### Free Translation

Note: This text has some problems: it is incomplete; the plot is sometimes hard to follow; and the recording is of poor quality – the volume is sometimes very low, and there is sometimes interference from a previous recording on the tape. (I apologize.) But in spite of these problems, I thought it was worthwhile publishing the text, since it has a lot of interesting material.

He was cutting down trees. They were cutting down trees. He became a Paumari. My father never said his name. He became the first Paumari. They were cutting down trees for a garden, a big garden. They were working on a big garden. They were cutting down trees in the middle of the garden. In the middle of the garden, a tree was broken and hung up on itself, up high.

The chopping of the trees was over. "Father, you all go home. You go on home. You go live back over there. We're going to burn the trees for the garden, me and my younger brothers," they said.

Their father and the others went away. They didn't have food. They ate *hawa* palm nuts. They ate heart of palm. They ate heart of *hawa* palm. They ate wild fruits.

"Mother, form a wind instrument for me out of clay."

He ate many seeds of the *boka* tree, so that he could set fire to himself. The *boka* seeds would become corn. He didn't eat food, he swallowed all kinds of wild fruits. He was planning against himself. He was going to start, and it was the dry season. When the *wahana* cicadas started singing, he went after the garden [to burn it]. The garden was big. The garden was circular. In the middle there was a broken off tree resting on itself.

They went. "We're going to burn the garden. Father, listen to me. Father, when the *mato* fruits fall, you come back and see the garden. When the *mato* fruits fall, you move and come back here. I don't think I will die. I am planning against myself. My wife is pregnant. I think it is a baby boy."

"Younger brother, you (pl) put water on the brands that are still alive, so they will be extinguished. When you have snuffed out all the brands, you go home."

His younger brothers did just as he said. He planned against himself. They went. Smoke from the logs appeared. "Yee, yee," went the sound of them yelling. They circled around setting fire to the garden. "You go there, and you others go there."

He stood on a log. He stood on a log and blew on the noisemaker. The garden caught fire. The flames came toward him from various directions. The fire came toward him from this direction. The fire also came toward him from that direction. The fire also came toward him from another direction.

"Oh no, we set fire to my older brother."

His noisemaker could be heard in the midst of the flames, "iiiiii."

The fire spread all around. He stood on the log in the middle. The noise of him was about to start. When the sound of his noisemaker stopped, the sound of him started. "Toooowi" went the sound of him exploding.

The shaman's stone took him to a stream, and he lay in the water for a long time. He lay in

the water. He was going to get well.

He got well. He came back. "Whew."

They poured water on the brands. The crops grew. There was bitter manioc, and there were yams, pineapples, peach palms, and sweet manioc. All kinds of crops grew. *Haso* taro, *yobo* taro, *nakafira* taro. There were no crops previously. Corn grew, too. The corn went right up to the edge of the garden.

He worked on a house. His longhouse stood in the middle of the garden. He worked on the house in the middle of the garden. He weaved thatch.

His younger brothers remembered. "Let's go back and see my older brother. My brother said he wouldn't die. I guess my brother is still alive. My brother said he would still be alive," they said.

"Yes, let's go back and see our older brother."

Then the two of them came back. They coveted the crops that were growing. The corn was all leaning over [because the ears of corn were so heavy]. There was sweet manioc, and all kinds of crops were growing.

The sound of him started, "teo, teo, teo, teo," as he cut off the ends of poles. The sound of him cutting off the ends of poles started. The sound of him started.

"That's the sound of him. What should I do? I'm afraid of my brother. He is going to see us. Let's go. Should I ask for more of his corn? [They had already eaten some corn in secret.] I'm going to ask for some of my brother's corn." Wait, he didn't say corn. "I'll ask for something else," since corn didn't have a name yet. "I'm going to ask for something to eat. It's good to eat. Just a minute, let me hear what my brother has to say."

The two parts of the middle of his house were done. The other part was ready, too. There were two parts left open yet on the ends of the roof of the big house. He had been working. He had many switches. Sharpened darts this long were stuck into the underside of the thatch.

"Are they going to have their upper lips pierced? He will be pierced here, then on the other side. They will be pierced there."

He turned himself into something else, so that he could make it take a long time.

The two of them went. "Older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, are you living here?"

"I am living here."

They went back. They arrived. He was weaving thatch. "You will see me."

"We came to see you."

"I am living here. I didn't die. I am living here, working." "I am weaving thatch...."

"Brother, what are those things all hanging there?"

"It's corn."

"Corn?"

"Corn. Those are stalks of corn."

"Brother, and those?"

"Peach palm, *haso* taro, yams. Those are yams. Those are *haso* taro." He was telling the names of the crops. "Yams, *wao* yams. Those are *wao* yams. That's sweet manioc over there." He was showing the crops. "That's sweet manioc."

"Brother, pull up some manioc for me, so I can eat it after I go home. Is it eaten?"

"You will eat manioc, but first you go home."

"Brother, I'm hungry. The thing you call corn, can I break one off?"

"Don't break a corn cob off. Don't break one off. Let it be for now. Wait until my father comes to me. After two months, you come back, when the *mato* fruits fall. When the *mato* fruits

fall, you come back to me. You will arrive here."

"Brother, I'm hungry."

"You are hungry, but there is no food for you. You don't have any food. It won't be given now. When the time to eat comes, I will have pity on you. You will eat it, when you are with me again."

"I'm hungry."

"Go home for now. Let it be for now. As you go on the trail, don't pick the fruits. I don't want the fruits to be picked."

"Brother, is it eaten?"

"It is eaten. I said you will eat it. When you come back again, you will eat it, when it is new moon. When it is new moon again, you come back. When the *mato* fruits fall, you come back here right to me. When you have arrived...wait, let me prepare blowgun darts. They will be ready. They will be ready when you arrive. I will cut them."

"At the new moon, after we have made a small house, there will be lots of crops everywhere that he will plant. They have burned the garden," he said. "You haven't seen my older brother's crops. We are going to eat it, sweet manioc. The sweet manioc is growing in a line next to the house. Pineapples, *haso* taro, *yobo* taro, *nakafira* taro, and a long line of yams. We are going to eat yams," they said, speaking back at their village. "My brother doesn't want the corn to be picked. The corn cobs are all on the stalks. I was hungry, but it didn't matter to him. Wait, it will be next month. At the next new moon...that will be the month when the crops are ripe, when the *mato* fruits fall. When the *mato* fruits fall, my brother said we will eat *mato* fruits with the crops."

"Older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, let me take one, just one, for my father to see."

"Let it be for now. When my father comes, I will give the crops to my father. I will give corn to my father, for my father to eat, for food for my father. You go home."

They went. They started out. "We can't steal it. Wow! I'm not going to pull of the corn ear." They went.

"Go home."

"Come on, my brother said we should come back soon."

They left. "Wow, look at my brother's crops." They stood looking at it. "It's a big garden, the crops that my brother planted." They stood there.

They went. They were going to arrive and they got close. They arrived.

"Well, what about him?" their father said.

"Well?' you say, my father. My brother has planted crops that people eat. Manioc, sweet manioc, bitter manioc, *fowa sawa* manioc, we are telling about many crops. Yams, and lots of sweet manioc. The sweet manioc plants are this high, my brother showed them. We will eat, when we go there. We will go in the next month. This month will end. When this month is over, when the *mato* fruits are falling, my brother said we will go there and eat food with *mato* fruits. I want to eat food with *mato* fruits."

The month for them to leave ended. It was the new moon. "The *mato* fruits have started to fall." They brought *mato* fruits back, and ate them. They were eating *mato* fruits.

"The moon has appeared, let's go. Father, let's go to my brother. Let's eat corn."

They set out to eat corn. They set out, and moved.

"Is your older brother's place big?"

"My brother's house is really long. The house is long. The finished part ends at the middle of one end and the other end. It will be finished," he said. The two of them were talking.

They set out. They passed each other up, walking. They walked.

They stopped at the edge of the garden. "Wow, look at the crops there were planted. Where is the trail?" their father said.

"We came this way. Father, we came this way. There is a log lying across there. Go across on top of it."

"There are many crops."

"Don't cut through the manioc stalks. Lift up the manioc stalks. That guy won't give anything. You will see."

They walked. "Father, call out."

"Yoohoo."

"Yes?" He had been putting thatch on the top of the roof. He went to bathe and came back and lay in his hammock.

His father arrived to him. They arrived.

"What do you know, it's my father. Father, did you call?"

"Yes, I called. I'm hungry."

"Is it really you?"

"It's me. He discovered crops. My son discovered crops. They didn't believe him."

"Where is my son? There is my son coming, who we were waiting for." His father hugged him. "My son grew up." They were hungry. "Son, I'm hungry."

"Father, are you hungry? Wait a minute." He handed the baby to his wife, and came. He came back.

He was hungry. "My brother cut down the corn behind the house first."

He cut down the corn, and then did a bad thing. He stuck the blowgun darts in the thatch, in a row.

# **Interlinear Presentation**

1 Awa			awa	bobo	re		toahi	i	awa	me	bobo	re		toa	
awa		,							awa	me	bo-	bore		to-	ha+F
tree	Э		tree	DUP	pull	out	CH	AUX	tree	3PL.S	DUP	pull	out	CH	AUX
nf			nf	vt			aux		nf	pron	vt			aux	
me		1	vakari	toh	atehiba	ina									
me	,	7	wakari	to	- ha	-tee	-hib	ana							
3PL.S		]	Paumari	CH	be	HAB	FUT+	М							
pron		I	nm	VC											
1		•					• •		<b>TT</b> 1	. 1 . 0	• • •	• •			

'He was cutting down trees. They were cutting down trees. He became the first Paumari.'

2	Ino	okobi			iiti		hihar	remar	i			amane		
	ino	0-	ka	abi	i-	iti	hi-	to-	ha	-ra	-himari	ama	-ne	
	name+M	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	DUP	say	OC	СН	AUX	NEG	FP.E+M	SEC	BKG+M	
	pn	nm			vt		aux					sec		

'My father never said his name.'

3	Wakari	tohat	ehibe	a		awa	me	bobo	re	
	wakari	to-	ha	-tee	-hiba	awa	me	bo-	bore	
	Paumari	СН	be	HAB	FUT+M	tree	3PL.S	DUP	pull	out
	nm	VC				nf	pron	vt		

tohemetemone	awa	ehebote	ahi .
to- ha -hemete -mone	awa	ehebote	ahi
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	garden	big	this
aux	nf	adj	dem
'He became the first Paumari.	Гhey were cutt	ing down tre	es for a garden, a big garden.'

yama 4 *Awa* ebote awa awa тe na тe тe , yama ehebote awa me na+F me awa me awa garden big 3PL.S work on AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S tree pron nf adj pron vt aux pron nf nf kaka toaha awa me kaka toa me me , me , to- ha+F ka- kaa ka- kaa me to- ha+F awa me 3PL.S DUP chop CH AUX tree 3PL.S DUP chop CH AUX 3PL.S pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux baikani awa awa ya • , awa awa baikani ya garden middle garden ADJU nf nf pn prt

'They were working on a big garden. They were cutting down trees. They were cutting down trees in the middle of the garden.'

5	Awa	baikani	ya	awa		awa		awa		kawitar	е		
	awa	baikani	ya	awa	,	awa	,	awa	,	ka-	ita	-rI	
	garden	middle	ADJU	tree		tree		tree		COMIT	sit	raised	surface
	nf	pn	prt	nf		nf		nf		vi			
•	nemeharo		ahi										
,	nemeha	-haaro	ahi										
	be high	IP.E+F	there										
	vi		dem										
			-	-	-								

'In the middle of the garden, a tree was broken and hung up on itself, up high.'

6	Awa	kawitare	emeter	noneke					nemeharo	
	awa	ka-	ita	-rI		-hemete	-mone	-ke	nemeha	-haaro
	tree	COMIT	sit	raised	surface	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	be high	IP.E+F
	nf	vi							vi	
				•	1. 10					

'The tree was broken and hung up on itself, up high.'

7	Faya	awa	ka	ni	ahaba		Abi		abi	•	abi
	faya	awa	kaa	na.NFIN	ahaba+F	,	abi	,	abi	,	abi
	SO	tree	chop	AUX	die		father		father		father
	conj	nf	result	aux	vi		nm		nm		nm
te		tokomahi									
te	е	to- ka	1 <b>–</b>	ma -hi							
2 P	L.S	away go	/come b	ack IMP+F							
pr	on	vi									

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'The chopping of the trees was over. "Father, you all go home."

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8 Te tokomahi
tee to- ka -ma -hi
2PL.S away go/come back IMP+F
pron vi
"'You go on home."'
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9 Te towinamibe ahi tee to- wina -ma -be ahi 2PL.S away live back IMMED+F there pron vi dem

"You go live back over there."

10	<i>Awa</i> awa tree	<i>ota</i> otaa 1EX.S	<i>sari</i> sari burn	AUX	-ma	-be IMMED+F	-ya now	,	<i>okaniso</i> o- 1SG.POSS	ka POSS	niso younger	brother
	nf	pron	vt	aux					nm			
me	ya	otaba				owa .						
me	ya	0-	taba	+F		owa						
3P1	L ADJ		S be t	ogetl	ner	1SG.S						
-	on prt			с.,		pron			1.1.1			
"W	'e're gou	ng to burr	n the tree	es for t	he gare	den, me and	l my yo	oung	er brothers."			

11	Awa	ota	sari	nan	aba		otak	е		faya	ati	ne
	awa	otaa	sari	na	-ma	-haba	ota	a	-ke	faya	a ati	na+M
	tree	1EX.S	burn	AUX	bac	k FUT+F	1EX	.s	DECL+H	: so	say	AUX
	nf	pron	vt	aux			pro	n		con	j vt	aux
bat	i		me	te	okomei	metemone					ahi	
ba	ti		me	t	o-	ka	-ma	-ł	nemete	-mone	ahi	•
3S)	G.POSS	.father	3PL.S	S a	way (	go/come	back	FΕ	P.N+F	REP+F	then	
nm			pron	V	i						dem	
<b>'''</b> τΛ	le are go	ing to hur	n the tre	es " t	hev sa	id Their	father a	nd	the othe	rs went :	away '	

We are going to burn the trees," they said. Their father and the others went away.'

12	Me	tokom	a		me	me	tafe	watara	mati
	me	to-	ka	-ma+F	me	me	tafe	wata -ra+F	mati
	3PL.S	away	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.POSS	food+F	exist NEG	3PL.POSS
	pron	vi			pron	pron	pn	vi	pron

. 'They went. They didn't have food.'

13 Hawa	<i>ı</i>	hawa	ta	1	me	komo		hawa	ta	
hawa	1	hawa	taa	r	me	komo.LI		hawa	taa	
palm	n sp	palm sp	o contra	ast 3	3PL.S	eat		palm sp	contra	st
nf		nf	prt	I	pron	vt		nf	prt	
me	komo	, 1	hawa	me	kom	o na	me	yama	afo	
me	komo.LI	IST 1	nawa	me	kom	o na+F	me	yama	afo	
3PL.S	eat	]	palm sp	3PL.	S eat	AUX	3PL.S	S thing	heart (	of palm
pron	vt	1	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nf	nf	
me	kaba	hawa	afone		me	kaba	faya	afo		me
me	kaba+F	hawa	afone		me	kaba+	F fay	a afo		me
3PL.S	eat	palm s	p soft	core	3PL.S	eat	SO	heart	of palm	3PL.S
pron	vt	nf	pn		pron	vt	con	j nf		pron
kakaba	toa	n	ie,	awa	boni	,	awa	boni	me	kaba
ka- kał	oa to-	ha+F m	)	awa	boni	,	awa	boni	me	kaba+F
DUP eat	t CH	AUX 3	PL.S	tree	e frui	t+F	tree	fruit+F	3PL.S	eat
vt	aux	p	ron	nf	pn		nf	pn	pron	vt
, awa	boni	me	kaba	n	ne	faya A	lmi	, oka		
awa	boni	me	kaba	+F m	ie .	faya a	imi	0-	ka	
tree	e fruit	+F 3PL	.S eat	3	PL.S	so m	nother	1SG.P	OSS POSS	5
nf	pn	pro	n vt	р	ron	conj n	f	prt		
hohoriba			kero				tin	a	,	
ho- ho:	ri	-3	oa kero				ti	– na	2	
DUP pla	ay by bl	owing F	JT make	with	circu	lar moti	ion 2S	G.S AUX		
nf			vt				au	X		
hohori										
ho- ho:	ri		-							
DUP pla	ay by bl	owing								
nf -										

'They ate *hawa* palm nuts. They ate heart of palm. They ate heart of *hawa* palm. They ate heart of palm. They ate wild fruits. "Mother, form a wind instrument for me out of clay."'

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14	Hohori	kero		tinahi			
	ho- hori	kero		ti-	na	-hi	
	DUP play by blow	ing make with	circular motion	2SG.S	AUX	IMP+F	
	nf	vt		aux			

"Form a wind instrument out of clay."

15 <i>Hiwa</i> , hiwa 3SG.REFL.M	<i>hiwa</i> hiwa 3SG.REFL		COMIT AUX	-hiba ' FUT+M	<i>hiwa</i> hiwa 3SG.REFL.M	<i>sari</i> sari burn
pron	pron	vt	aux		pron	vt
kanehiba	boka	noko	yoyome	toematamo	na	ahi
ka- na -hiba	boka	noko	yo- yome	to- ha	-himata -mo	na ahi
COMIT AUX FUT+M	tree sp	seed+M	DUP swallow	CH AUX	FP.N+M REP	+M then
aux	nm	pn	vt	aux		dem
kimibonaha	ahi .					
kimi -bona -ha	ahi					
corn INT+M DUP	then					
nm	dem					
'He ate many <i>boka</i> se	eds, so that he	could set f	ire to himself. Th	ne <i>hoka</i> seeds	would become o	orn.'

'He ate many *boka* seeds, so that he could set fire to himself. The *boka* seeds would become corn.'

16 Kimibona	tha	yome	ne	awa	, .	yama b	ooni	nafi	yome	
kimi -k	oona -ha	yome	na+M	awa		yama b	oni	nafi	yome	
corn IN	NT+M DUP	swallow	AUX	tree		thing f	fruit+F	all	swall	Low
nm		vt	aux	nf		nf p	on	pn	vt	
ne	ya taf	fare	yama	boni		yoyome		toe		yama
na.NOM+M	ya ta	lfa −ra+M	yama	boni		yo- yor	me	to- ha+	M	yama
AUX	ADJU ea	it NEG	thing	f fruit	+F	DUP swa	allow	CH AUX		thing
aux	prt vi		nf	pn		vt		aux		nf
yama	yoyome	toe		, boka		noko	yoyom	е	toe	
yama	yo- yome	to- 1		, boka		noko	yo-	yome	to-	ha+M
thing	DUP swal	low CH 2	AUX	tree	sp	seed+M	I DUP :	swallow	CH	AUX
nf	vt	aux		nm		pn	vt		aux	
yama 🚬	me,	wati	ka	ine		hiwa	wa	ıti		
yama		wati	ka	a- na+	М	hiwa	Wá	ati		
thing	3PL :	plan agair	nst CO	XUA TIMC		3SG.REF	L.M pl	lan agai	nst	
nf	pron	vt	aı	ux		pron	vt	-		
kanehinoho										
ka- na	-hino -	ho								
COMIT AUX	IP.N+M D	UP								
aux										

'He ate the seeds which would become corn. He didn't eat food, he swallowed all kinds of wild fruits. He ate them. He ate *boka* seeds. He was planning against himself.'

17	Hiwa	wati	kanehinohomatamonaka							ahi
	hiwa	wati	ka-	na	-hino	-ho	-mata	-mona	-ka	ahi
	3SG.REFL.M	plan against	COMIT	AUX	IP.N+M	DUP	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then
	pron	vt	aux							dem

# 'He was planning against himself.'

18	Faya	hiwa	wati	kanehinoho			yana	tonel	ba		
	faya	hiwa	wati	ka-	na	-hino	-ho	yana	to-	na	-hiba
	SO	3SG.REFL.M	plan against	COMIT	AUX	IP.N+M	DUP	start	CH	AUX	FUT+M
	conj	pron	vt	aux				vi	aux		

yama hiwemetemone yama hiwe -mete -mone

time heat+F FP.N+F REP+F

nf pn

'He was planning against himself. He was going to start, and it was the dry season.'

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19 <i>Wana</i>		me	ati		yana		na		ne		ati		ya	,	
wahana		me	at	1	yana		na+1	F. I	ne		ati		ya		
cicada	sp	3PL.PO	SS vo	ice	star	t	AUX		3PL.POS	SS	void	ce	AD	JU	
nm		pron	pn		vi		aux	I	pron		pn		prt	t	
wana	me	?	ati	yar	ıa	na		me		ati		ya		faya	awa
wahana	me		ati	ya	na	na-	+F	me		at	i	ya		faya	awa
cicada sp	ЗF	L.POSS	voice	e st	art	AUX	X	3pl	.POSS	vo	ice	AD	JU	SO	garden
nm	pr	on	pn	vi		auz	x	pro	n	pn		pr	t	conj	nf
wati		kanemat	amonaka	ı					fahi						
wati		ka-	na -h	imata	a -mo	na	-ka		fahi						
plan agai	nst	COMIT	AUX FE	∧.N+M	REP	M+v	DECI	L+M	then						
vt		aux							dem						
'When the <i>u</i>	vahan	a cicadas	started s	singing	g, he w	ent	after	the g	garden.'						
20 Awa	wa	ti	k	ane			aw	'a	ebot	eme	temon	eke			
awa	wa	ti	k	a-	na+M	,	aw	ıa	ehe	bot	e -m	ete	- 1	mone -	ke
	1				71 1 1 1 2		~ ~ ~		n la i a			NT I		ם תומת	

	awa	watı	ka-	na+M	awa	ehebote	-mete	-mone	-ke
	garden	plan against	COMIT	AUX	garden	big	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	nf	vt	aux		nf	adj			
<i>ah</i> ah th de	ii Ien					-			

'He went after the garden. The garden was big.'

21	Awa	kamawame	amawamemetemoneke								
	awa	ka	-ma	-waha	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi		
	garden nf	go/come vi	back	change	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F			
Im1		• -							dem		
"I'h	a gardon w	oc airailar									

'The garden was circular.'

22	Baikani	ya	awa	kawitare	emeten	noneke					ahi
	baikani	ya	awa	ka-	ita	-rI		-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi
	middle	ADJU	tree	COMIT	sit	raised	surface	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	pn	prt	nf	vi							dem

'In the middle there was a broken off tree resting on itself.'

23 Me tokoma me me to- ka -ma+F me me me 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S pron vi pron pron tokomemetemoneke • to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi 'They went.'

24	Me	tokom	a		me	Awa	ota	sari
	me	to-	ka	-ma+F	me	awa	otaa	sari
	3PL.S	away	go/come	back	3PL.S	tree	1EX.S	burn
	pron	vi			pron	nf	pron	vt

namatibe na -mata -be AUX short time IMMED+F aux

'They went. "We're going to burn the garden."'

25 Abi abi abi owati timitamata , o- ati abi abi ti- mita -mata abi father father father 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear short time pn nm vt nm nm

"Father, listen to me."

26 *Owati* timitamata ti- mita -mata 0ati 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear short time pn vt "Listen to me."

27 Abi ya mato mato sone mato sone , , abi mato mato sona.NOM+M mato sona.NOM+M ya father tree sp tree sp fall ADJU tree sp fall vi prt nm vi nm nm nm te awamiyahi ya awa awa -ma -vahi ya awa tee ADJU garden 2PL.S see back DIST.IMP+F nf pron vt prt

"Father, when the mato fruits fall, you come back and see the garden."

28 Mato tibana tikamiya sone ya sona.NOM+M ya tibana+F ti- ka -ma -yahi mato 2SG.S move away 2SG.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F tree sp fall ADJU vi prt vi νi nm owa ni ya ahi owa ni ya ahi 1SG to ADJU here pron prt prt dem

"When the mato fruits fall, you move and come back here."

29	Ohabar	aba			owa	awine	oke	
	0-	ahaba	-ra	-haba	owa	awine	0-	ke
	1SG.S	die	NEG	FUT+F	1SG.S	seem+F	1SG.S	DECL+F
	vi				pron	sec	prt	

"I don't think I will die."

30	Owa	wati	okana			oke	
	owa	wati	0-	ka-	na	0-	ke
	1SG.O	plan against	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	1SG.S	DECL+F
	pron	vt	aux			prt	
""т	om nlonni	ng against mysolf "	,				

'I am planning against myself.'

31	Owa	wati	okini			
	owa	wati	0-	ka-	na	-ni
	1SG.O	plan against	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	BKG+F
	pron	vt	aux			
111-	1	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •				

"I am planning against myself."

32 <i>Ohabaraba</i> o- ahaba -ra -haba 1SG.S die NEG FUT+F vi "'I don't think I will die."'	owa awine o 1SG.S seem+F 1	ke . - ke SG.S DECL+F rt
33 Okoyiboteo-kayibote1SG.POSSPOSSwifeprtnfnofaamakenanofa+FamaAUXrecentlySECprtsec"My wife is pregnation."	, oko o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt haro haaro that one+F dem	yibote nabati weye yibote nabati weye wife stomach carry nf pn vt
34Okoyiboteo-kayibote1SG.POSSPOSSwifeprtnf"My wife is pregnant."	nabati weye stomach carry	nofa amani na nofa+F ama -ni AUX recently SEC BKG+F prt sec
35 Inamatewe maki tohe inamatewe maki to-ha child male CH be nm nm vc		•
36 Inamatewe maki toe inamatewe maki to- ha child male CH be nm nm vc		
37 Oko yibote o- ka yibote 1SG.POSS POSS wife prt nf "My wife is pregnant."" <sup>150</sup>	weyenofaweyenanofa+carryAUXrecentvtprt	
nm nm nm <i>kamiya</i> ka -ma -yahi a go/come back DIST.IMP+F	o sona.NOM+M e sp fall vi ahi . ahi here dem	ya te ya tee ADJU 2PL.S prt pron
39 Te kamiya tee ka -ma -ya 2PL.S go/come back DIS pron vi "'You come back here."'	ahi .	

150 It should be Oko yibote nabati weye nofa amake, i.e. nabati 'belly' is missing.

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4	40 <i>Owa</i> owa 1SG. pron		, n .S y	_	r broth	ler	,	<b>niso</b> niso younger nm	brother	<i>awa</i> awa tree nf	, <i>awa</i> awa tree nf	è
(	oye	<i>so</i>	tokasa				oye	!	te .	faha	ya	awa
(	oye	S00	to- ka-	- na	-kos	a+F	оy	е	tee	faha	ya	awa
	light+F	' lie	CH CON	IIT AU	VX midd	le	li	ght+F	2PL.S	water	ADJU	tree
1	on	vi	aux				pn		pron	nf	prt	nf
(	oye	te	soko	niyah	i		,	awa	oye	owihaba		,
(	oye	tee	soko	na	-yahi			awa	oye	owi	-haba	ŕ
-	light+F	2PL.	S wash	AUX	DIST.I	MP+F		tree	light+F	go out	FUT+F	
1	on	pron	vt	aux				nf	pn	vi		
1	faha	owihaba	na	<b>,</b> .	yama	owiha	ıban	a				
	faha	owi	-habana		yama	owi		-haban	a			
7	water	go out	FUT+F		thing	go c	ut	FUT+F				
1	nf	vi			nf	vi						
												-

"Younger brother, you put water on the brands that are still alive, so they will be extinguished."

41	<b>Yama</b> yama thing nf	<i>oye</i> oye light+F pn	<i>te</i> tee 2PL.S pron	<b>yafa</b> yafa put vt		ching	on top	of AU	a.NOM+F	<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt	<b>yama</b> yama thing nf
te te 2P	e <u>y</u> L.S P	<b>vafa</b> yafa put somethi vt	.ng on t	op of			<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt	<b>yama</b> yama thin nf	<i>nafi</i> nafi g all pn	te tee 2PL.S pron	5
<i>yaf</i> ya pu vt	fa	ething on t	op of	<b>ni</b> na.NO AUX aux	M+F	<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt	<i>te</i> tee 2PL.S pron	<i>tokom</i> to- away vi	ka	-ma back	-yahi DIST.IMP+F

. ""When you have snuffed out all the brands, you go home.""

42	Fare	ati	nima	nisori		me
	fare	ati	nima	nisori		me
	same+M	voice	like	3SG.POSS.younger	brother	3PL.S
	dem	pn	prt	nm		pron
hin	ematamona	ka				
hi	– na –h	imata -	mona -	ka		
OC	AUX FP	.N+M R	EP+M DI	ECL+M		
au: 'Hi	× s younger b	orothers d	id just as	he said.'		

43	Faya	hine	wati	kanema		fahi .			
	faya	hine	wati	ka-	na	-himata	-mona	fahi	
	SO	3.REFL	plan against	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then	
	conj	pron	vt	aux				dem	
1	1	1 • . 1 •	101						

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'He planned against himself.'

44 Me tokemetemoneke me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi 'They went.'

45 Me toka me me toka me awa , to- ka+F ka+F me me me tome awa 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S tree pron vi pron pron vi pron nf yana hote nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni hote vana start AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F smoke+F vi aux pn 'They went. Smoke from the logs appeared.' 46 Yee yee yee me , yee yee yee me (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling) 3PL.S (sound of yelling) interj interj interj pron kawa ye nemetemone yee kana -waha.LIST na -hemete -mone yell COMIT AUX change AUX FP.N+F REP+F vi aux aux "Yee, yee, yee," went the sound of them yelling.' 47 Awa me sari ni sari moto nama awa me na sari na.NFIN moto na -ma+F awa me awa me sari na+F 3PL.S burn AUX loop AUX back tree 3PL.S AUX tree burn vt aux vi nf nf pron aux pron vt aux Haha toka te ha toka na me te , ka+F haaha tohaa toka.LIST me tee tee na this+F 2PL.S away go/come DEM 2PL.S AUX 3PL.S away go/come pron dem pron vi dem pron vi aux ahi • ahi there dem 'They circled around setting fire to the garden. They set fire to the garden. "You go there, and you others go

'They circled around setting fire to the garden. They set fire to the garden. "You go there, and you others there."'

#### 48 Warematamonaka

```
waa -rI -himata -mona -ka
stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi
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'He stood on a log.'

49 Warehi	hohori	hori
waa -rI+M	ho- hori	hori
stand raised surf	ace DUP play by blo	owing play by blowing
vi	nf	vt
nematamona	hohori	ahi .
na -himata -mona	ho- hori	ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M	DUP play by blowing	then
aux	nf	dem
'He stood on a log and blew	on the noisemaker.'	

50	Hohori	hori	ne .	<i>hohori</i> ho- hori
	ho- hori	hori	na+M 🥤	ho- hori
	DUP play by blowing	play by blowing	AUX	DUP play by blowing
	nf	vt	aux	nf

hori	ne , faya		hori	ne
hori	na+M fay	a ho- hori	hori	na+M
play by blowing	AUX so	DUP play by blowing	play by blowing	AUX
vt	aux con	j nf	vt	aux
awa hiri	nemetemone	•		
awa hiri	na -hemete	e -mone		
tree catch fire	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F		
nf vi	aux			
'II a blow on the noisen	nakan Tha gandar	a anglet fina '		

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'He blew on the noisemaker. The garden caught fire.'

51	Awa	hiri	nemetemone	amani	ahi
	awa	hiri	na -hemete -mone	ama -ni	ahi
	tree	catch fire	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	SEC BKG+F	then
	nf	vi	aux	sec	dem
ten1	1	1.0.1			

'The garden caught fire.'

52	Awa	hiri		ni		kake			nake	ehite				ha
	awa	hiri		na.l	VFIN	ka	-kI		na	-k	Γ	-hitI		haa
	tree	catch	n fire	e AUX		go/come	comi	ng	AUX	cor	ning	along	the way	DEM
	nf	vi		aux		vi			aux					dem
hiri	i	ni		kake			ha	hiri			ni		kake	
hi	ri	na	a.NFI1	J ka		-kI	haa	hiri	Ĺ		na	.NFIN	ka	-kI
cat	tch fi	.re Al	JX	go/	come	coming	DEM	cato	ch f	ire	AU	X	go/come	coming
vi		aı	лх	vi			dem	vi			au	x	vi	
	ha	hiri		ni		kake			h	a	hiri		ni	
,	haa	hiri		na.Nl	FIN	ka	-kI	,	h	aa	hiri		na.NFI	N
	DEM	catch	fire	AUX		go/come	comin	ıg	D	EM	cato	h fire	AUX	
	dem	vi		aux		vi			d	em	vi		aux	
kak	e		,	na	ahi									
ka		-kI	,	na+F	ahi									
go,	/come	coming	J	AUX	ther	1								
vi				aux	dem									
tron1	CT .		1	1 · C	•	1	<b>m</b> 1	C*			11.	c .	1 * 1* .*	m1 (*

'The flames came toward him from various directions. The fire came toward him from this direction. The fire also came toward him from that direction. The fire also came toward him from another direction.'

53	Okoyo					okoyo				е	sari
	0-	ka	ayo		,	0-	ka	ayo		ee	sari
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother		1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother	1IN.S	burn
	nm					nm				pron	vt
kar	nake										
ka	- na -	ke									
CO	MIT AUX D	ECL+F									
au	x										
'''W	le set fire to	my old	er broth	er.'''							

54 Okoyo **e** ee Okoyo o- ka ayo sari kanake sari ka- na -ke 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1IN.S burn COMIT AUX DECL+F pron vt nm aux okovo • o- ka ayo 1SG.POSS POSS older brother nm "We set fire to my older brother."

55 Hinaka	hohori			ati	saihemetemo	one		•	yama
hinaka	ho- hor:	i		ati	sai	-hemete	-mone	,	yama
3SG.POSS	DUP play	y by blowi	ing	voice	be heard	FP.N+F	REP+F		thing
pron	nf			pn	vi				nf
hiri	ni	baikani	ya	iiiiii					
hiri	na.NFIN	baikani	ya	iiii	ii				
catch fire	AUX	middle	ADJ	U (sou	nd of noi	semaker)			
vi	aux	pn	prt	soun	ld				
'His noisemake	r could be he	ard in the m	f the flam	es, "iiiiii."'					

**yama** yama 56 Hinaka hohori hinaka ho-hori , yama *ati saiha* ati sai+F ati yama 3SG.POSS DUP play by blowing voice be heard thing thing nf pron nf pn vi nf *hiri ni tokehemetemone* hiri na.NFIN to- ka amake ahi nafi *amake* -hemete -mone ama -ke , ahi nafi catch fire AUX away go/come FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F there all vi aux vi sec dem pn ahi . ahi then dem 'The fire spread all around.'

na -hibana
AUX FUT+M

'He stood on the log in the middle. The sound of him was about to start.'

58 Hinaka		hohori	ati	fawa	ni	ya		moni		
hina	aka	ho- hori	ati	fawa	na.NOM+F	ya	,	moni		
3SG.	.POSS	DUP play by blowing	voice	stop	AUX	ADJU		sound		
pror	n	nf	pn	vi	aux	prt		pn		
yana	tonem	atamonaka	fah	i .						
yana	to-	na -himata -mona -ka	fał	ni						
start	CH	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DEC	L+M the	en						
vi	aux		der	n						
'When th	When the sound of his noisemaker stopped, the sound of him started '									

'When the sound of his noisemaker stopped, the sound of him started.'

59	Toooowi	tao	kanema	ahi					
	toooowi	tao	ka-	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi	
	(sound of explosion)	hit	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then	
	sound	vi	aux					dem	
"To a couril wort the gound of him comboding!									

"Toooowi" went the sound of him exploding.

60	Tao	kane		faya	yama	hiwa	ke				yama
	tao	ka-	na+M	faya	yama	hi-	to-	ka-	ka+M	,	yama
	hit	COMIT	AUX	SO	thing	OC	away	COMIT	go/co	me	thing
	vi	aux		conj	nf	vt					nf
hin	vakano					ya	faha	ya		faha	ya
hi	- to-	ka-	ka.NO	M+M -	no	ya	faha	a ya	,	faha	ya
OC	awa	y COMIT	go/co	me I	P.N+M	ADJU	wate	er ADJ	JU	water	ADJU
vt						prt	nf	prt	-	nf	prt

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kakafowa toematamonaka faha va ka- kato- ha -himata -mona -ka fowa faha ya CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M DUP COMIT be in water ADJU water vi aux nf prt 'The shaman's stone took him to a stream, and he lay in the water for a long time.'

61 Faya kafowe , kafowe , faya ka- fowa+M , ka- fowa+M , so COMIT be in water COMIT be in water conj vi vi

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tafimebanoho
tafi -ma -hiba -no -ho
get well back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
vi
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'He lay in the water. He was going to get well.'

62 Tafimeba kakafowa tafime toe tafi -ma -hiba ka- kafowa to- ha+M tafi -ma+M DUP COMIT be in water get well back FUT+M CH AUX get well back vi vi aux vi kamematamonaka -ma -himata -mona -ka ka go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi

'He was going to get well, and he lay in the water. He got well. He came back.'

#### 63 Kamematamonaka

```
ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi
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'He came back.'

64	Kame		•	Hoo			
	ka	-ma+M	,	hoo			
	go/come	back		whew			
	vi			interj			

'He came back. "Whew.""

65 Yama	me	sorosoro	hina	•	yama	yanemetemone	ama
yama	me	soro- soro	hi- na+F	,	yama	yana -hemete -mone	ama
thing	3PL.S	DUP pour	OC AUX		thing	grow FP.N+F REP+F	SEC
nf	pron	vt	aux		nf	vi	sec
<i>haro</i> haaro	•						

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that one+F
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dem
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'They poured water on the brands. The crops grew.'

66 <i>Fowa</i> fowa manioc nm	,	<i>fowa</i> fowa manioc nm	<i>yana</i> yana.LIST grow vi	, k	<b>biha</b> Diha.LIS' yam nf	Γ,	<i>sami</i> sami.Ll pineapp nf		<i>yawita</i> yawita.LIST peach palm nm	,
11111		11111	VI	1	.1 上		111		11111	
fowa kabe		, fo	wa kabematam	ona		am	ne	ahi		
fowa kabe.	LIS	ST f	owa kabe	-mata	a -mona	ama	a -ne	ahi		
sweet mani	OC	S	weet manioc	FP.N	+M REP+M	be	BKG+M	then		
nm		nı	m			VC		dem		

'There was bitter manioc, and there were yams, pineapples, peach palms, and sweet manioc.'

67 Haso	yobo	nakafira	yama	nafi	yanemetemone
haso	yobo		yama	nafi	yana -hemete -mone
taro sp	taro sp	taro sp	thing	all	grow FP.N+F REP+F
nm	nm	nf	nf	pn	vi
amake	ahi .	yamata watari		ya	
ama -ke	ahi	yamata wata	-ra.NOM+F	ya	
SEC DECL+F	there	crops exist	NEG	ADJU	
sec	dem	nf vi		prt	
1 1 1 1 1 1			1 (*	1 1	

'All kinds of crops grew. Haso taro, yobo taro, nakafira taro. There had been no crops previously.'

68	Kimi	•	kimi	ya		•	kimi	yowabas	sematam	ona		,	fara
	kimi		kimi	ya	na.LIST		kimi	yowa	-basa	-himata	-mona		fara
	corn		corn	gr	OW		corn	reach	edge	FP.N+M	REP+M		same+F
	nm		nm	vi			nm	vi					dem
awa	1	witi	nin	ıa	ahi								
awa	a	wit	i ni	na	ahi								
ga	rden	edg	e li	ke	then								
nf		pn	pr	t	dem								
			-										

'Corn grew, too. The corn went right up to the edge of the garden.'

69 <i>Faya</i> faya so	<i>yobe</i> , yobe house	<i>yobe</i> yobe house		i rk on	<i>tohe</i> to- ha+M CH AUX	<i>hinaka</i> hinaka 3SG.POSS	<i>yobe</i> yobe thatch			
conj	nm	nm	vt		aux	pron	nm			
wematamo	na	, b	oaikani	ya	, awa	baikani	ya .			
waa -h	nimata -mor	na ĺ b	baikani	ya	awa	baikani	уа			
stand FI	P.N+M REP-	-M n	niddle	ADJU	garden	middle	ADJU			
vi		p	on	prt	nf	pn	prt			
'He worke	'He worked on a house. His longhouse stood in the middle of the garden '									

'He worked on a house. His longhouse stood in the middle of the garden.'

70 <i>Awa</i> awa tre nf	baikani	ya yo	be aahi obe a- ouse DUP n vt	ahi	on	tohe to- CH aux	ha+M AUX	<i>yobe</i> yobe house nm		<b>va</b> kowa weave
tohe	, nisor			,	nise					me
to- ha	a+M nisc	ori			ni	sori				me
CH AU	JX 3SG.	POSS.your	nger broth	ner	3S(	G.PO	SS.your	nger bro	other	3PL.POSS
aux	nm				nm					pron
ati	hiyawa	Okoyo	,				е	totow	vama	
ati	hiyawa+F	0-	ka	ayo			ee	to-	to-	awa -ma
voice	have an io	dea 1SG.N	POSS POSS	older	bro	ther	1IN.	S DUP	away	see back
pn	vi	nm					pror	n vt		
nahi										
na -h	na -hi									
AUX IN	IP+F									
aux	aux									

'He worked on the house in the middle of the garden. He weaved thatch. His younger brothers remembered. "Let's go back and see my older brother."

71	Okoyo		е	totow	totowama				nahi		
	0-	ka	ayo		ee	to-	to-	awa	-ma	na	-hi
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother	1IN	DUP	away	see	back	AUX	IMP+F
	nm				pron	vt				aux	
!!!т	atta an haale a										

'Let's go back and see my older brother.'

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72 Okoyo abarebona ati neri o- ka ayo ahaba -ra -hibona ati na -hiri 1SG.POSS POSS older brother die NEG INT+M say AUX RP.E+M vi nm vt aux amaka . ama -ka SEC DECL+M sec "My brother said he wouldn't die."

73	Okoyo			wine	awaka		
	0-	ka	ayo		wina+M	awa	-ka
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother	live	seem+M	DECL+M
	nm				vi	sec	

"I guess my brother is still alive."

74	Okoy	0				winebo	ona	ati	neri		aman	ıe	
	0-		ka	ayo		wina	-hibona	ati	na	-hiri	ama	-ne	
	1SG.	POSS	POSS	older	brother	live	INT+M	say	AUX	RP.E+M	SEC	BKG+M	
	nm					vi		vt	aux		sec		
me		ati	neme	temoneke	?								
me		ati	na	-hemet	e -mone	-ke							
3P:	L.S	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F							
pr	on	vt	aux										

"My brother said he would still be alive," they said."

75	Ee	•	e	ka	ayo	e	towamamata					
	ee	<i></i>	ee	ka	ауо	ee	to-	awa	-ma	-mata		
	yes		1IN.S	POSS	older brother	1IN.S	away	see	back	short	time	
	interj		pron	prt	nm	pron	vt					
11157	"Non lather hash and see our older brother "											

"Yes, let's go back and see our older brother."

76	Ee	e	ka	ayo	e	towamama	ıta		mata
	ee	ee	ka	ayo	ee	to- aw	a -ma	-mata	mata
	yes	1IN	POSS	older brother	1IN.S	away se	e back	short time	for now
	interj	pron	prt	nm	pron	vt			prt

"'Yes, let's go back and see our older brother."

77	Faya	me	kakama			me	me
	faya	me	ka-	ka	-ma+F	me	me
	SO	3PL.S	COMIT	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi			pron	pron
~							

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famemetemoneke

fama -hemete -mone -ke be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

'Then the two of them came back.'

78 <i>Me</i>	fama	me	kakama	!		me
me	fama+F	me	ka-	ka	-ma+F	me
3PL.S	be two	3PL.S	COMIT	go/come	back	3PL.S
pron	vi	pron	vi			pron
kakameme						
ka- ka	a -ma	-heme	te -mor	ne -ke		
COMIT go	o/come bac	k FP.N+	F REP-	+F DECL+1	5	
vi						

#### 'The two of them came back.'

79 <i>Yamata</i> yamata crops nf	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>awaaw</i> awa- DUP vt	awa	-wa DUP	na	-hemete FP.N+F	-mone REP+F	<i>ahi</i> ahi then dem	,	<i>yama</i> yama thing nf
yanaharo yana -haan grow IP.E- vi 'They coveted	F then dem		ere gro	owing.'						

80	Kimi	winanana	kawahematamonaka	kimi	ahi
	kimi	wina -na -na	ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka 🥤	kimi	ahi
	corn	hang DUP DUP	COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	corn	then
	nm	vi	aux	nm	dem

'The corn was all leaning over.'

81 <i>Fowa kabe</i> fowa kabe sweet manioc nm	<b>yama</b> yama thing nf	<i>nafi</i> nafi all pn	yana , yana.LIST start vi	<i>moni</i> moni sound pn	<i>yana</i> yana start vi	
<b>nematamonaka</b> na -himata -mo AUX FP.N+M REI aux	ona -ka P+M DECL+	, ⊦M	<i>teo</i> teo (sound of hitt sound	, ing)	<i>teo</i> teo (sound of hitti sound	, .ng)
<i>teo</i> teo (sound of hitti sound	.ng)	<i>teo</i> teo (sound sound	l of hitting)	, <i>teo</i> teo (sour sound	, nd of hitting) l	<i>awa</i> awa wood nf
tii na cut through Al	<b>akosenoho</b> a -kosa JX middle JX	-hind P.N-				

'There was sweet manioc, and all kinds of crops were growing. The sound of him started, "teo, teo, teo, teo, teo," as he cut off the ends of poles.'

82 Awa	ti	nakoseno	moni	moni yana
awa	tii	na -kosa -hin	o moni í	moni yana
wood	cut through	AUX middle IP.N	+M sound	sound start
nf	vt	aux	pn	pn vi
nematamo	naka			
na -hi	mata -mona -k	a		
AUX FP.	N+M REP+M DE	CL+M		
aux				
'The soun	d of him cutting of	f the ends of poles star	ted.'	

83 *Moni* Efe yana moni moni amaka ne na+M ama -ka yana efe moni moni moni sound start AUX sound this+M sound be DECL+M vi pn aux pn dem pn VC

'The sound of him started. "That's the sound of him."

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84 <i>Himata nima onahaba ?</i> himata nima o- na -haba
what? like 1SG.S AUX FUT+F interrog prt aux ""What should I do?""
What should I do:
85     Okoyo     yofine     awaka       o-     ka     ayo     yofina+M     awa     -ka       1SG.POSS     POSS     older brother     cause fear     seem+M     DECL+M       nm     vi     sec
"I'm afraid of my brother."
86 Era awehiba awaka . era awa -hiba awa -ka 1IN.O see FUT+M seem+M DECL+M pron vt sec "'He is going to see us."'
87 Himahinakakimiowaokanikibana?himahinakakimiowao-ka-nika+F-banalet's go3SG.POSScornother+M1SG.SCOMITask for FUTinterjpronnmadjvt
"'Let's go. Should I ask for more of his corn?"'
88       Kimi       owa       okanikibana       ?         kimi       owa       o-       ka-       nika+F       -bana         corn       other+M       1SG.S       COMIT       ask for FUT         nm       adj       vt         '''Should I ask for more of his corn?'''
89Okoyokakimiokanikabanao-kaayokakimio-ka-nika-habana1SG.POSSPOSSolder brotherPOSScorn1SG.SCOMIT ask for FUT+Fnmprtnmvt
oke     ahi       o-     ke       ahi       1SG.S DECL+F       then       prt
"I'm going to ask for some of my brother's corn.""
90Kimikimikimiamarehibayamaonekimikimiama -ra+MhibayamaonecorncorncornbeNEGwaitthingother+Fnmnmnmvcinterjnfadj
okanikibana,yamayamakimiinoo-ka-nika+F-banayamayamakimiino1SG.S COMIT ask for FUTthingthingcornname+Mvtnfnfnmpn
<pre>watarari wata -ra -haari exist NEG IP.E+M vi 'Wait, he didn't say corn. "I'll ask for something else," since corn didn't have a name yet.'</pre>

'Wait, he didn't say corn. "I'll ask for something else," since corn didn't have a name yet.'

91 Kimi ino watare Yama okanikahabanake kimi ino wata -ra+M yama o- ka- nika -habana -ke corn name+M exist NEG thing 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT+F DECL+F nm pn vi nf vt haro kabahabana haaro kaba -habana that one+F eat FUT+F dem result

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'Corn didn't have a name. "I'm going to ask for something to eat.""

92	Kabate	eni	amanite			
	kaba	-tee	-hani	ama	-nite	
	eat	HAB	IP.N+F	be	?	
	resul	Lt		VC		
'''It	's good	to eat.				

93 Hiba okoyo ati omitamatabana , o- ka ayo o- mita -mata -bana hiba ati wait 1SG.POSS POSS older brother voice 1SG.S hear short time FUT interj nm pn vt

"Just a minute, let me hear what my brother has to say."

ł	<b>Hinaka</b> ninaka BSG <b>.</b> POS	SS	<i>yobe</i> yobe house	<i>baikani</i> baikani middle	<b>hawa</b> hawa be fir	nished	<i>toikim</i> to- h CH A	-	ima+M 10	, h	<i>ahi</i> .aahi .his on	e+M
F	pron		nm	pn	vi		aux			d	em	
hawa	n		toa	,	tati	yoto	kare			ha	ta	
hawa	a		to- ha	.LIST Ó	tati	yoto	ka-	na	-ra+M	haa	taa	
be :	finish	ed	CH AU	Х	top	cover	COMI	T AUX	NEG	DEM	conti	ast
vi			aux		pn	result	aux			$\operatorname{dem}$	prt	
howa	n	tona		enoki	ya	yoyow	arawema	ntamona	!			yobe
howa	a	to-	na.LIS	T eenoki	ya	yo- y	yowa	-rawa	-himata	a —mo	ona Ó	yobe
be d	open	СН	AUX	middle	ADJU	DUP :	reach	F.PL	FP.N+M	REI	P+M	house
vi		aux		pn	prt	vi						nm
big	<i>ote</i> bote											
adj "The	<b>.</b>	1f		l		ana Tha	. <b></b>			The		
rne	two par	ts of	the midd.	le of his hous	se were a	one. The	otner p	art was	ready, too	o. i ne	re were t	wo parts le

'The two parts of the middle of his house were done. The other part was ready, too. There were two parts left open yet on the ends of the roof of the big house.'

95 Yama	aahi	toenoho	hinaka 🚬	hinaka	kokosi			
yama	a- ahi	to- ha -hino -ho	hinaka 🥤	hinaka	ko- kosi			
thing	DUP work on	CH AUX IP.N+M DUP	3SG.POSS	3SG.POSS	DUP flail			
nf	vt	aux	pron	pron	nf			
tama	ahi .							
tama+F	ahi							
be many	there							
vi	dem							
'He had been working. He had many switches.'								

96	Sare ,	sare	siri	na ,	sare	siri	na
	sarehe	sarehe	siri	na+F ĺ	sarehe	siri	na+F
	blowgun dart	blowgun dart	scrape	AUX	blowgun dart	scrape	AUX
	nf	nf	result	aux	nf	result	aux

, <i>sare</i> sarehe blowgun dart nf	<i>siri</i> siri scrape result	<b>na</b> na+F AUX aux	<i>aya</i> aya this dem	<i>yowawa</i> yowa -wa reach DUP vi	na , na+F AUX aux	<i>kobobo</i> kobo -bo be attached DUP vi				
kanemetemone		yobe	bak	0	ya	ahi .				
ka- na -hemet	te -mone	yobe	bak	0	уа	ahi				
COMIT AUX FP.N+H	REP+F	thatc	h inr	er surface+	M ADJU	then				
aux		nm	pn		prt	dem				
'Sharpened darts this long were stuck into the underside of the thatch.'										

97 Me boni moto nibana , ha ya ahi me boni moto na+F -bana , ha ya ahi 3PL.POSS upper lip+F pierce AUX FUT DEM ADJU then pron pn result aux dem prt dem

"Are they going to have their upper lips pierced?"

98 Ahi ahi here dem	<i>ai</i> ahi here dem	<i>moto</i> moto.LIST pierce result	<i>ai</i> ahi there dem	<i>moto</i> moto pierce result	<i>ahi</i> ahi then dem	,	<i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>boni</b> boni upper lip+F pn				
moto	ni	haro										
moto	na.NFI	N haaro										
pierce	AUX	that one	+F									
result	aux	dem										
'''They wi	"They will be pierced here, then on the other side."											

99	Ai	moto	
	ahi	moto.LIST	
	there	pierce	
	dem	result	

"They will be pierced there."

100	Yama	nawahaba	hiri	neba	hine
	yama	nawaha -haba	hiri	na -hiba	hine
	thing	take a long time FUT+F	make	AUX FUT+M	3.REFL
	nf	vi	vt	aux	pron
tona	hiyemata	amona	,	amaka	
to-	na-	hiya -himata -mc	na	ama -ka	
CH	CAUS	be different FP.N+M REF	M+M	SEC DECL+M	
vt				sec	
1					1

'He turned himself into something else, so that he could make it take a long time.'

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101	Me	towake	towakemetemoneke									
	me	to-	ka-	ka	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi				
	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then				
	pron	vi						dem				
1001												

'The two of them went.'

102	Me	towaka		•	me
	me	to- ka-	• ka+F		me
	3PL.S	away COM	IIT go/co	ome	3PL.S
	pron	vi			pron
towa	kemetemo	neke			
to-	ka-	ka	-hemete	-mone	-ke
awa	y COMIT	go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
vi					
'The	y went.'				

?

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, ayo ayo ayo older brother older brother nm nm "Older brother." 104 Haa ? haa huh? interj "'Huh?"' tiwinini 105 Ayo ? ti- wina -ni ayo older brother 2SG.S live BKG+F nm vi "Brother, are you living here?" 106 **Owina** oke o- wina o- ke 1SG.S live 1SG.S DECL+F vi prt "I am living here." 107 Owinini o- wina -ni 1SG.S live BKG+F vi "I am living here." 108 Me towakamemetemoneke to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke me 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi 'They went back.' 109 Me towakama me kobo kobo tokowiti to- ka- ka -ma+F to- ka- na -witI me me 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S arrive away COMIT AUX out pron vi pron vi aux yobeyobekowematamonakayobeyobekowathatchthatchweaveFP.N+MREP+MDECL+M nm nm vt 'They went back. They arrived. He was weaving thatch.' 110 Yobe yobe kowe kowe Owa tiwibe yobe kowa+M yobe kowa+M owa ti- awa -be thatch weave thatch weave 1SG.S 2SG.S see IMMED+F nm vt nm vt pron vt 'He was weaving thatch. "You will see me.""

103 Ayo

111	Tiwa	ota	awahabone	ota	kakamir	neke			
	tiwa	otaa	awa -habone	otaa	ka-	ka	-ma	-ne	-ke
	2SG.O	1EX.S	see INT+F	1EX.S	COMIT	go/come	back	CONT+F	DECL+F
	pron	pron	vt	pron	vi				

#### "We came to see you."

112 Aa owina oke .
 aa o- wina o- ke
 (pause) 1SG.S live 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vi prt
"I am living here."

113 Ohaba okere . o- ahaba o- ke -re 1SG.S die 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F vi prt "I didn't die."

#### 114 Owinini

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o- wina -ni
1SG.S live BKG+F
vi
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## "I am living here."

#### 115 Ohabarini

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o- ahaba -ra -ni
1SG.S die NEG BKG+F
vi
```

```
""I didn't die.""
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116	<b>Owina</b>		oke		yama	yama	ahi	ona		owa	
	0-	wina	0-	ke	yama	yama	ahi	0-	na+F	owa	
	1SG.S	live	1SG.S	DECL+F	thing	thing	work on	1SG.S	AUX	1SG	
	vi		prt		nf	nf	vt	aux		pron	
		1									

"I am living here, working."

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117 Yobe yobe okowa
yobe yobe o- kowa.LIST
thatch thatch 1SG.S weave
nm nm vt
```

"I am weaving thatch...."

118	118 Ayo			himata am		ama	ri	haro		ari		hari	
	ayo			himata		ama	-ri	haaro		haari		haari	-
	older brother			what	?	be	CQ+F	that o	ne+F	that or	ne+M	that	one+M
	nm			inte	rrog	VC		dem		dem		dem	
winanana ka			kawa	haro				haro		?			
win	a -na	-na	ka-	na	-wa	aha	-haaro	haar	С				
han	g DUP	DUP	COMI	T AU	Cha	ange	IP.E+F	that	one+F				
vi			aux					dem					
'"Bro	"Brother, what are those things all hanging there?"												

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119 Kimi amaka kimi kimi ama -ka kimi corn be DECL+M corn nm vc nm "'It's corn."

120 *Kimi* ? kimi corn nm ""Corn?"" 121 *Kimi* kimi amane kimi kimi ama -ne corn corn be BKG+M nm nm VC "Corn."" 122 *Kimi* ama hari watahari hari wata -haari kimi ama haari haari corn be that one+M stand IP.E+M that one+M nm VC dem vi dem "Those are stalks of corn." 123 Avo haro ? ayo haaro older brother that one+F nm dem "Brother, and those?" 124 Yawita biha biha haso ama haro yawita.LIST haso.LIST biha.LIST biha ama haaro peach palm taro sp yam yam be that one+F nm nf nf vc dem nm "Peach palm, haso taro, yams. Those are yams." 125 Haso ha ama . haso ama haa DEM taro sp be VC dem nm "Those are *haso* taro." 126 Yama ini yabehimatamona ahi yama ini yaba -himata -mona ahi thing name+F say FP.N+M REP+M here nf pn vt dem 'He was telling the names of the crops.' 127 Yama ini yabe Bia bia wao bia wao , biha biha wao yama ini yaba+M biha wao say thing name+F yam yam variety yam variety nf nf pn vt nf nf 'He was telling the names of the crops. "Yams, wao yams. Those are wao yams."" 128 Fowa kabe fowa kabe ama hari fowa kabe fowa kabe ama haari

sweet manioc that one+M sweet manioc be VC dem nm nm

"That's sweet manioc over there."

ama

ama

be

VC

ha

haa

DEM

dem

129 Yama vofi nematamonaka yofi na -himata -mona -ka vama AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M thing show nf vt aux 'He was showing the crops.' 130 Fowa kabe ha ama . fowa kabe ama haa sweet manioc be DEM nm dem VC "That's sweet manioc." 131 Ayo oko fowaba bore tikanahi 0ka ti- ka- na -hi ayo fowa -ba bore manioc FUT older brother 1SG.POSS POSS pull out 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F nm prt nm vt aux okobamebana o- to- kaba -ma -hibana 1SG.S away eat back FUT+M vt "Brother, pull up some manioc for me, so I can eat it after I go home." ? 132 Kabateno ama kaba -tee -hino ama eat HAB IP.N+M SEC result sec "Is it eaten?" 133 Fowa tikamamatabana tikabeba ti- kaba -hiba ti- to- ka -ma -mata -habana fowa 2SG.S eat FUT+M 2SG.S away go/come back short time FUT+F manioc vt. νi nm tike tike 2SG.S DECL+F prt "You will eat manioc, but first you go home." 134 Ayo ofimi oke ayo 0fimi 0ke older brother 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F nm vi prt "Brother, I'm hungry." 135 Oka kimimona tine baka , ka kimi -mona ati ti- na+M baka 0-1SG.POSS POSS corn REP+M say 2SG.S AUX break prt nm vt vt osiba ? hari na -kosa -baha haari 0that one+M 1SG.S AUX middle before aux dem "The thing you call corn, can I break one off?"

136 *Kimi* baka tisarivahi ti- na -kosa -ra -yahi kimi baka break 2SG.S AUX middle NEG DIST.IMP+F corn nm vt aux ""Don't break a corn cob off."" 137 Baka tisarayaho ti- na -kosa -ra -yaho baka 2SG.S AUX middle NEG DIST.IMP+M break vt aux "Don't break one off." 138 Hiwa mata na na na.LIST mata hiwa na only.M exist AUX for now pron vi aux prt "Let it be for now." 139 Okobi okobi vokana o- ka ka abi abi yokana 0-1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father true adj nm nm kamamatehibanaka ni owa va -hibana -ka ka -ma -mata owa ni va go/come back short time FUT+M DECL+M 1SG to ADJU vi pron prt prt "Wait until my father comes to me." abariko 140 Aya towitamaki abariko towite , abariko to- ita -makI.NOM to- ita+M ahaba+M aya abariko this moon CH sit following CH sit moon dem nm vi vi nm abariko ahabe abariko hahi towitamaki ya haahi to- ita -makI.NOM ahaba+M abariko abariko ya this one+M CH sit following moon end moon ADJU nm vi nm dem vi prt kamivahi mato sone ya . -ma -yahi ka mato sona.NOM+M ya go/come back DIST.IMP+F tree sp fall ADJU vi nm vi prt "After two months, you come back, when the *mato* fruits fall." 141 *Mato* sone te kamiyahi ya mato sona.NOM+M tee ka -ma -yahi ya tree sp fall ADJU 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F pron vi prt vi nm "When the mato fruits fall, you come back."

142	Mato	sone	ya	te	kamiyahi			owa	ni	ya
	mato	sona.NOM+M	ya	tee	ka	-ma	-yahi	owa	ni	ya
	tree sp	fall	ADJU	2PL.S	go/come	back	DIST.IMP+F	1SG	to	ADJU
	nm	vi	prt	pron	vi			pron	prt	prt

"When the mato fruits fall, you come back to me."

ahabe

end

te

tee

2PL.S

pron

νi

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143 *Te kobo nibe ahi* tee kobo na -be ahi 2PL.S arrive AUX IMMED+F here . pron vi dem aux

"You will arrive here."

144 Ayo ofimini o- fimi -ni . ayo older brother 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F nm vi "Brother, I'm hungry."

145	Tifimiha	ı	titefeba			watakere			
	ti-	fimi+F	ti-	tefe	-ba	,	wata	-ke	-re
	2SG.S	be hungry	2SG.POSS	food	FUT		exist	DECL+F	NEG+F
	vi		pn				vi		
11157		1	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·						

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'You are hungry, but there is no food for you.'

146	Tite <u>f</u> e		watarini							
	ti-	tefe	wata	-ra	-ni					
	2SG.POSS	food	exist	NEG	BKG+F					
	pn		vi							
"'You don't have any food."'										

147	Yama	ta	nene		amani						
	yama	taa	na	-hene	ama	-ni					
	thing	give	AUX	IRR+F	SEC	BKG+F					
	nf	result	aux		sec						
"'It won't be given now."'											

148	<b>Yama</b> yama thing		, <i>yam</i> yam thi	a	<i>kabi</i> kab eat	a.NOM	+F -ba FUT	<i>yokana</i> yokana true	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU	<i>tiwa</i> tiwa 2SG.O	<i>wati</i> wati think about
	nf		nf	2	res	ult		adj	prt	pron	vt
owal	haba					owa	awine	oke			
0-	na	-	waha	-ha	ba	owa	awine	0-	ke		
1SG	.S AUX	Хc	hange	FUT	+F	1SG	seem+F	1SG.S	DECL+F		
aux						pron	sec	prt			
'''\\7]	"When the time to est comes I					will have	o nity on y	·····			

When the time to eat comes, I will have pity on you.

149	Tiwa	wati	owaba				owa	awine	oni	
	tiwa	wati	0-	na	-waha	-haba	owa	awine	0-	ni
	2SG.O	think about	1SG.S	AUX	change	FUT+F	1SG.S	seem+F	1SG.S	BKG+F
	pron	vt	aux				pron	sec	prt	
'''I w	vill have p	ity on you."'								

150	Yama	tikababa	1		awineke	owa	ni	
	yama	ti-	kaba	-haba	awine	-ke	owa	ni
	thing	2SG.S	eat	FUT+F	seem+F	DECL+F	1SG	to
	nf	vt			sec		pron	prt
tisav	vimi				ya .			
ti-	sawi		-ma.	NOM+F	ya			
2SG	.S be p	resent	back		ADJU			
vi					prt			
'''Yo	u will eat	it. when	e again."''					

You will eat it, when you are with me again.

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151 *Fifimi ori* fi- fimi o- na -ra.NOM+F DUP be hungry 1SG.S AUX NEG vi aux "'I'm hungry." *Ofimi oke* ○- fimi ○- ke 152 *Ofimi* 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F prt vi "'I'm hungry." 153 Tikamamatahi mata ti- to- ka -ma -mata -hi mata 2SG.S away go/come back short time IMP+F for now vi prt "Go home for now." 154 *Hiwa na namata na mata* hiwa na na -mata.NOM+M na mata only.M exist AUX short time AUX for now pron vi aux aux prt "Let it be for now." 155 Yama hawi ka yama te , te towakama yama hawi ka yama te , te towakama thing trail LOC thing 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back nf nf prt nf pron pron vi te , te tee sore nisariyahi sore na -risa -ra -yahi teeteesorena-risa-ra-yani2PL.S2PL.Spull offAUX downNEG DIST.IMP+Fpronpronvtaux "As you go on the trail, don't pick the fruits." 156 Yama te sore nisariya yama tee sore na -risa -ra -yahi thing 2PL.S pull off AUX down NEG DIST.IMP+F pron nf vt aux "Don't pick the fruits." Yamasorenisionofaokereyamasorena -risa.NFINo-nofao-kethingpull offAUX down1SG.S want1SG.S DECL+F NEG+Fnfvtauxvtauxaux 157 Yama nf vt aux vt prt "I don't want the fruits to be picked." 158 Avo ama ? kabateno kaba -tee -hino ama ayo older brother eat HAB IP.N+M SEC result nm sec "Brother, is it eaten?" 159 Kabate amaka kaba -tee ama -ka eat HAB SEC DECL+M result sec "It is eaten."

*yama* yama make vt

160 Tikabeba awane one oni awa -ne ati o- na -ne ti- kaba -hiba 0ni 2SG.S eat FUT+M 1SG.S BKG+F seem+M BKG+M say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F vt sec vt prt

"I said you will eat it."

161 <i>Kobo</i>	tin	ami			yokana	ya	tikabeba	inaka		
kobo	ti	. –	na	-ma.NOM+F	yokana	ya	ti-	kaba	-hibana	-ka
arri	ve 2S	G.S	AUX	back	true	ADJU	2SG.S	eat	FUT+M	DECL+M
vi	au	IX			adj	prt	vt			
abariko	ohari		ya							
abariko	ohar	i+M	ya							
moon	be or	ne	ADJ	U						
nm	vi		prt							
"INThon wo	a a a ma l	haalt a	anin	wou will get it	when it is r		n !!!			

When you come back again, you will eat it, when it is new moon."

162	62 Abariko ohari		abariko	towitamaki			ya	te
	abariko	ohari+M	abariko	to-	ita	-makI.NOM	ya	tee
	moon	be one	moon	CH	sit	following	ADJU	2PL.S
	nm	vi	nm	vi			prt	pron
kam	iyahi							
ka	-ma	-yahi	•					
go/	come back	DIST.IMP	+F					
vi								
1117 47	han it is now	maan	way as h	o al- ""				

When it is new moon again, you come back.'

163 <i>Mato</i> mato tree sp nm	<i>mato</i> mato tree sp nm	sone son fal vi	a.NOM		ya , ya ADJU prt	<i>mato</i> mato tree s nm		NOM+M	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU prt	<i>te</i> tee 2PL.S pron
<i>kamiyahi</i> ka -ma	-vahi		<i>owa</i> owa	<i>ni</i> ni	yokana vokana	<i>te</i> tee	<i>kobo</i> kobo	<i>naba</i> na	-haba	te .
go/come back	-	+F	lsG	to	true	2PL.S	arrive	-	FUT+F	2PL.S
vi '''When the <i>mat</i> i	o fruits fall w	011 00	1	1	adj e right to r	pron me ""	vi	aux		pron

•

When the *mato* fruits fall, you come back here right to me.

164 <b>Te</b>	?	kobo		naro		hiba	sare		hawa	
te	ee	kobo		na	-haaro	hiba	sarehe		hawa	
21	PL.S	arriv	е	AUX	PFUT+F	wait	blowgun	dart	be ready	
pı	ron	vi		aux		interj	nf		vi	
oniham	atiba									
0-	to-	niha-	ha	-mat	a	-baha				
1SG.S	CH	CAUS	be	shor	t time	before				
aux										

"When you have arrived...wait, let me prepare blowgun darts."

165 Hawa	toam	akeb	ama	ha		
hawa	to-	ha	-makI	-hiba	ama	haa
be finis	shed CH	be	following	FUT+M	be	DEM
vi	aux				VC	dem
'"They will be re	eady."'					

166 Hawa tohamakeba ha kobo ama te to- ha -makI -hiba hawa ama haa tee kobo be finished CH AUX following FUT+M SEC DEM 2PL.S arrive vi aux sec dem pron vi

.

kiba			ka	ama	ha				
ka-	na.NOM+F	-ba	ka	ama	haa				
COMIT	AUX	FUT	pertaining to	be	DEM				
aux			prt	VC	dem				
"They will be ready when you arrive "									

"They will be ready when you arrive."

167	Siri	onahabanake								
	siri	0-	na	-habana	-ke					
	scrape	1SG.S	AUX	FUT+F	DECL+F					
	vt	aux								
ШТ т.	rill out the one									

"I will cut them."

	<b>bariko</b> Dariko Don		; -makI.NOM following	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU	<i>yobe</i> yobe house	<i>biti</i> biti small+M	e ee 1IN.S	<i>hiri</i> hiri make	<b>naro</b> na -haaro AUX PFUT+F
nm	n	vi		prt	nm	adj	pron	vt	aux
, .	nata , pps	<b>yamata</b> yamata crops nf	<i>tamakanikim</i> tama – be many s vi	kanikim	na -haba ed FUT+F	-	neba na -hi AUX FUT aux		<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron
sari	kine		nimete		ati	nematan			•
sari	ka-	na -ne	na.NOM-	+F -met	e ati	na -h	imata -r	nona -l	ka
burn	COMIT	AUX CONT	+F AUX	FP.N	+F say	AUX FF	.N+M RE	EP+M DI	ECL+M
vt	aux		aux		vt	aux			
"'At the	now mov	on after we	have made a c	mall hour	o thorow	rill he lote o	f crops ave	mayhara	that he will

.

"At the new moon, after we have made a small house, there will be lots of crops everywhere that he will plant. They have burned the garden," he said.'

169	Okoyo				tefe	te	awakere	
	0-	ka	ayo		tefe	tee	awa -ke	-re
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother	crops+M	2PL.S	see DECL+F	NEG+F
	nm				pn	pron	vt	
111170	n harron't aa		Idan hua	than's anona				

"You haven't seen my older brother's crops."

170	Yama	е	kababa		awineke		fowa kabe	
	yama	ee	kaba	-haba	awine	-ke	fowa kabe	
	thing	1IN.S	eat	FUT+F	seem+F	DECL+F	sweet manioc	
	nf	pron	vt		sec		nm	
''We	e are going	g to eat it,	sweet r	nanioc.'''				

171	Yobe	beheri	ya	fowa kabe	owa kabe bere nabasare			ahi			
	yobe	beheri	ya	fowa kabe	bere	na	-basa	-hare	ahi		
	house	side	ADJU	sweet manioc	be across	AUX	edge	IP.E+M	there		
	nm	pn	prt	nm	vi	aux			dem		
'"Th	"The sweet manioc is growing in a line next to the house."										

Sami , samimonehe , hasomonaha , sami -mone -he.LIST haso -mona -ha.LIST , pineapple , pin 172 Sami pineapple REP+F DUP pineapple taro sp REP+M DUP nf nf nm yoboyobomonanakafiranakafiramoneheyobo.LISTyobo-mona.LISTnakafira.LISTnakafira -mone -he.LIST taro sp taro sp REP+M taro sp REP+F DUP taro sp nf nm nm nf yabokanikimaharake biha wati ahi . biha wata.NFIN yabo -kanikima -hara -ke ahi yam grow be long scattered IP.E+F DECL+F there nf vi vi dem

.

"Pineapples, haso taro, yobo taro, nakafira taro, and a long line of yams."

	<b>Biha</b> biha yam nf	e ee 1IN.S pron	eat		e ee 1IN.S pron	<i>amake</i> ama SEC sec	-ke	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>ati</i> ati say vt	
nem	etemonek	ke		•	me	tohiya	rama		mati	
na	-heme	te -mon	e -ke	,	me	to-	hiyara	-ma+F	' mati	
AUX	FP.N+	F REP+	F DEC	L+F	3PL.S	away	speak t	to back	3PL.S	
aux					pron	vi			pron	
nema na AUX aux	etemonel -heme FP.N+	ke te -mon F REP+	e -ke F DEC	L+F	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>tohiya</i> to- away vi	hiyara	-ma+F to back	<i>mati</i> ' mati 3PL.S	

"We are going to eat yams," they said, speaking back at their village.'

174	Yama	baka	nako	si	okoyo			nofanoj	fa
	yama	baka	na	-kosa.NFIN	0-	ka	ауо	nofa-	nofa
	thing	break	AUX	middle	1SG.POSS	POSS	older brother	DUP	want
	nf	result	aux		nm			vt	
re									
na	-ra+M								
AUX	NEG								
aux									
''' <b>∿/</b> ∖	v brothor	loogn't wa	nt the	orre to bo nicka	d "'				

"'My brother doesn't want the corn to be picked.'

175	75 Kimi kimi , hata				tonanana			<i>kawaharene</i> ka- na -waha -hare -ne				
	kimi	kimi ´	hata	to-	na	-na	-na	ka-	na	-waha	-hare	-ne
	corn	corn	stick in	СН	AUX	DUP	DUP	COMIT	AUX	change	IP.E+M	BKG+M
	nm	nm	vt	aux				aux				

. ""The corn cobs are all on the stalks.""

176	Ofimini			okene	ati	naha	re			
	0-	fimi	-ni	0-	ke	-ne	ati	na	-hare	
	1SG.S	be hungry	BKG+F	1SG.S	DECL+F	IRR+F	say	AUX	IP.E+M	
	vi			prt			vt	aux		
111 T			L LL L	a 1. Jana 111						

"I was hungry, but it didn't matter to him."

177	Hiba	abariko	abariko	oharibona	amaka	hari .			
	hiba	abariko	abariko	ohari -bona	ama -ka	haari			
	wait	moon	moon	be one INT+M	be DECL+M	that one+M			
	interj	nm	nm	vi	VC	dem			
"Wait, it will be next month."									

178	Abar	riko	ohari	tow	itamaki		ya	yamat	a hatibo	ne	
	aba	riko	ohari	+M to-	• ita	-makI.NOM	ya	yama	ta hata	.NOM+F	-bone
	moo	n	be on	e CH	sit	following	ADJU	crop	s ber	ipe	INT+F
	nm		vi	vi			prt	nf	vi		
ka		amak	a	hari		mato	sone		yokana	ya	
ka		ama	-ka	haari		mato	sona.1	N+MOI	yokana	ya	
whi	ch	SEC	DECL+M	that	one+M	tree sp	fall		true	ADJU	
prt		sec		dem		nm	vi		adj	prt	
'''Δt	"At the next new moon, that will be the month when the crons are rine, when the <i>mato</i> fruits fall "									uits fall "	

"At the next new moon...that will be the month when the crops are ripe, when the *mato* fruits fall."

179	Mato	sone .	mato	е	kakawi	nabone
	mato	sona+M 🤇	mato	ee	ka- kawi	na -habone
	tree sp	fall	tree sp	1IN.S	DUP eat with something	AUX INT+F
	nm	vi	nm	pron	vt	aux

okovo ati narene ati na -hare -ne 0ka ayo say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M 1SG.POSS POSS older brother vt aux nm "When the *mato* fruits fall, my brother said we will eat *mato* fruits with the crops."" 180 Avo ayo older brother nm "Older brother." 181 *Haa* ? haa huh? interj "'Huh?"' 182 Avo ohari obaya ohariari tama o- na -ba -ya ohari -haari ohari+M tama ayo older brother be one hold onto 1SG.S AUX IMMED+M now be one IP.E+M vi vt aux vi nm hiwehibana ohari okobi avo . , ohari+M oka abi hi- awa -hibana avo 1SG.POSS POSS father OC see FUT+M older brother be one vi nm vt nm "Brother, let me take one, just one, for my father to see." 183 *Hiwa* na namata na -mata.NOM+M hiwa na only.M exist AUX short time vi pron aux "Let it be for now." 184 *Hiwa* na namata na mata na.LIST na -mata.NOM+M hiwa na mata only.M exist AUX short time AUX for now pron vi aux aux prt "Let it be for now." 185 Hiwa namata na mata one na ati o- na -ne hiwa na.LIST na -mata.NOM+M na mata only.M exist AUX short time AUX for now say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F pron vi aux aux prt vt oke • 0ke 1SG.S DECL+F prt "Let it be for now." 186 Okobi kame vokana ya -ma.NOM+M 0ka abi ka yokana ya 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back true ADJU vi adj nm prt

okobi ni va vama ta onabanake yama o- ka abi taa o- na -habana -ke ni ya ni ya yama taa to ADJU thing give 1SG.S AUX FUT+F DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS father prt prt nf vt aux nm "When my father comes, I will give the crops to my father." oni okobi 187 Kimi ta onabana ni o- na -habana o- ni o- ka abi kimi taa ni corn give 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F 1SG.POSS POSS father to prt aux nm vt nm prt okobi hikabebana okomi ya hi- kaba -hibana o- ka o- ka abi ya ami ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS father OC eat FUT+M 1SG.POSS POSS mother nf prt nm vt okobi me tafebana 0ka abi me tafe -bana 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.POSS food+F FUT nm pron pn "I will give corn to my father, for my father to eat, for food for my father." 188 **Te** towakama to- ka- ka tee -ma 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back vi pron "You go home." 189 Fava towakama me yana kana me to- ka- ka -ma+F faya me yana kana+F me 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S start COMIT AUX SO pron vi conj pron τι τzi , e botihina Okovo amaka ka ayo boti -hina ama -ka  $\circ$ ee 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1IN.S steal IRR+M SEC DECL+M nm pron vt. sec 'They went. They started out. "We can't steal it."' 190 *Hii* kimi sore onisa hii kimi sore 0na -risa+F wow! corn pull off 1SG.S AUX down interj nm vt aux "Wow! I'm not going to pull of the corn ear." 191 Faya towakamemetemoneke me faya me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F conj pron vi 'They went.' 192 Tikamahi ti- to- ka -ma -hi 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F vi "Go home."

193	<i>Hima</i> hima let's interj	2	e ee 1IN.S pron	<i>kamaka</i> ka go/co: vi	-m		kabo uick	te na	INI X	abone I+F					
okov	2		1		ati	'n	arene								
0-		κa	ayo		at			hare	-ne	•					
1SG	.POSS H	POSS	-	brothe	r sa					M					
nm					vt	-	ux								
"Co	"Come on, my brother said we should come back soon.""														
	)														
194	Ме	tok	oma			me	n	ie	towaka	ıma					me
	me	to	- ka	-m	a+F	me	m	e	to-	ka-	ka		-ma+	F	me
	3PL.S	awa	ay go/d	come ba	ck	3PL.	S 3	PL.S	away	COMIT	go/	come	back		3PL.S
	pron	vi				pron	р	ron	vi						pron
towa	kama				me	me	e	towak	ama				Ai	i	
to-	ka-	ka		-ma+F	me	me	5	to-	ka-	ka		-ma+	F Aj	li	,
awa	y COMIT	[ go	/come :	back	3PL.S	3 E	PL.S	away	COMI	T go/c	ome	back	WC	w!	
vi					pron	pr	ron	vi					ir	nte	rj
okoy	0				tef	<i>e</i>	t	iwa							
0-	}	кa	ayo				t	i- a	awa						
1SG	.POSS H	POSS	older	brothe	r cr	ops+	M 2	SG.S s	see						
nm					pr	L	V	rt							
'The	y left. "W	/ow, l	ook at m	y brothe	r's crop	s.'''									
	•			•	-										
195	Yama	me	ki		na	me	?	yoro	na	me		Awa	e	eheb	ote .
	yama	me	k	ii	na+F	me		yoro	na+1	F me		awa	e	ehe	bote ´
	thing	3PI	L.S lo	ook at	AUX	ЗP	L.S	stay	AUX	3pl	.s	gard	en k	big	
	nf	pro	on vt	5	aux	pr	on	vi	aux	pro	n	nf	ā	adj	
						•									

111	Pro	J11 V	L	aun	Pron	VT	aux	Pron	111	a	رىد
okoyo				tefe		yama	koro	hine	hete		
0-	ka	ayo		tefe	e ź	yama	koro	hi-	na	-hete	
1SG.POSS	POSS	older	: brother	food	d+M	thing	g plant	C OC	AUX	RP.N+F	
nm				pn		nf	vt	aux			
1001 . 1	1 1.		17.1 1 1	1 .1		.1 . 1					

'They stood looking at it. "It's a big garden, the crops that my brother planted."

196 <b>I</b>	Faya	me	yoro	na	me	towaka	ıma			me
f	Taya	me	yoro	na+F	me	to-	ka-	ka	-ma+F	me
S	50	3PL.S	stand	AUX	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/come	back	3PL.S
C	conj	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi				pron
towak	ama			me						
to-	ka-	ka	-ma+	F me	,					
away	COMI	r go/co	me back	3pl	.S					
vi				pro	n					
towak	amemet	emoneke								
to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-heme	te -mon	e -ke				
away vi	COMI	I go/co:	me back	FP.N+1	F REP+3	F DECI	L+F			

'They stood there. They went.'

197	Me	towak	ama			me	me	kobo			
	me	to-	ka-	ka	-ma+F	me	me	kobo			
	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	arrive			
	pron	vi				pron	pron	vi			
toka	namabone				me	bori	to	kanama			me
	<i>namabone</i> ka-		-ma ·	-habone	<i>me</i> me	<i>bori</i> bori			na	-ma+F	<i>me</i> me

mekobotokanamemetemonekemekoboto-ka-na-ma-hemete-mone-ke3PL.SarriveawayCOMITAUXbackFP.N+FREP+FDECL+Fpronviaux'They went. They were going to arrive and they got close. They arrived.'

198 Fera ka abi ati ? me nematamonaka fee -ra me ka abi ati na -himata -mona -ka say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG NPQ POSS father 3PL.S pron pron prt nm vt aux "Well, what about him?" their father said.'

199 <b>Fera</b>	tina	okobi	yama	е				
fee -ra	ati ti- na+F	o- ka a	ıbi yama	ee				
3SG NPQ	say 2SG.S AUX	1SG.POSS POSS f	ather thing	1IN.S				
pron	vt	nm	nf	pron				
kabateha	okoyo	na	watawahane					
kaba -tee+F	o- ka a	ayo na	a- wata -waha.CO	NT+M -ne				
eat HAB	1SG.POSS POSS (	older brother CA	AUS grow change	BKG+M				
vt	nm	vt	-					
1111747-1101	"MATELING and any set for Marken has a least of energy that a could get "							

""Well?' you say, my father. My brother has planted crops that people eat."

200	) Fowa	fowa	, fo	wa kabe	f	owa	yokana	•	fowa sawa
	fowa	fowa	fc	owa kabe.I	LIST f	lowa	yokana.LIST	,	fowa sawa.LIST
	manioc	: manioc	SV	weet manic	oc n	nanioc	true		white manioc
	nm	nm	nn	n	n	ım	adj		nm
•	yama	tamaha	ota	kamininek	ke				
,	yama	tama+F	otaa	kamina	-ne	-ke			
	thing	be many	1EX.S	tell	CONT+F	DECL+F			
	nf	vi	pron	vt					

"Manioc, sweet manioc, bitter manioc, fowa sawa manioc, we are telling about many crops."

201 <i>Biha</i> , biha.LIST , yam	<i>fowa kabe</i> fowa kabe sweet manioc	<i>tama</i> , tama.LIST be many	<i>fowa kabe</i> fowa kabe sweet manioc	<i>wati</i> wata.NFIN grow			
nf	nm	vi	nm	vi			
yoyowahare	ahi okoyo		yofi	hinahari .			
yo- yowa -hare	ahi o-	ka ayo	yofi	hi- na -haari			
DUP reach IP.E+M	there 1SG.P	POSS POSS older	brother show	OC AUX IP.E+M			
vi	dem nm		vt	aux			
"Vame and lots of swe	'Yams, and lots of sweet manioe. The sweet manioe plants are this high, my brother showed them "						

"Yams, and lots of sweet manioc. The sweet manioc plants are this high, my brother showed them."

202	E	tafahaba	е	amake	е	tokomi	ya
	ee	tafa -haba	ee	ama -ke	ee	to- ka -ma.NOM+F	ya
	1IN.S	eat FUT+F	1IN.S	SEC DECL+F	1IN.S	away go/come back	ADJU
	pron	vi	pron	sec	pron	vi	prt

"We will eat, when we go there."

203	Ε	tokom	tokomaba					abariko	owa	ya
	ee	to-	ka	-ma	-haba	ee	-ke	abariko	owa	уа
	1IN.S	away	go/come	back	FUT+F	1IN.S	DECL+F	moon	other+M	ADJU
	pron	vi				pron		nm	adj	prt
'''We	e will go ir	n the ne	ext month."	•						

204 <i>Abariko</i> abariko moon nm '''This month wi	<i>hahi</i> haahi this one+M dem <b>ll end."'</b>	<i>ahabebona</i> ahaba -hik end INT+ vi		<i>ha</i> . haa DEM dem			
205 <i>Abariko</i> abariko moon		JU tree	sp fall	yoka. NOM+M yoka true	ana ee e 1II	N.S	
nm	vi pr	t nm	vi	adj	pro	on	
tokomabone		okoyo			ati		
to- ka	-ma -habor	ne o-	ka ayo	)	ati		
away go/come	e back INT+F	1SG.POS	S POSS old	ler brother	say		
vi		nm			vt		
nareka	mato	е	kakawi		nab	1	е
na -hare -	-ka mato	ee	ka- kawi		na	-haba	ee
	DECL+M tree	-		ith somethi	2	-	1IN.S
aux	nm	pron	vt		aux		pron

"When this month is over, when the *mato* fruits are falling, my brother said we will go there and eat food with mato fruits."

•

206	Mato	kakawi	obeya
	mato	ka- kawi	o- na -be -ya
	tree sp	DUP eat with something	1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
	nm	vt	aux
111 T		· 1 · 11. · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

'I want to eat food with *mato* fruits.'

207	Me	yana	tonal	ba		•	me	ka	abariko	ahabe	abariko
	me	yana	to-	na	-haba		me	ka	abariko	ahaba+M	abariko
	3PL.S	start	CH	AUX	FUT+F		3PL	POSS	moon	end	moon
	pron	vi	aux				pron	prt	nm	vi	nm
ahal	bematamo	naka			hari						
aha	ba -him	ata -mo	na –	ka	haar	i					
end	FP.N	+M REP	+M D	ECL+1	4 that	on	e+M				
vi					dem						

'The month for them to leave ended.'

208	Abariko	towitamaki	Mato	soni	yana					
	abariko	to- ita -makI+M	mato	sona.NFIN	yana					
	moon	CH sit following	tree sp	fall	start					
	nm	vi	nm	vi	vi					
tona	tonahareka									
to-	na -ha:	re -ka								
CH	AUX IP.	E+M DECL+M								
aux										

'It was the new moon. "The mato fruits have started to fall."

209	Mato	soni	yana	tona	re					
	mato	sona.NFIN	yana	to-	na	-hare				
	tree sp	fall	start	CH	AUX	IP.E+M				
	nm	vi	vi	aux						
'"Th	"The <i>mato</i> fruits have started to fall."									

210 Mato mato me kakama mato me hawi ka- ka mato mato me -ma+F mato me hawi COMIT go/come back tree sp tree sp 3PL.S tree sp 3PL.S gnaw nm pron vt nm pron vt nm nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux 'They brought mato fruits back, and ate them.' Abariko 211 Mato me hawi yana tonaka na me me na+F yana abariko to- na mato me hawi -ka AUX tree sp 3PL.S 3PL.S moon start CH AUX DECL+M gnaw pron vi aux nm vt aux pron nm hima hima hima hima let's go let's go interj interj 'They were eating mato fruits. "The moon has appeared, let's go."" 212 Abi hima abi okoyo ni ya abi abi hima 0ka ayo ni ya father father let's go 1SG.POSS POSS older brother to ADJU interj nm nm nm prt prt "Father, let's go to my brother." 213 Kimi kimi kabibeva е . -ya kaba -be kimi kimi 60 eat IMMED+F now corn 1IN.S corn pron νt nm nm "Let's eat corn." 214 Kimi me kabahabone me yana tonemetemoneke to- na -hemete -mone -ke kaba -habone kimi me me yana CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F eat INT+F 3PL.S 3PL.S start corn nm pron vt pron vi aux ahi ahi there dem 'They set out to eat corn.' 215 Me banehemetemoneke yana tona me me yana bana -hemete -mone -ke me to- na+F me me 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron pron vi aux pron vi ahi . ahi there dem 'They set out, and moved.' 216 Ayo taboro nafi ? awa taboro nafi+M ayo awa older brother place+M be big seem+M vi nm pn sec "Is your older brother's place big?"

217	Okoyo				ka	yobe	yowahai	re	ahi	hike	ya
	0-	ka	ayo		ka	yobe	yowa	-hare	ahi	hike	ya
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother	POSS	house	reach	IP.E+M	there	far	ADJU
	nm				prt	nm	vi		dem	nf	prt

. ""My brother's house is really long.""

```
218 Yobe
         yaboareka
  yobe yabo -hare -ka
   house be long IP.E+M DECL+M
  nm vi
"The house is long."
```

219 Hawa	a	toi	,	noko bori		xo bori	wan	-		ka	
hawa	a	to- ha.N	IOM+F	noko bor	i nol	ko bori	war	na.NOM	1+M	ka	1
be t	finishe	ed CH AUX		door+M	doo	M+rc	be	attac	ched	LC	C
vi		aux		pn	pn		vi			pr	t
enoki	ya	yowa	owa	enoki	ya	yowa		narel	ka		
eenoki	ya	yowa.LIST	owa	eenoki	ya	yowa.L	IST	na	-har	е	-ka
middle	ADJU	reach	other+M	middle	ADJU	reach		AUX	IP.E	+M	DECL+M
pn	prt	vi	adj	pn	prt	vi		aux			
ahi											
ahi											
there											
dem											
			1 11		1						

"The finished part ends at the middle of one end and the other end."

220	Ahabeba		amaka	ati	nematamonaka				
	ahaba	-hiba	ama -ka	ati	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	
	end	FUT+M	SEC DECL+M	voice	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	
	vi		sec	pn	aux				

"It will be finished," he said.'

221	Me	ati	na	me	ati	fafamawa
	me	ati	na+F	me	ati	fa- fama -waha
	3PL.S	say	AUX	3PL.POSS	voice	DUP be two change
	pron	vt	aux	pron	pn	vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'The two of them were talking.'

222	Me		yan	ıa	tona		me .	faya	me	yana	tona		me
	me		ya	na	to-	na+F	me	faya	me	yana	to-	na+F	me
	3pl	.s	st	art	СН	AUX	3PL.S	SO	3PL.S	start	CH	AUX	3PL.POSS
	pro	n	vi		aux		pron	conj	pron	vi	aux		pron
abe		fiya		kanam	emete	emone			fahi	me	yaka	ni	
abe		fiy	а	ka-	na	-ma	-hemete	-mone	fahi	me	yaka	na.NF	TIN
REC	ΙP	pas	S	COMIT	I AU	X back	FP.N+F	REP+F	then	3PL.S	walk	AUX	
pn		vt		aux					dem	pron	vi	aux	
'The	too t	out	The	w nood	door	h othor i	un wallzing	. 1					

They set out. They passed each other up, walking.'

•

223	<i>Faya</i> faya	<i>me</i> me	<b>yaka</b> yaka	<i>na</i> na+F	<i>me</i> me	<i>me</i> me	<b>yaka</b> yaka	<i>na</i> na+F	<i>me</i> me	<i>awa</i> awa	<i>witi</i> witi
	SO	3PL.S	walk	AUX	3PL.S	3PL.S		AUX	3PL.S	garden	edge
	conj	pron	vi	aux	pron	pron	vi	aux	pron	nf	pn
ya ya ADJU			p AUX	-ma+F back	3PL.S		yamat yama crop	ta ya s th	uma y ning t	ama ama hing	
vi	pro -he st RP.	N+F	aux		pron		rj nf wy look at	nf		f were plante	a '''
224	Hibaka hibaka where interr	ya	<i>hawi</i> hawi	toha to-	-	?	w, 100k a	t the cro	ps there	were plante	u <b>.</b>
	otaa 1EX.S pron	kakami ka- COMIT vi nis way."'	ka go/com		NOM+F	be ti	hi . hi here em				
226 '''Bro	ayo older nm	brother e came thi	pror	S COM			a.NOM+F ck	<i>ama</i> ama be vc			
	<i>Awa</i> awa tree nf ere is a le	bere bere be acro vi og lying ac	aı	a -ne JX CONI 1x	<b>ha</b> haa C+F DEM dem	Ι					
	<i>Bere</i> bere be acr	t: coss 29 au	SG.S av 1x	o- na May AUX		<i>ahi</i> ahi there dem					
'"Go	across c	on top of it	t.'''								
	-	<i>tamaka</i> tama be ma vi	-ke								
		nany crop	s.'''								
	Fowa fowa manioc nm			ee t PL.S d	<i>i</i> tii cut thro /t	na ugh Al		a -ra	a -yahi G DIST.		

nm pr pron vt "'Don't cut through the manioc stalks."'

231 <i>Fowa</i> fowa manioo nm "'Lift up the	pn	pro	.S DUP hold				na -mis AUX up	<i>ahi</i> sa ahi the dem	re
232 Yama yama thing nf "That guy w	pn	vi	+F ama -ni t SEC BKG sec	+F					
233 Te tee 2PL.S pron	<i>awehiba</i> awa -1 see FT vt	nane nibana -							
234 Faya faya so conj nemetemonek na -heme AUX FP.N+ aux 'They walked	te -mon F REP+	yaka n walk A vi a	na me na+F me AUX 3PL.S aux pron	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>yaka</i> yaka walk vi	<i>na</i> na+F AUX aux	me Me 3PL.S pron	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>yaka</i> yaka walk vi
235 <i>Abi</i> abi father nm "'Father, call	vi								
236 <i>Heei</i> heei yoohoo inter									
237 <i>Hoo</i> hoo huh? inter;	•								
house nm <i>kame</i>	tati tati top pn ma+M ack	yoto cover vt <i>winame</i> wina	COMIT AUX I aux	hino P.N+M <i>ni</i> a+M ni ck to	ya	aux <i>bati</i> bati 3SG.1	na -ma- AUX bac]	k <b>k</b> a k	<b>obo</b> obo rrive i

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

aux

'He had been putting thatch on the top of the roof. He went to bathe and came back and lay in his hammock. His father arrived to him.'

•

239 Me kobo me kobo 3PL.S arri pron vi 'They arrived. "What	ve AUX 3PL.S aux pron	5 1SG.POSS POSS : nm	<i>ama</i> abi ama father be vc	nano . na.NOM+M -no AUX IP.N+M aux
240 <i>Abi abi</i> abi abi father fat nm nm	her call 2SG vi aux	na -ne ti- S AUX CONT+F 2SC pri	G.S	
'"Father, did you call	[5			
241 <i>Ee ha</i> ee haa yes call interj vi	<i>one</i> o- na -ne 1SG.S AUX CON aux			
"'Yes, I called."'				
242 <i>Ofimi</i> o- fimi 1SG.S be hu: vi "'I'm hungry."'	<i>oke</i> o- ke ngry 1SG.S DEC prt	L+F		
i ili ilungiy.				
243 <i>Ofimi</i> o- fimi 1SG.S be hu: vi "I'm hungry."	oke o- ke ngry 1SG.S DEC prt	L+F		
244 Efe yoka efe yok this+M tru dem adj ""Is it really you?""	ana ama ti-	?		
245 <i>Efe</i> ama efe ama this+M be dem vc ""It's me.""				
	i -hiba ama n d FUT+M be n vc a	<b>namata</b> . ha.NOM+M -mata AUX FP.N+M aux		

okatao	yamata		ama	<b>namata</b> na.NOM+M -ma AUX FP						
-		vt	SEC		.N+M Chen dem					
"'My son discovered crops."'										

 248
 Ati
 me
 kakasawari
 hihehimarine

 ati
 me
 ka sawari
 hi to ha
 -himari
 -ne

 voice
 3PL
 DUP
 COMIT
 frustrate
 OC
 CH
 AUX
 FP.E+M
 BKG+M

 pn
 pron
 vt
 aux

249 Okataora ? okatao -ra my son NPQ nm

"Where is my son?"

250 Kamaki okatao kamaki noki ota -makI+M okatao ka -makI+M ka otaa noki go/come following my son go/come following 1EX.S wait for vi nm vi pron vt nari . na -haari AUX IP.E+M aux "There is my son coming, who we were waiting for."

251	Faya	me	faya	bati			wara
	faya	me	faya	bati			wara
	SO	3PL.S	SO	3SG.POSS.father			grab
	conj	pron	conj	nm			vt
hiwa	hemat	amonaka				ahi	· .
hi-	na	-waha	-himata	-mona	-ka	ah	i
OC	AUX	change	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	th	en
aux						de	m
	a . 1						

'His father hugged him.'

252 Okatao yanakamata okatao yana -ka -mata my son grow DECL+M FP.N+M nm vi "'My son grew up."'

253	Oka	itao	yanaka	amata	hari		
	oka	atao	yana	-ka	-mata	haari	L
	my	son	grow	DECL+M	FP.N+M	that	one+M
	nm		vi			dem	
"'My son grew up."'							

254	Me	fimiha	rama	ahi					
	me	fimi+F	rama	ahi					
	3PL.S	be hungry	unusual	then					
	pron	vi	prt	dem					
'The	Thou word hungry '								

'They were hungry.'

•

255 Bese ofimi oke bese o- fimi 0ke 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F son vi VOC prt "Son, I'm hungry." 256 Ofimini • o- fimi -ni 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F vi "'I'm hungry." *tifimini* ti- fimi -ni 257 Abi ? abi father 2SG.S be hungry BKG+F nm vi

"Father, are you hungry?"

258 *Hiba* hiba wait interj "Wait a minute.""

259	Inamate	ta	tonam	е			kamematai					
	inamate	taa	to-	na	-ma+M	,	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ka	
	child	give	away	AUX	back		go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	
	nm	vt	aux				vi					
1.7.7		1.1	• • • •	1								

'He handed the baby to his wife, and came.'

260	Kame			fi	nihi		Okoyo				yobe	bari	ka
	ka		-ma-	+M f	imi+M		0-	ka	ayo		yobe	bari	ka
	go/c	ome	bacl	k b	e hungi	сy	1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother	house	back	LOC
	vi			v	Ĺ		nm				nm	pn	prt
kimi	ra	!	nahabi	ibahi									
kim	i ra	a	na-	ahaba	-baha	+M							
cor	n O		CAUS	end	befor	e							
nm	p	rt	vt										
'Ho	'He came back He was hungry "My brother cut down the corn behind the house first "												

'He came back. He was hungry. "My brother cut down the corn behind the house first."

261	Kimi	ti	nematamonaka	ahi 🚬	ehene					
	kimi	tii	na -himata -mona -ka	ahi	ehene					
	corn	cut through	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL-	+M then	deed+M					
	nm	vt	aux	dem	pn					
hiya	hiyarebanoho									
hiy	hiya -ra -hiba -no -ho									
be	bad NE	G FUT+M IP.N+	M DUP							
vi										

'He cut down the corn, and then did a bad thing.'

262	Sare	ini	sare	ini	bere	kane					
	sarehe	ini	sarehe	ini	bere	ka- na+M					
	blowgun dart	point+F	blowgun dart	point+F	be across	COMIT AUX					
	nf	pn	nf	pn	vi	aux					
111.	III. at a de the hile and a de traite de										

'He stuck the blowgun darts in, in a row.'