

# THE ALLIGATORS KILLED THE MAN

## *Free Translation*

It was a different woman [from the woman of the previous story], she was pregnant. She called her husband to go with her.

"Wait a little while, I'm going to pulverize the *iha* poison. I'm going to pulverize the *iha* poison now. When I have spread the poison on the arrow points, we will go out. It's early in the day."

He pulverized the poison, and cooked it. The poison boiled. He took the poison off the fire. He also cooked another small pot using the same powder, so he could spread it on the arrows a second time. He stirred the poison that was to be spread the second time.

"It's thick. Ok, that's good," he said.

He tied the blowgun darts in a bundle, and tied the arrow points in another bundle. He didn't take long, but she was in a hurry, so she went out into the forest.

"I'm hungry and he isn't leaving."

Her husband was hungry. They didn't have anything to eat, and they were hungry. He pulverized the poison, hungry. He spread the poison on the arrow points. He dried the arrow points by the fire. He set the arrow points next to the fire, and he set the dart points next to the fire, too. He came back.

"Where is she, I told her to wait for me? She went off. I wanted her to wait for me, but she left me behind. Whew, I'm hungry."

She was upset. She was going upset. She was pregnant. She went out and beat *kona* roots. She put the *kona* poison in the stream. She picked up the fish.

He came.

"Hoo, I'm really hungry. What should I eat? Wait, there is some tapioca in the pot there. I'm going to eat a little of the tapioca."

His wife was angry with him later. His wife would be angry with him. He took half of the tapioca. He rubbed the tapioca between his hands. He toasted the tapioca. He ate the tapioca. He finished eating the tapioca.

"I'm going after her."

Did she come back? Then she came back. She had fish in her hands, also leaves and *hamise* aerial roots, for wrapping the fish. She came, and wrapped the fish, and roasted the fish. She took a look at the tapioca.

"My husband has eaten half of the tapioca," she said, unhappy.

"Did you eat half of my tapioca? You didn't wait for me. You ate half of my tapioca," she said. She was speaking angrily. "Why don't you find other wives to give you food?" She was upset because of the tapioca.

He was going to be upset. "I ate a little of the tapioca. You can still eat tapioca." She roasted the fish. She took the fish off the fire. She put the fish on the ground. She rubbed the piece of tapioca between her hands. She toasted the tapioca. She didn't say, "My husband is hungry. Let him eat a little of the tapioca." She was upset because of it. She said, "Did you do that?" He said, "I did that. I took a little piece of the tapioca and ate it."

He lay in his hammock, upset. It's wrong to say, "You should find other wives to give you

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food." Why did she say that? He lay in his hammock, upset.

She finished toasting the tapioca.

"Come here. Let's eat. Come here."

He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset. The sun went down. He lay in his hammock, upset. She ate. She wanted to eat with him, but he didn't come. She saved some of the fish. She saved a little tapioca for him, too. He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset.

His wife called him. "You didn't come to eat fish."

"I already ate. I ate my wives' food. You go ahead and eat," he said. "I ate my wives' food. You eat."

He was upset. He lay in his hammock again, upset.

He wanted to take snuff and he called his father. "Father, I want snuff. I want to take snuff."

"He hasn't eaten, and he is asking for snuff," his wife said.

So he took snuff. He came back and drank water. He drank water so he could go to sleep, upset. His wife called him many times to eat, but it had no effect. He was upset, and they hung up some fish for him. There was also toasted manioc mash for him in the pot. He was upset.

Morning came. He got going.

"I'm going out into the forest. I'm going to catch a river turtle. Keep some food for me. You (pl) don't come after me."

"Sister."

"Huh?"

"Sister, put some manioc mash in a container for me."

So he left. He went out. He disappeared into the forest. The others came upon his brother-in-law [in the garden], who had taken some ripe bananas off the stalk, and had put them in a basket. They were taking roasted fish for the woman's husband.

"You (pl) take along roasted fish for that man," his wife said.

"If I take the roasted fish, is he going to want my food? Didn't you see him? He isn't going to want my food. I shouldn't take the roasted fish."

"Take a little. Here is manioc mash for him."

They went. As they went, they came upon the one who had put bananas in a basket, standing there.

"Whew, put the bananas in, to eat with the fish."

He started out. They came upon him as they were walking. They walked. He shot animals with his blowgun. They shot animals with their blowguns. They went. They arrived.

"Shall we go hunting?"

"Let's go hunting. We will sleep and eat meat."

They went. They found animals. They shot the animals with their blowguns. They brought the animals back. They burned the hair off the animals. They ate the animals. They roasted the animals on a grill. They ate the animals. Then they started out. They were going to sleep, and then start out.

He didn't want the little fish his brothers-in-law called him to eat, so they ate the fish.

"Brother-in-law, these fish are for you."

"I'm not going to eat the fish. I don't want to eat the fish. I already ate."

He didn't want to eat the fish, so they ate the fish. They ate. The moon was bright. They ate. They were going to catch river turtles.

"Let's go hunting first. When we have hunted, and when we have roasted the animals, we will catch river turtles [on another trip]."

They were going to catch river turtles. First they went hunting the next day. They shot

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animals with their blowguns. Woolly monkeys, brown capuchins. They shot the animals, and brought the animals back, and burned the hair off the animals. They burned the hair off the animals. When they were done burning the hair off the animals, they cut the animals up.

"You (pl) make a grill."

They made a grill. They finished making the grill. They lay the animals on top. They cut firewood. They broke the branches of fallen trees. They carried off the branches. They lit the firewood. They roasted the animals.

"Let's go home tomorrow."

"I don't know, wait. First let's look at the river turtles."

They got up and went. The turtle was burying its eggs. Because it was really big, it carried him [when he tried to catch it]. It didn't stay there.

"You two go that way. The two of us will go this way," he said.

They had just gone. The river turtles were on the beach. He wanted to get a river turtle. He ran to catch a turtle, and the turtle carried him. It was a big turtle. He wanted to catch the turtle but he couldn't. It carried him away. He kept holding onto the turtle. His younger brother also grabbed one. The two of them went and grabbed them.

It was taking him. There were alligators there. They were calling, and they were going to kill him. He was struggling with the turtle. It carried him off. He was holding onto it, making noise in the water. An alligator attacked and bit him. They ate him alive.

His younger brother came.

"They killed my older brother, look. He didn't let go of the turtle," he said.

The alligators ate him. They could be heard, "Obe, obe," as they ate him.

He was upset. He went to his two brothers-in-law, who had gone off.

"Let's go back. The alligators ate my brother, because of the turtle. He didn't let go of the turtle, and the turtle went off carrying him. He was holding onto the turtle in the water, and the alligators killed him."

So they came back [to the place where the man had been killed].

"Where?"

"The alligators can be heard as they eat my brother."

They were making a lot of noise, the many alligators.

"Let's go. They are eating our brother-in-law."

They came back [to their camp]. They came back, and they arrived. They slept a little. They were going to get started.

"We will go home tomorrow."

They roasted his animals again. They roasted the animals.

"Animals will not be eaten anymore [because the man who died knew how to hunt better than the others]. Let's carry the animals so we can eat the animals. We won't eat what he kills anymore. The animals are eating him."

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Haha</i>	<i>hahabisa</i>	<i>one</i>	,	<i>nabati</i>	<i>nabati</i>	<i>weye</i>	<i>naro</i>	.
	haaha	haaha -bisa	one		nabati	nabati	weye	na -haaro	
	this+F	this+F also	other+F		stomach	stomach	carry	AUX IP.E+F	
	dem	dem	adj		pn	pn	vt	aux	

'It was a different woman, she was pregnant.'

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2 *Nabati weye na manakobisa , maki maki*  
 nabati weye na+F manakobisa , maki maki  
 stomach carry AUX then 3SG.POSS.husband 3SG.POSS.husband  
 pn vt aux conj nm nm

*hima nemetemoneke*  
 hima na -hemete -mone -ke  
 call to go AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'She was pregnant. She called her husband to go with her.'

3 *Maki hima Hibare mata iha to*  
 maki hima hibare mata iha too  
 3SG.POSS.husband call to go wait for now plant sp pulverize  
 nm vt interj prt nm vt

*okomatibe hibare mata*  
 o- ka- na -mata -be , hibare mata  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F wait for now  
 aux interj prt

'''Wait a little while, I'm going to pulverize the iha poison.'''

4 *Iha to okomatibe mata*  
 iha too o- ka- na -mata -be mata  
 plant sp pulverize 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F for now  
 nm vt aux prt

'''I'm going to pulverize the iha poison now.'''

5 *Wati ino were okani ya e*  
 wati ino were o- ka- na.NOM+F ya ee  
 arrow point+M coat 1SG.S COMIT AUX ADJU 1IN.S  
 nm pn vt aux prt pron

*towakaba ereke*  
 to- ka- ka -haba ere -ke  
 away COMIT go/come FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F  
 vi pron

'''When I have spread the poison on the arrow points, we will go out.'''

6 *Bai , bai yaboka*  
 bahi , bahi yabo -ka  
 sun sun be far DECL+M  
 nm nm vi

'''It's early in the day.'''

7 *Iha to kane , iha to kane*  
 iha too ka- na+M , iha too ka- na+M  
 plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX  
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

*iha kawari iha wiro kane , iha*  
 iha ka- waa -rI+M iha wiro ka- na+M , iha  
 plant sp COMIT stand raised surface plant sp boil COMIT AUX plant sp  
 nm vt vi aux nm

*wiro kanematamonaka*  
 wiro ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
 boil COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi aux

'He pulverized the poison, and cooked the poison. The poison boiled.'

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8 *Iha wiro kane iha yama kanihe*  
 iha wiro ka- na+M iha yama ka- niha- na+M  
 plant sp boil COMMIT AUX plant sp remove from fire COMMIT CAUS AUX  
 nm vi aux nm vt aux  
 , *ia yama kanihematamonaka*  
 iha yama ka- niha- na -himata -mona -ka  
 plant sp remove from fire COMMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt aux

'The poison boiled. He took the poison off the fire.'

9 *Ia yama kanihe , iha ,*  
 iha yama ka- niha- na+M , iha ,  
 plant sp remove from fire COMMIT CAUS AUX plant sp  
 nm vt aux nm

*tokayowabona ka , yiwa iisi kabote*  
 to- ka- yowa.NOM+M -bona ka , yiwa i- isi na -kabote  
 away COMMIT burn INT+M so that pot DUP be small AUX quickly  
 vt prt nf vi aux

*na kawari , ia nakosiribonaha*  
 na+F ka- waa -rI+M , iha nakosiri -bona -ha  
 AUX COMMIT stand raised surface plant sp ashes INT+M DUP  
 aux vt nm pn

'He took the poison off the fire. He also cooked another small pot using the same powder, so he could spread it on the arrows a second time.'

10 *Nakosiribona werewere hinematamona fahi*  
 nakosiri -bona were- were hi- na -himata -mona fahi  
 ashes INT+M DUP stir OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn vt aux dem

'He stirred the poison that was to be spread the second time.'

11 *Were hine Imake haro*  
 were hi- na+M ima -ke haaro  
 stir OC AUX be fat DECL+F that one+F  
 vt aux vi dem

'He stirred it. "It's thick."'

12 *Faya ama , ati nematamonaka*  
 faya ama , ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 enough be say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 adj vc vt aux

'"Ok, that's good," he said.'

13 *Faya sare soki kasa , wati soki*  
 faya sarehe soki ka- na -kosa.LIST , wati soki  
 so blowgun dart tie up COMMIT AUX middle arrow tie up  
 conj nf vt aux nm vt  
*kasa , kekerewe re faya hine bao na*  
 ka- na -kosa.LIST , ke- kerewe na -ra+M faya hine bao na+F  
 COMMIT AUX middle DUP be slow AUX NEG so 3.REFL hurry AUX  
 aux vi aux conj pron vt aux

*ita tokemetemoneke*  
 ita+F to- ka -hemete -mone -ke  
 stay away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi vi

'He tied the blowgun darts together, and tied the arrow points together. He didn't take long, but she was in a hurry, so she went out.'

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14 *Toka*                    *aba*    *me*    ,    *Ofimiha*                    *owa*    *yana*  
to- ka+F            aba    me    ,    o-    fimi+F            owa    yana  
away go/come    fish    3PL            1SG.S be hungry    1SG.O    start  
vi                    nm    pron            vi                    pron    vi

*kanakabote*                    *re*  
ka- na -kabote    na -ra+M  
COMIT AUX quickly    AUX NEG  
aux                    aux

'She went out. "I'm hungry and he isn't leaving."

15 *Maki*                                    *fimihimatamonaka*  
maki                                    fimi                    -himata -mona -ka  
3SG.POSS.husband    be hungry    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
nm                                    vi

'Her husband was hungry.'

16 *Maki*                                    *fimi*                    *ne*                    ,    *yama*    *kakaba*                    *me*                    *kihara*  
maki                                    fimi.LIST            na+M                    ,    yama    ka- kaba                    me                    kiha -ra+F  
3SG.POSS.husband    be hungry    AUX                    thing    DUP eat                    3PL.S                    have NEG  
nm                                    vi                    aux                    nf                    pn                    pron                    vt

*me*                    ,    *faya*    *me*                    *fimihemetemoneke*  
me                    ,    faya    me                    fimi                    -hemete -mone -ke  
3PL.S                    so                    3PL.S                    be hungry    FP.N+F                    REP+F                    DECL+F  
pron                    conj                    pron                    vi

'Her husband was hungry. They didn't have anything to eat, and they were hungry.'

17 *Me*                    *fimiha*                    *me*                    ,    *fimi*                    *ya*                    *ia*                    *to*                    *kane*  
me                    fimi+F                    me                    ,    fimi                    ya                    iha                    too                    ka- na+M  
3PL.S                    be hungry                    3PL.S                    hunger    ADJU                    plant sp                    pulverize                    COMIT AUX  
pron                    vi                    pron                    nf                    prt                    nm                    vt                    aux

,    *wati*    *ino*                    *howe*    *kane*                    *wati*    *ino*                    *howe*    *kane*                    *wati*  
wati    ino                    howe    ka- na+M                    wati    ino                    howe    ka- na+M                    wati  
arrow    point+M                    wipe    COMIT AUX                    arrow    point+M                    wipe    COMIT AUX                    arrow  
nm                    pn                    vt                    aux                    nm                    pn                    vt                    aux                    nm

*ino*                    *howe*    *kane*                    *ya*                    *wati*    *ino*                    *howe*    *kane*                    *faya*  
ino                    howe    ka- na.NOM+M                    ya                    wati    ino                    howe    ka- na+M                    faya  
point+M                    wipe    COMIT AUX                    ADJU                    arrow    point+M                    wipe    COMIT AUX                    so  
pn                    vt                    aux                    prt                    nm                    pn                    vt                    aux                    conj

*wati*    *ino*                    *tokanayowa*  
wati    ino                    to- ka- na- yowa.LIST                    ,    *wati*    *ino*  
arrow    point+M                    away COMIT CAUS burn                    ,    wati    ino  
nm                    pn                    vt                    nm                    pn

*kakibare*                                    ,    *sare*                    ,    *sare*                    *ini*  
ka- iba                    -rI                    ,    sarehe                    ,    sarehe                    ini  
COMIT set down    raised surface                    blowgun dart                    blowgun dart                    point+F  
vt                    nf                    nf                    pn

*kakibare*                                    ,    *kamematamonaka*  
ka- iba                    -rI                    ,    ka                    -ma -himata -mona -ka  
COMIT set down    raised surface                    go/come back    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DECL+M  
vt                    vi

'They were hungry. He pulverized the poison, hungry. He spread the poison on the arrow points. He dried the arrow points by the fire. He set the arrow points next to the fire, and he set the dart points next to the fire, too. He came back.'

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18 **Kame** , **Owa** **noki** **nebona** **onehira** ?  
 ka -ma+M , owa noki na -hibona ati o- na+M -ra  
 go/come back 1SG.O wait for AUX INT+M say 1SG.S AUX NPQ  
 vi pron vt aux nm

'He came back. "Where is she, I told her to wait for me?'"

19 **Toka** **nanoho** .  
 to- ka.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho  
 away go/come AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 vi aux

""She went off.""

20 **Owa** **noki** **nebona** **owa** **kakosa**  
 owa noki na -hibona owa ka- kana -kosa.CONT+M  
 1SG.O wait for AUX INT+M 1SG.O COMIT leave middle  
 pron vt aux pron vt

**nanoho**  
 na.NOM+M -no -ho  
 AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

""I wanted her to wait for me, but she left me behind.""

21 **Haa** **ofimi** **oke** .  
 haa o- fimi o- ke  
 (expression of exhaustion) 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F  
 interj vi prt

""Whew, I'm hungry.""

22 **Yawaha** **yawa** **towakemetemoneke** .  
 yawa+F yawa to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke  
 be upset anger away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi nf vt

'She was upset. She was going upset.'

23 **Faya** **yawa** **towaka** , **naba** **toaro** , **nabati**  
 faya yawa to- ka- ka+F , naba toaro ha -haaro , nabati  
 so anger away COMIT go/come pregnant CH be IP.E+F stomach  
 conj nf vt adj vc pn

**weye** **naro** .  
 weye na -haaro  
 carry AUX IP.E+F  
 vt aux

'She was going upset. She was pregnant.'

24 **Nabati** **weye** **nemetemoneke** .  
 nabati weye na -hemete -mone -ke  
 stomach carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pn vt aux

'She was pregnant.'

25 **Nabati** **weye** **na** , **toka** **kona** **baro** **towitha**  
 nabati weye na+F , to- ka+F kona baro to- na -witI+F  
 stomach carry AUX away go/come plant sp beat away AUX out  
 pn vt aux vi nm vt aux

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<b>kona</b>	,	<b>kona</b>	<b>sa</b>	<b>na</b>	,	<b>kona</b>	<b>sa</b>	<b>nemetemone</b>
kona		kona	saa	na+F		kona	saa	na -hemete -mone
plant sp		plant sp	release	AUX		plant sp	release	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm		nm	vt	aux		nm	vt	aux

'She was pregnant. She went out and beat kona roots. She put the kona poison in the stream.'

26	<b>Kona</b>	<b>sa</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yaba</b>	,	<b>aba</b>
	kona	saa	na+F	aba	me		aba	me	yaba+F		aba
	plant sp	release	AUX	fish	3PL		fish	3PL.O	take out		fish
	nm	vt	aux	nm	pron		nm	pron	vt		nm

<b>me</b>	<b>yabemetemoneke</b>
me	yaba -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.O	take out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron	vt

'She put the poison in the stream. She picked up the fish.'

27	<b>Kamaki</b>	,	<b>Hoo</b>	<b>ofimiha</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>tiwa</b>
	ka -makI+M		hoo	o- fimi+F	owa	ti- awa
	go/come following		whew	1SG.S be hungry	1SG.O	2SG.S see
	vi		interj	vi	pron	vt

'He came. "Hoo, I'm really hungry."'

28	<b>Himata</b>	<b>okobaba</b>	?
	himata	o- kaba -haba	
	what?	1SG.S eat FUT+F	
	interrog	vt	

""What should I eat?""

29	<b>Hiba</b>	<b>iyawa</b>	<b>soke</b>	<b>foyakeni</b>	<b>haro</b>
	hiba	iyawa	soke	foya -ke -ni	haaro
	wait	manioc mash	residue+F	be inside DECL+F IP.N+F	that one+F
	interj	nf	pn	vi	dem

""Wait, there is some tapioca in the pot there.""

30	<b>Iyawa</b>	<b>soke</b>	<b>isi ni</b>	<b>okobabanake</b>
	iyawa	soke	isi ni	o- kaba -habana -ke
	manioc mash	residue+F	little bit	1SG.S eat FUT+F DECL+F
	nf	pn	pn	vt

<b>fati</b>	<b>hikakobanoho</b>
fati	hi- kaako -hiba -no -ho
3SG.POSS.wife	OC be angry with FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
nf	vt

""I'm going to eat a little of the tapioca." His wife was angry with him later.'

31	<b>Fati</b>	<b>hikakoba</b>	<b>iyawa</b>	<b>itibase</b>
	fati	hi- kaako -hiba	iyawa	iti -basa+M
	3SG.POSS.wife	OC be angry with FUT+M	manioc mash	take out edge
	nf	vt	nf	vt

<b>iyawa</b>	<b>wiko</b>	<b>kane</b>	<b>iyawa</b>	<b>wiko</b>	<b>kanehimatamona</b>
iyawa	wiko	ka- na+M	iyawa	wiko	ka- na -himata -mona
manioc mash	rub	COMIT AUX	manioc mash	rub	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nf	vt	aux	nf	vt	aux

'His wife would be angry with him. He took half of the tapioca. He rubbed the tapioca between his hands.'



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32 *Iyawa*                    *wiko*    *kane*                    *iyawa*                    *sire*                    *iyawa*                    *kabe*  
 iyawa                    wiko    ka-    na+M    iyawa                    sira+M    iyawa                    kaba+M  
 manioc mash    rub    COMIT    AUX    manioc mash    toast    manioc mash    eat  
 nf                    vt    aux                    nf                    vt                    nf                    vt

*iyawa*                    *kabematamonaka*                    *fahi*  
 iyawa                    kaba -himata -mona -ka    fahi  
 manioc mash    eat    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M    then  
 nf                    vt                    dem

'He rubbed the tapioca between his hands. He toasted the tapioca.'

33 *Iyawa*                    *kabe*                    ,    *iyawa*                    *kabi*                    *hawa*                    *toe*                    ,  
 iyawa                    kaba+M                    ,    iyawa                    kaba.NFIN    hawa                    to- ha+M  
 manioc mash    eat                    ,    manioc mash    eat                    be finished    CH    AUX  
 nf                    vt                    ,    nf                    result                    vi                    aux

*Totowamake*                    *omatibe*  
 to- to-    awa -makI                    o-    na    -mata                    -be  
 DUP away see following    1SG.S    AUX    short time    IMMED+F  
 vt                    aux

'He ate the tapioca. He finished eating the tapioca. "I'm going after her."'

34 *Kamine*                    *nimetemone*                    ?  
 ka                    -ma    -ne                    na.NOM+F    -mete    -mone  
 go/come back    CONT+F    AUX                    FP.N+F    REP+F  
 vi                    aux

'Did she come back?'

35 *Faya*    *kamemetemone*                    *fahi*  
 faya    ka                    -ma    -hemete    -mone    fahi  
 so    go/come back    FP.N+F    REP+F    then  
 conj    vi                    dem

'Then she came back.'

36 *Kama*                    ,    *aba*    *me*                    ,    *aba*    *me*                    *tama*                    *kana*                    *waso*  
 ka                    -ma+F                    ,    aba    me                    ,    aba    me                    tama                    kana                    na+F    waso  
 go/come back                    fish    3PL                    fish    3PL.O    hold onto    COMIT    AUX    leaf  
 vi                    nm    pron                    nm    pron                    vt                    aux                    nf

*tama*                    *kana*                    *hamise*                    *tama*                    *kana*                    ,    *aba*    *me*  
 tama                    ka-    na+F                    hamise                    tama                    ka-    na+F                    ,    aba    me  
 hold onto    COMIT    AUX    epiphyte sp    hold onto    COMIT    AUX                    fish    3PL.POSS  
 vt                    aux                    nf                    vt                    aux                    nm    pron

*tafowebone*                    ,    *faya*    *kama*                    ,    *aba*    *me*    *aba*    *me*    *tafa*  
 tafowe -bone                    ,    faya    ka                    -ma+F                    ,    aba    me    aba    me    tafa+F  
 wrapped INT+F                    so    go/come back                    fish    3PL    fish    3PL.O    wrap  
 pn                    conj    vi                    nm    pron    nm    pron    vt

*aba*    *me*                    *yokemetemoneke*  
 aba    me                    yoka                    -hemete    -mone    -ke  
 fish    3PL.O    roast on coals    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 nm    pron    vt

'She came back. She had fish in her hands, also leaves and hamise aerial roots, for wrapping the fish. She came, and wrapped the fish, and roasted the fish.'

37 *Aba*    *me*                    *yokaha*                    *aba*    *me*                    ,    *iyawa*                    *iyawa*  
 aba    me                    yoka+F                    aba    me                    ,    iyawa                    iyawa  
 fish    3PL.O    roast on coals    fish    3PL    manioc mash    manioc mash  
 nm    pron    vt                    nm    pron    nf                    nf

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*aawa*      *nabone*      *Iyawa*      *ibe*      *oko*      *oka*  
a- awa na -habone iyawa ibe o- ka o- ka  
DUP see AUX INT+F manioc mash piece 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS  
vt aux nf pn prt prt  
*yibote*      *iyawa*      *ibe*      *hikaba*      *ama* , *hikabani*      *amani*  
yibote iyawa ibe hi- kaba+F ama , hi- kaba -hani ama -ni  
husband manioc mash piece OC eat SEC OC eat IP.N+F SEC BKG+F  
nm nf pn vt sec vt sec  
, *ati*      *rabanihi*  
ati na -ra -haba -ni -hi  
say AUX NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
vt aux

'She roasted the fish. She took a look at the tapioca. "My husband has eaten half of the tapioca," she said, unhappy.'

38 *Oka*      *iyawa*      , *ibe*      *tikabani*      ?  
o- ka iyawa , ibe ti- kaba -hani  
1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash piece 2SG.S eat IP.N+F  
prt pn vt

"Did you eat half of my tapioca?"

39 *Owa*      *nonoki*      *tirani*      *oko*      *iyawa*  
owa no- noki ti- na -ra -hani o- ka iyawa  
1SG.O DUP wait for 2SG.S AUX NEG IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash  
pron vt aux prt nf  
*ibe*      *tikabine*      *tiwenihi*      , *ati*  
ibe ti- kaba -ne ti- we -ni -hi , ati  
piece 2SG.S eat CONT+F 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP say  
pn vt prt vt  
*nemetemoneke*  
na -hemete -mone -ke  
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
aux

"You didn't wait for me. You ate half of my tapioca," she said.'

40 *Yawa*      , *yawa*      *ya*      *ati*      *saihemetemoneni*  
yawa+F , yawa ya ati sai -hemete -mone -ni  
be upset anger ADJU voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
vi nf prt pn vi

'She was angry. She was speaking angrily.'

41 *Te*      *ka*      *yibote*      *me*      *tafe*      *te*      *kabi*      *nofara*      *te*  
tee ka yibote me tafe tee kaba nofa -ra+F tee  
2PL POSS wife 3PL.POSS food+F 2PL.S eat recently NEG 2PL.S  
pron prt nf pron pn pron vt prt pron  
*amani*      , *iyawa*      *ihi*      *yawabanihi*  
ama -ni , iyawa ihi yawa -haba -ni -hi  
SEC BKG+F manioc mash because of+F be upset FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
sec nf post vi

"Why don't you find other wives to give you food?" She was upset because of the tapioca.'

42 *Yaweba*      , *Iyawa*      *isi ni*      *okobarake*  
yawa -hiba , iyawa isi ni o- kaba -hara -ke  
be upset FUT+M manioc mash little bit 1SG.S eat IP.E+F DECL+F  
vi nf pn vt

'He was going to be upset. "I ate a little of the tapioca."'

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43 *Iyawa* , *tikababa* *awineke*  
 iyawa ti- kaba -haba awine -ke  
 manioc mash 2SG.S eat FUT+F seem+F DECL+F  
 nf vt sec

"You can still eat tapioca."

44 *Faya aba me yoka aba me yamama*  
 faya aba me yoka+F aba me yama -ma  
 so fish 3PL.O roast on coals fish 3PL.O remove from fire DUP  
 conj nm pron vt nm pron vt

*nia* , *aba me so tonihemetemoneke*  
 niha- na+F aba me soo to- niha- na -hemete -mone -ke  
 CAUS AUX fish 3PL.O lie CH CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux nm pron vi aux

'She roasted the fish. She took the fish off the fire. She put the fish on the ground.'

45 *Aba me so toniha iyawa soke ibe wiko*  
 aba me soo to- niha- na+F iyawa soke ibe wiko  
 fish 3PL.O lie CH CAUS AUX manioc mash residue+F piece rub  
 nm pron vi aux nf pn pn vt

*kanaha* , *iyawa siremetemoneke*  
 ka- na+F iyawa sira -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMMIT AUX manioc mash toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux nf vt

'She put the fish on the ground. She rubbed the piece of tapioca between her hands. She toasted the tapioca.'

46 *Iyawa sira iyawa siremetemoneke ahi*  
 iyawa sira+F iyawa sira -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 manioc mash toast manioc mash toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 nf vt nf vt dem

'She toasted the tapioca.'

47 *Oko yibote fimihi awane*  
 o- ka yibote fimi+M awa -ne  
 1SG.POSS POSS husband be hungry seem+M BKG+M  
 prt nm vi sec

'She didn't say, "My husband is hungry."'

48 *Iyawa isi ni kaba nanoho ati*  
 iyawa isi ni kaba.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho ati  
 manioc mash little bit eat AUX IP.N+M DUP say  
 nf pn vt aux

*re ati rimakoni ihi*  
 na -ra+M ati na -ra -makoni ihi  
 AUX NEG say AUX NEG for this reason+F because of+F  
 aux vt aux post

*yawehemetemoneke*  
 yawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

"Let him eat a little of the tapioca." She was upset because of it.<sup>134</sup>

49 *Afa tiweheneni amani ? ati na Owehene*  
 afa ti- ehene -ni ama -ni ati na+F o- ehene  
 this+F 2SG.POSS deed IP.N+F be BKG+F say AUX 1SG.POSS deed  
 dem pn vc vt aux pn

134 The verb *ati re* is a false start.

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**amake**            **ati**    **nematamonaka**  
 ama -ke        ati    na -himata -mona -ka  
 be DECL+F    say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M  
 vc            vt    aux  
 'She said, "Did you do that?" He said, "I did that."'

50 **Owehene**                    **amake**  
 o-            ehene    ama -ke  
 1SG.POSS deed    be DECL+F  
 pn            vc  
 "'I did that.'"

51 **Iyawa**                    **isi ni**                    **ibe**            **otibasa**  
 iyawa            isi ni            ibe            o-    iti            -basa+F  
 manioc mash    little bit    piece    1SG.S take out edge  
 nf            pn            pn            vt

**okobarake**  
 o-            kaba -hara -ke  
 1SG.S eat    IP.E+F DECL+F  
 vt  
 "'I took a little piece of the tapioca and ate it.'"

52 **Yawe**            **yawa**            **kawinematamonaka**  
 yawa+M        yawa    ka-    wina                    -himata -mona -ka  
 be upset    anger    COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M  
 vi            nf            vt  
 'He lay in his hammock, upset.'

53 **Yawa**    **kawine**                    ,    **Te**    **ka**            **yibote**    **me**    **ka**            **iyawa**  
 yawa    ka-    wina+M                    tee    ka            yibote    me    ka            iyawa  
 anger    COMIT lie in hammock    2PL    POSS    wife            3PL    POSS    manioc mash  
 nf            vt                    pron    prt            nf            pron    prt            nf

**yokana**    **te**            **kakaba**            **nofara**                    **te**            **amani**            **ati**  
 yokana    tee            ka-    kaba    na    nofa            -ra+F    tee            ama -ni            ati  
 true        2PL.S    DUP eat    AUX recently NEG    2PL.S    SEC BKG+F    say  
 adj        pron    vt            prt                    pron            sec                    vt

**nari**            **na**            **rama**            **ahi**  
 na -haari    na+F    rama            ahi  
 AUX wrongly    AUX    unusual    then  
 aux            aux    prt            dem  
 'He lay in his hammock, upset. It's wrong to say, "You should find other wives to give you food.'"

54 **Hine**    **ati**            **tohara**                    **rama**  
 hine    ati            to-    ha -ra+F    rama  
 only    voice    CH    be NEG    unusual  
 pron    pn            vc                    prt  
 'Why did she say that?'

55 **Faya**    **yawa**            **kawinematamona**  
 faya    yawa    ka-    wina                    -himata -mona  
 so        anger    COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M    REP+M  
 conj    nf            vt  
 'He lay in his hammock, upset.'

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56 *Yawa kawine iyawa siri hawa toha*  
 yawa ka- wina+M iyawa sira.NFIN hawa to- ha+F  
 anger COMMIT lie in hammock manioc mash toast be finished CH AUX  
 nf vi nf vt vi aux

, *Tikamini*  
 ti- ka -ma -ni  
 2SG.S go/come back BKG+F  
 vi

'He lay in his hammock, upset. She finished toasting the tapioca. "Come here."'

57 *E tafibeya*  
 ee tafa -be -ya  
 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now  
 pron vi

""Let's eat.""

58 *E tafibe*  
 ee tafa -be  
 1IN.S eat IMMED+F  
 pron vi

""Let's eat.""

59 *Tikamahi*  
 ti- ka -ma -hi  
 2SG.S go/come back IMP+F  
 vi

""Come here.""

60 *Yawahi yawa kawine , yawa*  
 yawa+M yawa ka- wina+M yawa  
 be upset anger COMMIT lie in hammock anger  
 vi nf vt nf

*kawinematamonaka*  
 ka- wina -himata -mona -ka  
 COMMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset.'

61 *Bai abematamona amaka hari*  
 bahi ahaba -himata -mona ama -ka haari  
 sun end FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M that one+M  
 nm vi sec dem

'The sun went down.'

62 *Yawa kawine , tafehemetemoneke*  
 yawa ka- wina+M tafa -hemete -mone -ke  
 anger COMMIT lie in hammock eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf vt vi

'He lay in his hammock, upset. She ate.'

63 *Tafaha hikatafebona hikatafebona*  
 tafa+F hi- ka- tafa -hibona hi- ka- tafa -hibona  
 eat OC COMMIT eat INT+M OC COMMIT eat INT+M  
 vi vt vt

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**kamaramako**  
ka -ma -ra -mako , **aba me one hasi**  
go/come back NEG for this reason+M fish 3PL.O other+F be left  
vi nm pron adj vi

**nimetemoneke**  
niha- na -hemete -mone -ke  
CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
aux

'She ate. She wanted to eat with him, but he didn't come. She saved some of the fish.'

64 **Aba me hasi** , **hinaka iyawa bitebone hasi**  
aba me hasi , hinaka iyawa bite -bone hasi  
fish 3PL.O be left 3SG.POSS manioc mash small+F INT+F be left  
nm pron vi pron nf adj vi

**hiniha** , **yawematamona fahi**  
hi- niha- na+F , yawa -himata -mona fahi  
OC CAUS AUX be upset FP.N+M REP+M then  
aux vi dem

'She saved some fish. She saved a little tapioca for him, too. He was upset.'

65 **Yawe** , **yawe yawa kawine fati ha**  
yawa+M , yawa+M yawa ka- wina+M fati haa  
be upset be upset anger COMMIT lie in hammock 3SG.POSS.wife call  
vi vi nf vt nf vt

**kabote hine** , **Aba me tikababone kakama**  
na -kabote hi- na+M , aba me ti- kaba -habone ka- ka -ma  
AUX quickly OC AUX fish 3PL.O 2SG.S eat INT+F DUP go/come DUP  
aux aux nm pron vt vi

**tira**  
ti- na -ra+F  
2SG.S AUX NEG  
aux

'He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset. His wife called him. "You didn't come to eat fish."'

66 **Otafara** , **oke**  
o- tafa -hara o- ke  
1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
vi prt

""I already ate.""

67 **Oko** , **yibote me tafe okobara oke**  
o- ka yibote me tafe o- kaba -hara o- ke  
1SG.POSS POSS wife 3PL.POSS food+F 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
prt nf pron pn vt prt

""I ate my wives' food.""

68 **Oko** , **yibote tafe okobarawara oni**  
o- ka yibote tafe o- kaba -rawa -hara o- ni  
1SG.POSS POSS wife food+F 1SG.S eat F.PL IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
prt nf pn vt prt

""I ate my wives' food.""

69 **Titafabisahi** , **ati nematamonaka**  
ti- tafa -bisa -hi , ati na -himata -mona -ka  
2SG.S eat also IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi vt aux

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"You go ahead and eat," he said.'

70 *Oko*                    *yibote*        *me*            *tafe*            *okobara*                    *oni*  
 o-            ka        yibote        me            tafe        o-        kaba -hara        o-        ni  
 1SG.POSS POSS wife        3PL.POSS food+F        1SG.S eat        IP.E+F        1SG.S BKG+F  
 prt                    nf            pron            pn            vt                    prt

"I ate my wives' food."

71 *Titafabisahi*  
 ti-        tafa -bisa -hi  
 2SG.S eat        also        IMP+F  
 vi

"You eat."

72 *Faya*        *yawe*            *yawa*        *kawiname*                    *sina*        *hisi*  
 faya        yawa+M        yawa        ka-        wina                    -ma+M        sina        hisi  
 so        be upset        anger        COMIT lie in hammock back        snuff        sniff  
 conj        vi                    nf            vt                    ha        ne        ,        *Abi*        ,  
 na        -hibona        bati                    bati                    haa        na+M        ,        abi        ,  
 AUX INT+M        3SG.POSS.father        3SG.POSS.father        call        AUX        father  
 aux                    nm                    nm                    vt            aux                    nm

*abi*            *oko*                    *sinabana*  
 abi        o-            ka        sina -bana  
 father        1SG.POSS POSS        snuff FUT  
 nm            prt                    nf

'He was upset. He lay in his hammock again, upset. He wanted to take snuff and he called his father. "Father, I want snuff."

73 *Sina*        *hisi*            *obeya*  
 sina        hisi        o-        na -be        -ya  
 snuff        sniff        1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now  
 nf        vt            aux

"I want to take snuff."

74 *Tafebona*            *sina*        *ini*            *hiri*            *nane*  
 tafa -hibona        sina        ini            hiri            na.CONT+M -ne  
 eat INT+M        snuff        name+F        say        AUX                    BKG+M  
 vi                    nf            pn            vt            aux

"He hasn't eaten, and he is asking for snuff."

75 *Faya*        *sina*        *hisi*            *ne*        ,        *sina*        *hisi*            *nematamonaka*  
 faya        sina        hisi        na+M        ,        sina        hisi        na -himata -mona -ka  
 so        snuff        sniff        AUX                    snuff        sniff        AUX FP.N+M        REP+M        DECL+M  
 conj        nf            vt            aux            nf            vt            aux

'So he took snuff.'

76 *Sina*        *hisi*            *ne*            *kame*                    ,        *fa*            *fawematamonaka*  
 sina        hisi        na+M        ka            -ma+M        ,        faha        fawa -himata -mona -ka  
 snuff        sniff        AUX        go/come back        water        drink FP.N+M        REP+M        DECL+M  
 nf        vt            aux        vi                    nf            vt

'He took snuff. He came back and drank water.'

77 *Fa*            *fawematamonaka*  
 faha        fawa -himata -mona -ka  
 water        drink FP.N+M        REP+M        DECL+M  
 nf            vt

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'He drank water.'

78	<b>Fa</b>	<b>fawe</b>	,	<b>fa</b>	<b>fawematamonaka</b>		<b>yawa</b>	<b>amo</b>
	faha	fawa+M		faha	fawa -himata -mona -ka		yawa	amo
	water	drink		water	drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		anger	sleep
	nf	vt		nf	vt		nf	vi

**kanebana**

ka- na -hibana  
COMIT AUX FUT+M  
aux

'He drank water. He drank water so he could go to sleep, upset.'

79	<b>Tefebona</b>	<b>fati</b>		<b>ha</b>	<b>kanakabote</b>		<b>hikana</b>	
	tefe -bona	fati		haa	ka- na -kabote		hi- ka -na	
	food+M INT+M	3SG.POSS.wife		call	COMIT AUX quickly		OC DECL+M IRR+M	
	pn	nf		vi	aux		prt	

<b>ati</b>	<b>re</b>	<b>yawahi</b>	,	<b>hinaka</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>mebone</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
ati	na -ra+M	yawa+M		hinaka	aba me -bone	me	me	me
say	AUX NEG	be upset		3SG.POSS	fish 3PL INT+F	3PL.O	3PL.S	
vt	aux	vi		pron	nm pron	pron	pron	

**hikanawinemetemone**

hi- ka- na- wina -hemete -mone  
OC COMIT CAUS hang FP.N+F REP+F  
vt

'His wife called him many times to eat, but it had no effect. He was upset, and they hung up some fish for him.'

80	<b>Aba</b>	<b>mebone</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hikanawina</b>	,	<b>hinaka</b>	<b>iyawa</b>
	aba me -bone	me	hi- ka- na- wina+F		hinaka	iyawa	
	fish 3PL INT+F	3PL.S	OC COMIT CAUS hang		3SG.POSS	manioc mash	
	nm pron	pron	vt		pron	nf	

<b>kaibone</b>	<b>foya</b>	,	<b>yawe</b>	,	<b>yama</b>	<b>we</b>
kaha.NFIN -bone	foya+F		yawa+M		yama	wehe
be toasted INT+F	be inside		be upset		thing	light+F
vi	vi		vi		nf	pn

**kamakietemone**

ka -makiI -hemete -mone ama -ni  
go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
vi sec

'They hung up fish for him. There was also toasted manioc mash for him in the pot. He was upset. Morning came.'

81	<b>Yama</b>	<b>we</b>	<b>kamakia</b>	,	<b>yama</b>	<b>we</b>	<b>kamakia</b>
	yama wehe	ka	-makI+F		yama wehe	ka	-makI+F
	thing light+F	go/come	following		thing light+F	go/come	following
	nf pn	vi			nf pn	vi	

**me** , **yana** **tonematamona**  
me yana to- na -himata -mona  
3PL start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
pron vi aux

'Morning came. He got going.'

82	<b>Yana</b>	<b>tone</b>	,	<b>Okabone</b>		<b>ama</b>	<b>oke</b>
	yana to- na+M	o-	to- ka	-habone	ama o- ke		
	start CH AUX	1SG.S	away go/come	INT+F	SEC 1SG.S DECL+F		
	vi aux	vi			sec prt		

'He got going. "I'm going out into the forest."'



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83 *Okabone* *ama*  
 o- to- ka -habone ama  
 1SG.S away go/come INT+F SEC  
 vi sec

"I'm going out."

84 *Sire* *sire* *sire* *owatibanara*  
 sire sire sire o- wata+F -bana -hara  
 river turtle river turtle river turtle 1SG.S catch FUT IP.E+F  
 nf nf nf vt

*oke*  
 o- ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F

prt

"I'm going to catch a river turtle."

85 *Otefeba* *tikawatiyahi*  
 o- tefe -ba ti- ka- wata -yahi  
 1SG.POSS food FUT 2SG.S COMIT be located DIST.IMP+F  
 pn vt

"Keep some food for me."

86 *Owa* *te* *kiyoriyahi*  
 owa tee kiyo -ra -yahi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S chase NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pron vt

"Don't come after me."

87 *Asima* *asima*  
 asima asima  
 younger sister younger sister  
 nf nf

"Sister."

88 *Haa* ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj

"Huh?"

89 *Asima* *oko* *iyawaba* *te*  
 asima o- ka iyawa -ba tee  
 younger sister 1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash FUT put inside  
 nf prt nf vt

*tikanahi*

ti- ka- na -hi  
 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F  
 aux

"Sister, put some manioc mash in a container for me."

90 *Faya* *yana* *tonematamonaka* *ahi*  
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi aux dem

'So he left.'

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91 *Yana tone* , *tokematamonaka*  
 yana to- na+M , to- ka -himata -mona -ka  
 start CH AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi aux vi

'He left. He went out.'

92 *Toke wabori* , *fawa tonakose*  
 to- ka+M wabori , fawa to- na -kosa+M  
 away go/come 3SG.POSS brother-in-law disappear CH AUX middle  
 vi nm vi aux

*yifari* , *fatara ya yifari kakitino* , *yifari te*  
 yifari fatara ya yifari ka- iti -hino yifari tee  
 banana garden ADJU banana COMMIT take out IP.N+M banana put inside  
 nf nf prt nf vt nf vt

*kaneno me hiwasimaki* , *hinaka aba me*  
 ka- na -hino me hi- to- wasi -makI+M , hinaka aba me  
 COMMIT AUX IP.N+M 3PL.S OC away find following 3SG.POSS fish 3PL.S  
 aux pron vt pron nm pron

*kaibonehe me fati* , *Te ka owa ka aba*  
 kaha.NFIN -bone -he me , fati , tee ka owa ka aba  
 be toasted INT+F DUP 3PL 3SG.POSS.wife 2PL POSS man POSS fish  
 vi pron nf pron prt nm prt nm

*me kaiba te tama kanahi*  
 me kaha.NFIN -ba tee tama ka- na -hi  
 3PL.S be toasted FUT 2PL.S hold onto COMMIT AUX IMP+F  
 pron vi pron vt aux

'He went out. He disappeared into the forest. The others came upon his brother-in-law, who had taken some ripe bananas off the stalk, and had put them in a basket. They were taking roasted fish for him. "You take along roasted fish for that man," his wife said.'

93 *Aba me kai tama okana otefe*  
 aba me kaha.NFIN tama o- ka- na+F o- tefe  
 fish 3PL.S be toasted hold onto 1SG.S COMMIT AUX 1SG.POSS food  
 nm pron vi vt aux vi pn

*nofebana* ?  
 nofa -hibana  
 want FUT+M  
 vt

"If I take the roasted fish, is he going to want my food?"

94 *Aawa tire* ?  
 a- awa ti- na -ra+M  
 DUP see 2SG.S AUX NEG  
 vt aux

"Didn't you see him?"

95 *Otefe nofareba amaka*  
 o- tefe nofa -ra -hiba ama -ka  
 1SG.POSS food want NEG FUT+M SEC DECL+M  
 pn vt sec

"He isn't going to want my food."

96 *Aba me kai tama okariyahi*  
 aba me kaha.NFIN tama o- ka- na -ra -yahi  
 fish 3PL.S be toasted hold onto 1SG.S COMMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 nm pron vi vt aux

"I shouldn't take the roasted fish."

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97 *Me te tatama kana nahi*  
 me tee ta- tama ka- na na -hi  
 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP hold onto COMMIT AUX AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vt aux aux

"Take a little."

98 *Hinaka iyawabone ama haro ya ahi*  
 hinaka iyawa -bone ama haaro ya ahi  
 3SG.POSS manioc mash INT+F be that one+F ADJU here  
 pron nf vc dem prt dem

"Here is manioc mash for him."<sup>135</sup>

99 *Me towakamakia me towakamakia*  
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me to- ka- ka -makI+F  
 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come following 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come following  
 pron vi pron vi

, *me me towakamakia yifari te*  
 me me to- ka- ka -makI+F yifari tee  
 3PL.S 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come following banana put inside  
 pron pron vi nf vt

*kaneno weno me hiwasimaki me*  
 ka- na -hino waa -hino me hi- to- wasi -makI+M me  
 COMMIT AUX IP.N+M stand IP.N+M 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.S  
 aux vi pron vt pron

*hiwasimaki Oof yifari te te kanahi*  
 hi- to- wasi -makI+M oof yifari tee tee ka- na -hi  
 OC away find following hoo banana 2PL.S put inside COMMIT AUX IMP+F  
 vt interj nf pron vt aux

*yama kakawibana*  
 yama ka- kawii -bana  
 thing DUP eat with something FUT  
 nf pn

"They went. As they went, they came upon the one who had put bananas in a basket, standing there. "Whew, put the bananas in, to eat with the fish."

100 *Faya yana tonematamonaka fahi*  
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi aux dem

'He started out.'

101 *Me yana tona me hiwasimaki me yaka*  
 me yana to- na+F me hi- to- wasi -makI+M me yaka  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.S walk  
 pron vi aux pron vt pron vi

*nemetemoneke fahi*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'He started out. They came upon him as they were walking.'

102 *Me yaka na faya bani me fora*  
 me yaka na+F faya bani me fora  
 3PL.S walk AUX so animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun  
 pron vi aux conj nm pron vt

135 The word *ya* is a mistake.

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*nematamonaka* *fahi* .  
na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
aux dem  
'They walked. He shot animals with his blowgun.'

103 *Bani me me fora nemetemone fahi* .  
bani me me fora na -hemete -mone fahi  
animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
nm pron pron vt aux dem  
'They shot animals with their blowguns.'

104 *Me toka me toka me tokaha me*  
me to- ka+F me to- ka+F me to- ka+F me  
3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S  
pron vi pron vi pron vi pron

*kobo na me , me kobo na me , me kobo*  
kobo na+F me , me kobo na+F me , me kobo  
arrive AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive  
vi aux pron pron vi aux pron pron vi

*nemetemoneke*  
na -hemete -mone -ke  
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
aux  
'They went. They arrived.'

105 *Me kobo na me , Yama , yama e yete nibana*  
me kobo na+F me , yama , yama ee yete na+F -bana  
3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S thing thing 1IN.S hunt AUX FUT  
pron vi aux pron nf nf pron vt aux

?

'They arrived. "Shall we go hunting?"'

106 *Yama e yete nahi* .  
yama ee yete na -hi  
thing 1IN.S hunt AUX IMP+F  
nf pron vt aux

'"Let's go hunting."'

107 *Yama , yama e yete nibeya e amo niba*  
yama , yama ee yete na -be -ya ee amo na.NOM+F -ba  
thing thing 1IN.S hunt AUX IMMED+F now 1IN.S sleep AUX FUT  
nf nf pron vt aux pron vi aux

*bani e kabeba* .  
bani ee kaba -hiba  
animal 1IN.S eat FUT+M  
nm pron vt

'"Let's go hunting. We will sleep and eat meat."'

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

'They went.'

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109 *Me toka bani me , me toka bani me*  
 me to- ka+F bani me , me to- ka+F bani me  
 3PL.S away go/come animal 3PL 3PL.S away go/come animal 3PL.O  
 pron vi nm pron pron vi nm pron

*me wasiha bani me me fora na me ,*  
 me wasi+F bani me me fora na+F me ,  
 3PL.S find animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vt nm pron pron vt aux pron

*bani me me fora nemetemoneke fahi .*  
 bani me me fora na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They went. They found animals. They shot the animals with their blowguns.'

110 *Faya bani me me fora na me , bani*  
 faya bani me me fora na+F me , bani  
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S animal  
 conj nm pron pron vt aux pron nm

*me me kakama me , bani me me*  
 me me ka- ka -ma+F me , bani me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron vi pron nm pron pron

*tokama bani me me , kabehemetemone fahi .*  
 toka -ma+F bani me me , kaba -hemete -mone fahi  
 partially burn back animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt nm pron pron vt dem

'They shot the animals. They brought the animals back. They burned the hair off the animals. They ate the animals.'

111 *Faya bani me me kaba me , bani me me*  
 faya bani me me kaba+F me , bani me me  
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 conj nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron

*kabemetemoneke*  
 kaba -hemete -mone -ke  
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They ate the animals.'

112 *Bani me me kaba me , tabasi na bani*  
 bani me me kaba+F me , tabasi na+F bani  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S roast on grill AUX animal  
 nm pron pron vt pron vt aux nm

*me me kaba me , me yana tonabone mati .*  
 me me kaba+F me , me yana to- na -habone mati  
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt pron pron vi aux pron

'They ate the animals. They roasted the animals on a grill. They ate the animals. Then they started out.'

113 *Me amo nabone , me yana tonabone ,*  
 me amo na -habone , me yana to- na -habone ,  
 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

*wabori , aba biti me , aba biti me ,*  
 wabori , aba biti me , aba biti me ,  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law fish small+M 3PL fish small+M 3PL.O  
 nm nm adj pron nm adj pron



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120 *Sire*                    *me*        *me*        *watabone*                    *me*        *tafa*        *me*        ,        *Yama*  
 sire                    me            me            wata -habone        me            tafa+F        me            ,            yama  
 river turtle        3PL.O    3PL.S    catch INT+F        3PL.S    eat            3PL.S        thing  
 nf                    pron        pron        vt                    pron        vi            pron        nf

*e*            *yete*        *namataba*                    *ereke*                    *mata*  
 ee            yete        na -mata                    -haba        ere        -ke        mata  
 1IN.S    hunt        AUX short time        FUT+F        1IN.S    DECL+F        for now  
 pron        vt            aux                    pron                    prt

"They ate. They were going to catch river turtles. "Let's go hunting first."

121 *Yama*        *e*            *yete*        *ni*            *ya*        *bani*        *me*        *e*            *tabasi*  
 yama        ee            yete        na.NOM+F        ya            bani        me            ee            tabasi  
 thing        1IN.S    hunt        AUX                    ADJU    animal        3PL.O    1IN.S    roast on grill  
 nf            pron        vt            aux                    prt        nm            pron        pron        vt

*naro*                    ,        *sire*                    *me*        *e*            *wataba*                    *ere*  
 na -haaro                    sire                    me            ee            wata -haba        ere  
 AUX PFUT+F                    river turtle        3PL.O    1IN.S    catch FUT+F        1IN.S  
 aux                    nf                    pron        pron        vt                    pron

"When we have hunted, and when we have roasted the animals, we will catch river turtles."

122 *Sire*                    *me*        *me*        *watabone*                    *me*        ,        *yama*        *me*        *yete*  
 sire                    me            me            wata -habone        me            ,            yama        me            yete  
 river turtle        3PL.O    3PL.S    catch INT+F        3PL.S        thing        3PL.S        hunt  
 nf                    pron        pron        vt                    pron        nf            pron        vt

*namina*                    *bani*                    *me*        *me*        *fora*  
 na -mina+F        bani            me            me            fora  
 AUX morning        animal        3PL.O    3PL.S    shoot with blowgun  
 aux                    nm            pron        pron        vt

*nemetemoneni*  
 na -hemete -mone -ni  
 AUX FP.N+F        REP+F        BKG+F  
 aux

'They were going to catch river turtles. First they went hunting the next day. They shot animals with their blowguns.'

123 *Bani*                    *me*        *me*        *fora*                    *na*        *me*        *wafa*  
 bani            me            me            fora                    na+F        me            wafa  
 animal        3PL.O    3PL.S    shoot with blowgun        AUX        3PL.S        woolly monkey  
 nm            pron        pron        vt                    aux        pron        nm

*mati*        *yowi*                    *mati*        ,        *bani*        *me*        *me*        *fora*                    *na*  
 mati        yowi                    mati                    ,            bani        me            me            fora                    na+F  
 3PL        brown capuchin        3PL                    animal        3PL.O    3PL.S        shoot with blowgun        AUX  
 pron        nm                    pron                    nm            pron        pron        vt                    aux

*me*            *bani*                    *me*        *me*        *kakama*                    *bani*        *me*        ,        *me*        *me*  
 me            bani            me            me            ka- ka            -ma+F        bani        me            ,            me        me  
 3PL.S    animal        3PL.O    3PL.S    COMIT go/come back        animal        3PL        3PL        3PL.O  
 pron        nm            pron        pron        vi                    nm            pron        pron        pron

*me*            *tokamemetemoneke*  
 me            toka                    -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S    partially burn back        FP.N+F        REP+F        DECL+F  
 pron        vt

'They shot animals. Woolly monkeys, brown capuchins. They shot the animals, and brought the animals back, and burned the hair off the animals.'

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124 *Bani me toka me , bani me toki*  
 bani me toka+F me , bani me toka.NFIN  
 animal 3PL.S partially burn 3PL.S animal 3PL.S partially burn  
 nm pron result pron nm pron result

*abi ya me bani me bobi ne , Tana te yama*  
 ahaba+F ya me bani me bobi na+M , tana tee yama  
 end ADJU 3PL animal 3PL.O slit AUX grill 2PL.S make  
 vi prt pron nm pron vt aux nf pron vt

*nahi*  
 na -hi  
 AUX IMP+F  
 aux

'They burned the hair off the animals. When they were done burning the hair off the animals, they cut the animals up. "You make a grill."'

125 *Faya tana me yama na , tana me yama*  
 faya tana me yama na+F , tana me yama  
 so grill 3PL.S make AUX grill 3PL.S make  
 conj nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

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

'They made a grill.'

126 *Tana me yama na me , tana me hawa*  
 tana me yama na+F me , tana me hawa  
 grill 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S grill 3PL.S be finished  
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vi

*toniha bani me me so niria*  
 to- niha- na+F bani me me soo niha- na -rI+F ,  
 CH CAUS AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS AUX raised surface  
 aux nm pron pron vi aux

*bani me me so niria , yifo me*  
 bani me me soo niha- na -rI+F , yifo me  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS AUX raised surface firewood 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vi aux nf pron

*tafa nemetemoneke*  
 tafa na -hemete -mone -ke  
 split AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'They made a grill. They finished making the grill. They lay the animals on top. They cut firewood.'

127 *Yifo , yifo ini yifo ini me baka na*  
 yifo , yifo ini yifo ini me baka na+F  
 firewood firewood branch+F firewood branch+F 3PL.S break AUX  
 nf nf pn nf pn pron vt aux

*yifo ini me , iso na me , yifo me afo*  
 yifo ini me , iso na+F me , yifo me afo  
 firewood branch+F 3PL.S carry off AUX 3PL.S fire 3PL.S light  
 nf pn pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

*kana bani me me tabasi nemetemoneke*  
 ka- na+F bani me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux nm pron pron vt aux

'They broke the branches of fallen trees. They carried off the branches. They lit the firewood. They roasted the animals.'



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128 *Me me tabasi na E*  
 me me tabasi na+F ee  
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 1IN.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron

*tokomaminaba ere*  
 to- ka -ma -mina -haba ere  
 away go/come back morning FUT+F 1IN.S  
 vi pron  
 "They roasted them. "Let's go home tomorrow."

129 *E awaraba hiba*  
 ee awa -ra -haba hiba  
 1IN.S see NEG FUT+F wait  
 pron vt interj  
 "I don't know, wait."

130 *Sire me e awamata*  
 sire me ee awa -mata  
 river turtle 3PL.O 1IN.S see short time  
 nf pron pron vt  
 "First let's look at the river turtles."

131 *Sire me e awamata mata sire*  
 sire me ee awa -mata mata sire  
 river turtle 3PL.O 1IN.S see short time for now river turtle  
 nf pron pron vt prt nf  
 "Let's look at the river turtles."

132 *Faya me yana na me tokemetemoneke*  
 faya me yana na+F me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL.S get up AUX 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron vi aux pron vi  
 "They got up and went."

133 *Me toka me hife kamoha itehemetemoneke*  
 me to- ka+F me hife kamo+F ita -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S egg+F bury sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron pn vt vi

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 there  
 dem

"They went. It was burying its eggs."

134 *Amoamosa nemete awine makoni he weye*  
 amo- amosa na -hemete awine makoni hee weye  
 DUP be good AUX FP.N+F seem+F for this reason 3SG.O carry  
 vi aux sec conj pron vt

*nine nimete*  
 na -ne na.NOM+F -mete  
 AUX CONT+F AUX FP.N+F  
 aux aux

'Because it was really big, it carried him.'

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135 *Wara haro*  
 waa -ra+F haaro  
 stand NEG that one+F  
 vi dem

'It didn't stay there.'

136 *Tokisami forima tinahi*  
 to- ka -risa -ma.NFIN forima ti- na -hi  
 away go/come down back do properly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 vi vi aux

'Go down the ladder carefully.'<sup>136</sup>

137 *Faya toke mati Te towakabisa ahi*  
 faya to- ka+M mati tee to- ka- ka -bisa ahi  
 so away go/come 3PL 2PL.S away COMIT go/come also there  
 conj vi pron pron vi dem

""You two go that way.""<sup>137</sup>

138 *Ota towakiba ahi ati nematamonaka*  
 otaa to- ka- ka.NOM+F -ba ahi , ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come FUT here say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vi dem vt aux

""The two of us will go this way," he said.'

139 *Hiba me totowaka na sire*  
 hiba me to- to- ka- ka na+F sire  
 wait 3PL.S DUP away COMIT go/come AUX river turtle  
 interj pron vi aux nf

*naorawemetemoneke ahi*  
 naho -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 stand F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there  
 vi dem

'They had just gone. The river turtles were on the beach.'

140 *Sire naorawa sire naorawa sire*  
 sire naho -rawa+F sire naho -rawa+F sire  
 river turtle stand F.PL river turtle stand F.PL river turtle  
 nf vi nf vi nf

*wati kane sire wati kane*  
 wati ka- na+M sire wati ka- na+M  
 plan against COMIT AUX river turtle plan against COMIT AUX  
 vt aux nf vt aux

*sire watebona fito towitimatamonaka ahi*  
 sire wata -hibona fito to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 river turtle catch INT+M rush away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nf vt vi aux dem

*sire bete hikawehibanoho ahi*  
 sire bete hi- ka- na -waha -hiba -no -ho ahi  
 river turtle run OC COMIT AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP then  
 nf vi aux dem

'The river turtles were on the beach. He wanted to get a river turtle. He ran to catch a turtle, and the turtle carried him.'

136 Siko said this to his wife, Amoro.

137 The words *toke mati* are a false start.

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141 *Sire*                    *ebotemetemoneke*                    *ahi*  
 sire                    ehebote -mete -mone -ke                    ahi  
 river turtle       big                    FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F                    this  
 nf                    adj                                       dem

'It was a big turtle.'

142 *Sire*                    *wateba*                    *sire*                    *hikasawari*  
 sire                    wata -hiba                    sire                    hi- ka- sawari+M  
 river turtle       catch FUT+M                    river turtle       OC COMIT frustrate  
 nf                    vt                    nf                    vt

*sire*                    *weye*                    *ni*                    *hikisame*                    *sire*  
 sire                    weye                    na.NFIN                    hi- to- ka                    -risa -ma+M                    sire  
 river turtle       carry                    AUX                    OC away go/come down back                    river turtle  
 nf                    vt                    aux                    vi                    nf

*wanakaba*                    *nematamonaka*                    *ahi*  
 wana                    -kaba                    na -himata -mona -ka                    ahi  
 be attached without stopping                    AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M                    then  
 vi                    aux                    dem

'He wanted to catch the turtle but he couldn't. It carried him away. He kept holding onto the turtle.'

143 *Wanakaba*                    *ne*                    *sire*                    *nisori*  
 wana                    -kaba                    na+M                    sire                    nisori  
 be attached without stopping                    AUX                    river turtle                    3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 vi                    aux                    nf                    nm

*hiwatabisa*                    *nisori*                    *tama*                    *ha*                    *me*  
 hi- wata -bisa+F                    nisori                    tama                    haa                    me  
 OC catch also                    3SG.POSS.younger brother                    hold onto                    DEM                    3PL.S  
 vt                    nm                    vt                    dem                    pron

*towakabisa*                    *me*                    *me*                    *hiwatikima*                    *faya*  
 to- ka- ka                    -bisa+F                    me                    me                    hi- wata -kima+F                    faya  
 away COMIT go/come also                    3PL.O                    3PL.S                    OC catch two                    so  
 vi                    pron                    pron                    vt                    conj

*towakamemetemone*                    *ahi*  
 to- ka- ka                    -ma -hemete -mone                    ahi  
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F                    then  
 vt                    dem

'He kept holding onto it. His younger brother also grabbed one. The two of them went and grabbed them. It was taking him.'<sup>138</sup>

144 *Inohowe*                    *me*                    *inohowe*                    *me*                    *kawita*                    *me*  
 inohowe                    me                    inohowe                    me                    ka- ita+F                    me  
 alligator sp                    3PL                    alligator sp                    3PL.S                    COMIT sit                    3PL.S  
 nm                    pron nm                    pron vi                    pron

*kawita*                    *me*                    *ati*                    *kosi*                    *karemete*  
 ka- ita+F                    me                    ati                    kosi                    ka- na -rI                    -hemete  
 COMIT sit                    3PL.POSS                    voice                    be heard                    COMIT AUX raised surface FP.N+F  
 vi                    pron                    pn                    vi                    aux

*he*                    *me*                    *nabowaba*                    *mati*  
 hee                    me                    na- aboha -haba                    mati  
 3SG.O                    3PL.S                    CAUS die                    FUT+F                    3PL.S  
 pron                    pron                    vt                    pron

'There were alligators there. They were calling, and they were going to kill him.'

<sup>138</sup> The object pronoun *fe* is missing before *towakamemetemone*, cf. (146) below.



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*ati nematamonaka*

ati na -himata -mona -ka  
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vt aux

'"He didn't let go of the turtle," he said.'

150 *Ati ne ya , faya inohowe me*  
ati na.NOM+M ya , faya inohowe me  
say AUX ADJU so alligator sp 3PL.S  
vt aux prt conj nm pron

*hikabematamonaka*

hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka fahi  
OC eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
vt dem

'The alligators ate him.'

151 *Ati saihemetemoneke ahi obe*  
ati sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi obe  
voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (call of alligator)  
pn vi dem sound

*obe obe obe*  
obe obe obe  
(call of alligator) (call of alligator) (call of alligator)  
sound sound sound

*obe obe , he me kaba mati*  
obe obe , hee me kaba+F mati  
(call of alligator) (call of alligator) 3SG.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S  
sound sound pron pron vt pron

*ahi*

ahi  
then  
dem

'They could be heard, "Obe, obe," as they ate him.'<sup>139</sup>

152 *Faya yawe tokomake mera , wabori*  
faya yawa+M to- ka -makI mera , wabori  
so be upset away go/come following 3PL.O 3SG.POSS brother-in-law  
conj vi vi pron nm

*me towaka me ni ya tokomake , E*  
me to- ka- ka+F me ni ya to- ka -makI , ee  
3PL away COMIT go/come 3PL.S to ADJU away go/come following 1IN.S  
pron vi pron prt prt vi pron

*tokomabone*

to- ka -ma -habone ere -ke  
away go/come back INT+F 1IN.S DECL+F  
vi pron

'He was upset. He went to his two brothers-in-law, who had gone off. "Let's go back."'

153 *E tokomabone ereni*  
ee to- ka -ma -habone ere -ni  
1IN.S away go/come back INT+F 1IN.S BKG+F  
pron vi pron

'"Let's go back."'

<sup>139</sup> The pronominal *me* referencing the possessor of *ati* is missing at the beginning of the sentence.



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160 *Me*      *hora*      *kawa*                      *nemetemoneke*                      *inohowe*  
 me      hora      ka-    na -waha    na -hemete -mone -ke      inohowe  
 3PL.S    complain    COMMIT AUX change    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    alligator sp  
 pron    vi                      aux                      aux

, *tamabote*                      *mati* .  
 tama      -bote    mati  
 be many    very      3PL  
 adj                      pron

'They were making a lot of noise, the many alligators.'

161 *Faya*    *me*      *hora*      *na*      *me*      *hora*      *ni*      *ya*      *Hima*      ,  
 faya    me      hora      na+F    me      hora      na.NOM+F    ya      hima  
 so      3PL.S    complain    AUX    3PL.S    complain    AUX      ADJU    let's go  
 conj    pron    vi                      aux    pron    vi                      aux      prt    interj  
*ota owa*                      ,      *ota owa*                      *yama*      *kabarawake*  
 ota owa                      ota owa                      yama      kaba -rawa -ke  
 1SG.POSS.brother-in-law      1SG.POSS.brother-in-law      thing    eat F.PL    DECL+F  
 nm                      nm                      nf                      vt

'They were making lots of noise. "Let's go. They are eating our brother-in-law."

162 *Faya*    *me*      *kamemetemone*                      *fahi* .  
 faya    me      ka      -ma -hemete -mone    fahi  
 so      3PL.S    go/come back    FP.N+F    REP+F    then  
 conj    pron    vi                      dem

'They came back.'

163 *Me*      *kama*                      *me*      ,      *kobo*      *nama*                      *me*      *amo*  
 me      ka      -ma+F    me      kobo      na -ma+F    me      amo  
 3PL.S    go/come back    3PL.S      arrive    AUX back    3PL.S    sleep  
 pron    vi                      pron    vi                      aux                      pron    vi

*tosabani*                      *mati* .  
 to- na -kosa -haba -ni      mati  
 CH    AUX middle FUT+F IP.N+F    3PL.S  
 aux                      pron

'They came back, and they arrived. They slept a little.'

164 *Me*      *amo*      *tosa*                      ,      *me*      *amo*  
 me      amo      to- na -kosa+F      me      amo  
 3PL.S    sleep    CH    AUX middle      3PL.S    sleep  
 pron    vi                      aux                      pron    vi

*tosemetemoneke* .  
 to- na -kosa -hemete -mone -ke  
 CH    AUX middle FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 aux

'They slept a little.'

165 *Me*      *amo*      *tosa*                      *me*      *yana*      *tonabone*                      *mati* .  
 me      amo      to- na -kosa+F    me      yana      to- na -habone    mati  
 3PL.O    sleep    CH    AUX middle    3PL.S    start    CH    AUX INT+F    3PL.S  
 pron    vi                      aux                      pron    vi                      aux                      pron

'They slept a little. They were going to get started.'

166 *E*      *tokomaminaba*                      *ereke* .  
 ee      to- ka      -ma -mina -haba    ere -ke  
 1IN.S    away go/come back morning FUT+F    1IN.S    DECL+F  
 pron    vi                      pron

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"We will go home tomorrow."

167 *Hinaka bani me me tabasi*  
 hinaka bani me me tabasi  
 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill  
 pron nm pron pron vt

*hinamemetemone*

hi- na -ma -hemete -mone  
 OC AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

"They roasted his animals again."

168 *Faya , bani me me tabasi na Bani me*  
 faya , bani me me tabasi na+F bani me  
 so animal 3PL.S 3PL.S roast on grill AUX animal 3PL.S  
 conj nm pron pron vt aux nm pron

*bani me , kabamaraba me amake*  
 bani me , kaba -ma -ra -haba me ama -ke  
 animal 3PL.O eat back NEG FUT+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F  
 nm pron result pron sec

"They roasted the animals. "Animals will not be eaten anymore."

169 *Bani me e kababa bani me , e weye*  
 bani me ee kaba -haba bani me , ee weye  
 animal 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F animal 3PL.O 1IN.S carry  
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron vt

*nahi*

na -hi  
 AUX IMP+F  
 aux

"Let's carry the animals so we can eat the animals."

170 *Bani me e weye nahi*  
 bani me ee weye na -hi  
 animal 3PL.S 1IN.S carry AUX IMP+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

"Let's carry the animals."

171 *Ene e kabamareba amaka*  
 ehene ee kaba -ma -ra -hiba ama -ka  
 victim of+M 1IN.S eat back NEG FUT+M SEC DECL+M  
 pn pron vt sec

"We won't eat what he kills anymore."

172 *Yama kabarawineke*  
 yama kaba -rawa -ne -ke  
 thing eat F.PL CONT+F DECL+F  
 nf vt

"The animals are eating him."

173 *Faya hinaka bani me me , te*  
 faya hinaka bani me me , tee  
 so 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.O 3PL.S put inside  
 conj pron nm pron pron vt



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*hinemetemoneke*

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

'They put his animals in a basket.'

174 *Bani me me te na me , baro ya baro*  
 bani me me tee na+F me , baro ya baro  
 animal 3PL.S 3PL.O put inside AUX 3PL.O basket ADJU basket  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nf prt nf

*ya hinaka bani me te hinemetemone ahi*  
 ya hinaka bani me tee hi- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 ADJU 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.O put inside OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 prt pron nm pron vt aux dem

'They put the animals in a big basket.'

175 *Faya baro ya bani me te ne , bani me*  
 faya baro ya bani me tee na+M , bani me  
 so basket ADJU animal 3PL.O put inside AUX animal 3PL.O  
 conj nf prt nm pron vt aux nm pron

*te nematamona*  
 tee na -himata -mona  
 put inside AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux

'He put the animals in the basket.'

176 *Bani me te ne bani me weye*  
 bani me tee na+M bani me weye  
 animal 3PL.O put inside AUX animal 3PL.O carry  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

*nematamonaka ahi , wabori ehene*  
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi , wabori ehene  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3SG.POSS brother-in-law victim of+M  
 aux dem nm pn

*kabi oharibonaha*  
 kaba.NFIN ohari -hibona -ha  
 eat be one INT+M DUP  
 vt vi

'He carried the animals. He was going to eat all the animals his brother-in-law killed.'

177 *Faya yana ne me banemetemone fahi*  
 faya yana na+M me bana -hemete -mone fahi  
 so get up AUX 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj vi aux pron vi dem

'He got up. They left.'

178 *Hima e tokomahi*  
 hima ee to- ka -ma -hi  
 let's go 1IN.S away go/come back IMP+F  
 interj pron vi

'Come on, let's go.'

179 *Me kamemetemoneke*  
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'They came back.'

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180 *Me kama me , kamehemetemone me*  
 me ka -ma+F me , ka -ma -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.O go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi pron

*ma tokaha mati*  
 maa to- ka- ha+F mati  
 be tired CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 vi aux pron  
 'They came back, tired.'

181 *Bani me me weye nemetemoneni*  
 bani me me weye na -hemete -mone -ni  
 animal 3PL.S 3PL.S carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux  
 'They carried the animals.'

182 *Ene kahi ene kahi wabori*  
 ehene kaha.NFIN ehene kaha.NFIN wabori  
 victim of+M be toasted victim of+M be toasted 3SG.POSS brother-in-law  
 pn vi pn vi nm

*me weye hinematamonaka , hinakasima*  
 me weye hi- na -himata -mona -ka , hinaka asima  
 3PL.S carry OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS younger sister  
 pron vt aux nf

*naba toaro*  
 naba to- ha -haaro  
 pregnant CH be IP.E+F  
 adj vc  
 'His brothers-in-law carried what he had killed, which was roasted. His younger sister was pregnant.'

183 *Naba toaha , faya naba toa*  
 naba to- ha+F , faya naba to- ha+F ,  
 pregnant CH be so pregnant CH be  
 adj vc conj adj vc

*kamemetemoneke ahi*  
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi dem  
 'She was pregnant. They came back.'<sup>140</sup>

184 *Kama , faya wabori wati nawe*  
 ka -ma+F , faya wabori wati na -waha+M  
 go/come back so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law remember AUX change  
 vi conj nm vt aux

*ohi ne ohi ni kame , oi ni*  
 ohi na+M ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M , ohi na.NFIN  
 cry AUX cry AUX go/come back cry AUX  
 vi aux vi aux vi aux

*kamematamonaka*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi  
 'They came back. He remembered his brother-in-law and cried. He came back crying.'

140 It should be *me kamemetemoneke*.

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185 *Oi ni kame , hibaka ya , ati saiba*  
 ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M , hibaka ya , ati sai -haba  
 cry AUX go/come back where ADJU voice be heard FUT+F  
 vi aux vi interrog prt pn vi

*amaka*

ama -ka  
 SEC DECL+M  
 sec

'He came back crying. Where? Its voice is going to be heard [on the tape].'<sup>141</sup>

186 *Faya me kama me kama me ohi ni*  
 faya me ka -ma+F me ka -ma+F me ohi na.NFIN  
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S cry AUX  
 conj pron vi pron vi pron vi aux

*kamehi ra me fito kanemetemoneni*

ka -ma+M ra me fito ka- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 go/come back O 3PL.S rush COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi prt pron vi aux

'They came back. He came back crying, and they ran to him.'

187 *Ahabake hiba*  
 ahaba -ke hiba  
 end DECL+F wait  
 vi interj

'It's over, wait.'<sup>142</sup>

188 *Faya me kamemetemoneni*  
 faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 conj pron vi

'They came back.'

189 *Me kama me kame fito kati*  
 me ka -ma+F me ka -ma+M fito ka- na -tee.NOM  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back rush COMMIT AUX HAB  
 pron vi pron vi vi aux

*me , tokome oi ni kame me fito*  
 me to- ka -ma+M , ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M me fito  
 3PL.S away go/come back cry AUX go/come back 3PL.S rush  
 pron vi vi aux vi pron vi

*hikane , hinakasima , hinakasima*  
 hi- ka- na+M , hinaka asima , hinaka asima  
 OC COMMIT AUX 3SG.POSS younger sister 3SG.POSS younger sister  
 aux nf nf

*itebona ati ne karaboa ya hitabone hina*  
 ita -hibona ati na+M karaboha ya hi- ita -habone ati hi- na+F ,  
 pierce INT+M say AUX blowgun ADJU OC sit INT+F say OC AUX  
 vt vt aux nf prt vt vt

*nabati , nabati weye naro*  
 nabati , nabati weye na -haaro  
 stomach stomach carry AUX IP.E+F  
 pn pn vt aux

'They came back. He came back, and they ran to him. He went. He came back crying, and they ran to him. He wanted to pierce his sister with his blowgun. He wanted to pierce her. She was pregnant.'<sup>143</sup>

141 An animal interrupted Siko, and he reacted.

142 Siko was talking to someone present about the story.

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190 *Nabati weye nemetemoneke*  
 nabati weye na -hemete -mone -ke  
 stomach carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pn vt aux

'She was pregnant.'

191 *Nabati weye na hinakasima nabowebona ati*  
 nabati weye na+F , hinaka asima na- aboha -hibona ati  
 stomach carry AUX 3SG.POSS younger sister CAUS die INT+M say  
 pn vt aux nf vt vt

*ne awati me kana ni*  
 na+M , awa -tee.NOM me kana na.NFIN  
 AUX see HAB 3PL.S run AUX  
 aux vt pron vi aux

*tokometemone*

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'She was pregnant. He wanted to kill his sister. They saw him and went running.'

192 *Me kana ni tokometemoneke*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux vi

'They went running.'

193 *Me kana ni tokoma me kobo*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F me , kobo  
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back 3PL.S arrive  
 pron vi aux vi pron vi

*tonama me kamaki baro weye ne ohi*  
 to- na -ma+F , me ka -makI+M baro weye na+M ohi  
 away AUX back 3PL.S go/come following basket carry AUX cry  
 aux pron vi nf vt aux vi

*nematamonaka baro wabori ehene*  
 na -himata -mona -ka baro wabori ehene  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M basket 3SG.POSS brother-in-law because of+M  
 aux nf nm post

'They went running. They arrived. He was carrying the basket and crying because of his brother-in-law.'

194 *Faya kamaki kobo namaki mera katomebona*  
 faya ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M , mera katoma -hibona  
 so go/come following arrive AUX following 3PL.O attack INT+M  
 conj vi vi aux pron vt

*ati ne nisori me one*  
 ati na+M , nisori me one ,  
 say AUX 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S other+F  
 vt aux nm pron adj

*nisori me one naoha nisori*  
 nisori me one naho+F nisori  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S other+F stand 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 nm pron adj vi nm

*me hiwatematamonaka ahi mera katomebonaha*  
 me hi- wata -himata -mona -ka ahi , mera katoma -hibona -ha  
 3PL.S OC catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3PL.O attack INT+M DUP  
 pron vt dem pron vt

143 The verb *tokome* is a mistake.

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'He came and arrived. He wanted to hit them. His other younger brothers were there in the plaza, and they restrained him, because he wanted to hit them.'

195	<b>Nisori</b>			<b>me</b>	<b>hiwate</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>me</b>	
	nisori			me	hi- wata+M		ati	me	
	3SG.POSS.younger brother			3PL.S	OC catch		voice	3PL.S	
	nm			pron	vt		pn	pron	
	<b>hinihawe</b>			<b>ati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hinihawe</b>			
	hi- to- niha- ha -waha+M			ati	me	hi- to- niha- ha -waha+M			
	OC CH CAUS be change			voice	3PL	OC CH CAUS be change			
	vt			pn	pron vt				
	<b>mati</b>			<b>ati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hinihawe</b>		<b>faya</b>	<b>oi</b>
	mati			ati	me	hi- to- niha- ha -waha+M		faya	ohi
	3SG.POSS.mother			voice	3PL.S	OC CH CAUS be change		so	cry
	nf			pn	pron vt		conj	vi	
	<b>ni</b>	<b>fawa</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>Oko</b>	<b>wabo</b>	
	na.NFIN	fawa	na+M	ka	bani	me	o- ka	wabo	
	AUX	stop	AUX	which	animal	3PL	1SG.POSS POSS	brother-in-law	
	aux	vi	aux	prt	nm	pron	prt	nm	
	<b>oko</b>		<b>wabo</b>		<b>tiwati</b>		<b>watari</b>		
	o-	ka	wabo		ti-	ati	wata -ra.NFIN		
	1SG.POSS	POSS	brother-in-law		2SG.POSS	voice	exist NEG		
	prt		nm		pn		vi		
	<b>oko</b>		<b>wabo</b>		<b>tikatafi</b>		<b>tinofara</b>		<b>ama</b>
	o-	ka	wabo		ti- ka- tafa	ti- nofa	-ra+F	ama	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	brother-in-law		2SG.S COMIT eat	2SG.S recently	NEG	SEC	
	prt		nm		vt	prt		sec	
	<b>tini</b>	<b>ohi</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamonaka</b>				
	ti- ni	ohi	na.NFIN	ati	na -himata -mona -ka				
	2SG.S BKG+F	cry	AUX	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M				
	prt	vi	aux	vt	aux				
	<b>hinakasima</b>			<b>nabowebonaha</b>					
	hinaka asima			na- aboha -hibona -ha					
	3SG.POSS younger sister			CAUS die INT+M DUP					
	nf			vt					

'His younger brothers restrained him. They calmed him down. His mother and the others calmed him down. He stopped crying. "You didn't eat quietly with my brother-in-law," he said, crying.'

196	<b>Hinakasima</b>			<b>nabowebona</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>ne</b>		
	hinaka asima			na- aboha -hibona		ati	na+M		
	3SG.POSS younger sister			CAUS die INT+M		say	AUX		
	nf			vt		vt	aux		
	<b>hinakasima</b>			<b>nisori</b>		<b>me</b>			
	hinaka asima			nisori		me			
	3SG.POSS younger sister			3SG.POSS.younger brother		3PL.S			
	nf			nm		pron			
	<b>hiwatibainari</b>			<b>hasi</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>				
	hi- wata -baha -naari			hasi	na -hemete -mone -ke				
	OC catch before ?			escape	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F				
	vt			vi	aux				
	'He wanted to kill his sister. His younger brothers restrained him, and she escaped.'								
197	<b>Faya</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tanebone</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>bani</b>
	faya	bani	me	me	tane -bone	me	yama	na+F	bani
	so	animal	3PL.S	3PL.O	grill+F INT+F	3PL.S	make	AUX	animal
	conj	nm	pron	pron	pn	pron	vt	aux	nm

THE ALLIGATORS KILLED THE MAN

*me me so niriemetemoneke*  
 me me soo niha- na -rI -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vi aux

'They made a gill for the animals, and they put the animals on top.'

198 *Bani me me tabasi na me me tabasi*  
 bani me me tabasi na+F me me tabasi  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O roast on grill  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

*nemetemoneke ahi*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They roasted the animals.'

199 *Oko me te tabasi na*  
 o- ka me te tabasi na+F  
 1SG.POSS POSS 3PL.S 2PL.S roast on grill AUX  
 prt pron pron vt aux

""You roast mine.""

200 *Faya bani me me tabasi na bani me me*  
 faya bani me me tabasi na+F , bani me me  
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 conj nm pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

*kabemetemone fahi*  
 kaba -hemete -mone fahi  
 eat FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt dem

'They roasted the animals. They ate the animals.'

201 *Bani me me kaba me bani me*  
 bani me me kaba+F me , bani me  
 animal 3PL.S 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron

*abemetemone fahi*  
 ahaba -hemete -mone fahi  
 end FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi dem

'They ate the animals. The animals were all gone.'