

## Po mna Tehaya

The story of Tehaya, written by Didimus Bame in Ayawasi, 13 November 1994

- (1) *Po mna Tehaya*  
thing fairy.tale Tehaya

The story of Tehaya.

- (2) *Pi ait y-sia y-fain y-sia y-are s-au ro ano*  
man he 3M-with 3M-wife 3M-with 3M-child one-3U POS<sup>2</sup> female

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<sup>2</sup> It is unclear whether the marker *ro* in this context is a possessive marker or a relative clause marker. The same applies to *ro* in *ku ro sme* 'boy' in line 63. For a discussion see Dol (1999:105).

*ana m-ana tuf m-hu ora r-ana s-au*  
 3PL 3U-head three 3U-stay garden POS-3PL one-3U

A man and his wife and their one daughter, the three lived together in their garden.

- (3) *Ana m-hu ora r-ana re-t-o nene*  
 3PL 3U-stay garden POS-3PL location.SPEC-near-U near  
*aya m-api s-au*  
 water 3U-big one-3U

They stayed in their garden there near a big river.

- (4) *Ana m-hu m-kah ora r-ana re-t-o*  
 3PL 3U-stay 3U-burn garden POS-3PL location.SPEC-near-U  
*m-hu m-ait ora r-ira re-t-o*  
 3U-stay 3U-eat garden REL-just.now location.SPEC-near-U  
*m-ake r-au to*  
 3U-fruit POS-3U LOC<sup>3</sup>

They stayed and burned their garden there, they stayed and they ate from the garden (mentioned) just now, and the garden bore its own fruit.

- (5) *Ana m-ait m-hu mpair r-ana re-t-o*  
 3PL 3U-eat 3U-stay place POS-3U location.SPEC-near-U

They ate and they stayed in their place there.

- (6) *Ana m-hu ewa to pi<sup>4</sup> re-f-i y-kias*  
 3PL 3U-stay always LOC man location.SPEC-very.near-M 3M-tell  
*ana y-awe anu n-mo n-teh asah<sup>5</sup> suek<sup>6</sup> m-siar war*  
 they 3M-say 2PL 2-go.PL<sup>7</sup> 2PL-feel shrimp well 3U-many very

They stayed there as usual, and this man told them, he said: You go and catch shrimps well until you have very many.

- (7) *N-po n-ma, k-tuo Ø-tawer aya*  
 2PL-hold 2PL-come.PL EMP<sup>8</sup>-1SG Ø-fish.with.rod water

<sup>3</sup>to 'LOC' refers to location (Dol 1999:130-131; 184-187), but is normally left untranslated to avoid a tortured English translation.

<sup>4</sup>*pi* 'man' in this context refers to the father of the family, although *pi* is normally used to refer to a man in the general sense of the word, or to 'mister'.

<sup>5</sup>*-teh asah* lit. 'feel shrimps' refers to fishing with hands. In the dry season shrimps (and also other fish) are manually fished out of the water by feeling and groping for them. In the free translations, *-teh asah* is translated as 'catch shrimps' or 'fish' to accommodate a more fluent translation.

<sup>6</sup>*suek* means 'well' when used as a manner adverbial, and 'immediately' or 'straight away' when used as a temporal adverbial.

<sup>7</sup>A few verbs, *-amo* 'go' is one of them, substitute the initial *a* by [ə], when prefixed for first or second person plural. Similarly *-ama* 'come' in (7).

<sup>8</sup>The prefix *k-* before a first person singular pronoun *tuo* is in some northern dialects used for emphasis. The author of this story, at the time a sixteen-year old boy, grew up in Konya, 10 km to the north of Ayawasi.

*sa aro m-afit po fi-t-o p-muah po-it*  
 fish other 3U-bite thing similar.to-near-U 1P-cook thing-eat.PL

*po p-ka*<sup>9</sup>.  
 thing we-mix

You take it and come, I will fish with a rod in the river, fish and other things will bite like this, and we will cook food and we will have things to mix with it.

(8) *Ana m-ari na m-amo m-ros m-teh asah*  
 3PL 3U-hear and.then 3U-go 3U-stand 3U-feel.fish shrimp

*f-o m-siar war*  
 very.near-U 3U-many very

They listened and went and stood (in the river) and they caught these large amounts of shrimps.

(9) *M-po m-ama m-e pi*  
 3U-hold 3U-come 3U-give man

They brought them and gave them to the man.

(10) *Ait y-amo Ø-tawer aya*  
 3M 3M-go Ø-fish.with.rod water

He went to fish with a rod in the river.

(11) *Mti mah<sup>10</sup> o na fi-t-o teruuuuuuus<sup>11</sup>*  
 night tomorrow ENUM and.then similar.to-near-U continuously

Night and day and then like this aaaaaaall the time.

(12) *Ou<sup>12</sup> hrim s-au pi re-f-i y-kias ana*  
 Ouw! time one-3U man location.SPEC-very.near-M 3M-tell 3PL

*m-amo u fi-t-o m-teh asah*  
 3U-go again similar.to-near-U 3U-feel.fish shrimp

Now, one time the man told them to go again like this, and catch shrimps.

(13) *Um ro ana m-amo m-teh asah to pi ait*  
 moment REL 3PL 3U-go 3U-feel.fish shrimp LOC man he

*y-amo si Ø-tawer aya*  
 3M-go also Ø-fish.with.rod water

When they went to fish, the man went too and fished with a rod.

<sup>9</sup>The expression *po p-ka*, lit. 'things we mix' is used to refer to fish, meat and vegetables which are used to mix with staple food such as taro, cassava and, nowadays, rice.

<sup>10</sup> The expression *mti mah* is adequately translated as 'night and day'

<sup>11</sup> The adverb *terus* 'continuously', here with a long vowel to mark emphasis, is a loan from Indonesian.

<sup>12</sup> This exclamation marks the beginning of a change in the story.

- (14) *Fai f-o m-sia m-aku eok m-amo m-teh asah*  
 woman very.near-U 3U-with 3U-small two 3U-go 3U-feel.fish shrimp

The woman with her child, the two went and fished

- (15) *Eok m-teh asah m-teh asah m-teh asah*  
 two 3U-feel.fish shrimp 3U-feel.fish shrimp 3U-feel.fish shrimp

*war tipuo m-he m-siar*  
 very immediately 3U-see 3U-many

The two fished for a long time, they caught many shrimps, until they saw they had a lot.

- (16) *Eok m-ros m-o Ø-fais m-ae pron m-apoh suek mat*  
 two 3U-stand 3U-take Ø-fill 3U-at bamboo 3U-dry well five

The two got up and filled (the shrimps) well into five dry bamboos.

- (17) *Um r-ira ana m-teh to ana fi-ra*  
 moment REL-just.now<sup>13</sup> 3PL 3U-feel.fish LOC 3PL similar.to-PART<sup>14</sup>

*m-teh m-kai parir o sa ati o kpai*  
 3U-feel.fish 3U-meet shrimp ENUM fish real ENUM crab

*o po fi-t-o to*  
 ENUM thing similar.to-near-U LOC

Now this time when they were fishing, they felt like this and they found shrimps, real fish<sup>15</sup>, crabs and things like this.

- (18) *Ø-Hatet Ø-fais pron tiyit si<sup>16</sup> na asah Ø-fais pron*  
 Ø-choose Ø-fill bamboo four also and.then shrimp fill bamboo

*mat si fi-t-o*  
 five also similar.to-near-U

They selected (the fish) and they filled four bamboos, at the same time they filled the shrimps into a bamboo and so they had five bamboos.

- (19) *M-ros m-e u m-amo to ara na<sup>17</sup> ti-puo*  
 3U-stand 3U-return again 3U-go LOC k.o.tree immediately

They got up and they returned again and they immediately went to the 'Buah Raja' tree.

<sup>13</sup> The modifier *ira* 'just now' linked to the head noun by the POS/REL marker *ro* indicates an item just mentioned. In this line and many following lines it is sufficiently implied by the English definite article, because a more explicit translation would only make it sound awkward.

<sup>14</sup> This is a dialectal variant: in Ayawasi this particle appears as *-re*. The syntactic position of *fi-ra* in this context is also strange: one would expect the manner adverb *fi-t-o* 'similar.to-near-U' to occur following *m-teh* to express 'they felt like this'.

<sup>15</sup> *saa ati* 'real fish' refers to all kinds of fish that do not include shrimps and crabs.

<sup>16</sup> The occurrence of the adverb *si* twice in this sentence expresses simultaneity of the events described in each clause which *si* follows (Dol 1999:266).

<sup>17</sup> In Indonesian *ara na* is 'Buah Raja', an edible fruit.

- (20) *M-he pi r-ira f-o y-amo oh*  
 3U-see man REL-just now very.near-U 3M-go already

Ø-tawer aya  
 Ø-fish.with.rod water

They saw that the man had already gone to fish in the river with a rod.

- (21) *Ana m-he pi y-arak na ana m-ros m-ko tafoh*  
 3PL 3U-see man 3M-empty and.then 3PL 3U-stand 3U-roast fire

They saw that the man was not there, and then they got up and they made a fire.

- (22) *Tipuo na fai f-o m-kias ku au kpet*  
 immediately and.then woman very.near-U 3U-tell child 3U just  
*m-aim pron r-ira m-kah a<sup>18</sup> parir o sa*  
 3U-cook bamboo REL-just.now 3U-with mmm shrimp ENUM fish

*o kpai o*  
 ENUM crab ENUM

Then the woman told the child to just cook the bamboo with the shrimps and the fish and the crab.

- (23) *Po r-ira ana Ø-fais pron to*  
 thing REL-just.now 3PL Ø-fill bamboo LOC

The things that (they had) just (caught) they put into the bamboos.

- (24) *Fai f-o m-kias ku au kpet m-aim pron*  
 woman very.near-U 3U-tell child 3U just 3U-cook bamboo

The woman told the child to just cook the bamboos.

- (25) *Na fai au m-aut ara m-hu akah u<sup>19</sup>*  
 and.then woman 3U 3U-climb tree 3U-stay above up

And then the woman climbed into a tree and stayed up there.

- (26) *M-hu akah u komando<sup>20</sup> ku au r-ira m-aim*  
 3U-stay above up command child 3U REL-just.now 3U-cook

*pron fo<sup>21</sup>*  
 bamboo INCEPT

She stayed above and ordered the child to begin cooking the bamboos.

<sup>18</sup> *a* is an interjection that expresses hesitation by the speaker, Dol (1999:138).

<sup>19</sup> In the sequence *akah u*, *u* intensifies the meaning of *akah*, Dol (1999:131).

<sup>20</sup> *komando* is a loanword from Indonesian.

<sup>21</sup> The demonstrative form *fo* can either be an attributive demonstrative meaning 'this' (also expressed as *re-f-o*, where *re* is an attributive demonstrative prefix), or it can mark the beginning of an action, here called 'INCEPTive' (Dol 1999:107, 178).

- (27) *Fai m-itah m-itah<sup>22</sup> na ku au m-aim pron*  
 woman 3U-order 3U-order and.then child 3U 3U-cook bamboo  
*f-o Ø-samer Ø-prut<sup>23</sup>*  
 very-near-U Ø-cooked Ø-everything

The woman ordered and ordered and the child cooked the bamboos until they were all done.

- (28) *Fai m-he Ø-samer m-itah tipuo ku au m-o*  
 woman 3U-see Ø-cooked 3U-order immediately child 3U 3U-take  
*sa r-ira m-kah pron f-o*  
 fish REL-just.now 3U-with bamboo very.near-U

The woman saw it was done and she immediately ordered the child to take the fish with the bamboo.

- (29) *M-o m-e au akah u ara ti-au m-hu*  
 3U-take 3U-give she above up tree side-U.DIST 3U-stay  
*akah ara m-apo*  
 above tree 3U-eat.meat

She took it and gave it to her up on the side in the tree, she stayed above in the tree, she was eating (there).

- (30) *Ku au m-o sa f-o m-kah pron tuf m-o*  
 child 3U 3U-take fish very.near-U 3U-with bamboo three 3U-take  
*m-e fai au na pron eok m-awe m-hu*  
 3U-give woman 3U then bamboo two 3U-say 3U-stay  
*si au*  
 also DIST.U

The child took this fish with three bamboos, she took them and gave them to the woman, and she said that the other two bamboos should stay here (i.e. on the ground with the child).

- (31) *M-fe na fai au m-awe wa m-atak, m-awe fe*  
 3U-NEG and.then woman 3U 3U-say hey! 3U-angry 3U-say No!

It was not allowed,<sup>24</sup> and then the woman said: hey! She was angry, and she said: No!

- (32) *Ku au m-o m-e Ø-prut*  
 child 3U 3U-take 3U-give Ø-everything

<sup>22</sup> Repetition of words is often used to intensify the meaning, Dol (1999:277-278). See also lines 37, 63.

<sup>23</sup> Words that express quantifying notions are formally verbs in Maybrat, Dol (1999:79-82).

<sup>24</sup> In Dol (1999:190) I argued that an accurate translation of predicative *m-fe* in sentence-initial position is 'it is not the case', making explicit that the content of the previous utterance does not apply. An example:

*rae s-ait y-per m-ana eok M-fe na y-per m-ana s-au*  
 person one-3M 3M-educate 3U-head two 3U-NEG and.then 3M-educate 3U-head one-3U

One man educates two (boys). If that is not the case, he educates one (boy).

However, in the context of (31), 'it is not allowed' would seem a better translation.

The child took it and gave everything.

- (33) *Ø-Soh*  
 Ø-deceive

She (i.e. the woman) deceived (her).

- (34) *Ku au ira Ø-fais o m-aim o po*  
 child 3U just.now Ø-fill ENUM 3U-cook ENUM thing  
*we-t-o Ø-prut-prat<sup>25</sup> ira*  
 location.GENR-near-U Ø-everything-RED just.now

The child, just now she filled and cooked all the things in a messy manner.

- (35) *M-nan na fai au m-e fe sa aro m-kah*  
 3U-enough and.then woman 3U 3U-give NEG fish other 3U-to  
*ku au fe<sup>26</sup>*  
 child 3U NEG

Then the woman, she did not give the fish and other things to the child.

- (36) *Ku au m-he fai m-itah fi-t-o fi-t-o*  
 child she 3U-see woman 3U-order similar-to-near-U similar-to-near-U  
*na ku au m-o m-e Ø-prut m-ae fai au*  
 and.then child 3U 3U-take 3U-give Ø-everything 3U-at woman 3U

The child saw the woman order like this and that, and then she took and gave everything to the woman.

- (37) *Ku au m-he fai au m-apo Ø-prut na m-ros*  
 child 3U 3U-see woman 3U 3U-eat Ø-everything and.then 3U-stand  
*m-awia m-awia m-awia m-awia m-awia m-awia suek*  
 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry well

The child saw that the woman ate everything and then she got up and cried hard for a very long time.

- (38) *M-he fai f-o m-apo<sup>27</sup> sa f-o Ø-prut*  
 3U-see woman very.near-U 3U-eat.meat fish very.near-U Ø-everything  
*ku au m-awia m-awia m-awia*  
 child 3U 3U-cry 3U-cry 3U-cry

She saw that the woman had eaten all this fish, and she cried for a very long time.

<sup>25</sup>The function of reduplication is to intensify the meaning of a word, adding an element of randomness (Dol 1999:63).

<sup>26</sup>It is unclear why the negator *fe* is used twice in this sentence. Possibly this creates extra emphasis.

<sup>27</sup>Normally the form *-apo* refers to eating meat, while *-tah* is used to refer to eating small meat or, as in this case, fish. Possibly here *-apo* is used because large amounts of fish are eaten.

- (39) *Fai au m-he ku au m-awia yom yom*  
 woman 3U 3U-see child 3U 3U-cry continuously continuously  
*na m-roh m-o tfo Ø-saraf ku au m-amuom*  
 and.then 3U-descend 3U-take machete Ø-cut child 3U 3U-neck  
*Ø-ktus Ø-saraf ku m-ana Ø-ktus tipuo m-ros*  
*Ø-break Ø-cut child 3U-head Ø-break immediately 3U-stand*  
*m-o ku f-o m-asom m-amo Ø-peyak*  
 3U-take child very.near-U 3U-carry.on.shoulder 3U-go Ø-throw.away  
*war m-ato<sup>28</sup>*  
 reject 3U-hole

The woman saw that the child cried continuously and then she descended and she fetched a machete and cut the child's neck loose. She cut the child's head off and then she stood and she took the child and carried her on her shoulder and she went and threw her away in a hole.

- (40) *Fai au m-e u m-hu au amah Ø-ste pi*  
 woman 3U 3U-return again 3U-stay DIST.U house Ø-wait man  
*ait y-ama*  
 3M 3M-come

The woman returned and stayed at the house and waited for the man to come.

- (41) *Pi ait Ø-tumuk y-awe ku mi-yo*  
 man 3M Ø-ask 3M-say child PRESTT-Q

The man asked: Where is the child?

- (42) *Fai au m-kias m-awe ku m-amo m-teh aya*  
 woman 3U 3U-tell 3U-say child 3U-go 3U-feel.fish water

The woman answered saying: The child has gone to feel fish in the river.

- (43) *Pi ait y-kias y-awe a ku au m-amo m-teh aya*  
 man 3M 3M-tell 3M-say eh child 3U 3U-go 3U-feel.fish water  
*fi-t-o m-kias k-tuo t-har*  
 similar.to-near-U 3U-tell EMP-1SG 1SG-know

The man answered saying: If the child goes to feel fish in the river, like this she tells (me) so that I know.

- (44) *Na pi Ø-tumuk u ku mi-yo*  
 and.then man Ø-ask again child PRESTT-Q

Then the man asked again: Where is the child?

<sup>28</sup>*m-ato* 'hole' is a spatial noun. Spatial nouns refer to relational parts of objects. In Maybrat, spatial nouns are formally inalienably possessed nouns, which means that they receive a person-prefix, see Dol (1999:95ff).



(45) *Fai m-kias m-awe ku m-amo Ø-saraf am*  
 woman 3U-tell 3U-say child 3U-go Ø-cut raincape

The woman said: The child went to cut a raincape.<sup>29</sup>

(46) *Na pi ait y-kias y-awe a ku au m-amo Ø-saraf*  
 then man 3M 3M-tell 3M-say eh child 3U 3U-go Ø-cut  
*am fi-t-o mi<sup>30</sup> m-kias k-tuo t-har*  
 raincape similar.to-near-U so.that 3U-tell EMP-1SG 1SG-know

Then the man answered saying: If the child goes to cut a raincape, like this she tells (me) so that I know.

(47) *Pi ait Ø-tumuk fi-t-o terus terus*  
 man he Ø-ask similar.to-near-U continuously continuously

The man continuously asked like this.

(48) *Fai au m-he m-fe na m-ros m-kias m-awe*  
 woman 3U 3U-see 3U-NEG and.then 3U-stand 3U-tell 3U-say  
*ku m-awia parir o sa o kpai o po*  
 child 3U-cry shrimp ENUM fish ENUM crab ENUM thing  
*r-ira k-tuo t-no wo-f-o*  
 REL-just.now EMP-1SG 1SG-do location.GENR-very.near-U

The woman saw that it did not work, and she got up and said: The child cried for shrimps, fish, crab and things I made here.

(49) *K-tuo t-haf.ko<sup>31</sup> t-ros t-o tfo Ø-saraf*  
 EMP-1SG 1SG-stomach.not.want 1sg-stand 1SG-take machete Ø-cut  
*m-ama*  
 3U-head

I got angry and I got up and fetched a machete and cut her head.

(50) *T-tor t-amo t-ruk war m-ato*  
 1sg-carry.on.shoulder 1SG-go 1SG-submerge reject 3U-hole

I carried her on my shoulder and threw her away in a hole.

(51) *Pi ait y-ari fi-t-o na y-ros y-o*  
 man 3M 3M-hear similar.to-near-U and.then 3M-stand 3M-take  
*tfo y-toh m-ae fra suék y-he m-aon*  
 machete 3M-sharpen 3U-at stone well 3M-see 3U-sharp

<sup>29</sup>*am* 'raincapes' are made from pandanus leaves. They are also used as mats to sleep on.

<sup>30</sup>It is unclear why here *mi* 'so that' is used while in line 43, which is parallel in syntactic structure and meaning *mi* is absent.

<sup>31</sup>The form *ko*, which here together with *-haf* 'stomach' refers to 'anger', is derived from *-ako* 'not want'. In Maybrat, many forms expressing emotion are formed in this way, e.g. *t-haf fri* 'I feel for', lit. '1SG-stomach.meet'.



- (58) *Y-ros y-aim tipuo y-he Ø-samer na y-ros*  
 3M-stand 3M-cook immediately 3M-see Ø-cooked and.then 3M-stand  
*y-seh tipuo y-kai pruo*  
 3M-cut.in.half immediately 3M-smoke rack.over.fireplace

He got up and cooked it (the fish) until he saw they were done, and then he got up and immediately cut (the bamboo) in half and he smoked them on the rack over the fireplace.

- (59) *Y-he Ø-srak na y-ros y-o y-fau yu<sup>34</sup> s-au*  
 3M-see Ø-cooked and.then 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-fill bag one-3U  
*na y-ros y-amo sasu y-kit y-atia o*  
 and.then 3M-stand 3M-go coast 3M-towards 3M-father ENUM  
*y-me o ana to sasu*  
 3M-mother ENUM 3PL LOC coast

He saw that it was cooked, and then he got up, took a bag and filled it and he got up and went to the coast to his father and his mother and the others at the coast.

- (60) *Y-amo Ø-frok ana na ana Ø-tumuk m-awe, ku pi*  
 3M-go Ø-emerge they and.then 3PL Ø-ask 3U-say child man  
*Ø-soh e*  
*Ø-deceive eh*

He went and arrived (at them) and then they asked saying: The child, you (lit. the man) deceive eh?<sup>35</sup>

- (61) *Finia o ku*  
 woman ENUM child

The woman and the child.

- (62) *Fai m-o tfo Ø-saraf m-amuom Ø-ktus na*  
 woman 3U-take machete Ø-cut 3U-neck Ø-break and.then  
*m-asom m-amo m-ruk m-ato na fai au*  
 3U-carry.on.shoulder 3U-go 3U-submerge 3U-hole and.then woman 3U  
*k-tuo t-o tfo Ø-saraf m-amuom Ø-ktus na*  
 EMP-1SG 1SG-take machete Ø-cut 3U-neck Ø-break and.then  
*m-hai si ou*  
 3U-die also ouw!

The woman fetched a knife and cut the (child's) neck off and then carried (the child) and went and submerged it in a hole, and then the woman, I took a knife and cut the neck off and then she also died.

<sup>34</sup>*yu* is a traditional bag woven from pandanus leaves, with a long strap, carried over the head.

<sup>35</sup>This part of the sentence is not entirely clear. A possible interpretation is that this is an exclamation by the parents of the man, expressing surprise at the fact that he has arrived alone, without his family.

- (63) *Ku ro sme f-o y-ari r-ira y-atia y-kias*  
 child POS male very.near-U 3M-hear REL-just.now 3M-father 3M-tell
- fi-t-o na ku fo y-awia y-ros Ø-safo*  
 similar.to-near-U and.then child INCEPT 3M-cry 3U-stand Ø-angry
- y-amo Ø-safo y-amo Ø-safo y-amo Ø-frok iso suf*  
 3M-go Ø-angry 3M-go Ø-angry 3M-go Ø-emerge path middle
- papoh<sup>36</sup> m-hu ao m-afit ku ait y-hai*  
 white.snake 3U-stay DIST.U 3U-bite child 3M 3M-die

The son heard what his father just now told like this, and he began to cry and got up very angrily and went and he arrived at the middle of the road and a white snake was there and bit the child and the child died.

- (64) *Pi f-o y-awe y-rof re y-sof-sof ku ait*  
 man very.near.U 3M-say 3M-follow in.order.to 3M-chase-RED child he

The man wanted to follow so that he could chase the child.

- (65) *Papoh r-ira f-o m-hu ao na m-afit*  
 white.snake REL-just now very.near-U 3U-stay DIST. and.then 3U-bite
- pi ait iye y-hai*  
 man 3U also 3M-die

The white snake was there it bit the man and he also died.

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