## 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) $\quad$ 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 $\mathrm{POS}^{2}$ female

[^0] 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.

| Ana | $m$-hu | ora | $r$-ana | $r e-t-0$ | 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-a

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 ${ }^{3}$
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 re-f-i $\quad$-kias

3PL 3U-stay always LOC man location.SPEC-very.near-M 3M-tell

| ana | $y$-awe | anu | $n$-mo | $n$-teh | asah | suek | m-siar | war |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| they | 3M-say | 2PL | 2-go.PL' | 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.

| $N$-po | $n-m a$, | $k$-tuo | $\emptyset$-tawer | aya |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2PL-hold | 2PL-come.PL | EMP $^{\text {B }}$-1SG | $\emptyset$-fish.with.rod water |  |

[^1]sa aro m-afit po fi-t-o p-muah po-it
fish other 3 U -bite thing similar.to-near-U 1P-cook thing-eat.PL
po $p-k a^{9}$.
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
$\begin{array}{lll}f \text {-o } & m \text {-siar } & \text { war } \\ \text { very.near-U } & \text { 3U-many } & \text { very }\end{array}$
They listened and went and stood (in the river) and they caught these large amounts of shrimps.
(9) $\quad$-po m-ama m-e pi

3U-hold 3U-come 3U-give man
They brought them and gave them to the man.

| Ait | $y$-amo | $\emptyset$-tawer | aya |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3M | 3 M -go | $\emptyset$-fish.with.rod | water |

He went to fish with a rod in the river.

| Mti | moh $^{10}$ | $o$ | $n a$ | $f i-t-o$ | teruuuuuuus ${ }^{11}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| night | tomorrow | ENUM | and.then | similar.to-near-U | continuously |

Night and day and then like this aaaaaall the time.

| Ou | hrim | $s-a u$ | 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 $\varnothing$-tawer aya
3M-go also Ø-fish.with.rod water
When they went to fish, the man went too and fished with a rod.

[^2]| 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

| 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.
Eok m-ros m-o $\quad \varnothing$-fais m-ae pron m-apah suek mat two 3U-stand 3U-take $\varnothing$-fill 3 U -at bamboo 3 U -dry well five

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

| Um | r-ira | ana | $m$-teh | to | ana | fi-ra |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| moment | REL-just.now ${ }^{13}$ | 3PL | 3U-feel.fish | LOC | 3PL | similar.to-PART ${ }^{14}$ |

m-teh m-kai parir o sa ati o kpai
3U-feel.fish $3 U$-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 ${ }^{15}$, crabs and things like this.

| $\varnothing$-Hatet | $\varnothing$-fais | pron | tiyjt | si ${ }^{16}$ | na | asah | $\varnothing$-fais | pron |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\varnothing$-choose | $\varnothing$-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.

| M-ros | $m$-e | $u$ | $m$-amo | to | ara na ${ }^{17}$ | 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.

[^3](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 |  |  |  |  |
| $\varnothing$-fish.wilin.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.
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { (22) } & \text { Tipuo } & n a & f a i & f-o & \text { m-kias } & \text { ku } & \text { au } & \text { kpet } \\ & \text { mmediately } & \text { and.then } & \text { woman } & \text { very.near-U } & \text { 3U-tell } & \text { child } & \text { 3U } & \text { just }\end{array}$

| m-aim | pron | $r$-ira | $m$-kah | $a^{18}$ | parir | 0 | $s a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3U-cook | bamboo | REL-just.now | 3U-with | mmm | shrimp | ENUM | fish |

- 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 $\varnothing$-fais pron to thing REL-just.nów 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 3 U just 3 U -cook bamboo

The worman told the child to just cook the bamboos.
(25) Na fai au m-aut ara m-hu akah $u^{19}$
and.then woman 3 U 3U-climb tree 3 U -stay above up
And then the woman climbed into a tree and stayed up there.
(26) M-hu akah u komando ${ }^{20}$ ku au r-ira m-aim

3U-stay above up command child 3 U REL-just.now 3U-cook
pron
$f_{0}{ }^{21}$
bamboo INCEPT
She stayed above and ordered the child to begin cooking the bamboos.

[^4](27)

| Fai | m-itah | m-itah | na | na | $k u$ | $a u$ | $m$-aim |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | pron


| $f$-o | $\emptyset$-samer | $\emptyset$-prut ${ }^{23}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| very-near-U | $\emptyset$-cooked | $\emptyset$-everything |

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

| Fai | $m$-he | $\emptyset$-samer | $m$-itah | tipuo | $k u$ | $a u$ | $m$-o |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| woman | 3U-see | $\emptyset$-cooked | 3U-order | immediately | child | 3 U | 3U-take |

sa r-ira m-kah pron f-o fish REL-just.now 3 U -with bamboo very.near-U

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

| M-o | $m-e$ | $a u$ | $a k o h$ | $u$ | ara | $t i-a u$ | $m$-hu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3U-take | 3U-give | she | above | up | tree | side-U.DIST | 3U-stay |

akah ara m-apo
above tree 3 U -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).

| $K u$ | $a u$ | $m-o$ | $s a$ | $f-o$ | $m$-kah | pron | tuf | $m$-o |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| child | 3 U | 3U-take | fish | very.near-U | 3U-with | bamboo | three | $3 U$-take |


| $m$-e | $f a i$ | $a u$ | $n a$ | $p r o n$ | $e o k$ | $m$-awe | $m$-hu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3U-give | woman | $3 U$ | then | bamboo | two | $3 U$-say | $3 U$-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).

| $M$-fe | $n a$ | $f o i$ | au | $m$-awe | wa | m-atak, | m-awe | $f e$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3U-NEG | and.then | woman | 3U | 3U-say | hey! | 3U-angry | 3U-say | No! |

It was not allowed, ${ }^{24}$ and then the woman said: hey! She was angry, and she said: No!
$K u \quad$ au m-o m-e $\quad \varnothing$-prut
child 3U 3U-take 3U-give Ø-everything

[^5]rae $\quad$ s-ait $\quad y$-per m-ana eok. $M$-fe na $\quad y$-per $\quad$ m-ano s-au person one-3M 3 M -educate 3 U -head two 3 U -NEG and.then 3 M -educate 3 U -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)

## $\varnothing$-Soh

Ø-deceive
She (i.e. the woman) deceived (her).

| Ku | $a u$ | ira | $\emptyset$-fais | 0 | m-aim | o | po |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| child | 3 U | just.now | $\emptyset$-fill | ENUM | 3U-cook | ENUM | thing |
| we-t-o |  | $\varnothing$-prut-prat ${ }^{25}$ | ira |  |  |  |  |
| location.GENR-near-U | $\emptyset$-everything-RED | just.now |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| $M-n a n$ | $n a$ | $f a i$ | $a u$ | $m-e$ | $f e$ | sa | aro | $m$-kah |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3U-enough | and.then | woman | 3U | 3U-give | NEG | fish | other | 3U-to |


| $k u$ | ou | $\mathrm{fe}^{25}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

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

| $K u$ child | $\begin{aligned} & \text { au } \\ & \text { she } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gather*} m-h  \tag{36}\\ 3 U- \end{gather*}$ |  | fai woman | $\begin{aligned} & \text { m-itah } \\ & \text { 3U-order } \end{aligned}$ | fi-t-o <br> similar-to-ne |  | $f i-t-o$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| na |  |  | au | m-0 | $m-\varepsilon$ | $\varnothing$-prut | m-ae | fai | $a u$ |
| and.the |  |  | 3U | 3U-take | 3U-give | Ø-everything | 3U-at | woman | 3 L |

The child saw the woman order like this and that, and then she took and gave everything to the woman.
(37) $K u$ au $m$-he fai au m-apo $\varnothing$-prut na m-ros child $3 \mathrm{U} \quad 3 \mathrm{U}$-see woman 3 U 3U-eat $\varnothing$-everything and.then 3 U -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.

| M-he | fai | $f$-o | m-apo ${ }^{27}$ | sa | $f-o$ | $\varnothing$-prut |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3U-see | woman | very.near-U | 3U-eat.meat | fish | very.near-U | $\varnothing$-everything |
| $k u$ | $a u$ | 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.

[^6]

The woman saw that the child cried continuously and then she descended and she felched 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 | $a u$ | $m-e$ | $u$ | $m-h u$ | $a u$ | $a m a h$ | $\varnothing$-ste | $p i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| woman | 3 U | 3U-return | again | 3U-stay | DIST.U | house | $\varnothing$-wait | man |
| ait | y-ama |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3M | 3M-come |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| Pi | ait | Ø-tumuk | $y$-awe | ku | mi-yo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | 3 M | $\varnothing$-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.

| Pi | ait | $y$-kias | $y$-awe | $a$ | $k u$ | $a u$ | $m$-ama | $m$-teh | aya |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | $3 M$ | $3 M$-tell | 3M-say | eh | child | 3 U | 3 U -go | 3 U -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) $N a \quad$ pi $\quad \varnothing$-tumuk $u \quad k u \quad$ mi-yo
and.then man $\varnothing$-ask again child PRESTT-Q
Then the man asked again: Where is the child?

[^7](45)

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Fai } & \text { m-kias } & \text { m-awe } & \text { ku } & \text { m-amo } & \varnothing \text {-saraf } & \text { am } \\ \text { woman } & \text { 3U-tell } & \text { 3U-say } & \text { child } & \text { 3U-go } & \varnothing \text {-cut } & \text { raincape }\end{array}$
The woman said: The child went to cut a raincape. ${ }^{29}$

| $N a$ | $p i$ | $a i t$ | $y$-kias | $y$-awe | $a$ | $k u$ | $a u$ | $m$-amo | $\varnothing$-saraf |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| then | man | 3 M | 3 M -tell | 3 M -say | eh | child | 3 U | 3 U -go | $\varnothing$-cut |
| am | fi-t-o | mi $^{30}$ | 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.

Pi ait $\varnothing$-tumuk fi-t-o
terus terus
man he $\varnothing$-ask similar.to-near-U continuously continuously The man continuously asked like this.


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.

| K-tuo | $t$-haf.ko | t-ros | $t$-a | tfo | $\emptyset$-saraf |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| EMP-1SG | 1SG-stomach.not.want | 1sg-stand | 1SG-take | machete | $\varnothing$-cut |
| m-amo |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3U-head |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| 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.

| 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 | suek | $y$-he | $m$-aon |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| machete | 3M-sharpen | 3U-at | stone | well | 3M-see | 3U-sharp |

[^8]The man heard it (was) like this, and then he got up and fetched a knife and sharpened it well on a stone until he saw it was sharp.

| Y-ros | $y$-kias | $y$-awe | t-ano |  | $n-y u m$ | tafoh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3M-stand | 3M-tell | 3M-say | 1SG-sibling.opposite.sex | 2-improve | fire |  |


| sa | 0 | po | $p$-it | $k e$ | $p$-hai | awiah $h^{32}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fish | ENUM | thing | 1PL-eat.PL | because | 1PL-die | taro |

He got up and he said: My sister, you improve the fire and it burns, so that we cook food and we cook fish and things to eat because we are hungry.
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Fai } & a u & m \text {-ari } & n a & m \text {-ros } & m \text {-yum } & \text { tafoh } \\ \text { woman } & \text { 3U } & 3 \mathrm{U} \text {-hear } & \text { and.then } & \text { 3U-stand } & \text { 3U-improve } & \text { fire }\end{array}$
The woman heard it and then she got up and she improved the fire.


The man got up and fetched a knife and immediately cut her neck off and it fell down in the ashes.

| Pi | $y$-ros | $y$-ko | tipuo | tafoh | na | $y$-ros |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| man | 3M-stand | 3M-roast | immediately | fire | and.then | 3M-stand |
| $y-0$ | fai | $f-0$ | $\emptyset$-smoh | tipuo |  |  |
| 3M-ta | woman | very.nea | -U Ø-roast | immedi | ely |  |

The man got up immediately and burned the fire and then he got up and took the woman and roasted her over the fire straight away.

| $Y$-ros | $\emptyset$-safa | tipuo | $m$-siar | na | $y$-ros | $\varnothing$-fais |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3M-stand | $\emptyset$-cut | immediately | 3U-many | and.then | 3M-stand | fill |  |
| pron | m-siar | suek | $\varnothing$-frok | mat |  |  |  |
| bamboo | 3U-many | well | $\varnothing$-emerge | five |  |  |  |

He got up and cut (the flesh) immediately until there was a lot and then he got up and filled many bamboos well (with the flesh) until there were five.

| Sa | $f$-o | $\varnothing$-fais | si | pron | eok |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fish | very.near-U | $\varnothing$-fill | also | bamboo | two |

He also filled two bamboos with the fish.

[^9]| $Y$-ras | $y$-aim | tipua | $y$-he | $\varnothing$-samer | na | $y$-ros |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3M-stand | 3 M -cook | immediately | 3 M -see | $\varnothing$-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.

| $Y$-he | $\emptyset$-srak | $n a$ | $y$-ros | $y$-o | $y$-fau | $y u^{34}$ | $s$-au |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3M-see | $\emptyset$-cooked | and.then | 3M-stand | 3M-take | 3M-fill | bag | one-3U |
| na | $y$-ros | $y$-amo | sasu | $y$-kit | $y$-atia | $a$ |  |
| and.then | 3M-stand | 3M-go | coast | 3M-towards | 3M-father | ENUM |  |
| $y$-me | 0 | 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 $\varnothing$-frok ana na ana $\varnothing$-tumuk m-awe, ku pi

3M-go $\varnothing$-emerge they and.then 3PL $\varnothing$-ask $3 U$-say child man
$\emptyset$-soh e
$\varnothing$-deceive eh
He went and arrived (at them) and then they asked saying: The child, you (lit. the man) deceive eh? ${ }^{35}$
(61) Finia o ku woman ENUM child

The woman and the child.

| Fai | $m$-o | tfo | $\emptyset$-saraf | m-amuom | $\varnothing$-ktus | $n a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| woman | 3U-take | machete | $\emptyset$-cut | 3 U -neck | $\varnothing$-break | and.then |


|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & m \text {-amo } \\ & \text { 3U-go } \end{aligned}$ | m-ruk | m-ato | na | fai | $u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| m-asam <br> 3U-carry.on.shoulder |  |  | 3U-submerge | 3U-hole | and.then | oma | 3U |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { k-tuo } \\ & \text { EMP-1SG } \end{aligned}$ | t-0 | to | O | -amu | $\varnothing$-k |  |  |
|  | 1SG-tak | mac | $\emptyset$-cut | 3U-ne | $\emptyset$-br |  |  |

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.

[^10]| Ku | ro | sme fo | $y$-ari | $r$-ira | $y$-atio | $y$-kias |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| child | POS | male very.near-U | 3M-hear | REL-just.now | 3M-father | 3M-tell |


| fi-t-o | $n a$ | $k u$ | $f o$ | $y$-awia | $y$-ros | $\varnothing$-safo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| similar.to-near-U | and.then | child | INCEPT | 3M-cry | 3U-stand | $\varnothing$-angry |

y-amo $\varnothing$-safo y-amo $\varnothing$-safo y-amo $\varnothing$-frok iso suf
3M-go Ø-angry 3M-go Ø-angry 3 M -go $\varnothing$-emerge path middle
papoh $^{36} \quad m-h u \quad$ ao m-afit ku ait y-hai
white.snake 3U-stay DIST.U 3U-bite child 3 M 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.

| Pi | $f$-o | $y$-awe | $y$-rof | re | $y$-sof-sof | $k u$ | ait |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | very.near.U | 3M-say | $3 M$-follow | in.order.to | 3 M -chase-RED | child | he |

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

| Papoh | $r$-ira | $f$-o | $m$-hu | $a o$ | $n a$ | $m$-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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## STUDIES IN IRIAN LANGUAGES PART II

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[^0]:    ${ }^{2}$ It is unclear whether the marker ro in this context is a possessive marker or a relative clause marker. The same

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ to 'LOC' refers to location (Dol 1999:130-131; 184-187), but is normally left untranslated to avoid a tortured English translation.
    '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'.
    -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.
    ${ }^{6}$ suek means 'well' when used as a manner adverbial, and 'immediately' or 'straight away' when used as a temporal adverbial.
    'A few verbs, -amo 'go' is one of them, substitute the initial a by [ $\theta$ ], when prefixed for first or second person plural. Similarly -ama 'come' in (7).
    ${ }^{8}$ 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.

[^2]:    ${ }^{9}$ 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.
    ${ }^{10}$ The expression $m t i$ mah is adequately translated as 'night and day'
    ${ }^{11}$ The adverb terus 'continuously', here with a long vowel to mark emphasis, is a loan from Indonesian.
    ${ }^{12}$ This exclamation marks the beginning of a change in the story.

[^3]:    ${ }^{13}$ 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.
    ${ }^{14}$ This is a dialectal variant: in Ayawasi this particle appears as -re. The syntactic position of fi-ro 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'.
    ${ }^{15}$ soa ati 'real fish' refers to all kinds of fish that do not include shrimps and crabs.
    ${ }^{16}$ 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).
    ${ }^{17}$ In Indonesian ara na is 'Buah Raja', an edible fruit.

[^4]:    ${ }^{18} a$ is an interjection that expresses hesitation by the speaker, Dol (1999:138).
    ${ }^{19}$ In the sequence akah $u$, $u$ intensifies the meaning of $a k a h, \operatorname{Dol}$ (1999:131).
    ${ }^{20}$ komando is a loanword from Indonesian.
    ${ }^{21}$ The demonstrative form fo can either be an attributive demontrative 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).

[^5]:    ${ }^{22}$ Repetition of words is often used to intensify the meaning, Dol (1999:277-278). See also lines 37, 63.
    ${ }^{23}$ Words that express quantifying notions are formally verbs in Maybrat, Dol (1999:79-82).
    ${ }^{24}$ 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:

[^6]:    ${ }^{25}$ The function of reduplication is to intensify the meaning of a word, adding an element of randomness (Dol 1999:63).
    ${ }^{25}$ It is unclear why the negator $f e$ is used twice in this sentence. Possibly this creates extra emphasis.
    :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 targe amounts of fish are eaten.

[^7]:    ${ }^{28} m$-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).

[^8]:    ${ }^{29}$ am 'raincapes' are made from pandanus leaves. They are also used as mats to sleep on.
    ${ }^{30}$ 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.
    ${ }^{31}$ 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'.

[^9]:    ${ }^{33}$ 33 The form -hai awiah, lit. 'die taro' is accurately translated as 'be hungry.'
    ${ }^{33}$ The form frok 'emerge' is in many contexts adequately be translated as 'arrive'.

[^10]:    ${ }^{34} \mathrm{yu}$ is a traditional bag woven from pandanus leaves, with a long strap, carried over the head.
    ${ }^{35}$ 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.

