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 v-fain ait y-sia v-sia *v-are* s-au го ano he 3M-with 3M-wife 3M-with 3M-child one-3U POS² female man

² 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).

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

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

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

They stayed in their garden there near a big river.

(4)Ana m-hu m-kah ara r-ana re-t-o 3PL 3U-stav 3U-burn garden POS-3PL location.SPEC-near-U m-hu m-ait ora r-ira re-t-o 3U-stav 3U-eat garden REL-just.now location.SPEC-near-U m-ake г-аи to 3U-fruit POS-3U LOC³

> 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 pi⁴ ewa to re-f-i v-kias 3PL LOC 3U-stav alwavs man location.SPEC-very.near-M 3M-tell asah⁵ suek⁶ ana v-awe anu *n-m*0 n-teh m-siar war 2PL $2 - go.PL^7$ 2PL-feel thev 3M-say 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 ava 2PL-hold 2PL-come.PL EMP⁸-1SG Ø-fish.with.rod water

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

⁴pi '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.

[&]quot;suek means 'well' when used as a manner adverbial, and 'immediately' or 'straight away' when used as a temporal adverbial.

^{&#}x27;A few verbs, -amo 'go' is one of them, substitute the initial a by [a], when prefixed for first or second person plural. Similarly -ama 'come' in (7). "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 similar.to-near-U thing 1P-cook thing-eat.PL р-ka⁹. DO 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 m-teh na m-amo m-ros asah 3PL 3U-hear and.then 3U-go 3U-stand 3U-feel.fish shrimp f-o m-siar war verv.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 рi 3U-hold 3U-come 3U-give man

They brought them and gave them to the man.

- (10)Ait v-amo Ø-tawer ava 3M 3M-go Ø-fish.with.rod water He went to fish with a rod in the river.
- Mti moh10 (11)0 na fi-t-o teruuuuuuus¹¹ night tomorrow ENUM and then similar to-near-U continuously Night and day and then like this aaaaaaall the time.
- Ou^{12} (12)hrim s-au pi re-f-i v-kias ana location.SPEC-very.near-M Ouw! time one-3U man 3M-tell 3PL fi-t-o m-amo u m-teh asah similar.to-near-U 3U-feel.fish shrimp 3U-go again

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

(13)Um го ana m-amo m-teh asah to pi ait REL moment 3PL 3U-feel.fish 3U-go shrimp LOC man he v-amo si Ø-tawer ava 3M-go also Ø-fish.with.rod water

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

⁹The 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 *mti 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.

| (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 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | <i>war tipuo m-he m-siar</i> 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 ¹³ 3PL 3U-feel.fish LOC 3PL similar.to-PART ¹⁴ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | <i>m-teh m-kai parir o sa ati o kpai</i> 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 fish¹⁵, crabs and things like this.

si¹⁶ Ø-fais Ø-Hatet Ø-fais tivit asah pron (18)pron na four fill bamboo Ø-choose Ø-fill hamhoo also and.then shrimp mat si fi-t-o similar.to-near-U five also

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 m-amo to ara na¹⁷ ti-puo u 3U-go LOC k.o.tree immediately 3U-stand 3U-return again

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

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-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'.

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.

f-o v-amo oh(20)M-he ni r-ira very.near-U 3M-go already 3U-see man REL-just now Ø-tawer ava Ø-fish with rod water

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

- Ana m-he рi v-arok na ana m-ros $m - k_0$ (21)tafoh and then 3PL 3U-roast 3PL 3U-see man 3M-empty 3U-stand fire They saw that the man was not there, and then they got up and they made a fire.
- (22)Tipuo fai f-0 m-kias ku na au kpet and then woman verv.near-U 3U-tell child mmediately 3U iust a^{18} r-ira m-kah parir m-aim pron 0 sa 3U-cook hamboo REL-just.now 3U-with shrimp mmm ENUM fish kpai 0 0

ENUM crab ENUM

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

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

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

- (24)Fai f-o m-kias kı au kpet m-aim pron woman very.near-U 3U-tell child 3U iust 3U-cook bamboo The woman told the child to just cook the bamboos.
- u^{19} (25)Na fai ara m-hu akah an m-out and then woman 3U 3U-climb tree 3U-stav above up And then the woman climbed into a tree and staved up there.
- M-hu komando²⁰ (26)akah ku u au г-ira m-aim 3U-stav up child above command 3U REL-just.now 3U-cook fo^{21} пота bamboo INCEPT

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

 $^{^{18}}$ a is an interjection that expresses hesitation by the speaker, Dol (1999:138). 19 In the sequence akah u, u intensifies the meaning of akah, 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).

| (27) | | n-itah U-order | <i>m-itah²²</i> 3U-order | <i>na</i> and.then | <i>ku</i> child | au 3U | <i>m-aim</i> 3U-cook | <i>pron</i> bamboo | D | |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------|
| | <i>f</i> -o very-near-U | Ø-sam JØ-cool | - | rut ²³ verything | | | | | | |
| | The woman | n ordered a | and ordered | l and the cl | hild coo | ked the | bamboos | until the | y were all d | one. |
| (28) | | m-he 3U-see | Ø-samer Ø-cooked | <i>m-itah</i> 3U-order | <i>tipuo</i> imme | ediately | <i>ku</i> v child | au m· 3U 3U | -o J-take | |
| | sa <i>r-ira</i> fish REL-j | just.now | <i>m-kah</i> 3U-with | <i>pron</i> bamboo | f-o very.nea | ır-U | | | | |
| | The womar bamboo. | n saw it v | vas done a | nd she imi | nediatel | y ordei | red the ch | ild to tal | ke the fish | with the |
| (29) | | <i>m-e</i> 3U-give | au aka she abov | | | | <i>m-hu</i> T 3U-stay | , | | |
| | o <i>koh ora</i> above tree | 4 | | | | | | | | |
| | She took it eating (ther | ÷ | it to her u | p on the s | ide in tl | ne tree, | she staye | d above | in the tree, | she was |
| (30) | <i>Ku au</i> child 3U | <i>m-o</i> 3U-take | sa e fish | f-o very.near- | <i>m-k</i> o U 3U-1 | - | <i>pron</i> bamboo | , | m-o 3U-take | |
| | , | , | <i>au na</i> 3U then | <i>pron</i> bamboo | eok two | | e <i>m-hu</i> y 3U-stay | , | | |
| | si au also DIST | T.U | | | | | | | | |
| | The child t she said tha | | | | | | - | | | |
| (31) | <i>M-fe</i> 3U-NEG | <i>na</i> and.then | <i>foi</i> woman | au m-aw 3U 3U-sa | | m-al 3U-a | | <i>awe fe</i> J-say N | e Io! | |
| | It was not a | allowed, ²⁴ | and then th | e woman s | aid: hey | ! She w | vas angry, a | and she s | aid: No! | |
| (32) | <i>Ku ou</i> child 3U | <i>m-o</i> 3U-take | m-e e 3U-give | Ø-prut Ø-every | thing | | | | | |
| ²² Repe ²³ Word | etition of words ds that express | s is often us | ed to intensi | fy the mean | ing. Dol (| (1999:27 avbrat | 7-278), See | also lines | s 37, 63. | |

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 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:

| | <i>rae</i> person | s-ait one-3M | <i>y-per</i> 3M-educate | <i>m-ana</i> 3U-head | <i>eok.</i> two | <i>M-f</i> e 3U-NEG | <i>na</i> and.then | <i>y-per</i> 3M-educate | <i>m-ano</i> 3U-h ea d | s-au one-3U | | |
|----|---|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| | One man educates two (boys). If that is not the case, he educates one (boy). | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ho | 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).

Kŋ (34)011 ira Ø-fais 0 m-oim 0 ро child 3U iust.now Ø-fill ENUM 3U-cook ENUM thing Ø-prut-prat²⁵ we-t-o iro Ø-everything-RED location.GENR-near-U just.now

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

(35)M-nan fai οu fe m-kah no m-e sa аго 3U-enough and.then woman 3U **3U-give** NEG fish other 3U-to fe^{26} kıı ou child 3U NEG

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

- (36)Кu m-he fai m-itah fi-t-o au fi-t-o child she 3U-see woman 3U-order similar-to-near-U similar-to-near-U knØ-prut nn nıı m-0m-e 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)Kıı 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-crv 3U-crv 3U-cry 3U-crv 3U-crv 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-apo²⁷ sa f-o Ø-prut 3U-see woman verv.near-U 3U-eat.meat fish very.near-U Ø-evervthing kn au m-awia m-awia m-awia child 3U 3U-cry 3U-crv 3U-crv

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

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

²⁶It is unclear why the negator fe is used twice in this sentence. Possibly this creates extra emphasis.

²⁷Normally 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) | Foi woman | au 3U | m-he 3U-see | <i>ku</i> child | au 3U | <i>m-awia</i> 3U-cry | <i>yom</i> contir | uously | yom cont | tinuously |
|------|--|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------|--------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>na</i> and.then | <i>m-r</i> 3U- | oh descend | <i>m-o</i> 3U-ta | | <i>tfo</i> machete | <i>Ø-saraf</i> Ø-cut | | аи 3U | <i>m-amuom</i> 3U-neck |
| | Ø-ktus Ø-break <i>m-o</i> 3U-take | | araf ku ut chi | | -ana J-heac | Ø-ktus 1 Ø-brea | - | | m-1 3U | ros -stand |
| | | | <i>f-o</i> d very.: | near-U | m-as 3U-c | <i>om</i> arry.on.sh | oulder | | Ø-pe Ø-th | eyak 1row.away |
| | | n-ato² IU-hol | | | | | | | | |

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.

m-hu amah Ø-ste (40)Fai au au pi m-e 11 3U 3U-return 3U-stay DIST.U house Ø-wait man woman again 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 v-kias v-awe ku m-teh а au m-amo aya 3U-feel.fish child 3U-go man 3M 3M-tell 3M-sav eh 3U water m-kias k-tuo t-har fi-t-o 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?

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).

- (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.²⁹
- au m-amo Ø-saraf (46)Na pi ait v-kias v-awe а ku Ø-cut 3M 3M-tell child 3U-go then man 3M-say eh 3Ŭ mi³⁰ m-kias t-har fi-t-o k-tuo am 3U-tell 1SG-know so.that EMP-1SG raincape similar.to-near-U 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 m-he m-kias au m-fe na m-ros m-awe 3U 3U-see 3U-NEG and then 3U-stand 3U-tell woman 3U-say ku parir m-awia 0 sa a kpai 0 po child 3U-crv shrimp ENUM fish ENUM crab ENUM thing k-tuo wo-f-o г-ira t-no EMP-1SG 1SG-do location.GENR-very.near-U REL-just.now

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.ko³¹ 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) | Pı | ait | y-ari | fi-t-o | | па | | y-гоs | y-0 |
|------|-----|-----|---------|--------------------------------|----------|------|--------|----------|---------|
| | man | 3M | 3M-hear | similar. | to-near- | U an | d.then | 3M-stand | 3M-take |
| | , | | | <i>m-ae fra</i> 3U-at stone | | - | | | |

²⁹am 'raincapes' are made from pandanus leaves. They are also used as mats to sleep on.

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

³¹The 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'.

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.

(52)Y-ros v-kias v-awe t-ano n-vum tafoh 3M-tell 3M-stand 3M-sav 1SG-sibling.opposite.sex 2-improve fire m-ait p-im po-it re p-im 0 3U-burn in.order.to 1PL-cook.PL thing-eat.PL ENUM 1SG-cook.PL ke p-hai awiah³² sa 0 DO p-it 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.

(53) Fai au m-ari na m-ros m-yum tafoh woman 3U 3U-hear and.then 3U-stand 3U-improve fire

The woman heard it and then she got up and she improved the fire.

(54) Pi ait v-ros tfo Ø-saraf **v-o** tipuo m-amuom man he 3M-stand 3M-take machete Ø-cut immediately 3U-neck Ø-ktus m-amo ete poh Ø-broken 3U-go below ashes

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

(55)Pi v-ko tafoh v-ros tipuo na V-IOS immediately and.then 3M-stand 3M-stand 3M-roast fire man fai f-o Ø-smoh tipuo V-O3M-take woman very.near-U Ø-roast immediately

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.

(56) Y-ros Ø-safa tipuo m-siar na Ø-fais v-ros 3M-stand immediately Ø-cut 3U-many and.then 3M-stand fill Ø-frok³³ *m-siar* suek pron mat bamboo well Ø-emerge five 3U-many

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.

(57) Sa f-o Ø-fais si pron eok fish very.near-U Ø-fill also bamboo two

He also filled two bamboos with the fish.

³²The form *-hai awiah*, lit. 'die taro' is accurately translated as 'be hungry.'

³³The form *frok* 'emerge' is in many contexts adequately be translated as 'arrive'.

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

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.

VU³⁴ Y-he v-fau s-au (59)Ø-srak na V-ros *v*-0 3M-see Ø-cooked and.then 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-fill bag one-3U v-atia v-kit о v-ros y-amo sasu na 3M-father ENUM and.then 3M-stand 3M-go 3M-towards coast v-me 0 ana ta sasu LOC 3M-mother ENUM 3PL 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.

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

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

(61)Finia ku 0 woman ENUM child

The woman and the child.

(62) m-amuom Ø-ktus Fai *m-*0 Ø-saraf па tfo woman 3U-take machete Ø-cut 3U-neck Ø-break and.then m-ato fai au m-amo m-ruk na m-asom 3U-submerge 3U-hole and then woman 3U 3U-carry.on.shoulder 3U-go Ø-saraf tfa m-amuom Ø-ktus па k-tuo t-o 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.

³⁴yu is a traditional bag woven from pandanus leaves, with a long strap, carried over the head. ³⁵This 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) | | | sme ; male ; | | | <i>y-ari</i> 3M-hear | | <i>r-ira</i> REL-just.now | | <i>y-atia</i> w 3M-father | | <i>y-kias</i> 3M-tell |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>fi-t-o</i> similar. | to-near- | nc U ar | | <i>ku</i> child | <i>fo</i> INCE | PT | <i>y-awia</i> 3M-cry | <i>y-r</i> o 3U- | | Ø-saj Ø-anj | |
| | <i>у-ато</i> 3М-до | <i>Ø-safc</i> Ø-ang | 2 | | <i>ð-saf</i> o ð-angr | 2 | | <i>Ø-frok</i> Ø-emer | | so bath | <i>suf</i> middle | е |
| | papoh ³⁶ white.s: | [;] л nake 3 | n- <i>hu</i> U-stay | ao DIST | | ı- <i>afit</i> U-bite | <i>ku</i> chil | <i>ait</i> ld 3M | y-ha 3M-0 | | | |

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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