MAYBRAT

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Maybrat is a Papuan language which is spoken in the central area of the Bird's Head. The total number of speakers is approximately 22,000 (Brown 1991:1). Maybrat has originally been classified as a family-level isolate of the West Papuan Phylum (Voorhoeve 1987a:717), but subsequent research has indicated that this classification may well be untenable (Reesink 1996). The name Maybrat is morphologically a compound noun. consisting of two members. The first is may, a noun meaning 'sound'. The second part, brat, seems to refer to the type of sound, in other words, the particular language variety. However, in isolation the form brat is unattested. The people who speak Maybrat refer to themselves as rae ro Maybrat, lit. 'man REL 'sound brat''. Maybrat is spoken in six dialects, namely Mayhapeh, Mayasmaun. Karon, Maymare, Maymaru and Mayte. Speakers of these dialects all refer to themselves as rae ro Maybrat.

Previous work on Maybrat includes work by the anthropologists J.-E. Elmberg and H. Schoorl, and by the linguist B. Brown. Both Elmberg and Brown worked in the Ayamaru area, while Schoorl worked in the Ayfat area. A complete grammar in the form of a PhD thesis was completed in 1999 by the present author. Apart from a grammar and texts, this work also gives the background information and references on previous research on the Maybrat.

Maybrat has five vocalic phonemes, /i, e, a, o, u/. In word-final position [j] and [w] occur as allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively. There are eleven consonantal phonemes: /p, t, k, m, n, f, s, x, r, w, y/ Sequences of consonants are invariably broken up by an epenthetic [ϑ]. Monomorphemic words mostly consist of one or two syllable. Stress usually falls on the first syllable of a word, unless this syllable contains [ϑ].

Verbs and inalienably possessed nouns (i.e. kinship terms, body parts and spatial nouns) receive an obligatory person prefix, which is coreferent with the subject of the clause or with the possessor of the noun. The phonological realisation of this prefix is determined by the form of the verb or noun: bisyllabic forms in which the first and the second syllable are C-initial receive a covert person prefix \varnothing -. All other forms receive an overt person prefix according to the following paradigm: t- '1SG'; p- '1PL'; n- '2SG and 2PL'; y- '3M'; m- '3U', the unmarked prefix indicates third person singular feminine and thrid person plural. Gender is only distinguished on 3SG.

Demonstratives are morphologically complex: a demonstrative base -f- 'very near'; -t- 'near' and -n- 'far' indicates distance from the point of view of the speaker, and prefixes mark specificity, attributive or adverbial use and, in some cases, the nature of what is described such as 'area' or 'side'. Suffixes may indicate gender. Location markers and question words are partially derived from these demonstrative morphemes.

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Maybrat has four (and in some dialects five) unique terms for numbers. The rest is based on bodyparts, which is a typically Papuan feature (Laycock (1975) and de Vries (1992; 1993)).

Word order is fairly rigidly SVO, and in the NP the adjective, numeral and demonstrative follow the head noun, in this order. In possessive constructions in which the possessed is an inalienable noun the order is possessor-possessed, whereas in the case of an alienable noun the word order is possessed possessor, where the possessor is marked by *ro*, as illustrated in (1).

(1) The ro-Yan y-atia machete POS-Yan 3SM-father Yan's father's knife.

The restrictive relative clause, which follows the head, is also marked by ro, as in (2).

(2) Eok ro m-hu amah m-aim po-it two REL 3U-stay house 3U-cook NOM-eat.PL

The two who stay home cook food.

Negation occurs by placing the negator *fe* in clause-final position. In 'yes/no' questions, the interrogative marker *a* is placed in sentence-final position. Content questions are formed with question words, which take the position of the constituent being questioned.

Syntactically, one of the most striking features of Maybrat are sequences of verbs, which can be classified into a number of different types of sequence. A problematic category are sequences which include verbs of position, motion, and which have shared arguments. These resemble coordinating constructions, but at the same time also seem similar to so-called 'serial verb constructions'. An example is given as (3), see further Dol (1999).

(3)y-fat \varnothing m-tie ohAofm-ai tapam ΓO *m-anes* 3U-break 3M-fell 3U-hit ground 3U-old REL (it) already sago

The sago tree that he felled and it broke and hit the ground, was already old.

The story below was written by Didimus Bame, a fifteen year-old boy who often helped to write out recorded Maybrat stories told by other people. At some point, Didimus said that he knew many Maybrat stories which his father had told him, and asked me if he could simply write out a few stories instead of recording them first. Eventually, other people also occasionally brought in written stories.

Po mna Tehaya

The story of Tehava, 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 POS² female

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).

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.

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

They stayed in their garden there near a big river.

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

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.

m-hu pi^4 y-kias Ana re-f-i (6)to ewa location.SPEC-very.near-M 3PL always LOC man 3M-tell 3U-stay $asah^5$ $suek^6$ n-teh m-siar y-awe anu n-mo war ana 2PL 2PL-feel 2-go.PL⁷ shrimp well 3M-say 3U-many very thev

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 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'.

⁵-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.

⁶suek means 'well' when used as a manner adverbial, and 'immediately' or 'straight away' when used as a temporal adverbial.

⁷A few verbs, -amo 'go' is one of them, substitute the initial a by $[\mathfrak{d}]$, when prefixed for first or second person plural. Similarly -ama 'come' in (7).

⁸The 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-ka9. 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.

Ana m-ari m-teh asah (8)m-amo na m-ros 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 mah¹⁰ o 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.
- pi re-f-i Oa¹³ hrim v-kias (12)S-011 ana Onw! time one-3U man location.SPEC-verv.near-M 3M-tell 3PL fi-t-o m-amo a m-teh asah again similar.to-near-U 3U-feel.fish 311-20 shrimp Now, one time the man told them to go again like this, and catch shrimps.
- m-amo m-teh (13)asah Umto I(t)ŊΪ ait ana 3U-feel.fish shrimp RM 3PL3U-go LOC man moment he *O-tawer* V-01110 Si ava3M-go also Ø-fish with rod water

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

The expression *mti mah* is adequately translated as 'night and day'
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.

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[&]quot;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.

- m-amo m-teh Fai m-sia m-aku eokasah (14)f-o 3U-with 3U-small 3U-go 3U-feel.fish woman very.near-U two shrimp The woman with her child, the two went and fished
- asah m-teh (15)Eok m-teh asah m-teh asah shrimp 3U-feel.fish 3U-feel.fish shrimp 3U-feel.fish shrimp two tipuo m-he m-siar war immediately 3U-see 3U-many very

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.
- m-teh Um r-ira to ana fi-ra (17)ana 3U-feel.fish LOC 3PL similar.to-PART¹⁴ REL-just.now¹³ 3PL m-kai m-teh parir ati kpai 0 safish real 3U-feel.fish 3U-meet shrimp ENUM ENUM crab fi-t-o po 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.

tiyit Si^{16} Ø-fais Ø-Hatet Ø-fais pron asah (18)pron na Ø-choose Ø-fill and.then fill bamboo bamboo four also shrimp si fi-t-o mat similar.to-near-U also five

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 na¹⁷ 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.

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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 saa ati 'real fish' refers to all kinds of fish that do not include shrimps and crabs.

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.

(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.

- m-he y-arak (21)Ana pi m-ko tafoh na m-ros ana 3M-empty and.then 3PL 3U-stand 3PL 3U-see man 3U-roast fire They saw that the man was not there, and then they got up and they made a fire.
- fai m-kias ku (22)Tipuo f-o kpet na au and.then mmediately 3U-tell child woman very.near-U 3U just a^{18} m-aim r-ira m-kah parir pron 0 sa3U-cook bamboo REL-just.now 3U-with shrimp ENUM fish mmm 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.

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

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

¹⁹ In the sequence akah u, u intensifies the meaning of akah, Dol (1999:131).

²⁰ komando is a loanword from Indonesian.

¹⁸ a is an interjection that expresses hesitation by the speaker, Dol (1999:138).

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).

m-itah m-itah²² (27)Fai kи na m-aim pron au 3U-order 3U-order child and.then 3U 3U-cook bamboo woman

f-o \mathcal{O} -samer \mathcal{O} -pru t^{23} very-near-U \mathcal{O} -cooked \mathcal{O} -everything

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

Ø-samer Fai m-he m-itah tipuo (28)ku *m-0* au 3U-see Ø-cooked 3U-order immediately child 3U 3U-take woman m-kah r-ira pron f-o safish REL-just.now bamboo very.near-U 3U-with

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

akah (29)M-om-hu U ti-au ara au m-e above up tree side-U.DIST 3U-stay 3U-take 3U-give she akah m-apo ara 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)f-o m-kah pron Ku tuf *m-0* saau *m-0* fish child 3U 3U-take very.near-U 3U-with bamboo three 3U-take m-awe m-hu fai eokpron m-e auna 3U-give 3U then bamboo 3U-say 3U-stay woman two si au DIST.U also

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,²⁴ 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

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.

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:

The child took it and gave everything.

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

Ø-fais (34)m-aim Ku auira 0 Opo child 3U Ø-fill ENUM ENUM 3U-cook thing just.now \emptyset -prut-prat²⁵ ira we-t-o Ø-everything-RED location.GENR-near-U just.now The child, just now she filled and cooked all the things in a messy manner.

M-nan fai fem-kah (35)au m-e sa aro па and.then woman NEG fish other 3U-to 3U-enough 3U3U-give fe^{26} kи au child 3U **NEG**

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

m-itah Kum-he fai fi-t-o fi-t-o (36)au child 3U-order similar-to-near-U similar-to-near-U 3U-see she woman Ø-prut fai kи m-ae m-e *m-0* auauII(I)and.then child 3U-give Ø-everything 3U-at woman 3U 3U-take 3U The child saw the woman order like this and that, and then she took and gave everything to the woman.

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

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

m- apo^{27} M-he f-o f-o Ø-prut fai SQ(38)3U-eat.meat fish very.near-U Ø-everything woman very.near-U 3U-see m-awia m-awia m-awia ku au 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.

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)Fai m-he ku au au m-awia yom yom child 3U 3U-see 3U 3U-cry continuously continuously woman m-roh tfo Ø-saraf ku *m-0* m-amuom na and.then 3U-descend child 3U 3U-neck machete Ø-cut 3U-take Ø-ktus Ø-ktus tipuo Ø-saraf ku m-ana m-ros Ø-break Ø-cut child 3U-head Ø-break immediately 3U-stand ku f-o Ø-peyak m-asom *m-0* m-amo very.near-U 3U-carry.on.shoulder child 3U-go Ø-throw.away 3U-take m-ato²⁸ war 3U-hole reject

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.

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

The woman returned and staved 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.
- y-kias ku m-teh (43)ait v-awe aum-amo avaeh child man 3M 3M-tell 3M-say 3U 3U-go 3U-feel.fish water t-har m-kias k-tuo fi-t-o 3U-tell EMP-1SG 1SG-know similar.to-near-U

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 amwoman 3U-tell child 3U-say 3U-go Ø-cut raincape The woman said: The child went to cut a raincape.²⁹
- y-kias ku (46)Na pi ait y-awe au m-amo Ø-saraf a3M-say eh child 3M-tell 3U 3U-go then man 3MØ-cut mi^{30} m-kias *k*-tuo fi-t-o t-har am so.that 3U-tell similar.to-near-U EMP-1SG 1SG-know raincape Then the man answered saying: If the child goes to cut a raincape, like this she tells (me) so that I know.
- (47)ait Ø-tumuk fi-t-o terus terus similar.to-near-U man he Ø-ask continuously continuously The man continuously asked like this.
- Fai m-he m-fe (48)m-kias au na m-ros *m-awe* and.then 3U-stand 3U 3U-see **3U-NEG** 3U-tell 3U-say woman ku kpai m-awia parir 0 sa 0 0 po shrimp ENUM fish ENUM crab child 3U-cry ENUM thing *k-tuo* r-ira t-no wo-f-o location.GENR-very.near-U EMP-1SG 1SG-do 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.

t-haf.ko³¹ *K-tuo* tfo Ø-saraf (49)t-ros t-o EMP-1SG 1SG-stomach.not.want 1SG-take 1sg-stand machete Ø-cut m-ama 3U-head

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

- t-ruk (50)*T-tor* t-amo m-ato war 1sg-carry.on.shoulder 1SG-go 1SG-submerge reject 3U-hole I carried her on my shoulder and threw her away in a hole.
- fi-t-o (51)Piait y-ari y-ros na V-Oand.then 3M-hear similar.to-near-U 3M-stand 3M-take 3Mman suek y-he v-toh fra tfo m-aon m-ae 3M-sharpen 3U-at stone well 3M-see 3U-sharp machete

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.

tafoh y-kias n-yum (52)Y-ros y-awe t-ano 2-improve 1SG-sibling.opposite.sex 3M-tell 3M-say fire 3M-stand p-im po-it p-im m-ait rething-eat.PL 1SG-cook.PL 1PL-cook.PL ENUM 3U-burn in.order.to $awiah^{32}$ kep-hai p-it po SQ0 thing 1PL-eat.PL 1PL-die fish ENUM because 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.
- Piait tfo tipuo Ø-saraf (54)y-ros V-Om-amuom Ø-cut immediately 3M-take machete 3U-neck 3M-stand he man Ø-ktus poh m-amo ete Ø-broken below ashes 3U-go

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

Piy-ko tipuo tafoh (55)y-ros na y-ros immediately fire and.then 3M-stand 3M-roast 3M-stand man fai f-o Ø-smoh tipuo Y-O woman very.near-U Ø-roast immediately 3M-take

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.

Ø-fais Y-ros Ø-safa tipuo m-siar (56)na y-ros Ø-cut immediately and.then 3M-stand 3M-stand 3U-many fill \mathcal{O} -frok³³ m-siar suek mat pron well Ø-emerge bamboo 3U-many 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.

(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'.

v-he Ø-samer (58)Y-ros y-aim tipuo na *V-ros* 3M-stand 3M-cook immediately 3M-see Ø-cooked and.then 3M-stand y-seh tipuo y-kai pruo immediately 3M-smoke 3M-cut.in.half 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 Ø-srak y-fau VU^{34} (59)na V-ros $V^{-}O$ s-au 3M-see Ø-cooked and.then 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-fill bag one-3U y-kit V-ΓOS y-amo sasu v-atia na0 and.then 3M-stand 3M-towards 3M-go coast 3M-father ENUM y-me to ana Osasu ENUM 3PL LOC 3M-mother 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.

Ø-frok (60)Y-amo Ø-tumuk m-awe, ana ana ku рi na Ø-emerge they and.then child 3M-go 3PL Ø-ask 3U-say man Ø-soh 9 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 o ku
woman ENUM child
The woman and the child.

tfo Ø-ktus Ø-saraf (62)Fai m-amuom na m-0machete Ø-cut Ø-break and.then 3U-take 3U-neck woman fai m-amo m-ruk m-ato m-asom nqau3U-go 3U-hole and.then woman 3U-carry.on.shoulder 3U-submerge 3U tfo *O-saraf* Ø-ktus k-tuo 1-0 m-amuom naØ-break 1SG-take machete Ø-cut 3U-neck and.then EMP-1SG m-hai SIOU3U-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.

³⁴vu 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.

sme f-o r-ira y-atia y-kias (63)Ku y-ari ro3M-father 3M-hear 3M-tell child POS male very.near-U REL-just.now ku fo y-ros Ø-safo fi-t-o y-awia na similar.to-near-U and.then child **INCEPT** 3M-cry 3U-stand Ø-angry y-amo Ø-frok suf Ø-safo iso Ø-safo y-amo y-amo Ø-angry 3M-go Ø-emerge middle Ø-angry 3M-go path 3M-go papoh³⁶ m-hu ku m-afit ait y-hai ao 3M 3M-die DIST.U 3U-bite child white.snake 3U-stay

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.

- ait y-awe *y-sof-sof* ku f-o y-rof (64)Pire3M-say 3M-follow in.order.to 3M-chase-RED child man very.near.U he The man wanted to follow so that he could chase the child.
- f-o m-hu Papoh r-ira m-afit (65)na aovery.near-U DIST. and.then 3U-bite white.snake REL-just now 3U-stay ait iye y-hai pi man 3U also 3M-die

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

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³⁶apan papoh is a very poisonous white snake with black dots, which is found in the Bird's Head of Papua.

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