, crow Dara Itung!"

N-am'i' Dara Belin'ung, apa-apa semua keban jenis jelu
ACT-take D bee what-RED all kind kind animal

da-kumay: "Kitu' kita', aba' kami tu' ba-diri
PASS-call hither 2p with we.(excl) this ANPAS-stand

anu' tu' agi'!"
what.is.it this again

He got Dara Belin'ung, all kinds of animals were called: "Get here, you all, together with us make the trees stand again!"

"Ah," *jaku' sida' menyadi' ah, "Nya' m=ia nih.*
 ah say 3p sibling ah that m=3s nih

"Ah," said those siblings, "That's it!

Patut kita tu' mati-mati upa tu' kerja."
 no.wonder 1p.incl TOP die-RED like this work

No wonder we worked so hard like this."

Serta datay, ba-tangkap=m sida'.
 as.soon.as come ANPAS-catch=m 3p

The moment they came (to where Puyang Gana was), they had a fight.

Ba-tangkap sida' menyadi' ia'.
 ANPAS-catch 3p sibling that

Those siblings fought each other.

Ke-panyay-panyay, nisi' urang t-alah ka sida'.
 NOM-long-RED nothing person MID-beat to 3p

They fought a long time, (yet) nobody of them was beaten'

Nyaw lelak, teka lelak ba-tangkap ah sida'.
 already tired right.away tired ANPAS-catch ah 3p

They already got tired, just got tired of fighting.

Jadi udah ba-tangkap, jaku' Bejit Manay: "Kati,
 so after ANPAS-catch say B M how

ngapa pia', asa kita' kitu' N-tijak kami?"
 why like.that whenever 2p hither ACT-step.on 1p.excl

So, after having fought, Bejit Manay said: "How is it then, why is it so, whenever you come here you step on us?"

"Naday kati," jaku' Puyang Gana, "Waktu kita'
 NEG how say P G when 2p

ba-dua' peramu kita menyadi', ku
 ANPAS-divide.(PREC) things 1p.incl sibling 1s

N-pinta' *untung, nema ku menyadi' kita'*
 ACT-ask.for share because 1s sibling 2p

kita' N-padah ukay', naday pecaya.
 2p ACT-sayno NEG believe

“That’s not how it is,” said Puyang Gana, “When you all were dividing up properties of ours, I asked for my share, because I was your sibling, but you said no’, not believing (it/me).

Kita' untung tanah tu', tu' masuk tanah ku.
 2p share land this this include land 1s

(Then) you give me this land, this belongs to my land.

Ku bar-hak.
 1s ANPAS-rights

I have the rights (over this).

Nti' kita' naday N-pinta', ku taw' N-tuntut kita'.
 if 2p NEG ACT-ask.for 1s can ACT-claim 2p

If you don’t ask me, I can claim (it from) you.

Aday hak ku.”
 exist rights 1s

I have the rights.”

Aa, baru' dih ia N-gisah kejadian ia da-buay ka
 Ah then dih 3s ACT-story event 3s PASS-throw.away to

darung, da-intu Raja Sua.
 valley PASS-take.care king S

Ah, it was then that he told (them) the story of his being thrown away to the valley, (and) was taken care of by King Sua.

Ba-sabak dih sida' menyadi', ba-sium ba-lulum,
 ANPAS-cry dih 3p sibling ANPAS-kiss ANPAS-PREC

ba-pangkap ba-berap.
 ANPAS-hug ANPAS-embrace

Those siblings then wept, kissed each other, (and) had a big hug.

Sida' *N-tesal* *dih.*
3p ACT-regret *dih*

They really regreted (what they had done).

Baru' *sida'* *taw'* *bada'* *ah* *diri'* *menyadi'*, *N-angku'*
then 3p know *bada'* *ah* self sibling ACT-adopt

pangan *menyadi'*.
partner sibling

Then they knew that they were siblings, and adopted each other as siblings.

N-peda' *pia'*, *jaku'* *Puyang* *Gana:* "Aw", *tu'* *kita*
ACT-see like.that say P G well this 1p.incl

dah *ba-temu.*
PERF ANPAS-meet

Seeing this, Puyang Gana said: "Well, look here, now we have met.

Kita' *taw'* *bada'* *ku* *menyadi'* *kita'*.
2p know *bada'* 1s sibling 2p

You all know that I am your brother.

Naday *ku* *N-rut,* *jangka'* *ku* *N-padah* *pagi*
NEG 1s ACT-forbid limit 1s ACT- say tomorrow

lusa *asa* *kita'* *ba-uma,* *kita'*
the.day.after.tomorrow whenever 2p ANPAS-rice.field 2p

alah *N-pulah* *nselan,* *alah* *N-pulah* *tan'a* *N-pinta'*
must ACT-make offering must ACT-make sign ACT-ask.for

ka *ku,* *taw'=m* *kita'* *ba-uma.*
to 1s can=m 2p ANPAS-rice.field

I don't mean to forbid you, but I say that in the future, when you work on the rice field, you have to give offerings, you have to signal asking me, then you may work the rice field.

Baru' *tu'* *peN-jadi=m* *pabat* *tebang,* *tunu* *tugal,"* *jaku'* *ia.*
then this NOM-become=m slash cut burn dibble say 3s

Then, (you can) slash, cut, burn and dibble the agreed area," he said.

“*Jangka’* *ku* *ba-dany’i* *aba’* *kita’* *menyadi’*, *asa*
 limit 1s ANPAS-promise with 2p sibling whenever

kita’ *ka’* *N-tunu,* *ka’* *N-tugal,* *N-kumay* *ku.”*
 2p FUT ACT-burn FUT ACT-dibble ACT-call 1s

“But I make an agreement with you siblings, whenever you’re going to burn, you’re going to dibble the field, call me.”

“*Aw’*, *pia’*, *kati* *kami* *N-kumay* *m’ih* *ah?”*
 yes like.that how 1p.excl ACT-call 2s.masc ah

“Okay, as you said, how can we call you then?”

“*Naday* *pedih.*
 NEG difficult

“It’s not difficult.

Palu’ *ka* *pansuh* *pulut* *tujuh* *kali’* *ka*
 strike to cook.in.bamboo glutinous.rice seven time to

tanah, *datay* *mah* *kemua* *ipar* *kita’.*”
 ground come mah 1d.excl sibling.in.law 2p

Strike the *pansuh pulut*⁶ seven times to the ground, both of us (your sister-in-law and I) will then come.”

Baru’ *udah* *N-pabat* *N-tebang,* *udah* *aday* *panas,*
 then after ACT-slash ACT-cut after exist hot

aw’, *N-tunu* *mah* *urang.*
 well ACT-burn mah person

Then after having slashed and burnt (bushes and trees), after the hot season comes, well, it’s time for burning (the field).

Udah *da-tunu* *tih* *sa’* *menyadi’* *ia’*, *angus* *uma*
 after PASS-burn tih 3p sibling that burnt rice.field

sida’, *pakay* *api.*
 3p eat fire

After being burnt by those siblings, the rice field got scorched, consumed by the fire.

⁶ *Pansuh pulut* is glutinous rice cooked in bamboo.

Baru' sida' menyadi' tu' N-tengah tegalan
 then 3p sibling this ACT-go.through cleared.and.burnt.land

uma ti da-tunu.
 rice.field REL PASS-burn

Then those siblings went through the cleared land of the field that had been burnt.

Baru' menyadi' sida' ti nama Belang Ping'ang mudik
 then sibling 3p REL name B P go.upstream

lempa' b-ulih ibun sawa', b-ulih uga'=m sa' menyadi'
 plain ANPAS-get ibun python ANPAS-get all=m 3p sibling

ia' keban ibun, bekas pakay api keba jelu,
 that kind ibun trace eat fire all.kinds animal

keba ular.
 all.kinds snake

Then their sibling who was named Belang Ping'ang went upstream through the cleared burnt plain and got a python; those siblings got all kinds of *ibuns* (i.e. animals that get burnt in the field) left consumed by the fire, all kinds of animals, all kinds of snakes.

Baru' ia' ti dah da-padah menyadi': "Anti' kita' udah
 then that REL PERF PASS-say sibling if 2p PERF

N-tunu, nti' aday keba ibun, ibun semenang, ibun
 ACT-burn if exist all.kinds ibun ibun k.o.snake ibun

teng'iling, naday kita taw' teka N-tugal gena, alah
 ant-eater NEG 2p may right.away ACT-dibble gena must

ba-pe-dara' dulaw."
 ANPAS-NOM-offering.(PREC) first

Then, this is what was said by their sibling (i.e. Puyang Gana): "If you have burnt the cleared land, there are all kinds of *ibuns*, *ibuns* of snakes, *ibuns* of ant-eaters, you can't just make holes and plant seeds as simply as that, you must make some offerings (to gods) first.

Ah, baru' nyaw ka' N-tugal, pia' sa' menyadi'
 ah then already FUT ACT-dibble like.that 3p sibling

ingat: "Kita tu' mah dah da-ajar menyadi' kita,
 remember 1p.incl TOP mah PERF PASS-teach sibling 1p.incl

nti' ka' N-tugal, alah ngeN-bay' seniku''', jaku' sida'.
 if FUT ACT-dibble must ACT-invite 3d say 3p

Ah, then when they were about to dibble, the siblings remembered this: “As for us, we have been taught by our brother that if we’re going to dibble, we have to invite the two of them,” they said.

“Kita tu' mayuh N-temu bala ibun jelu, teng'iling,
 1p.incl now many ACT-find all.kinds ibun animal ant-eater

keban sawa'.
 kind python

“We now have found a multitude of all kinds of burnt animals, ant-eaters, pythons.

Aw', ba-siap kita ba-bunuh babi pulah
 well ANPAS-ready 1p.incl ANPAS-kill pig make

pe-dara'.”
 NOM-offering.(PREC)

Well, let’s get ready to kill pigs and make offerings.”

Cukup apa semua.
 enough what all

Everything was ready.

Semua ia' sebedaw urang percaya jara', adat urang
 all that before person believe jara' custom person

tuay, adat kunu.
 old custom ancient

All that happened before the people believed (in God), really, it was the custom of the elder people, the old custom.

Aa, baru' nti' ka' N-tugal, da-am'i' sida' pansuh
 Ah then if FUT ACT-dibble PASS-take 3p cook.in.bamboo

pulut tih, palu' sida' ka tanah tujuh kali'.
 glutinous.rice tih strike 3p to ground seven time

Ah, then if they were going to dibble, they took a *pansuh pulut* (i.e. glutinous rice cooked in bamboo) and struck it seven times onto the ground.

Datay=m *Puyang* *Gana* *aba'* *bini,* *aba'* *Dara Reja'*.
 come=m P G and wife and D R

And they came, Puyang Gana with his wife, with Dara Reja'.

Datay *kia'*, "*Tu'*=m *kami* *N-kumay* *seniku'* *aba'*
 come thither.(near) this=m 1p.excl ACT-call 2d with

kami *N-tugal*," *jaku'* *sa'* *menyadi'* *jara'*, *sida'* *Bejit*
 1p.excl ACT-dibble say 3p sibling *jara'* 3p B

Manay *menyadi'* *ah*.
 M sibling *ah*

When they came there, "Here we invited both of you with us to go dibbling," said the siblings, Bejit Manay and his brothers.

"*Aw'*," *jaku'* *ia* *jara'*, "*Aba'* *N-tugal*=m *kemua* *tu'.*"
 yes say 3s *jara'* follow ACT-dibble=m 1d.excl this

"Okay," he said, "We follow you (as you go) dibbling, the two of us."

Baru' *sida'* *ba-pakay* *ba-sumay,* *b-inum* *keban* *ay'*.
 then 3p ANPAS-eat ANPAS-cook ANPAS-drink kind water

After that they had big meals, drinking (various) kinds of liquids.

Melia' *tih* *bala* *beram* *d-inum* *urang*.
 long.time.ago *tih* all.kinds k.o.alcohol PASS-drink person

In the past, you know, all kinds of *beram* were drunk by the people.

Baru' *sida'* *ka'* *aba'* *N-tugal*.
 then 3p FUT follow ACT-dibble

Then they were going to follow (the siblings) dibbling.

Aw', *ka'* *N-benih* *ia* *jara'*, *anu'*, *Putung* *Kempat*,
 well want ACT-seed 3s *jara'* what.is.it P K

menyadi' *ti* *in'u'*.
 sibling REL female

Well, she wanted to plant seeds, what's her name, Putung Kempat, the female sibling.

Nema *biasa* *kita* *Mualang* *tu'* *ti* *laki* *N-tugal*,
 because usually 1p.incl Mualang TOP REL male ACT-dibble

ti *in'u'* *N-benih*.
 REL female ACT-seed

Because it is usual for us, the Mualang, (that) the male does the dibbling, (and) the female plants seeds. (The story teller's comment)

Jaku' Dara Reja', *bini* *Puyang* *Gana:* "*Adu, kita adu alah*
 say D R wife P G don't 1p.incl needn't must

N-benih, *ila'* *N-benih,* *anti'* *sida'* *udah* *N-tugal.*"
 ACT-seed later ACT-seed if 3p PERF ACT-dibble

(However) Dara Reja', the wife of Puyang Gana said: "No, we don't have to plant seeds, we will sow later, if they have done the dibbling."

Aw', *balang* *sida'* *N-benih*.
 well cancel 3p ACT-seed

Well, they canceled planting the seeds.

Udah sida' menyadi' *N-tugal,* *udah mah tugal ia', da-am'i'*
 after 3p sibling ACT-dibble after mah dibble that PASS-take

ia, Dara Reja', benih, da-am'ur, N-atur diri' tama'
 3s D R seed PASS-spread ACT-arrange self enter

ka lubang tugal, kisah tih.
 to hole dibble story tih

After the siblings had dibbled, after the dibbling, by her were taken, by Dara Reja', the seeds and spread out, and they (the seeds) arranged themselves (automatically) coming into the holes, that was the story.

*Maka*⁷ *ku* *N-padah* *dunging,* *kisah tih.*
 therefore 1s ACT-say fairy.tale story tih

Therefore I said it is a fairy tale, the story. (The story teller's comment)

Udah, udah ba-tugal, baru' sida' ba-bunuh babi
 already after ANPAS-dibble then 3p ANPAS-kill pig

manuk, ba-pakay ba-inum, bay' beram.
 chicken ANPAS-eat ANPAS-drink bring k.o.alcohol

⁷ *Maka* 'that is why, therefore' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Having done that, after having dabbled, they killed pigs and chickens, had meals and drinks, brought *beram*.

Sida' *N-uti'* *ipar* *ia'* *N-inum*.
3p ACT-make.joke sibling.in.law that ACT-drink

They jokingly challenged their sister-in-law to drink.

Jaku' *Puyang* *Gana:* "Nang *kita'* *N-uti'* *ipar*
say P G don't 2p ACT-make.joke sibling.in.law

kita' *N-inum,* *mali* *ia* *mutah*.
2p ACT-drink lest 3s vomit

Puyang Gana said: "Don't you make your sister-in-law drink, lest she vomits.

Nti' *ia* *mutah,* *ia* *nday* *upa* *mutah* *kita'.*"
if 3s vomit 3s NEG like vomit 1p.incl

If she vomits, she doesn't vomit like us."

"Uh, *alah* *mutah* *keka'*.
oh must vomit older.sibling.in.law

"Oh, the older sister-in-law has to vomit.

Jalay *kita* *taw'* *se-jalay* *sengabut,*" *jaku'* *sa'* *menyadi'* *jara'*.
so.that 1p.incl can ONE-road continuously say 3p sibling jara

That way we could walk together," said those siblings.

Ke-sudah-sudah *Dara* *Reja'* *N-inum*
after.and.after D R ACT-drink

After Dara Reja' has drunk and drunk

"Nang," *jaku'* *ia,* *Puyang* *Gana,* "Apa *da-pukung-pukung*
don't say 3s P G what PASS-force-RED

N-inum *beram,* *mutah* *ga'* *ia,* *mabuk* *ia* *tih.*"
ACT-drink k.o.alcohol vomit also 3s drunk 3s tih

"No," said he, Puyang Gana, "Why do you force her to drink *beram*, she will vomit, she will be drunk."

Serta *ia* *mutah* *ka* *tanah,* *N-peda'* *tanah* *ijaw* *rumput,* *ah*
so.as 3s vomit to ground ACT-see ground green grass ah

rumput uga'-uga'
grass all-RED

So as she vomited to the ground, they saw the ground turned completely green like grass.

"Ah nih," jaku' Puyang Gana, "Tu' N-asuh ku N-rut kita'.
ah nih say P G this ACT-cause 1s ACT-forbid 2p

"Ah, here you are," said Puyang Gana, "That's why I forbade you all.

Tu' asa naday tajam siku kita' menyadi', naday kita'
this whenever NEG sharp elbow 2p sibling NEG 2p

t-ulih ka padi beras.
MID-get to paddy uncooked.rice

Look, whenever all you siblings are not strong and diligent, you will not get rice.

Arus ba-kerja keras=m kita'!"
must ANPAS-work hard=m 2p

You must really work hard!"

Aa, udah ia' tih, udah ba-pakay ba-inum tih, baru'
ah after that tih after ANPAS-eat ANPAS-drink tih then

anu', Putung Empat tu' ngeN-bay' ipar
what.is.it P K TOP ACT-invite sibling.in.law

N-pan'i', ngeN-bay' sanu' N-pan'i',
ACT-take.a.bath ACT-invite INDEF.PRON ACT-take.a.bath

Dara Reja'.
D R

Ah, after that, after they ate and drank, then, what's-her-name, Putung Empat, she called her sibling-in-law to take a bath, she called what's-her-name to take a bath, Dara Reja'.

Putung Empat tu' menyadi' sa' Bejit Manay, Dara Reja'
P K TOP sibling 3p B M D R

tu' bini Puyang Gana, ipar ia, N-pan'i'.
TOP wife P G sibling.in.law 3s ACT-take.a.bath

Putung Empat was the sister of Bejit Manay and his brothers, Dara Reja' was the

wife of Puyang Gana, her sister-in-law, they took a bath.

Jadi, ia ka' k=ili'.
so 3s want to=downstream

So, she (Putung Empat) wanted to go downstream.

"Ih, nang di' k=ili' ku, n'u', adi'!"
hay don't 2s.fem to=downstream 1s TOA younger.sibling

jaku' Dara Reja', "Mali di' jangkit panaw ku."
say D R lest 2s.fem contagious skin.disease 1s

"Eh, don't go downstream from me, younger sister! said Dara Reja', "Lest you catch my skin disease."

Kisah tih, Dara Reja' ba-panaw mas, seluruh
story tih D R ANPAS-skin.disease gold whole

tubuh panaw mas.
body skin.disease gold

So as the story goes, Dara Reja' caught the yellowish *panaw* skin disease, her whole body had the yellowish *panaw*.

"Ih, alah jangkit, keka', baday naday bayik?"
eh must contagious older.sibling.in.law baday NEG good

jaku' Putung Empat.
say P K

"Eh, I have to get it too, older sister-in-law, isn't that good?" said Putung Empat.

"Di', nang, di' naday tan!"
2s.fem don't 2s.fem NEG endure

"You, no, you can't endure it!"

Aa, tengik ia matang N-pan'i' k=ili' m=ia.
ah stubborn 3s persistent ACT-take.a.bath to=downstream m=3s

Ah, she was stubborn, insisting on taking a bath at the place downstream.

Apa teka serta ia angkat ari ay', N-peda' aday
what right.away as.soon.as 3s emerge from water ACT-see exist

bangkang tum'uh seluruh tubuh.
bruise/ulcer grow whole body

Right away as she emerged from the water, she saw bruises and ulcers growing all over her body.

“*Tu’, da’,⁸ di’!*” *jaku’ ia, “N-asuh ku ka’ N-rut.*
 this look 2s.fem say 3s ACT-cause 1s want ACT-forbid

“Now look, you!” she (Dara Reja’) said, “That’s why I wanted to forbid you.

Tu’ bila di’ nyaw tum’uh pitu’, bila di’ tan
 this when 2s.fem PERF grow like.this when 2s.fem endure
upa ku?”
 like 1s

Now when in your case it has grown like this, when in your case could you endure it like me?”

Baru’ dih kisah ti menyadi’ tih.
 then dih story REL sibling tih

Then, (we turn to) the story of those siblings.

“*Bila taw’ da-bay’ ka rumah jara’?*
 when can PASS-bring to house jara’

“How could she be brought home?”

Kati kita aba’ n’u’ tu’?”
 how 1p.incl with TOA this

What should we do with our younger sister?”

Jaku’ sida’ menyadi’ ti laki ah.
 say 3p sibling REL male ah

Those male siblings said:

“*Aw’, nti’ anu’, teka anyut=m.*”
 well if what.is.it right.away swept.away=m

“Well, if uh, just let her be swept away by the water.”

Baru’ sida’ N-am’i’ tajaw ka rumah.
 then 3p ACT- take big.jar to house

⁸ *Da’* is a short form of *peda’* look, see’.

After that they got a big jar from their house.

Tajaw ti besay, taw' jalay N-pajak nsia.
big.jar REL big can for ACT-put.in human

A jar that is big, into which a person can be put.

Da-bekal sida' ka bala peN-pakay, keban
PASS- provide.provisions 3p to all.kinds NOM-eat kind

apa dia'.
what there.(near)

She was provided with provisions of all kinds of food, all kinds of things in there.

Da-anyut sida'.
PASS-sweep.away 3p

They let it be swept away (on the water).

Ari ulu ari Ketungaw sida' N-anyut.
from upstream from K 3p ACT-sweep.away

From the upstream part of Ketungaw River they let her be swept away.

Nya' kisah, ari nyin kisah ia'.
that story from that.over.there story that

That's the story, from there as the story has it.

Da-anyut sa' menyadi', pulay.
PASS-swept.away 3p sibling go.home

After the brothers had let her be swept away, they went home.

Aa, pulay menyadi' ka rumah.
ah go.home sibling to house

Ah, the siblings went home.

Puyang Gana aba' bini pulay ka peN-diaw diri' ah.
P G and wife go.home to NOM-live self ah

Puyang Gana and his wife went home to their own dwelling.

Jadi kisah nya' ilang.
so story that disappear

So, that's the end of that (part of the) story.

Kisah nya' udah lama'-lama', aw', b-uma ba-tawun,
story that already long-RED well ANPAS-rice.field ANPAS-year

ba-intu ba-ketaw, ba-apa, sampay udah
ANPAS-raise ANPAS-harvest ANPAS-what until PERF

N-ketaw, baru' sa' menyadi' ingat: "Kati menyadi' kita
ACT-harvest then 3p sibling remember how sibling 1p.incl

tu', n'u'? Udah lama' amat kita anyut dah.
this TOA alreadyl long indeed 1p.incl sweep.away dah

A long time has passed since that story. Well, they worked the rice field yearly, raised things, did whatever else, until the harvest was over, then those siblings remembered: "How is it with our younger sister? It has been indeed a long time since we let her be swept away.

Ntah idup, ntah mati, ntah kati kini?
not.know live not.know die not.know how kini

Is she alive, or is she dead, or how is she?

Nti' anu', kita siap N-ansul," jaku' sida' menyadi'.
if what.is.it 1p.incl ready ACT-follow say 3p sibling

If uh, we're ready to go after her," said those siblings.

"Aw', ka'," jaku' tay menyadi' bukay, "Kita tu' bila,
yes want say REL sibling other 1p.incl this when

anu', ba-jimuy ngaw da-bay' bekal, ngaw
what.is.it ANPAS-dry for PASS-bring provisions for

bekal kita da jalay."
provisions 1p.incl LOC road

"Yes, I want to," said the other sibling, "When do we, uh, dry (rice) to bring with us as our provision on the road.

Baru' N-jemuy padi pitu', semua se-bekal.
then ACT-dry paddy like.this all ONE-provisions

Then they dried rice, all (of them) shared the same provisions.

Baru' sida' ili'.
then 3p go.downstream

After that they went downstream.

Ngaw peraw sida' ili', N-sidi abi
with proa 3p go.downstream ACT-trace trace

per-anyut tempayan.
NOM-swept.away jar

With a proa they went downstream, tracing the trace of the path of the jar that had been swept away.

Tempayan tu' tih dia' ia' sangkut, dia' sing'ah,
jar TOP tih there.(near) that get.stuck there.(near) stop.by

dia' nugaw.
there.(near) stay.quiet

As for the jar, it got stuck over there, it stopped over there, it stayed quiet over there.

Jadi kisah Putung Kempat tih, ti kena' peN-pedih
so story P K tih REL afflict NOM-sick

ia' tih, asa malam ba-ren'am ka ay' ia.
that tih whenever night ANPAS-soak to water 3s

So, as for Putung Kempat, who caught the disease, you know, whenever it was night, she soaked herself in the water.

Jadi waktu ia ba-ren'am ka ay' ia', datay ikan N-pakay,
so when 3s ANPAS-soak to water that come fish ACT-eat

N-pakay, N-pakay peN-sakit ia sampay sem'uh, bersih.
ACT-eat ACT-eat NOM-sick 3s until recovered clean

So, when she soaked herself in the water, fish came and ate, ate, ate her disease until she was recovered, clean.

Aa, pia' kisah.
ah like.that story

Ah, that was the story.

Jadi sesudah-sudah ia ili', datay ka nanga
so after.so.long 3s go.downstream come to estuary

Sepawuk, nanga Sepawuk ti aday dia' da Belitang tu'.
S estuary S REL exist there.(near) LOC B this

Thus, after such a long time she went downstream, she arrived at the Sepauk Estuary, the Sepauk Estuary that is over there at the Belitang River.

Sampay da sabar bubu Aji Melayu.
arrive LOC trapping.fence fishtrap haji M

She arrived at the fishtrap fence of Haji Melayu.

Aday kisah urang tuay, Aji Melayu N-sabar sungay
exist story person old haji M ACT-trapping.fence river

Sepawuk ia', N-sabar bubu ngaw N-tangkap ikan.
S that ACT-trapping.fence fishtrap for ACT-catch fish

There is the story of (our) ancestors of how Haji Melayu was setting up a fence at the Sepawuk River, how he set up a fishtrap fence for catching fish.

Sampay dia'=m, nitaw' ia anyut k=ili' jara'.
until there.(near)=m can't 3s swept.away to=downstream jara'

When Putung Kempat arrived there, she couldn't be swept away (any longer) downstream.

Jadi malam nya' Aji Melayu tu' mimpi.
so night that haji M TOP dream

So, on that night Haji Melayu, he dreamed.

Ia mimpi N-peda' bulan, teka da-pangku' ia pia'.
3s dream ACT-see moon right.away PASS-take.on.lap 3s like.that

He dreamed that he saw the moon, right away he took it on his lap, that's how it was.

Dani malam, nitaw' tin'uk.
wake.up night can't sleep

Waking up at night, he couldn't sleep.

"Apa badi mimpi ku?" jaku' ia.
what intent dream 1s say 3s

"What does my dream mean?" he said.

"*Nyelah amat, naday kala' mimpi pia'.*"
 strange true NEG ever dream like.that

"It's very strange, I've never dreamed like this."

Udah ia', baru' ia turun ka ay' tih ka' N-pasaw bubu.
 after that then 3s descend to water tih FUT ACT-set fishtrap

After that, he then went down to the water, going to set the fishtrap.

Ari jawuh ia N-peda' aday tepayan.
 from far 3s ACT-see exist jar

From a distance he saw that there was a jar.

"*Apa utay ia'?*" *jaku' ia.*
 what thing that say 3s

"What thing is that?" he said.

Baru' da-gusung.
 then PASS-go.after

Then he went after it.

Peda' ia d=alam tepayan aday nsia.
 see 3s LOC=inside jar exist human

He saw that inside the jar there was a person.

Dia' aday urang dara, urang in'u'.
 there.(near) exist person young.woman person female

In there there was a young woman, a female.

Da-bay' ka rumah.
 PASS-bring to house

She was taken home.

Jadi datay ka rumah, gaga mah ia jara', nema aday nsia jara',
 so come to house glad mah 3s jara' because exist human jara'

ulih N-temu, ukay ulih N-giga'.
 by ACT-find not by ACT-look.for

Thus, arriving at home, he was indeed glad, because there was a human, found, not sought!

Aw', da-pulah ngaw bini ia.
 well PASS-make for wife 3s

Well, she was made his wife.

Ba-laki-bini=m seniku' dia', tin'uk ngantuk,
 ANPAS-husband-wife=m 3d there.(near) sleep feel.sleepy

N-pakay N-mpa' d=alam rumah tang'a' ia.
 ACT-eat ACT-chew LOC-inside house ladder 3s

The two of them got married there, they lived together at his home.

Jadi ilang kisah ia' tih, menyadi' tu' tih
 so disappear story that tih sibling TOP tih

ba-labuh ili' ari Ketungaw nyin.
 ANPAS-fall downstream from K that.over.there

So, leaving that part of the story, as for those siblings, they started going downstream from Ketungaw River.

Datay ka sungai Keli', N-dinga gu' antu tu'
 come to river K ACT-hear voice ghost this

ba-ngakay N-aduh apa, ba-kayit duri'.
 ANPAS-ouch ACT-ouch what ANPAS-hook thorn

Arriving at the Keli' River, they heard the voice of the ghosts screaming and sighing of something, hooking each other with thorns.

Duri' danan besay da-kayit sida', da-dujut.
 thorn k.o.rattan big PASS-hook 3p PASS-draw

Big *danan* thorns were hooked by them and drawn.

Ah, ia'=m kerja sa' ia'.
 ah that=m work 3p that

Ah, that was what they did.

Baru' sa' anu' tu' tih N-pansa'.
 then 3p INDEF.PRON TOP tih ACT-pass

Then, they, what's their name, passed by.

“*Ih, kita’*,” *jaku’ antu, “Nitaw’ kita’ N-pansa’ gena.*
 hey 2p say ghost can’t 2p ACT-pass *gena*

“Hey, you,” the ghosts said, “You can’t just pass through as you like.

Kita ba-kayit duri’!
 1p.incl ANPAS-hook thorn

Let’s have a “thorn-hooking” fight!

Asa kita’ naday t-alah ka kami, kita’ nitaw’
 whenever 2p NEG MID-beat to 1p.excl 2p can’t

N-kilah tu’.
 ACT-pass this

When you can’t beat us, you can’t pass through here.

Nga’ tu’=m!’
 stop.there this=*m*

Stop just here!”

“*Tu’ se-macam, kati, kita tu’ naday tan.*”
 this ONE-kind how 1p.incl TOP NEG endure

“This is crazy! What can we do, WE won’t survive it.”

Baru’ jaku’ menyadi’ ti tuay ah, Bejit Manay: “Naday,
 then say sibling REL old ah B M NEG

anu’, kita aday pua’.
 well 1p.incl exist bark.clothes

Then, the older sibling, Bejit Manay, said: “No, we do, well, we have bark clothes.

Sida’ ia’ takut ka pua’ bah.”
 3p that afraid to bark.cloth bah

They are afraid of the bark clothes (I am pretty sure of that).”

Pua’ ti adayd=alam utan pia’,
 bark.clothes REL existLOC-inside forest like.that

da-palu’ ngaw selimut, pia’.
 PASS-strike for blanket like.that

(I mean) the bark clothes which are in the forest, you know, which are beaten to

make sheets, you know. (The story teller's comment)

Baru' da-am'i' sida' ia'.
then PASS-take 3p that

Then they took bark clothes.

Da-kayit sida' giling pua' s-iku' sida' menyadi'.
PASS-hook 3p roll bark.cloth ONE-CLASS 3p sibling

(Then) one of the siblings was rolled up with the bark clothes and was hooked (with thorns).

Da-kayit jurus da-bay' kia', da-bay' kitu'.
PASS-hook straight PASS-bring thither.(near) PASS-bring hither

He was hooked and straight away dragged in all directions.

Da-bay' kia', naday pedih.
PASS-bring thither.(near) NEG sick

Being dragged away, it didn't hurt him.

Nema pua' jara', nema pua' guni.
because bark.cloth jara' because bark.cloth gunny.sack

Because of the bark clothes, because of the gunny clothes.

Ah, udah.
ah already

Ah, it was over.

"Tu' kita'!" jaku' sida' jara'.
now 2p say 3p jara'

"Now, you!" they (the siblings) said.

Kayit sida' antu.
hook 3p ghost

(And) they hooked the ghosts.

Mati antu tu'!
die ghost this

And dead was this ghost!

Ah! Adu kita' ditu'!
ah don't 2p here

“Oh no! Don't you stay here!”

Lekas angkat kita' ari tu'!
quick go 2p from this

Go away quickly from here!”

Naday kami te-alah ka kita',” jaku' antu.
NEG 1p.excl MID-beat to 2p say ghost

“We can't beat you,” said the ghosts.

Baru' sida' angkat, ili' ari ia'.
then 3p go go.downstream from that

After that they started off, going downstream from there.

Ili' sida' ari ia' agi', datay ka sungay Birah.
go.downstream 3p from that again come to river B

They went downstream again from there, arriving at the Birah River.

Ah, dia' antu N-inum darah.
ah there.(near) ghost ACT-drink blood

Well, over there ghosts were drinking blood.

Apa darah tay da-inum sida', ba-jalung-jalung, kisah.
what blood REL PASS-drink 3p ANPAS-big.bowl-RED story

What kind of blood they drank, I don't know. It was in big bowls, as it is told.

Datay kia', anu', jaku' antu: “Kita' nitaw',
come thither.(near) well say ghost 2p can't

asa kita' naday te-p-amis ka darah ti
whenever 2p NEG MID-CAUS-finished to blood REL

kami beri' ka kita', nitaw' kita' N-kilah tu'.
1p.excl give to 2p can't 2p ACT-pass this

They came there, well, the ghosts said: “You can't (pass through), as long as you're not able to finish the blood we give to you, you can't pass through here.

Nga' tu' mah kita'!
stop.there this mah 2p

You just stay here!”

“Aw', barang,” jaku' sida'.
yes whatever say 3p

“Okay, whatever (you want),” they (the siblings) said.

Baru' sida' pulay ka peraw sida'.
then 3p return to proa 3p

Then they (the siblings) went back to their proa.

“Kati akal kita?”
how mind 1p.incl

“What should we do?”

Kita tu' bila jama N-inum ka darah?
1p.incl this when usually ACT-drink to blood

As for us, when do we ever drink blood?

Naday sa-sangup.”
NEG be.able-RED

We're not able to do that.”

“Naday pedih,” jaku' pangan bukay menyadi' ah.
NEG difficult say partner other sibling ah

“It's not difficult,” said the other sibling.

“Peraw kita tebuk kah lah, s-iku' budi
proa 1p.incl make.hole kah lah ONE-CLASS pretend

N-tam'ang din N-inum.”
ACT-ride.on there.(far) ACT-drink

“Let's make a leak in the proa, (then) one of us pretends to sail the proa (while) drinking (blood).”

Jadi darah ia' keluar ari peraw ka ay'.
so blood that exit from proa to water

So, the blood leaked out from the proa to the water.

Antu naday N-kelala nsia N-pulah ti pia'.
ghost NEG ACT-recognize human ACT-do REL like.that

The ghosts did not realize humans would do a thing like that.

Baru' sida' N-gusung antu: "Taw'=m," jaku' sida'.
then 3p ACT-go.after ghost can=m say 3p

Then they met the ghosts: "We can do it," they said.

"Kami dulaw beri' ka darah!"
1p.excl first give to blood

"Give us the blood first!"

Beri' antu darah sampay mis darah ia, kerna nisi'
give ghost blood until finished blood 3s because nothing

apa-apa sida'ah.
what-RED 3p ah

The ghosts gave blood until there was no more, because they (the siblings) were just doing fine.

"Aduh, lampar ga' kita'!" jaku' antu.
ouch excessive also 2p say ghost

"Oh no, you are really too much!" said the ghosts.

"Anal amat kita' wih."
strong true 2p wih

"You're really strong, (indeed you are)."

"Aa, tu' kita' dih!" jaku' sida' nsia jara'.
ah this 2p dih say 3p human jara'

"Ah, and now you!" said those humans.

"Ba-ganti dih kita' N-inum darah."
ANPAS-change dih 2p ACT-drink blood

"It's your turn to drink blood."

Da-beri' sida' darah ka antu.
PASS-give 3p blood to ghost

They gave blood to the ghosts.

Naday antu te-inum ka darah.
NEG ghost MID-drink to blood

The ghosts were not able to drink up the blood.

Aa, baru' antu N-asuh sida' turun kin
ah then ghost ACT-order 3p descend thither.(far)

ka ili', N-ili' terus.
to downstream ACT-go.downstream straight

Ah, then the ghosts ordered them to go further down the river, to go on downstream.

Aa, ke-panyay kisah sida' ia', baru' sa' menyadi' tu'
ah NOM-long story 3p that then 3p sibling this

aday N-peda' ntawa' ba-buah.
exist ACT-see k.o.tree ANPAS-fruit

Ah, then after a long time as their story goes, it happened that the siblings saw a *ntawa'* tree bearing fruit.

Aa, ia' nyaw semak Sepawuk mah sida' dih.
ah that PERF near S mah 3p dih

Ah, that was close to the Sepawuk area, they were indeed.

Haja si-s-igi' ia' buah ntawa'.
solely ONE-CLASS-RED that fruit k.o.fruit

The *ntawa'* fruit was the only one (up there on the tree).

“Uh!” jaku' sida', “Aday buah ntawa' d=ataw nyin.
oh say 3p exist fruit k.o.fruit LOC=top that.over.there

“Oh!” they said, “There’s a *ntawa'* fruit up there.

Buh, kita N-tiki' ah!”
come on! 1p.incl ACT-climb ah

Let’s climb (it)!”

Tiki' sida' ntawa' tih.
climb 3p k.o.fruit tih

(So,) they climbed the *ntawa'* tree.

Baru' ari pucuk ntawa' sida' N-peda' menyadi' Putung
 then from top.of.tree k.o.tree 3p ACT-see sibling P

Kempat N-ancaw padi da gang'ang seniku' da nanga
 K ACT-spread paddy LOC balcony 3d LOC estuary

Sepawuk.
 S

Then, from the top of the *ntawa'* tree they saw their sister Putung Kempat spreading out rice on their (i.e. PK and her husband's) balcony at the Sepawuk Estuary.

Rumah seniku' aday gang'ang.
 house 3d exist balcony

Their (Putung Kempat and her husband's) house had a balcony.

Jadi dia' ia N-jemuy padi.
 so there.(near) 3s ACT-dry paddy

Thus, there she was spreading out rice to dry in the sun.

Padi jemuy.
 paddy dry

The rice was drying in the sun.

"Uh, nyun menyadi' kita benung N-ancaw padi.
 oh there.far.away sibling 1p.incl PROG ACT-spread paddy

"Oh, right over there our sister is spreading out rice.

Nyin idup menyadi' kita," jaku' sida'.
 that.over.there live sibling 1p.incl say 3p

Over there our sister lives," they said.

Gaga sida' jara' N-peda' menyadi' kelala idup tih, kelala
 glad 3p jara' ACT-see sibling recognize live tih recognize

selamat.
 safe

They were really glad to see their sister known to be alive, known to be safe.

Baru' ntawa' tu' tih, kisah tih, da-tikam ari pucuk
 then k.o.fruit this tih story tih PASS-throw from top.of.tree

ntawa' *ka* *gang'ang* *ia'*.
k.o.tree to balcony that

Then, the *ntawa'* fruit, that was the story, it was thrown from the top of the tree to the balcony.

Da-am'i' *Putung* *Kempat,* *jadi* *mas,* *ntawa'*.
PASS-take P K become gold k.o.fruit

It was taken by Putung Kempat, becoming gold, the *ntawa'*.

Pajak *ia* *d=alam* *tepayan.*
put.in 3s LOC=inside jar

She put it inside a jar.

Ia nitaw' *bada'* *ari* *ni* *mas* *ia'* *datay* *jara'*.
3s not.know *bada'* from where gold that come *jara'*

She didn't know where that gold came from.

Nyelah *uga'* *utay* *ia'*.
strange all thing that

Very strange that thing was.

Keba' *tanah* *Sepawuk* *ba-mas,* *kisah.*
therefore land S ANPAS-gold story

Therefore it is told that the land of Sepawuk contains gold.

Baru' *dih* *sida'* *tu'* *jurus* *ili'*.
then *dih* 3p this straight downstream

After that they went straight on downstream.

Ili', *datay* *ka* *nanga* *Sepawuk.*
go.downstream come to estuary S

Going downstream, they arrived at the Sepawuk Estuary.

Datay *ka* *pengkal* *Aji* *Melayu.*
come to landing.place haji M

They arrived at the Haji Melayu's mooring place.

Da-tamit, N-tiki' dia'.
 PASS-tie.up ACT-climb there.(near)

Having tied up (the proa), they climbed up there.

Baru' N-tanya', anu', serta N-tiki' ka rumah.
 then ACT-ask what.is.it as.soon.as ACT-climb to house

Then they asked, what is it, as they climbed up to the house.

Pas N-peda' menyadi'.
 at.same.time ACT-see sibling

At the same moment they saw their sister.

"Aa, tu' menyadi' kita, selamat!" jaku' sida'.
 ah this sibling 1p.incl safe say 3p

"Ah, here's our sister, she's safe!" they said.

Gaga mah sida' jara', ba-sium ba-lulum,
 glad mah 3p jara' ANPAS-kiss ANPAS-PREC

ba-salam, ba-apa.
 ANPAS-greeting ANPAS-what

They were really happy, they kissed each other, they greeted each other, and what not.

Aba' Aji Melayu s-igi' pia'.
 with haji M ONE-CLASS like.that

With Haji Melayu they did the same.

Aa, dia'=m sida' ba-sing'ah, sida' dia'.
 ah there.(near)=m 3p ANPAS-stop.by 3p there.(near)

Ah, there they (the siblings) stopped by, thus they did there.

Da-terima baik.
 PASS-receive good

They were welcomed.

Ulih amat da-terima baik, Aji Melayu tu' alam
 but although PASS-receive good haji M this inside

pikir ia, naday ia yakin ia' menyadi',
 think 3s NEG 3s sure that sibling

mungkin ngaw N-tipu, ngaw apa.
 maybe for ACT-deceive for what

However, although they were welcome, as for Haji Melayu, in his mind, he didn't believe they were siblings, maybe (they wanted) to deceive, or to do (who knows) what.

Baru' ia, dah se-malam pertama, malam ke-dua, baru' ia
 then 3s after ONE-night first night ORD-two then 3s

N-padah ka menyadi': "Aw', kita' ditu' mah, aka'," jaku' ia, "Ku
 ACT-say to sibling well 2p here mah TOA say 3s 1s

malam tu', anu', ka' N-giga' ikan.
 night this what.is.it want ACT-look.for fish

Then he, after the first night, the second night, then he said to the siblings: "Well, you just stay here, brothers," he said, "Tonight, uh, I want to look for fish.

Kita' aba' menyadi' kita' ditu'=m."
 2p with sibling 2p here=m

You just (stay) here with your sister."

Jadi ia', kita nitaw' bada' kisah, kati cara ia anu' tih,
 so that 1p.incl not.know bada' story how way 3s what.is.it tih

baruh peN-tin'uk Putung Empat tu' tih, da-tepu' ia dawun
 under NOM-sleep P K this tih PASS-put 3s leaf

pisang.
 banana

So about that (detail in the story), we don't know the story how he, what-is-it, under Putung Empat's bed banana leaves were placed by him.

Nema nti' aday apa-apa kan⁹ dawun pisang tu' jat
 because if exist what-RED kan leaf banana this bad

jara', carik jara'.
jara' torn.apart jara'

⁹ *Kan*, a particle that is used to mark a rhetorical question, is clearly a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Because if anything would happen, these banana leaves would be ruined, torn apart, wouldn't they?

Kisah, ia ba-jalay.
story 3s ANPAS-road

According to the story, he (Haji Melayu) went off.

Ulih ia naday ba-jalay, ia N-intup.
but 3s NEG ANPAS-road 3s ACT-spy

But he didn't go away, he spied (on them).

Upa malam nya', se-malam nya' jara', tin'uk.
as night that ONE-night that jara' sleep

During that night, the whole night, (everybody) slept.

Pia' tih kisah, ia diaw da padung.
like.that tih story 3s stay LOC attic

That was the story, he stayed quiet in the attic.

Ia siap kayu ngaw ia N-kayit kayin Putung Empat.
3s prepare wood for 3s ACT-hook cloth P K

He prepared a (piece of) wood for him to hook Putung Empat's clothes (shirts).

Tin'uk.
sleep

(Everybody) slept.

Ting'al sida' menyadi' nyaw tin'uk, kayin Putung Empat.
stay 3p sibling PERF sleep cloth P K

di-siah ia pia', telany'ang Putung Empat.
PASS-disclose 3s like.that naked P K

Letting the siblings be asleep, the clothes of Putung Empat were taken off like that, and naked she was. Putung Empat.

Dani menyadi' s-iku', "Akay, kati adi', jadi
wake.up sibling ONE-CLASS alas how younger.sibling marry

ka Raja Suka, urang ba-nama teka tin'uk tubuh
to king S person ANPAS-name right.away sleep body

telany'ang kijang," jaku' ia.
naked deer say 3s

One of the brothers woke up, "Oh no! What's wrong with you, sister, you are married to King Suka, a famous person, and yet you still sleep completely naked," he said.

Da-apis, tutup lagi' kayin.
PASS-fix cover again cloth

The clothes were fixed, covering (her) again.

Tin'uk.
sleep

(Everybody) slept.

Ulih ia, Aji Melayu, naday tin'uk jara'.
but 3s haji M NEG sleep jara'

But he, Haji Melayu, didn't sleep, indeed.

Udah ia', da-kasi' agi' kayin, telany'ang urang
after that PASS-disclose again cloth naked person

in'u' ia'.
female that

After that, he removed the clothes again. The woman was naked.

Malu da-peda' jara', dani menyadi' sida' s-iku'.
ashamed PASS-see jara' wake.up sibling 3p ONE-CLASS

It was a shameful sight; one of the siblings woke up.

"Akay, kati mah di' tu', ah, kasih bada' jara'," jaku'
alas how mah 2s.fem this ah feeling.of.pity bada' jara' say

ia, "Jadi ka keban Raja Suka, jadi ka urang ba-nama
3s marry to kind king S marry to person ANPAS-name

tin'uk tubuh telany'ang kijang."
sleep body naked deer

"Ah, what is it with you, ah, what a pity," he said, "Getting married to King Suka, to a famous person, and yet sleeping totally naked."

Da-apis.
PASS-fix

The clothes were fixed.

Alam ati ia: "Tu' amat sida' tu' menyadi'.
inside liver 3s this true 3p this sibling

In his mind (Haji Melayu thought): "It looks like they're indeed siblings.

Pikir, anti' naday menyadi', naday betah N-peda'
think if NEG sibling NEG feel.comfortable ACT-see

tay pia'."
REL like.that

I think, if they were not siblings, they wouldn't feel easy seeing something like that."

Sampay mis sa' menyadi' ah.
until finished 3p sibling ah

Until all the brothers had had their turn.

"Udah, amat menyadi' sida' tu'," jaku' ia.
udah true sibling 3p this say 3s

"Okay then, they are really siblings," he said.

Baru', ia, naday N-padah diri', ia pagi malah ia rari
then 3s NEG ACT-say self 3s tomorrow even 3s run

ari ia'.
from that

After that, without saying anything, on the next day he even ran away from there.

Tin'uk sida' menyadi' sampay tawas ari.
sleep 3p sibling until day.time day

The siblings slept until daytime.

Baru', ia tu' datay, budi datay ari pe-jalay diri'.
then 3s this come pretend come from NOM-walk self

Then, as for him (Haji Melayu), he came (home), pretending that he came back from his trip.

Udah ia', ia yakin amat mah dih, taw' m=ia sida'
 after that 3s sure indeed mah dih know m=3s 3p

menyadi', amat menyadi'.
 sibling true sibling

After that, he was very sure, he knew that they were brothers, real brothers.

Baru' sida' N-kisah ka ia, N-kisah asal mula
 then 3p ACT-story to 3s ACT-story origin beginning

sida' aba' menyadi' ia' sampay menyadi' ia' da-anyut.
 3p with sibling that until sibling that PASS-swept.away

Then they told him the story, telling the story of when they were first with their sister until how she was swept away.

Baru' ia taw' bada' kisah ia' dih, mula da-anyut
 then 3s know bada' story that dih beginning PASS-swept.away

ari tanah ay' sida'.
 from land water 3p

Only then did he (Haji Melayu) know that story, the beginning of her being swept away from their homeland.

"Kati lah sanu'," jaku' Aji Melayu, "Keka',
 how lah whosit say haji M older.sibling.in.law

kita' aday pen'apat?
 2p exist opinion

"How is it, uh," Haji Melayu said, "Brothers-in-law, do you have any ideas?"

Ku tu', semua urang ditu' ta'luk uga' ka ku.
 1s this all person here subject.to all to 1s

As for me, all people here are submitted to me.

Cuma ti di ulu menua kami tu'=m, Aji
 only REL LOC upstream country 1p.excl this=m haji

Kum'ang, ia=m, ku naday mampu N-lawan ia."
 K 3s=m 1s NEG be.able ACT-oppose 3s

It's only the one in the upstream of our country, Haji Kum'ang, him, I wasn't able to fight him."

“Ia’ gampang,” jaku’ sida’ jara’, “Wan aday mas,
that easy say 3p jara’ 2s.hon exist gold

aday N-simpan mas?”
exist ACT-keep gold

“That’s easy,” they said, “Do you have gold, do you keep gold?”

“Ntah kati aday n’a?”
not.know how exist not

“I wonder, do I have it or not?”

Baru’ jaku’ Putung Empat: “Aday!
then say P K exist

Then Putung Empat said: “There is!

Aday mas ku simpan.”
exist gold 1s keep

There’s gold that I keep.”

“Asa aday,” jaku’ sida’, “Pitu’ dany’i kita, kami
whenever exist say 3p like.this promise 1p.incl 1p.excl

lah N-ran’aw Aji Kum’ang din.
lah ACT-visit haji K there.(far)

“If there is,” they said, “Here’s our deal, we will visit Haji Kum’ang over there.

Jadi cara kami N-ran’aw ia lah, sampay tum’uh lamur,
so way 1p.excl ACT-visit 3s lah until grow sunset

baru’ kami N-tanya’ ia, apa lamur ngenurut
then 1p.excl ACT-ask 3s what sunset according.to

Aji Kum’ang, apa lamur nti’ pitu’
haji K what sunset if like.this

lamur tay da-peda’ kita da langit nya’.”
sunset REL PASS-see 1p.incl LOC sky that

Thus, the way we visit him will be that, (we’ll wait) until the sunset glow appears and we’ll ask him what according to him the sunset glow means if it is like this, the sunset glow that appears in the sky.”

Nema N-asuh ia naday te-alah ka ia, dia'
because ACT-cause 3s NEG MID-beat to 3s there.(near)

aday maram, duri' maram se-keliling rumah.
exist k.o.fruit thorn k.o.fruit ONE-around house

Because, what caused him (Haji Melayu) to not be able to beat him (Haji Kum'ang) was that over there (at Haji Kum'ang's house) there were *maram* trees, *maram's* thorns surrounding his house.

Aa, nya' N-asuh Aji Melayu naday t-alah.
ah that ACT-cause haji M NEG MID-beat

Ah, that caused Haji Melayu not to be able to beat (him).

Jadi, jaku' sida' menyadi': "Jadi asa aday maram tu'
so say 3p sibling so whenever exist k.o.fruit this

anyut da-peda' kita', datay kin, aa, siap dih kita'
swept.away PASS-see 2p come thither.(far) ah ready dih 2p

N-serang.
ACT-attack

So, those siblings said: "Thus, whenever you see *maram* fruits being swept away, go there, ah, be ready to attack.

Nya' dany'i kita."
that promise 1p.incl

That's our deal."

Nyaw ujung ari, angkat sa' menyadi' ba-ran'aw ka rumah
already tip day go 3p sibling ANPAS-visit to house

Aji Kum'ang tih.
haji K tih

When it was already afternoon, the brothers started off to bring a visit to Haji Kum'ang's house.

Da-sam'ut baik mah jara' ulih Aji Kum'ang, N-beri'
PASS-welcome good mah jara' by haji K ACT-give

N-pakay, N-inum, apa.
ACT-eat ACT-drink what

They were heartily welcomed by Haji Kum'ang, who gave them things to eat, (and)

drink, and (everything) else.

Ke-panyay-panyay *N-umung sampay nyaw ujung ari pia',*
 NOM-long-RED ACT-talk until already tip day like.that

tim'ul lamur langit.
 emerge sunset sky

After talking for a long time until it was already late in the afternoon, the sunset sky appeared.

"Ey, limbang cakap," jaku' sa' menyadi', "Ey, menurut
 hey turn.off talk say 3p sibling hey according.to

Aji Kum'ang, nti' lamur pitu', apa, lamur apa tu'?"
 haji K if sunset like.this what sunset what this

"Hey, by the way," the brothers said, "Hey, according to Haji Kum'ang, if there is a sunset glow like this, what does this sunset mean?"

"Uh tu' biasa mah," jaku' Aji Kum'ang, "Tu' udah
 oh this usual mah say haji K this already

malam-malam pitu', udah aday panas biasa
 night-RED like.this already exist hot usuall

tum'uh lamur pitu'."
 grow sunset like.this

"Oh, this is just common," said Haji Kum'ang, "When it is already evening like this, when it's hot, the sunset glow usually appears like this."

"Naday!" jaku' sa' menyadi'.
 NEG say 3p sibling

"No!" said the brothers.

"Kalaw¹⁰ kami, kalaw lamur pitu' tetap lamur mas."
 if 1p.excl if sunset like.this constant sunset gold

"As for us, if it's a sunset like this, it's certainly a sunset for gold."

"Kati anu' N-kenal?"
 how what.is.it ACT-recognize

"How, uh, can we know?"

¹⁰ *Kalaw* 'if' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

“*Eh, anu’*,” *jaku’ ia*, “*Kalaw lamur pitu’*, *kita presa ka*
 eh well say 3s if sunset like.this 1p.incl check to
rumah kita.”
 house 1p.incl

“Eh, well,” he (one of the siblings) said, “If there’s a sunset like this, we would check around our house.”

Tadi’ waktu sida’ N-pansa’ kia’, da-am’ur sida’
 a.while.ago when 3p ACT-pass thither.(near) PASS-scatter 3p
maram, da-am’ur se-keliling rumah.
 k.o.fruit PASS-scatter ONE-around house

A while ago when they (the siblings) passed through there, they scattered *marams* around the house.

Baru’ da-presa kin ulih Aji Kum’ang jara’.
 then PASS-check thither.(far) by haji K jara’

Then it was checked around by Haji Kum’ang.

Ulih Aji Kum’ang da-presa amat aday mas da tanah tu’.
 by haji K PASS-check true exist gold LOC ground this

Being checked by Haji Kum’ang, indeed there was gold on the ground.

Aa, baru’ ia N-perintah anak buah ia, da-tebas maram.
 ah then 3s ACT-command child fruit 3s PASS-cut k.o.fruit

Ah, then he commanded his servants, (and) the *marams* were cut (and cleared).

Da-papung da-pung’a’, da-buay ka ay’.
 PASS-cut PASS-cut PASS-throw.away to water

They were all cut and thrown into the water (river).

Jadi anyut dih anu’ tu’ sampay datay ka anu’
 so swept.away dih what.is.it this until come to what.is.it

Aji Melayu.
 haji M

So, the what’s-it-called (i.e. *marams*) were swept away until they arrived at the, what’s-it-called (i.e. the place) of Haji Melayu.

Baru' Aji Melayu taw' bada' dany'i sida' ah, asa
 then haji M know bada' promise 3p ah whenever

maram tu' datay kin, bar-arti maram tu'
 k.o.fruit this come thither.(far) ANPAS-meaning k.o.fruit this

udah resmi da-anu' urang, da-buay.
 PERF official PASS-what.is.it person PASS-throw.away

Then Haji Melayu understood their promise that whenever *marams* arrive there, it means that the *marams* have really been, uh, thrown away.

Baru' datay N-serang ari nyin.
 then come ACT-attact from that.over.there

Then they came attacking from there.

Aw', ia N-putik mas=m tih, Aji Kum'ang nya'.
 well 3s ACT-pick.up gold=m tih haji K that

Well, he was picking up gold, that Haji Kum'ang.

Datay bala Aji Melayu N-serang batim'ak-tim'ak
 come all haji M ACT-attact ANPAS-shoot-RED

ngaw senapang.
 with rifle

Haji Melayu and all his men came attacking, shooting with rifles.

Rari urang menua, anu', Aji Kum'ang.
 run person country what.is.it haji K

People of, what's-his-name's, Haji Kum'ang's country ran away.

Aji Kum'ang naday dapat rari, anu', teka ngeN-bay'
 haji K NEG can run what.is.it right.away ACT-bring

pat s-uti' mah ia.
 chisel ONE-CLASS mah 3s

Haji Kum'ang couldn't run away, uh, he right away brought with him a chisel.

N-tebuk kayu, tama' ka ia', jadi kum'ang.
 ACT-make.hole tree enter to that become beetle

He made a hole in a tree, (and) entered into it, and became a beetle.

Aday kum'ang ti terbay, jaku' kita=m "nyit", gu'
 exist beetle REL fly say 1p.incl=m buzz sound

alam kayu.
 inside wood

There was a beetle that flew, buzzing “nyit”, as we say, a sound inside the wood.

Tama' ia.
 enter 3s

He came in (there).

Ia selamat, ulih reta ben'a ia amis da-jarah urang.
 3s safe but wealth things 3s finished PASS-plunder person

He was safe, but his properties were all gone, plundered by the people.

Baru' gaga Aji Melayu.
 then glad haji M

Then, Haji Melayu was really glad.

"Aduh, cuba anti' naday kita' wih, mati," jaku' ia.
 ah try if NEG 2p wih die say 3s

“Ah, say, if you were not here, I would be dead,” he said.

"Ku aja' naday mampu N-giga' akal N-lawan
 1s just NEG be.able ACT-look.for mind ACT-oppose

Aji Kum'ang.
 haji K

I myself wasn't able to find a way to fight against Haji Kum'ang.

Ku, ia=m, naday mampu ku N-lawan, ti kebukay
 1s 3s=m NEG be.able 1s ACT- oppose REL other

ta'luk uga' ulih ku."
 subject.to all by 1s

As for me, it is only against him,” he said, “that I wasn't able to fight, the others have all been beaten by me.”

Baru' sa' menyadi' tih merama dia' mah jara'.
 then 3p sibling tih stay.a.while here.(near) mah jara'

After that, the brothers stayed there (at Haji Melayu's house) for some time.

Berapa ari naday kita taw' bada' kisah.
how.many day NEG 1p.incl know bada' story

How long it was, we don't know the story.

Baru' sida' N-pinta' diri' pulay.
then 3p ACT-ask.for self go.home

Then they asked permission to leave.

"Ah, tu' kami tu' ka' pulay adi'," jaku' sida'.
ah this 1p.excl TOP want go.home younger.sibling say 3p

"Ah, look, sister, we want to return home," they said.

"Aw', tu', n'u', telany'ur kita' ba-laki-bini.
well this TOA gone.too.far 2p ANPAS-husband-wife

"Well, look, sister, it already happened that you have become husband and wife.

Serah ka kita'=m.
left.to.o's.discretion to 2p=m

It's just up to you.

Sukur gaga kami tu', kita' aday ti N-intu,
thank.God glad 1p.excl this 2p exist REL ACT-take.care

ba-laki-bini."
ANPAS-husband-wife

Thank God, we're glad that you have somebody who takes care (of you), being married."

Baru' pulay sida' ia' tih.
then go.home 3p that tih

Then, they did return home.

Pulay, datay ka menua diri' jara', upa biasa
go.home come to country self jara' as usual

ba-uma ba-tawun.
ANPAS-rice.field ANPAS-year

Going home, they came to their own country, as usual they worked the rice fields

every year.

Ku naday ingat ka bala per-anak tay ngeN-turun
1s NEG remember to all NOM-descendant REL ACT-descend

keban, aday padah urang, Pati ia' ni.
kind exist say person P that ni

I don't remember all the descendants that descended, as some people said, the "Patis". (The story teller was trying to track down descendants of the siblings)

Aday ti Bejit Manay N-aday Pati Cerang, N-aday
exist REL B M ACT-exist P C ACT-exist

Pati Lan'a, N-aday Pati Rampung.
P L ACT-exist P R

There is the story that Bejit Manay gave birth to Pati Cerang, who gave birth to Pati Lan'a, who gave birth to Pati Rampung.

Jadi nya' ti N-turun sampay ka kita pitu'.
so that REL ACT-descend until to 1p.incl like.this

Thus, those are the ones who descend to us until the present time.

Aa, nya' N-asuh tadi' tih adat ia', nak,
ah that ACT-cause a.while.ago tih custom that son

di-k-ingat urang ari turun-temurun.
PASS-ke-remember person from descend-RED

Ah, that's why the custom just mentioned has been remembered by people from generation to generation, son. (By *nak* son', the story teller was referring to me as one of the listeners)

Urang jadi mali, aday adat kita.
person become taboo exist custom 1p.incl

(If) people break a taboo, there is a custom for that.

Asa urang ia', misal ku, aa kemua Jang
whenever person that for.example 1s ah 1d.excl brother

Danil menyadi', lalu anak ku jadi ka m'ih ataw
D sibling then child 1s marry to 2s.masc or

jadi ka menyadi' ia.
 marry to sibling 3s

Whenever such people, for example me, ah, we two, Brother Danil, are siblings, then my child gets married to you or to her brother.

Ia' mali berat.
 that taboo heavy

That's a big taboo.

Adat ia' babi tujuh iku'.
 custom that pig seven CLASS

The custom for that was (a fine of) seven pigs.

Asa gaway s-iku' da-buay ka ay',
 whenever feast ONE-CLASS PASS-throw.away to water

da-buay ka antu, jaku' kita tih sebedaw pecaya.
 PASS-throw.away to ghost say 1p.incl tih before believe

Whenever there was a traditional feast held, one of the pigs was thrown away into the water, thrown to the ghosts, our term before we believed in God.

Asa naday N-penuh adat pia', sekuntan aday terjadi,
 whenever NEG ACT-full custom like.that directly exist happen

misal aday kerusakan¹¹ tubuh urang ia', aday keban
 for.example exist damage body person that exist kind

tem'away apa rusak buah, keba tanah rubuh,
 former.settlement what damaged fruit all.kinds land collapse

biasa.
 usual

Whenever people didn't fulfill the custom like that, something did happen right away, for example, someone got bodily injured, fruit in some *tema'way* went bad, all kinds of landslides happened; that was usual.

Urang ti bedaw pecaya sampay tu' nya' terjadi ga'.
 person REL not.yet believe until this that happen also

(To) people that do not yet believe (in God) until now it still happens too.

¹¹ *Kerusakan* 'damage' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Tapi kita ti dah percaya, nisi'.
 but 1p.incl REL PERF believe nothing

But to us who already believe in God, nothing (happens).

Semua nya' da-apus uga' ulih darah Yesus, pe-mali-pe-mali.
 all that PASS-delete all by blood Y NOM-taboo-RED

All have been wiped out by the blood of Jesus, those taboos.

Tapi adat-adat ia' nitaw' da-lang'ar, ia'
 but custom-RED that may.not PASS-transgress that

da-tetap ulih Tuhan.
 PASS-stipulate by Lord

But the customs themselves may not be transgressed, (because) they are stipulated by the Lord.

Adat ia' anya sekedar, adat ia' nitaw' N-apus
 custom that only merely custom that can't ACT-delete

ke-rusak ia'.
 NOM-broken that

The custom alone is merely for the form, (because) the custom can't wipe out damage done.

Jadi kisah ia' nga'.
 so story that stop.there

So, the story stops there.

Nya' ti pemenaw' ku udah.
 that REL knowledge is udah

That is what I know indeed (nothing is more than that) / That is what my knowledge is already.