Five Mori Bawah folktales, circa 1918

by

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DESCRIPTION

This work reproduces the five Mori Bawah folktales which originally appeared in Van Eelen and Ritsema (1918-1919). These folktales are significant as they appear to be the only native Mori texts collected during the Dutch colonial era that survived the ravages of World War II and subsequent periods of civil strife. The texts, which originally appeared side by side a Dutch free translation, are presented here with updated spelling, morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, English free translation, and annotations. The original grammar notes that accompanied the texts have not been reproduced, as these were superseded by the publication of S. J. Esser’s grammar of Mori (1927, 1933).

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SOURCE


VERSION HISTORY


Original Mori Bawah texts are in the public domain. Morpheme breaks, glossing, annotations and English free translation © 2000, 2012 by David Mead, distributed under terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported License.
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Introduction

The following set of five folktales—told in the Tinompo dialect of the Mori Bawah language of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia—originally appeared in a publication by H. G. van Eelen and J. Ritsema (1918–1919). In the original, each Mori text appeared side by side a Dutch free translation, followed by grammatical and lexicographical notes by the linguist Nicolaus Adriani. Only the texts are reproduced here, as Adriani’s notes were rendered superfluous by the publication of Samuel J. Esser’s extensive grammar of Mori (1927, 1933), a translation of which has also been published (Esser 2011). As stated in the introduction, Adriani’s intent was to publish all eighteen texts collected by Van Eelen and Ritsema, but for whatever reason only five stories made it into print. These five are significant because they are, apparently, the only Mori texts from the period of Dutch administrative control and missionary activity (1907–1942) which survived World War II (1942–1945), the Indonesian war for independence (1945–1950), and the ravages of the Darul Islam rebellion in Sulawesi (1950–1965). Sadly, even Esser’s own Mori text collection along with his extensive lexicographical notes were also lost during this time.

Esser himself (1927:1, footnote 4) warned that Van Eelen and Ritsema’s stories contained misprints. Accordingly, I have examined these texts carefully so as to remove as many spelling errors as possible. Obvious spelling errors have been corrected without note. (In addition I have globally replaced the vowel digraph oe with the single character u.) Where something was a probable spelling error, then the change was made, but with the original spelling given in an annotation. In yet a number of further cases, no change was made to the text, but a potential ‘improvement’ is noted in the annotations. A number of these kinds of annotations have come by way of Mrs. Pauline Labiro Ntaola, a native speaker of Mori Bawah, whom I was fortunate to have inspect the texts from the viewpoint of a present-day Mori speaker. Her comments are indicated with the wording “PLN suggests…” The reason for not including every potential ‘improvement’ is to be able to present the texts close to how they were originally published. Interestingly, Ms. Pauline suggested far more changes to the first text than to any of the remaining texts, indicating that this text may have been poorly transcribed and edited in the original.

Here each text is presented in the following format: (a) the Mori text with indication of morpheme breaks and morpheme-by-morpheme glossing; (b) a set of notes (annotations) to the text, keyed by sentence number; (c) English free translation of the text. A list of abbreviations and a discussion of orthographic conventions follow the five texts.

Paragraph breaks follow those given in the original. Sentence numbering, morpheme breaks and morpheme-by-morpheme glossing are later additions by my own hand.
The story of Monkey and Turtle

1. Tutulu-no i Bange ka i Re’a.
   story-3SG.G PN Monkey and PN Turtle

   PART:INTR-REDP-garden banana PN Monkey and PN Turtle

   and-3SG.N bright and-3SG.N go PART:REDP-see-3SG.A garden-3SG.G

4. Ke tuwu-o-mo punti-no? 5. I Bange i-tandapi-o
   QUES live-3SG.A-PERF banana-3SG.G PN Monkey 3SG.N-sit.over-3SG.A
   punti-no.

6. Potae i Re’a, “Tandapi-o koa, nggaa-nggaa
   banana-3SG.G say PN Turtle sit.over-3SG.A just REDP-LG:eat
   m-padole.”

7. I Re’a langkai-o-mo punti-no, i Bange
   LG-leaf.sprout PN Turtle big-3SG.A-PERF banana-3SG.G PN Monkey

pingko-mo punti-no.
   finish.up-PERF banana-3SG.G

8. Ka-do lako k’um’ita-kita-o; i Re’a anu-no
   and-3PL.N go PART:REDP-see-3SG.A PN Turtle what’s.it-3SG.G
   mevua-mo;

9. I Re’a
   PART:have.fruit-PERF PN Monkey NEG-PERF-3SG.N exist. PN Turtle

   ta ronga motaha punti-no, i Bange na-m-i hina.
   3SG.F with ripe banana-3SG.G PN Monkey NEG-PERF-3SG.N exist

10. Motaha-mo punti-no i Re’a. ka-i hawe, ta
     ripe-PERF banana-3SG.G PN Turtle and-3SG.N arrive 3SG.F
     momaru-o, ka-i pomaru nahi te’ala.
     PART:climb-3SG.A and-3SG.N climb NEG(3SG.N) able
     11. Mewolili,
         PART:turn.around

    moboi-o i Bange, ka-i pomaru-ako-’ira.
    PART:call-3SG.A PN Monkey and-3SG.N climb-APPL-3PL.A

    12. Ka-i pomaru i Bange, hawe i untu-no, ka-i
        and-3SG.N climb PN Monkey arrive at top-3SG.G and-3SG.N
        pong-kaa punti taha.
        APASS-eat banana ripe and-3SG.N APASS-request PN Turtle and-3SG.N

    13. Ka-i po-’ema i Re’a, ka-i
teta’iki-o kuli punti ka-i amba wee-ako-no i Re’a.
defecate.on-3SG.A skin banana and-3SG.N next give-APPL-3SG.A PN Turtle

14. Ka-i kita-kita i Re’a ta’i-no Bange, potae
   and-3SG.N REDP-see PN Turtle feces-3SG.G Monkey say

   i Re’a, “Po’ia-’ia ka-ku po-wewe-akomu pentoa-a-mu.”
   PN Turtle stay and-1SG.N APASS-make-APPL:2SG.A jump.down-LOC-2SG.G

15. Ka-i pon-tasomi ampa i Re’a ka-i ampa-o.
   and-3SG.N APASS-sharpen stake PN Turtle and-3SG.N stake-3SG.A

16. Ka-i sikeno-o tabulu mo-hopa-o-mo dahu-dahu
   n-to-lahumoa, pentoa-mo mbole-mbolene-a-no. 17. Ka-i lako
   LG-people-gods jump.down-PERF REDP-calm-LOC-3SG.G and-3SG.N go

   i Re’a mo-hopa ka-i pentoa i Bange.
   PN Turtle PART:APASS-bark and-3SG.N jump.down PN Monkey

18. Mentoa i Bange me-sunsu-sunsu ia ampa-no
   PART:jump.down PN Monkey PART:INTR-REDP-pierce at stake-3SG.G

   i Re’a. 19. I Re’a hahe k’umji:ita-kita-o,
   PN Turtle PN Turtle arrive PART:REDP-see-3SG.A

me-sunsu-sunsu-o-mo i Bange mate-o-mo. 20. Potae i
   PART:INTR-REDP-pierce-3SG.A-PERF PN Monkey die-3SG.A-PERF say PN

   Re’a, “la-po namia loso-ko-mo, nde nah-u
   Turtle 3SG.INDEP-INCOMP EMPH regret-2SG.A-PERF because NEG-2SG.N

   po-weet’aku punti-ku, ta’i-mu koa u-dontai-akune.”
   APASS-give-1SG.A banana-1SG.G feces-2SG.G just 2SG.N-drop-APPL:1SG.A

21. Ka-i tembi-o i Re’a i Bange, ka-i
   and-3SG.N carry.on.back-3SG.A PN Turtle PN Monkey and-3SG.N

   wawa-o i rodooha, ka-i tunu-o ensea wuku-no.
   carry-3SG.A at house and-3SG.N roast-3SG.A lime bone-3SG.G

22. Ka-i pokoli-o a balo ka-i tambe-o i
   and-3SG.N put-3SG.A at bamboo and-3SG.N place-3SG.A at

   tapaa.
drying.rack
23. Ka-do n-telalo wali-no bange; ira lako
    and-3PL.N PL-pass.by companion-3SG.G monkey 3PL.F go
  m-ponga’e. 24. Tetoro’ira m-pebaku.
    PL-headhunt sit-3PL.A PL-have.provisions finish-3PL.G
  m-pebaku, ira m-po-mama, na-hina ensea.
    PL-have.provisions 3PL.F PL-APASS-chew.betel NEG-exist lime
    PL-turn.around-3PL.A PL-ask-3SG.A PN Turtle if NEG-exist lime
  27. Potae i Re’a, “O ensea hadio!”
    say PN Turtle CN lime many get-APPL:1PLN.A-PERF
  28. “Ala-akita-mo o ensea, kami m-po-mama.”
    CN lime 1PLX.F PL-APASS-chew.betel and-3SG get-APPL-3PL.A
  i Re’a o ensea.
    PN Turtle CN lime
  30. Ka-do m-petia-o ka-do umari
    and-3PL.N PL-divide.with.each.other-3SG.A and-3PL.N finish
  m-po-mama, ka-do m-po-liwo ira-mo me-lako.
    PL-APASS-chew and-3PL.N PL-APASS-prepare.for.journey 3PL.F-PERF PL-go
  31. Ndi-’ira me-’olai, i-booli-’ira-mo i Re’a,
    be.here-3PL.A PL-far 3SG.N-call-3PL.A-PERF PN Turtle
    “Do-meng-kaa-no-mo ta-wuku-no wali-do.”
  32. Ka-do 3PL.N-PL-eat-3SG.A-PERF old-bone-3SG.G companion-3PL.G and-3PL.N
  m-pekule me-hawe-’ira, na-m-i ndio i Re’a.
    PL-return PL-arrive-3PL.A NEG-PERF-3SG.N be.here PN Turtle
  33. Ka-do men-sikeno-o, ka-i sangki, “Ndi-’aku api
    and-3PL.N PL-ask-3SG.A and-3SG.N answer be.here-1SG.A slit
    m-po-wutu.”
  34. Ka-do lako meng-kita-kita-o, nahi rau,
    LG-APASS-bind and-3PL.N go PL-REDP-see-3SG.A NEG(3SG.N) be.over.there
  35. Ka-do men-sikeno-o, “Sua-sua-ko-mo, Re’a?”
    and-3PL.N PL-ask-3SG.A REDP-where-2SG.A-PERF Turtle
36. “Ndí-’aku i toto sambí.” 37. Ka-do me-lako
be.here-1SG.A at underside shelf and-3PL.N PL-go
meng-kita-kita-o, nahi rau, kutu koa asa. 38. Ka-do
PL-REDP-see-3SG.A NEG(3SG.N) be.over.there louse just one and-3PL.N
PL-ask-3SG.A REDP-where-2SG.A-PERF Turtle be.here-1SG.A at
m-puu ensa. 40. Ka-do me-lako meng-kita-kita-o, nahi
LG-vicinity ladder and-3PL.N PL-go PL-REDP-see-3SG.A NEG(3SG.N)
lou, simo koa asa. 41. Ka-do men-sikeno-o,
be.down.there clothes.louse just one and-3PL.N PL-ask-3SG.A

“Sua-sua-ko-mo, Re’a?” 42. “Ndí-’aku a n-toto
REDP-where-2SG.A-PERF Turtle be.here-1SG.A at LG-underside
nohu.” 43. Ka-do me-bangku-o io nohu,
rice.mortar and-3PL.N PL-knock.down-3SG.A CN rice.mortar
lou-o-m-i lo’ai.
be.down.there-3SG.A-PERF-at down.there

44. Pelonsoki-o-mo tapongka. 45. Mengese-o-mo, “Hu, hu!”
jump.on-3SG.A-PERF large.monkey PART:weep-3SG.A-PERF huu huu

46. “Anu koa nahi to-kakahani-o, onae koa i-nee-kita.
REL just NEG 1PLN.N-esteem.good-3SG.A 3SG.INDEP just 3SG.N-give-1PLN.A
Me-’ala-akita po’isa, kita men-tunduhi-o.” 47. Ka-i
PL-get-APPL:1PLN.A pestle 1PLN.F PL-hit.with.hard.object-3SG.A and-3SG.N
pengese, “Hu, hu!” 48. “Anu koa nahi to-kakahani-o,
weep huu huu REL just NEG 1PLN.N-esteem.good-3SG.A
onae koa i-nee-kita. Me-wawa-akita kolongga, kita
3SG.INDEP just 3SG.N-give-1PLN.A PL-bring-APPL:1PLN.A chicken.basket 1PLN.F
me-’uko-o, kita lako me-dontai-o a untu-no keu.”
PL-place.inside-3SG.A 1PLN.F go PL-drop-3SG.A at top-3SG.G tree

and-3SG.N weep huu huu REL just NEG
to-kakahani-o, nde wainto, onae koa i-nee-kita.”
1PLN.N-esteem.good-3SG.N ?? poor.thing 3SG.INDEP just 3SG.N-give-1PLN.A
51. Ka-do me-lako m-pomururako-no a untu-no keu.
   and-3PL.N PL-go PL-climb.with-3SG.A at top-3SG.G tree

52. Ka-do men-sikeno-o, “I-nda’nda’ ai-mo, Re’a?”
   and-3PL.N PL-ask-3SG.A at-REDP-here-PERF Turtle

53. “Na-na-po lahi, taha-tahane-ako mbo’u.”
   REDP-NEG-INCOMP too REDP-go.thither.upward-APPL again

   and-3SG.N climb at-REDP-here-PERF Turtle yes

57. Do-me-dontai-o-mo a uwoi, mengingisi-o-mo, “Hi... hi... hi... !”
   3PL.N-PL-drop-3SG.A-PERF at water PART:laugh-3SG.A-PERF hee hee hee

Ku-hawe-hawe-o-mo inia-no ine-ku!”
1SG.N-REDP-encounter-3SG.A-PERF village-3SG.G mother-1SG.G

58. Ka-do me-lako m-po’oli ambau o laki ka
   and-3PL.N PL-go PL-APASSI-buy carabao CN male and

bira, ka-do mem-pae-ako-no ka-i inu-o uwoi
female and-3PL.N PL-lead.on.tether-APPL-3SG.A and-3SG.N drink-3SG.A water

po’ia-nga-no i Re’a.
reside-LOC-3SG.G PN Turtle

59. Ka-i pengese i Re’a. 60. Potae Kolele,
   and-3SG.N cry PN Turtle say k.o.crab

“Si pengese, ka-ku kasi-o ambau arau a
   NEG.IMPV cry and-1SG.N pinch-3SG.A carabao that.over.there at

su’ului-no.” 61. Ka-i kasi-o Kolele a n-su’ului-no,
testicle-3SG.G and-3SG.N pinch-3SG.A k.o.crab at LG-testicle-3SG.G

mate-o-mo. 62. Ka-i kasi-o mbo’u o bira ia
die-3SG.A-PERF and-3SG.N pinch-3SG.A again CN female at

n-sele-no, maate.
LG-vagina-3SG.G die

63. Mo’unde-o-mo i Re’a, nde mate-o-mo
   PART:rejoice-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle because die-3SG.A-PERF

ambau.
carabao
Notes

This story was collected by H. G. van Eelen in 1914 from two young Mori people, who also helped him to translate it.

3, 4. I follow the original here and treat sentence 4 as an independent clause. However, we suspect that it should be joined with the preceding sentence as an indirect (subordinate) question, thus ‘…they went and looked at their garden, (to see) whether their bananas were growing.’ In the English translation we use ‘they,’ ‘their.’ Literally the story reads ‘he went … his garden … his bananas,’ that is, Turtle and Monkey went individually.

7. pingko-mo, PLN suggests pingko-o-mo thus with third person pronoun.

8. mewua-mo, PLN suggests mewua-o-mo, thus with third person pronoun.

10. motaha-mo, PLN suggests motaha-o-mo, thus with third person pronoun.

12. punti taha, PLN suggests punti motaha without clipping of the derivational affix.

14. potae i Re’a, PLN suggests i-potae i Re’a, thus with third person pronoun.

20. Ia-po, to be regarded as a contraction of iao-po, in which iao is an old form of the third person singular independent pronoun; see Esser (1927:116) and Mead (1998:148ff.). namia, emphatic particle, derived from third person singular pronoun nae plus mia ‘person’ (Esser 1927:118, postscript).

31. ta-wuku-no, in the original, spelled tawukuro, but almost certainly a misprint.

34. kutu koa asa, PLN suggests kutu koa aasa. Likewise in 37 and 40.

45, also 47. In this version, the turtle cries, perhaps inciting the monkeys to think up an even more fiendish punishment. In other versions, the turtle typically laughs at the monkeys’ threats, crying only when they threaten to throw her in the water.

46, also 48, 50. onae koa i-wee-kita (in the original iwekita) literally ‘just that she gives us.’ The English translation follows the Dutch dat juist doen we haar aan ‘that’s what we’ll do to her, that’s what we’ll subject her to.’

50. nde wainito, the function of nde is not clear, but is closely tied to wainito as an expression of pity. A similar phrase, also expressing pity in Mori Bawah, is nde mia, as in I’alaomo nde mia asa mpuru kinaa kai kaano ‘he took a bit of rice in his fingers, poor guy, and ate it.’ Whether this nde is related to the hortative particle nde’e (variant nde) is presently unknown.


58. Ka-i inu-o ‘and it drank it,’ even though there are clearly two carabao, the pair are treated as singular, thus as non-personified characters (as brute animals).
60. *Potae Kolele*, PLN suggests *I-potae i Kolele*, thus with third person pronoun preceding *potae* and with personal name marker preceding *Kolele* (thus marking ‘Crab’ as a personal name).

61. *Ka ikasio Kolele*, PLN suggests *Ka ikasio i Kolele*. See note to sentence 60.

**Translation**

1. The story of Monkey and Turtle.

2. Monkey and Turtle had a banana garden. 3. And it was day, and they went and looked at their garden. 4. Were their bananas growing? 5. Monkey sat over his banana plant. 6. Turtle said, “Just sit, eating the leaf sprouts.” 7. As for Turtle, her banana plant became big; as for Monkey, his banana plant was used up.

8. And they went to look; as for Turtle, hers was fruiting; as for Monkey, he no longer had any. 9. As for Turtle, hers were almost ripe; as for Monkey, he no longer had any.

10. Turtle’s banana’s were ripe, and she came, and was going to climb, and she climbed but she was not able. 11. She turned around and called Monkey to come climb for them.

12. And Monkey climbed to the top, and he ate the ripe bananas. 13. And (when) Turtle asked for some, he defecated on some banana skins and then he gave those to Turtle.

14. And (when) Turtle saw Monkey’s feces, Turtle said, “Stay (there) and I will make a place for you to jump down.” 15. And Turtle sharpened bamboo stakes, and she staked them into the ground. 16. And she asked, when the bat of the gods barked, jump down on the nice spot. 17. And Turtle went barking, and Monkey jumped down.

18. When Monkey jumped, he was pierced through and through on Turtle’s stakes. 19. Turtle came and looked at him, Monkey was pierced through, he was dead. 20. Said Turtle, “Now you regret it, that you didn’t give me my bananas, only your feces did you drop for me.” 21. Then Turtle put Monkey on her back, and she carried him home, and she roasted his bones into lime. 22. Then she put it into a bamboo container, and she placed it on the drying rack.

23. And Monkey’s companions passed bay, they were going to go headhunting. 24. They sat eating provisions. 25. When they were finished having provisions, they were going to chew betel, but they didn’t have any lime. 26. They turned around, and asked Turtle whether she had any lime. 27. Said Turtle, “Oh, I have a lot of lime.” 28. “Get some lime for us, we’re going to chew betel.” 29. And Turtle got lime for them.

30. And they divided it amongst themselves, and they finished chewing, and they prepared to go.
31. When they were far, Turtle called to them, “They ate the bones of their companion.” 32. And they returned and arrived, (but) Turtle was not there.

33. And they asked, and she answered, “Here I am between the bindings.” 34. And they went and inspected it, and there was nothing over there, just a single louse, and they squished it.

35. And they asked, “Wherever are you, Turtle?” 36 “Here I am under the shelf.” 37. And they went and inspected it, there was nothing over there, just a single louse. 38. And they asked, “Wherever are you, Turtle?” 39. “Here I am under the ladder.” 40. And they went and inspected it and there was nothing down there, just a single clothes louse. 41. And they asked, “Wherever are you, Turtle?” 42. “Here I am under the mortar.” 43. And they knocked over the mortar, there she was down there.

44. A large monkey jumped on her. 45. Turtle cried, “Boo, hoo!” 46. “That which we don’t think is good, that’s what we’ll do to her. Get a pestle for us, and we’ll pound her.” 47. And she wept, “Boo, hoo!” 48. “That which we don’t think is good, that’s what we’ll do to her. Fetch us a chicken basket, we will place her inside and we will drop her from the top of a tree.” 49. And she wept, “Boo, hoo!” 50. “That which we don’t think is good, poor thing, that’s what we’ll do to her.” 51. And they went climbing with her to the top of a tree.

52. And they asked, “About here, Turtle?” 53. “Not yet, still a little higher.” 54. And he climbed. 55. “About here, Turtle?” 56. “Yes.” 57. (As) they dropped her into the water, Turtle laughed, “Hee, hee hee! I have come to my mother’s village!”

58. And they went and bought a male and a female carabao, and they led them, and it drank up the water in Turtle’s abode.

59. Then Turtle cried. 60. Said Crab, “Don’t cry, I’ll pinch that carabao on his testicles.” 61. And Crab pinched it on his testicles, and it died. 62. And he pinched again, the female on her vagina, and it died.

62. Turtle was happy because the carabao had died.
How it was when Monkey and Turtle planted bananas

1. **Pu’u-no, ondae i Bange ka i Re’a mom-paho**
   base-3SG.G 3PL.INDEP PN Monkey and PN Turtle PART:APASS-plant
   punti.
   banana

2. **Pohona do-lako mom-paho punti, i Bange ka i**
   once 3PL.N-go PART:APASS-plant banana PN Monkey and PN
   Re’a, te-’o-’asa-do.

3. **Umari-do paho-o, mekule-’ira-mo.**
   Turtle DISTR-REDP-one-3PL.G finish-3PL.G plant-3SG.A PART:return-3PL.A-PERF
   punti.

4. **Meene-o-mo, l[um]ako-’ira-mo k[um]ita-o.**
   bright-3SG.A-PERF PART:go-3PL.A-PERF PART:see-3SG.A

5. **Hawe-’ira a punti p[in]aho-do, ko-hawe-no koa i**
   arrive-3PL.A at banana PASS:plant-3PL.G at-arrive-3SG.G just PN
   Bange, t[um]andapi-o punti p[in]aho-no ka-i kaa-no
   Monkey PART:sit.on-3SG.A banana PASS:plant-3SG.G and-3SG.N eat-3SG.A
   padole-no.
   leaf.sprout-3SG.G

6. **Me-sikeno i Bange, “Pia tangke-mo ke omue**
   PART:INTR-ask PN Monkey how.many stalk-PERF QUES 2SG.INDEP
   lewe-no punti-mu, Re’a?”
   leaf-3SG.G banana-2SG.G Turtle PART:reply PN Turtle still one

7. **S[um]angki i Re’a, “Da asa tangke lewe-no.”**
   Turtle PART:reply PN Turtle still one
   Onae-mo ka-i pe-sikeno mbo’u i Re’a,
   stalk leaf-3SG.G 3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N INTR-ask also PN Turtle
   “Pia tangke-mo, ke Bange, lewe-no punti-mu?”
   how.many stalk-PERF QUES Monkey leaf-3SG.G banana-2SG.G

9. **S[um]angki i Bange, “Tandapi-o, n-tumburi-o, nggaa-nggaa**
   PART:reply PN Monkey sit.on-3SG.A LG-peel-3SG.A REDP-LG:eat
   m-padole-no.”
   LG-leaf.sprout-3SG.G

10. **Umari-do k[um]ita-o andio, mekule-’ira-mo.**
    finish-3PL.G PART:see-3SG.A this PART:return-3PL.A-PERF
and-3SG.N bright and-3PL.N go like.this-PERF PASS:do-3PL.G
somp o oleo. 13. Sine punti-no i Bange onae maate,
each day but banana-3SG.G PN Monkey 3SG.INDEP die
nde i-pewela k[um]aa-no padole-no. 14. Punti-no
because 3SG.N-regularly PART:eat-3SG.A leaf.sprout-3SG.G banana-3SG.G
i Re’a, onae mewua-o-mo.
PN Turtle 3SG.INDEP PART:have.fruit-3SG.A-PERF

15. Tehi-tehine motaha-o-mo a n-tuwu ng-keu-no.
REDP-long.time ripe-3SG.A-PERF at LG-sprout LG-tree-3SG.G

16. L[um]ako-o-mo i Re’a ta momaru-o
PART:go-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle 3SG.F PART:climb-3SG.A
punti-no, ka-i pomaru-ako hori-no, nahi te’ala.
banana-3SG.G and-3SG.N climb-APPL side-3SG.G NEG(3SG.N) able

17. Ka-i pomaru-ako bungku-no, nahi te’ala.
and-3SG.N climb-APPL back-3SG.G NEG(3SG.N) able

18. Te’osa-o-mo momaru, mekule moboi-o
leave.off-3SG.A-PERF PART:climb PART:return PART:invite-3SG.A
i Bange. 19. Hawe-no koa i Bange, momaru,
PN Monkey arrive-3SG.G just PN Monkey PART:climb
ka-i pong-kaa; onae-mo ka-i pom-pepe-dontai i
and-3SG.N APASS-eat 3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N APASS-REQUEST-drop PN

Re’a. 20. Ka-i dontai-ako-no i Bange kuli-no koa.
Turtle and-3SG.N drop-APPL-3SG.A PN Monkey skin-3SG.G just

21. Onae-mo ka-i akala-o i Re’a i Bange,
3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N deceive-3SG.A PN Turtle PN Monkey

i-potae, “Dontai-akune ari, Bange, owu-mu!” 22. Mansa-no
3SG.N-say drop-APPL:1SG.A only Monkey machete-2SG.G at.once-3SG.G
d[um]ontai-ako-no owu-no, i-bini-o-mo i Re’a,
PART:drop-APPL-3SG.A machete-3SG.G 3SG.N-pick.up-3SG.A-PERF PN Turtle

ka-i pon-tasomi ampa. 23. Umari-no t[um]asomi-o,
and-3SG.N APASS-sharpen stake finish-3SG.G PART:sharpen-3SG.A
24. I-oliwi-o-mo  i  Re’a  i  Bange,  “Ba-u
3SG.N-set-3SG.A-PERF  3SG.N-advice-3SG.A-PERF  PN  Turtle  PN  Monkey  if-2SG.N
ronge-o-mo  da  te’ingka,  Bange,  dahu-do  Datu  mo-hopap,
hear-3SG.A-PERF  still  soon  Monkey  dog-3PL.G  Monarch  PART:APASS-bark
pentoa-mo  indi’ai,  a  ng-kolingaa-no  andio.”  25. Ka-i
jump.down-PERF  here  at  LG-clear.place-3SG.G  this  and-3SG.N
potae  mbo’u  i  Re’a,  “Sine  pon-tandua  koa  punti  ka
say  also  PN  Turtle  but  APASS-hold.in.teeth  just  banana  and
APASS-hold.under.arm  PART:reply  PN  Monkey  yes

27. L[um]ako-o-mo  raane  i  Re’a  a  wiwi  n-tobu,
PART:go-3SG.A-PERF  go.thither.level  PN  Turtle  to  edge  LG-forest
mo-hopap.  28. Mansa-no  r[um]onge-o  i  Bange  nganga-no
PART:APASS-bark  at.once-3SG.G  PART:hear-3SG.A  PN  Monkey  voice-3SG.G
i  Re’a  mo-hopap,  mentoa-o-mo,  kona  ampa,  maate.
PN  Turtle  PART:APASS-bark  PART:spring.down-3SG.A-PERF  hit  stake  die

29. Mekule-o-mo  i  Re’a,  have-no  k[um]ita-o,
PART:return-3SG.A-PERF  PN  Turtle  arrive-3SG.G  PART:see-3SG.A
mate-o-mo  i  Bange.  30. I-’ala-’ira-mo  punti
die-3SG.A-PERF  PN  Monkey  3SG.N-get-3PL.A-PERF  banana
t[im]andua-no  ka-i  kaa-no.  31. Umari-no  k[um]aa-’ira,
PASS:hold.in.teeth-3SG.G  and-3SG.N  eat-3SG.A  finish-3SG.G  PART:eat-3PL.A
mekule-o-mo  i  raha-do.
PART:return-3SG.A-PERF  to  house-3PL.G

32. Moboo-o-mo  i  Bange  l[um]ako-o-mo  i  Re’a
rotten-3SG.A-PERF  PN  Monkey  PART:go-3SG.A-PERF  PN  Turtle
um-ala-o  wuku-no  i  Bange,  ka-i  tunu-o  ensea.
PART:get-3SG.A  bone-3SG.G  PN  Monkey  and-3SG.N  roast-3SG.A  lime

33. Mansa-do  n-telalo  wali-no  m-po-’ema  ensea,
at.once-3PL.G  PL-pass.by  companion-3SG.G  PL-APASS-ask.for  lime
i-wee-’ira-mo  wuku-no  wali-do  anu  t[im]unu-no
3SG.N-give-3PL.A-PERF  bone-3SG.G  companion-3PL.G  REL  PASS:burn-3SG.G
indi’upa. 34. Ndi-’ira me-’olai, i-booli-’ira i Re’a, i-potae, some.time.ago here-3PL.A PL-far 3SG.N-call-3PL.A PN Turtle 3SG.N-say “Nahi do-men-to’ori-o wuku-no koa wali-do ku-weet-’ira.” NEG 3PL.N-PL-know-3SG.A bone-3SG.G just companion-3PL.G 1SG.N-give-3PL.A

35. Onae-mo ka-do m-peku-ile ira m-pepate-o i Re’a.
3PL.INDEP-PERF and-3PL.N PL-return 3PL.F PL-kill-3SG.A PN Turtle

36. Me-hawe-’ira me-’ala-o uase, ira me-’uase-o i Re’a.
PL-arrive-3PL.A PL-get-3SG.A axe 3PL.F PL-axe-3SG.A PN Turtle

37. Sine, mengingisi i Re’a, i-potae-ako-’ira bange,
but PART:laugh PN Turtle 3SG.A-say-APPL-3PL.A monkey

“Lara-no koa pendamau-do i Ine ka i Ama
scar-3SG.G just hack.with.axe-LOC-3PL.G PN Mother and PN Father

a bungku-ku andio’!”
on back-1SG.G this

38. Do-m-potae, “To-mem-pokoli-o a ng-kolungga ka-to
3PL.N-PL-say 1PL.N-PL-put-3SG.A at LG-k.o.basket and-1PL.N
me-dontai-o a uwoi.”
39. Mansa-no r’um’onge-o i Re’a
PL-drop-3SG.A at water at.once-3SG.G PART:hear-3SG.A PN Turtle

pau-do bange motae ira mem-pokoli-o a ng-kolungga
PL-arrive-3PL.G monkey PART:say 3PL.F PL-put-3SG.A at LG-k.o.basket

ka-do me-dontai-o a uwoi, mompe-ngese-ngese-o-mo i
and-3PL.N PL-drop-3SG.A at water PART:SIMUL-REDP-weep-3SG.A-PERF PN

Re’a, i-potae ta-mo mate.
Turtle 3SG.N-say 3SG.F-PERF die

40. Me-lako ira-mo, me-dontai-o a uwoi, da-’ia-po
PL-go 3PL.N-PERF PL-drop-3SG.A at water be-3SG.INDEP-INCOMP

i-itii a uwoi, tehehe i Re’a, mawongko ara-no
3SG.N-descend at water laugh PN Turtle high spirits-3SG.G

nde ta koa tuwu. 41. I-potae-ako-’ira bange,
because 3SG.F just live 3SG.N-say-APPL-3PL.A monkey

i-hawe-o-mo po’ia-nga-do ine-no ka ama-no.
3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF reside-LOC-3PL.G mother-3SG.G and father-3SG.G
42. *N-teriso-’ira bange, ka-do me-lako me-’ala-’ira*
   PL-assembled-3PL.A monkey and-3PL.N PL-go PL-get-3PL.A
   ambau-do Datu ka-do men-soso-o ka-i mate koa
carabao-3PL.G Monarch and-3PL.N PL-suck-3SG.A and-3SG.N die just
   *i Re’a.
43. *Mansa-do men-soso-o uwoi andio, mo’are koa.*
   PN Turtle at.once-3PL.G PL-suck-3SG.A water this dry just

44. *M-po’unde-’ira-mo bange nde ta-mo mate i Re’a.*
   PL-rejoice-3PL.A-PERF monkey because 3SG.F-PERF die PN Turtle

45. *Onae-mo ka i-potae-ako-’ira i Re’a bungka, “Kasi-kasi*
   3SG.INDEP-PERF and 3SG.N-say-APPL-3PL.A PN Turtle crab REDP-pinch
   n-tawu, kasi n-tawu-no laki! Kasi-kasi n-tawu,
   LG-genitals pinch LG-genitals-3SG.G male REDP-pinch LG-genitals
   kasi n-tawu-no bira!”

46. *N-te’eme ira-mo ambau,*
   pinch LG-genitals-3SG.G female.carabao PL-urinate 3PL.N-PERF carabao
   wali-o-mo hadio uwoi.

47. *Gaagi, tuwu-o-mo i*
   become-3SG.A-PERF much water therefore live-3SG.A-PERF PN
   *Re’a, nde wali-o-mo hadio uwoi.*
   Turtle because become-3SG.A-PERF much water

Notes

This story was collected by J. Ritsema.

4. *meene-o-mo* literally ‘it was bright,’ by implication ‘on the morrow, the next day…’

6. *tangke* ‘stalk, stem’ is a numeral classifier for counting leaves; it is left untranslated in the English.

24. In the original spelled *koliwiomo.* The root *olivi* is a noun meaning ‘advice,’ which can also be used as a transitive verb base meaning ‘to advise (someone).’ The form *koliwi,* however, was not recognized by any of my Mori respondents, and as suggested here I believe that the initial ‘K’ should be read as a misprint for ‘I’ (third person singular pronoun), the interpretation which makes best sense in this context.

40. *tehehe* means to laugh like a woman; to laugh like a man is *tehaha.* In *da-’ia-po,* *ia* is a short form of *iao,* an old form of the third person singular pronoun.
Translation

1. How it was when Monkey and Turtle planted bananas.

2. One time, Monkey and Turtle went to plant bananas, each of them one plant. 3. When they had finished planting them, they returned.

4. The next day they went to see them. 5. They came to the bananas which they had planted, and upon his arriving Monkey got down over the banana which he had planted, and he ate the leaf sprouts of it.


10. When they had finished looking at them, they returned. 11. And it was next day, and they went. 12. They did like that every day. 13. But Monkey’s banana plant, it was the one dying, because again and again he ate the leaf sprouts of it. 14. Turtle’s banana plant, it was the one bearing fruit.

15. A good while after that and it was ripe on the new growth of her tree. 16. Turtle went to climb her banana tree, and she climbed on her side, it was not to be done. 17. And she climbed on her back, it was not to be done. 18. Leaving off climbing, she returned and invited Monkey. 19. Upon his arriving, he climbed and ate; thereupon Turtle requested some to be dropped. 20. So then Monkey dropped just the peels.

21. Then Turtle deceived Monkey, saying “Drop just your machete for me, Monkey!” 22. As soon as he had dropped his machete for her, Turtle picked it up and sharpened some stakes. 23. When she had finished sharpening them, she set them out. 24. Turtle advised the Monkey, “If soon you hear Monarch’s dogs barking, jump down here on this clear place.” 25. And Turtle also said, “But just take some bananas in your teeth and hold them under your arm.” 26. Replied Monkey, “Okay!”

27. Then Turtle went there to the edge of the forest, barking. 28. As soon as Monkey heard the voice of Turtle barking, he jumped, encountered the stakes, and died. 29. Turtle returned, arrived, and saw that Monkey had died. 30. She took the bananas which he had held in his teeth, and she ate them. 31. When she had finished eating them, she returned to their house.

32. When Monkey was rotten, Turtle went and took Monkey’s bones, and she burned them into lime.

33. As soon as his friends passed by asking for lime, she gave them the bones of their companion which she had burned previously. 34. When they had gone so far, Turtle called them, saying, “They don’t know it, I gave them just the bones of their companion.” 35. Thereupon they returned in order to kill Turtle. 36. They arrived bringing an ax, they
were going to chop Turtle.  37. However, laughing Turtle said to the monkeys, “The scars of where Mother and Father chopped with an ax are on my back!”

38. They said, “Let’s put her in a basket and drop her into the water.”  39. As soon as Turtle heard the monkeys’ talk, that they were going to put her in a basket and drop her into the water, Turtle feigned weeping, and said she was about to die.

40. They went and dropped her into the water; as she was still descending into the water Turtle laughed and was in high spirits, because she was only going to live.  41. She said to the monkeys, she had found the home of her mother and father.

42. The monkeys assembled, and they went and fetched Monarch’s carabaos so that they should suck it (the water) so that Turtle would die.  43. As soon as they had sucked that water, it was dry.  44. The monkeys rejoiced because Turtle was going to die.  45. Then Turtle said to the crabs, “Pinch, pinch genitals, pinch the bulls’ genitals! Pinch, pinch genitals, pinch the cows’ genitals!”  46. The carabaos urinated, there came lots of water.  47. As a result, Turtle lived, because there came lots of water.
The story of Tarsier

1. Tutulu  
   story  
   i  
   Nggasi.  
   Tarsier

2. L[um]ako  mo’itu-’itu,  i-hawe-o  ta’i  
   PART:go  PART:walk.about  3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A  excrement
   ambau  ka-i  ala-o,  mo-’ala  lewe  ng-keu  ka-i  
   carabao  and-3SG.N  get-3SG.A  PART:APASS-get  leaf  LG-tree  and-3SG.N
   tutuwi-ako-no  io  ta’i  ambau  ka  bate-no.  
   cover-APPL-3SG.A  CN  excrement  carabao  and  head.cloth-3SG.G

   and-3SG.N  INTR-REDP-sit  PART:guard-3SG.A  PART:chase.flies.from-3SG.A
   ka-do  men-sikeno-o,  “Hapa  koa  ke,  Nggasi,  
   and-3PL.N  PL-ask-3SG.A  what  just  QUES  Tarsier
   t[in]utuwi-mu  atuu?”.  5. Ka-i  potae-ako-’ira  i  Nggasi,  
   PASS:cover-2SG.G  that  and-3SG.N  say-APPL-3PL.A  PN  Tarsier
   “Si  lako  me-lelua-o  kinaa-do  ue-ku.”
   NEG.IMPV  go  PL-move-3SG.A  cooked.rice-3PL.G  grandparent-1SG.G

6. I-potae  i  Nggasi,  “Nahi  komiu  me-’oli-o?”  
   3SG.N-say  PN  Tarsier  NEG  2PL.F  PL-buy-3SG.A

7. Do-m-potae,  “Opia  ke,  Nggasi,  oli-no?”  
   3PL.N-PL-say  how.much  QUES  Tarsier  buy-3SG.G

8. “Opaa  lipa  mo’ito  ka  bate  asa.”
   four  sarong  black  and  head.cloth  one

9. “Hee-mo  nde’e,  Nggasi,  lipa  mo’ito  opaa.”
   here.you.go-PERF  HORT  Tarsier  sarong  black  four

10. Ka-i  potae  i  Nggasi,  “Si-po  nde  ari  
    and-3SG.N  say  PN  Tarsier  NEG.IMPV-INCOMP  HORT  only
    ka-ku  lako-lako,  aku  koa  booli-komiu,  tabulu  
    and-1SG.N  REDP-go  1SG.F  just  call-2PL.A  when
komu mo meng-kale-o.” 11. Ka-i lako i Nggasi
2PL.F-PERF PL-open-3SG.A and-3SG.N go PN Tarsier

ndio ola-olai, me-booli-o-mo, “Meng-kale-o-mo!”
be.here REDP-far PART:INTR-call-3SG.A-PERF PL-open-3SG.A-PERF

and-3PL.N PL-open-3SG.A excrement carabao just

13. Ka-do me-’ungke-o i Nggasi, do-me-hawe-o
and-3PL.N PL-seek-3SG.A PN Tarsier 3PL.N-PL-encounter-3SG.A

a ng-karadali, mo-weweu nana n-su’ului-no. 14. Ka-i
at LG-recess PART:APASS-make discharge LG-testicle-3SG.G and-3SG.N

pokoli-o ia balo, asa ng-karadali. 15. Do-m-potae,
put-3SG.A at bamboo.cooker one LG-karadali

“Omue-mo nae, Nggasi, mokongkooro-kami!” 16. I-potae
2SG.INDEP-PERF 3SG.INDEP Tarsier PART:cheat-1PLX.A 3SG.N-say

i Nggasi, “See, bela, miu mbe’e. Isema koa ta
PN Tarsier phooey friend 2PL.INDEP friend who just 3SG.F

h[um]awe-komiu indi-loane? Ndi-’aku
PART:encounter-2PL.A here-go.thither.downward be.here-1SG.A

mo-’iangako baru-ku. Komba ndio asa-mo koa
PART:APASS-guard palm.wine-1SG.G by.no.means be.here one-PERF just

andio nngasi. Mapa-nggasi-nggasi: nngasi n-to lewe-lewe,
this tarsier MULTIPLE-REDP-tarsier tarsier LG-people REDP-leaf

nngasi n-to doe nnu, hadio nngasi! Nahi komiu
tarsier LG-people hang banyan many tarsier NEG 2PL.F

me-’oli-o baru-ku alou?”
PL-buy-3SG.A palm.wine-1SG.G that.down.there

17. “Opia ke, Nggasi, oli-no?”
how.much QUES Tarsier price-3SG.G

18. “Tende-a-no-mo alou ku-po-’ema-ako-no
satisfied-LOC-3SG.G-PERF that.down.there 1SG.N-APASS-request-APPL-3SG.A

asa tawa-tawa. Sine ka-ku lako; tabulu me-tawa-tawa ‘aku-mo
one gong but and-1SG.N go when PART:INTR-gong-1SG.A-PERF
i-m-petia-mo."
2PL-PL-divide.with.each.other-PERF


23. "Nd'i-'aku mo-'iangako su'ului manu-ku. Nahí be.here-1SG.A PART:APASS-guard egg chicken-1SG.G NEG komiu m-po-'oli sului manu?" 2PL.F PL-APASS-buy egg chicken

24. "Ho'io, kami koa m-po-'oli. Opia ke oli-no?" yes 1PLX.F just PL-APASS-buy how.much QUES buy-3SG.G

25. "Jo sului manu alou tende-a-no-mo CN egg chicken that.down.there satisfied-LOC-3SG.G-PERF

ku-po-'ema-ako-no asa ringgi. " 1SG.N-APASS-request-APPL-3SG.A one rix.dollar

26. Ka-do me-wee-ako-no asa ringgi. 27. "Si-po and-3PL.N PL-give-APPL-3SG.A one rix.dollar NEG.IMPV-INCOMP

nde ari ka-ku lako, ku koa booli-komiu te'ingka; HORT only and-1SG.N go 1SG.F just call-2PL.A near.future

pom-pokau-mo koa umari api." APASS-light-PERF just finish fire
28. Ka-i lako; ola-i-o-mo, me-booli-o-mo, and-3SG.N go far-3SG.A-PERF PART:INTR-call-3SG.A-PERF

"Men-saka-o-mo!"


tewali-'ira luwu saa, asa mia-mo koa anu nahi tewali become-3PL.A all python one person-PERF just REL NEG become

saɑ. 30. Ka-i lako um-ungke-'ungke-o, i-hawe-o-mo python and-3SG.N go PART-REDP-see-3PL.A 3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF

kon-toro-toro ia ng-keu. DIFFUSE-REDP-sit at LG-tree

31. "Siko-sikori-'aku, Nggasi! Omue-mo mokongkooro-kami REDP-wait-1SG.A Tarsier 2SG.INDEP-PERF PART:cheat-1PLX.A

ka-do n-tewali saa wali-ku."

and-3PL.N PL-become python companion-1SG.G

32. "Nahi komba ongkue, to-lako-mo ari."

NEG by.any.means 1SG.INDEP 1PLN.N-go-PERF only

33. Ka-do lako ku[m]ita-kita-ir'a, ka-do lako do-hawe-mo and-3PL.N go PART:REDP-see-3PL.A and-3PL.N go 3PLN-encounter-PERF

keu langkai. 34. "Po'ia-'ia nde ari ka-ku lako te'eme tree big remain HORT only and-1SG.N go urinate

a m-pu'u-no keu arau."

at LG-base-3SG.G tree that.over.there

35. Ka-i lako metendelako ia ng-keu arau, and-3SG.N go PART:toss.oneself.up at LG-tree that.over.there

ka-i hawe untu-no, hawe me-tawa-tawa, "Ndelenu, ndelenu, and-3SG arrive top-3SG.G arrive PART:INTR-gong gong gong

oli-'oli-no nana n-du'ulu-kiu!"

REDP-buy-3SG.G discharge LG-testicle-1SG.G
Notes

This story was collected by H. G. van Eelen in 1914 from two young Mori people, who also helped him to translate it.

1. Tutulu i Nggasi, PLN suggests Tutulu-no i Nggasi, thus with third person possessive pronoun.

8. ka bate asa ‘and a (one) head cloth.’ This should probably read as ka bate aasa.

10. “Si-po nde ari... In the original, spelled ‘si ponde’ari...; likewise in sentenc 27. aku koa booli komiu... In the original, the verb ‘to call’ is incorrectly spelled boli (without geminate vowel); likewise in sentences 11, 19, 27 and 28.

15. Ndi aku ‘here I am.’ In the original spelled Indi aku.

15. mokongkooro kami! In the original, the verb ‘to cheat’ is incorrectly spelled mokongkoro (without geminate vowel); likewise in sentences 22 and 31. This verb is almost certainly contains the potential prefix mokoN- ‘able to,’ but the stem kooro is otherwise unknown to me.

16. bela ‘friend.’ In the original, spelled belaa, perhaps indicating a certain enunciation of this word. Both bela and mbe’e (sentence 22) indicate an annoyance on the part of the speaker with his audience.

18. Tende-a-no means literally ‘its place of being satisfied.’ In respect to Tarsier’s giving a price, it could be translated loosely as ‘it would be sufficient,’ ‘merely,’ etc. Compare likewise tendeano in sentence 25.

18. aasa tawa-tawa ‘a (one) gong.’ This should probably be read as aasa tawa-tawa.

19. olai ‘far.’ In the original, spelled ulai; likewise in sentence 28.

20. One might suspect that tawa-tawa is a Tinompo term, while ndelenu an Upper Mori term. This remains to be verified, however, and in fact the two terms may refer to gongs of different sizes. From my own notes I have from Kulisu (a language of Southeast Sulawesi) tawa-tawa ‘medium-sized gong’ versus ndengu-ndengu ‘a small gong about the size of a small plate or saucer.’

20. The prenasalized stop at the beginning of n-du’ului-ku ‘my testicle(s)’ reflects taboo deformation of n-su’ului-ku (stem su’ului ‘egg, testicle’). Likewise in sentence 35.

22. The prenasalization of mpe’aroa is unexplained.

22. mbe’e ‘friend,’ see note to sentence 16.

24. Ho’io ‘yes’ (in response to a negative question). In the original, spelled hoio without glottal stop.
Translation

1. The story of Tarsier.

2. Once upon a time, he (Tarsier) was going around, and he found some carabao dung, and he took it, and he got some tree leaves and he covered the dung therewith and with his head cloth. 3. And he set himself down, and he tended it, chasing away flies.

4. And there passed by some (people) from collecting rattan, and they asked him, “What is that, Tarsier, that you have covered there?” 5. Then Tarsier told them, “Don’t uncover my lord’s rice!” 6. Said Tarsier, “Will you all not buy it?”

7. They said, “How much, Tarsier, is its price?”

8. “Four black sarongs and a headcloth.”

9. “Here, Tarsier, have four black sarongs.”

10. Then Tarsier said, “Don’t (do anything), wait so that I can go a little ways and call to you, when you all can open it.” 11. The Tarsier went away; when he was somewhat distant, he called out, “open it!” 12. And they opened it, it was just carabao dung.

13. Then they sought Tarsier, and they found him in the recess of a tree, discharging semen. 14. And he was putting it in bamboo cookers, an entire tree-recess full. 15. They said, “You are the one, Tarsier, who has cheated us!” 16. Said Tarsier, “Phooey on you, friends! Who indeed would meet you down there? Here I am tending my palm wine. By no means is there just one tarsier here. There are many kinds of tarsiers: the tarsier tribe of the leaves, the tarsier tribe of the fringes of the banyan tree, many tarsiers! Will you not buy my palm wine down there?”
17. “How much, Tarsier, is the price?”

18. “As a sufficient price for that, I ask one gong for it. But let me go away; when I strike the gong, then divide (the palm wine) among yourselves.”

19. Then Tarsier left; when he was already far away, he called out, “Drink it up!”
20. He turned round, striking the gong: “Gong, gong, the purchase of the discharge of my scrotum!”

21. Then they went searching for him, and they found him guarding some python eggs.
22. They asked him, “You are the one just now, Tarsier, who cheated us. You’d better watch it, friend!”

23. “Here I am tending my chicken eggs. Will you all not buy some chicken eggs?”

24. “Certainly, we’ll buy some. How much is their price?”

25. “For the chicken eggs, I merely ask a rix-dollar for them.”

26. Then they gave him a rix-dollar.
27. “Stay until I go away, then I will soon call to you; in the meantime, just make a fire.”

28. Then he went; when he was far away, he called out to them, “Boil them!”
29. Then they boiled them and ate them up, and they all became pythons, only there was one man who didn’t become a python.
30. Then this one went seeking him, and he found him sitting in a tree.

31. “Wait, you, wait for me, Tarsier! You are the one who deceived us, so that my companions became pythons!”

32. “No, not I. Let’s just go.”
33. Then they went to look at them, and as they were going they came to a large tree.
34. “Wait here first, so that I can go relieve myself at the foot of the tree.”
35. Then he went and sprang up into the tree and climbed to the top; arriving there he played on the gong: “Gong, gong, the purchase of the discharge of my scrotum!”
The story of Orphan

1. *Tutulu-no* i *Elu-’elu.*
   story-3SG.G PN Orphan

2. *Mo’ia-’ira* Datu me-kambia, nahi do-pompoli,
   PART:live-3PL.A Monarch PART:have.spouse NEG 3PL.A-wealthy

na-hina at-a-do.  3. *Tehi-tehine* do-pekambia
NEG-exist slave-3PL.G REDP-long.time 3PL.N-have.spouse

me’ana-’ira-mo, orua-’ira, pada beine.  4. *Tehine-o-mo*
PART:have.child-3PL.A-PERF two-3PL.A equal female long.time-3SG.A-PERF

do-m-po’ia mate-o-mo ama-do ka ine-do.  5. *Gaagi*
3P.N-PL-live die-3SG.A-PERF father-3PL.G and mother-3PL.G therefore

oru-’orua-’ira-mo koa mo’ia a rodoha-do.
REDP-two-3PL.A-PERF just PART:live at house-3PL.G

6. *Onae* koa w[i/\\n]ewu-do lako me’oti-’oti
3SG.INDEP just PASS:do-3PL.G go PART:scavange.at.low.tide

a wiwi n-tahi.  7. *Tehi-tehine* i-hawe-o-mo
at edge LG-sea REDP-long.time 3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF

uai-no kola-kolame wulaa.  8. *Asa* do-hawe-o
younger.sibling-3SG.G REDP-shrimp gold one 3PL.N-encounter-3SG.A

kola-kolame wulaa andio, mekule-’ira-mo i rodoha.
REDP-shrimp gold this PART:return-3PL.A-PERF at house

9. *Ka-do* hawe i rodoha ka-i ala-o
   and-3PL.N arrive at house and-3SG.N get-3SG.A

uai-no kola-kolame, ka-i sikeno-o kolame, “Ke
younger.sibling-3SG.G REDP-shrimp and-3SG.N ask-3SG.A shrimp QUES

isua-mo ine-mu ka ama-mu?”  10. “*Ongkue da ongkue,*
where-PERF mother-2SG.G and father-2SG.G 1SG.INDEP INTENS 1SG.INDEP

mate-o-mo ine-ku ka ama-ku.”  11. *Borono* pengese
die-3SG.A-PERF mother-1SG.G and father-1SG.G then weep

elu-’elu andio.  12. *Nahi* tehine do-po’ia, hawe-o-mo
orphan this NEG(3SG.N) long.time 3PL.N-live arrive-3SG.A-PERF
Notes

This story was collected by J. Ritsema.

1. Orphans are a popular subject matter for stories, because their natural caretakers have passed on, and they thus stand in close connection to the dead.

2. Third person plural forms in this sentence reflect the use of the plural to refer respectfully to a singular referent, in this case the monarch. *Datu* is a title which can also be used as a name, similar to ‘Pharaoh’ or ‘Caesar’ in English.

3. Third person plural pronouns here are interpreted as referring respectfully to the monarch, e.g. *When he had been married*… Alternatively, the third person forms could refer to the ruler and his spouse, thus: *When they had been married*…

8. *Asa dohaweo*… following the original. However one might expect instead *Asa-do h[um]awe-o*…

11. *Borono pengese*… A third person singular clitic has been omitted, read: *Borono i-pengese*…

12. *tama asa*. Probably this should read as *tama aasa*.

Translation

1. The story of Orphan.

2. There once was a Monarch who was married, he was not rich, he had no slaves. 3. When he had been married a long time, he had two children, both girls. 4. After they had lived together a long time, their father and their mother died. 5. Thus just the two of them lived in the house.

6. Their occupation was to go at low tide to scavenge along the seashore. 7. After a period of time, the younger one found a golden shrimp. 8. As soon as they had found this golden shrimp, they returned home.

9. When they had arrived home, the younger one took the shrimp, and the shrimp asked her, “Where are your mother and your father?” 10. (She replied,) “As for me, my mother and my father are already dead.” 11. Then this orphan wept. 12. Not long afterward, there arrived the son of a monarch. 13. When he arrived, they discussed that he would marry them. 14. But they would not.
The story of Monsiari

1. *Tutulu-no* i Monsiari.
   story-3s.G PN Monsiari

2. *Mekonesia-’ira* __Datu__ i __wita.__
   PART:have.spouse-3PL.A Monarch at earth REDP-long.time
   me’ana-’ira-mo tama, nee-no ana-do
   PART:have.child-3PL.A-PERF male name-3SG.G child-3PL.G

i Monsiari. 4. *Langkai-o-mo* i Monsiari, tehine
PN Monsiari. big-3SG.A-PERF PN Monsiari long.time

mo-liwo-o-mo ta l[um]ako
PART:APASS-prepare.for.journey-3SG.A-PERF 3SG.F PART:go

mepe-labu-o koroi-no a m-paa-paa, ka-i gagi
PART:REQUEST-iron-3SG.A body-3SG.G at LG-crow and-3SG.N become

motea koroi-no.
hard body-3SG.G

5. *Tehine* umari-o-mo mepe-labu-o koroi-no,
   long.time finish-3SG.A-PERF PART:request-iron-3SG.A body-3SG.G
   ta-mo mekule lako monga’e a iwalin-o.
   3SG.F-PERF PART:return go PART:headhunt at enemy-3SG.G

6. *Onae-mo* ka-i hina pau-do paa-paa ndi Monsiari,
   3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N exist talk-3PL.G crow at Monsiari

“*Kita-o* koa ko aiwa s[um]apoi-kami, nde motea-o-mo
see-3SG.A just 2SG.F come PART:attack-1PLX.A because hard-3SG.A-PERF

koroi-mu ki-me-weweu-akomu.”

7. *Onae-mo* ka-i sangki,
   body-2SG.G 1PLX.N-PL-make-APPL:2SG.A 3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N answer

“*Komba* ndi-’aku mekombe aiwa s[um]apoi-komiu,
by.no.means be.here-1SG.A crazy come PART:attack-2PL.A

umari me-weweu-akune koroi-ku ka aku mepate-komiu?”

8. *Umari-do* m-pepau paa-paa atuu borono i-pekule ta
   finish-3PL.G PL-speak crow that then 3SG.N-return 3SG.F
monga’e i inia susua.
PART:headhunt at village different

9. Tehine i-lako, i-hawe-o-mo i inia-do i
long.time 3SG.N-go 3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF at village-3PL.G PN

Datu. 10. Borono i-pewinsongi-o, s[um]apoi-o mia atuu.
Monarch then 3SG.N-enter.upon-3SG.A PART:attack-3SG.A person that

11. Onae-mo ka-i pekule i inia-no.
3SG.INDEP-PERF and-3SG.N return at village-3SG.G

12. Nahi tehine mo-liwo-o-mo mbo’u
NEG(3SG.N) long.time PART:APASS-prepare.for.journey-3SG.A-PERF again

long.time 3SG.N-encounter-3SG.A-PERF one civet then

i-pelonsongi-o langgoe atuu k[um]apo-o; borono
3SG.N-spring.on-3SG.A civet that PART:claw-3SG.A then

i-padii-o ponai-no ka-i impahi-o. 15. Borono
3SG.N-draw-3SG.A sword-3SG.G and-3SG.N hack.at-3SG.A then

do-m-pentoa meng-kadudui-o wali-do. 16. Onae-mo
3PL.N-PL-jump.down PL-assist-3SG.A companion-3PL.G 3SG.INDEP-PERF

ka-i pepate-’ira luvw, borono i-pekule i inia-do.
and-3SG.N kill-3PL.A all then 3SG.N-return at village-3PL.G

Notes

This story was collected by J. Ritsema.

7. umari me-weweu-akune, PLN suggests umari i-me-weweu-akune, thus with second person plural pronoun.

8. In the original, written as Umari dompepau…, thus with do interpreted as a conjugating prefix. The context, however, strongly suggests that do here is a possessive suffix which belongs with the preceding word.

13. The original spelling—asa langgoe—is maintained, but is probably a misprint for aasa langgoe, since the numeral occurs without classifier.
16. *ina-do* with third person plural pronoun, compare *ina-no* in sentence 11. The shift from singular to plural is unexplained; perhaps the storyteller now using a plural form to refer respectfully to Monsiari.

*Translation*

1. The story of Monsiari.

2. Datu married on the earth. 3. After a time he had a son; the name of his son was Monsiari. 4. When Monsiari was big, after a while he made preparations to go have his body armored by the crows, in order for his body to become strong.

5. A while after his body had been armored, he was about to return to go make war (go headhunting) against his enemies. 6. Thereupon (then) the crows said to Monsiari, “See to it that you do (not) come fight (kill) us, seeing as how we have brought your body into a hard condition for you.” 7. Then he answered, “I am not crazy that I should come fight you; you all have prepared my body for me, and should I kill you?” 8. When the crows had spoken, then he returned in order to go take heads in another village.

9. After he had gone a long time, he came to the village of those of Datu. 10. Then he went inside, in order to fight those people. 11. Then he returned to his village.

12. Not long thereafter he made himself ready again to set out to undertake a raid against the village of the civets, and he set off. 13. After a long time he encountered a civet. 14. Then the civet sprang upon him, in order to seize him in its claws; then he drew his sword and hacked on it. 15. Then they (the other civets) sprang down in order to stand with their companion. 16. Then he killed them all, and afterward he returned to his village.
### List of abbreviations

The following conventions are used to gloss pronouns:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>INDEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLN</td>
<td>plural inclusive</td>
<td>ADD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLX</td>
<td>plural exclusive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other abbreviations used to gloss grammatical morphemes are:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APASS</td>
<td>antipassive</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>applicative</td>
<td>PART</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN</td>
<td>common noun marker</td>
<td>PASS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic particle</td>
<td>PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative particle</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>PN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOMP</td>
<td>incompletive</td>
<td>QUES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENS</td>
<td>intensive particle</td>
<td>REDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>REL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.o.</td>
<td>kind of</td>
<td>REQUEST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>(nasal) ligature</td>
<td>SIMUL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative nominalizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Punctuation used in the gloss line:

- (hyphen) morpheme boundary

: (colon) used when glossing infixes and morphemes of nasal replacement; two morphemes are present but cannot be linearly separated

. (period) the entire meaning is to be ascribed to a single morpheme in the text line

( ) (parentheses) used only for the surface form *nahi*, in cases where it could potentially be analyzed as a contraction of the negator *nahi* + *i* (third person singular nominative clitic); in the gloss line written NEG(3SG.N). Compare *nahu*, contracted form of *nahi* + *u* (second person singular nominative clitic).
Orthographic conventions

The digraph ng represents a velar nasal /ŋ/. The letter w represents a bilabial fricative /β/. Word-medially, glottal stop is represented by apostrophe (‘). Word-initially glottal stop is not represented but can be assumed preceding most words, e.g. ana /ʔana/ ‘child,’ uwoi /ʔuβoi/ ‘water.’ Only a handful of words, mostly clitic in nature—including the personal name marker i, the prepositions i and a, and the nominative pronouns i (third person singular) and u (second person singular)—are truly vowel initial. Other symbols have their expected phonemic value. Notably, apart from recent loan words Mori Bawah is lacking in approximants and palatal consonants.

To this day there remain questions as to whether certain forms should be written as one or two orthographic words. The thorniest issues in this regard concern pronominal forms. For consistency, I have adopted the following conventions:

- future pronouns are written separately from the verb stem which follows.

- nominative pronouns, which are all single syllable clitics, are written joined to the verb stem which follows, with the following exceptions: (a) when a nominative pronoun is preceded by ka ‘and’ or ba ‘if,’ it is written joined instead to the particle; (b) when third person singular i or second person singular u has contracted with a preceding negator, it is written with the negator.

- for purposes of this paper, absolutive pronominal clitics are written joined to the preceding stem, even though Mori Bawah writers prefer orthographically separating (by space) absolutive pronouns which consist of two or more syllables.

References


