## Free Translation

The old man was hungry lying in his hammock. The children were crying. The boy was this big. There were two younger brothers and their older brother. There were three of them.

"Father, my sons are there. You toast some manioc mash for my sons. There is manioc mash there in the pot. Toast some manioc mash for my sons. Feed them. I'm going to go get my bananas, to be food for my sons."

She went with her husband. Her older brother also went out hunting in the forest. "Younger sister, you come back quickly. I'm going hunting. I'm going to shoot animals with my blowgun."

"Older brother, come back quickly."

"I will not be long in coming back, if I kill an animal with my blowgun," he said.

They went to the garden. They went, and arrived. They got the bananas, also pineapples, ripe bananas. They started back.

The old man was lying in his hammock. He spoke as he lay in his hammock. He picked up a spear. "Take you baths quickly. You go on ahead. You take your baths."

He got a pot and a knife. His grandsons went.

"The two of you go upstream. Go upstream, then turn around and come back downstream here. I will stand here."

His spear was against a tree. They came back downstream.

"One of you carry the other and come downstream in the water."

They came downstream in the water. They came downstream, and he speared both of them with the spear. They died where they were. Their older brother, who was big, jumped and went running away. He went running to their parents.

Then he cut them up. He cut them in pieces, and put them in the pot. He put them in the pot, and carried them. He brought them, and cooked them. He roasted a leg of one of them stuck on a stick by the fire, for his daughter. He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire. The old man toasted manioc mash. He toasted manioc mash, and ate. He ate his grandsons, and then lay in his hammock with a full stomach.

Then they appeared. He covered the meat for his daughter. When he covered the meat, they appeared. The oldest son had gone and had arrived at the other village. He was a teenager. He was big. He went to his parents, and arrived. He told the news.

"What about my sons?"

"Don't say, 'What about my sons?' My grandfather speared your two sons. I ran away because of my grandfather, and came here."

"I came here to get food for my sons."

Then his daughter cried. She cried. She came crying. She stopped crying. She came, and appeared. She appeared. She came back crying.

"Father, you ate my sons. I went to get food for my sons, and you ate my sons," she said, crying.

"Don't cry. Don't make trouble for yourself. Yours is there in the pot. Eat yours after coming back, without saying anything. Don't cry. Eat it. I ate it. Eat them. Don't cause trouble for yourself."

The father of the children didn't say anything. Their father didn't say anything, but his wife cried. His brother-in-law came back, carrying animals. His brother-in-law came back, and threw down the animals. "Whew." He came upon his younger sister as she was crying.

"Why are you crying?"

It was another woman who spoke. "She is crying because your father ate her sons. Your father ate his grandsons, and he is in the hammock there."

The old man's spear was leaning against something beside the fire. He was waiting for them. When he heard what they said, he got up.

He got ready. He went to his father as he was in his hammock. He wasn't violent with him.

"Father, why did you eat my nephews? They said you ate my nephews. Didn't I bring animals?"

He was going to pick up the spear, but he grabbed his spear from him. He twisted his spear away from him, but he didn't hit him. He stomped on his spear.

"I don't want to kill you. I don't want to kill you with a piece of your own spear," he said.

He just threatened him. His brother-in-law singed the hair off the animals. He singed the hair off the animals, and cut up the animals. They are the meat. He roasted the meat on a rack.

"Isn't your father going to eat it?"

He took out the shaman's stone. He coughed it up. He had it in his hand. He pressed it against the leg of the animal. He pressed it against the meat.

"Here, eat some. Here is some manioc mash. Eat it with some manioc mash. Even though you ate my sons, I'm not mad at you. I am giving you food."

So he gave food to his father-in-law. He gave food to his father-in-law, and he ate the meat. When he was finished eating the meat, he drank water. When it was getting dark, he started speaking, sick.

"Aya, my chest," he said. "My chest," he said. His voice was heard during the night.

Because his sons had died, he had given his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it to make him sick. He gave his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it, and his father-in-law was heard during the night.

Morning came. When morning came, they moved to another place. They moved to another place, and they didn't wait for him. He had chest pain during the night. They didn't wait for him. They moved away. They left. They went. His son didn't take care of him.

"You lie here. I'm not helping you, because you did a bad thing, eating my nephews. We are leaving."

So he left his father behind, and left. He died after they left. He lay dead in his hammock. When he rotted, the vultures ate him. The vultures ate him, the king vultures.

He came back, his son. He came back to see his father. His son looked at him.

"My father has died. Let him die. I don't want to smell him," he said.

He turned around and went back.

"Let him die."

He went back. He arrived back.

"Well?"

"You ask, 'Well?' – he died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures."

So they slept.

"He should have stayed calm. He didn't take care of his grandsons. He ate his grandsons. Now they have killed him. He was always wanting more than his share of food," one of them said. "Because he was always wanting more food, he ate his grandsons. Let him die."

He died.

# Interlinear Presentation

AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

1	<i>Iti</i> iti	<i>bote</i> bote	,	<i>iti</i> iti		<i>bote</i> bote	<i>fimi</i> fimi+M	,	<i>fimi</i> fimi		
	grandfather nm	old adj			father	old adj	be hungr	У	hunge nf	er	
ka	<b>vine</b> – wina+M MIT lie in ha:	J	,	<i>faya</i> faya so conj	<pre>bite bite 3SG.PO nf</pre>	3	,	mate matel child	-	<pre>mate matehe children nf</pre>	<i>ohi</i> ohi cry vi
<i>nei</i> na	<i>netemoneke</i> -hemete -mo	ne -ke		•							

aux 'The old man was hungry lying in his hammock. The children were crying.'

2 Inamate e nemata awaka
inamate ee na -himata awa -ka
child be similar AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
nm vi aux sec

'The boy was this big.'

3	Me me 3PL pron	me me 3PL pron	me me 3PL pron	me me 3PL pron	anoti anoti 3SG.PO	OSS older :	broth	, ner	nisori nisor 3SG.P		nger brot	her
me		fama	,	me	ka	ayo		ohari	,	me	terei	,
me		fama+	F	me	ka	ayo		ohari	.+M	me	terei	,
3P	L.S	be tw	0	3PL	POSS	older bro	ther	be on	e	3PL.S	be three	Э
pr	on	vi		pron	prt	nm		vi		pron	vi	
toh	ıa	me	<b>!</b>	, Abi		abi	, <i>a</i>	bi	okatao	me	naone	
to	- ha+	F me		ab:		abi		bi.	okata	o me	naho	-ne
СН	AUX	3 P	L.S	fat	cher	father	f	ather	my so	n 3PL.	S stand	CONT+F
au	X	pr	on	nm		nm	n	m	nm	pron	vi	
far	0											
fa	aro											
th	at+F											

'He had two two younger brothers and they had one older brother. There were three of them. "Father, my sons are there."  $^{\prime\prime}$ 

4	Okatao	me	ka ,	iyawa	tisiriya			
	okatao	me	ka	iyawa	ti- sira -yahi			
	my son	3PL	POSS	manioc mash	2SG.S toast DIST.IMP+F			
	nm	pron	prt	nf	vt			

"You toast some manioc mash for my sons."

5	Iyawa	kawitine	haro
	iyawa	ka- ita -ne	haaro
	manioc mash	COMIT sit CONT+F	that one+F
	nf	vi	dem

"There is manioc mash there in the pot."

6 Iyawa tisiriya
iyawa ti- sira -yahi
manioc mash 2SG.S toast DIST.IMP+F
nf vt
""Toast some manioc mash."

7 Okatao ka iyawaba tisiriya ivawa me ti- sira -vahi ka -ba okatao me iyawa iyawa 3PL POSS manioc mash FUT my son 2SG.S toast DIST.IMP+F manioc mash nm pron prt nf

"Toast some manioc mash for my sons."

8 Me tinakabiyahi

me ti- na- kaba -yahi
3PL.O 2SG.S CAUS eat DIST.IMP+F
pron vt

"Feed them."

9 Oka , yifari o- ka yifari 1SG.POSS POSS banana prt nf

onakamamatibeyaokataomeo-to-naka-ma-mata-be-yaokataome1SG.S awayAUX go/comeback short timeIMMED+F nowmy son3PL.POSSvtnmpron

tafebonehe

tafe -bone -he food+F INT+F DUP

pn

"I'm going to go get my bananas, to be food for my sons."

10 Me maki famemetemoneke

me maki fama -hemete -mone -ke 3PL 3SG.POSS.husband be with FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron nm vi

'She went with her husband.'

11 *Maki* fama , kokori maki fama+F kokori

3SG.POSS.husband be with 3SG.POSS.father-in-law

nm vi nm

kokori nebona yama vete toka yama kabani yete na -hibona to- ka.LIST kokori yama kabani yama AUX INT+M 3SG.POSS.father-in-law thing hunt away go/come forest nf vt aux vi nf

ya

ya

ADJU

prt

'She went with her husband. Her father-in-law also went out hunting in the forest.'145

<sup>145</sup> Siko should have said her older brother went hunting.

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12 Fava
            Ati
                            te
                                    kamakabote
   faya
            ati
                            tee
                                    ka -ma -kabote
                                                             na -vahi
                                                             AUX DIST.IMP+F
            older sister
                            2PL.S
                                    go/come back quickly
            nf
                            pron
                                    vi
                                                             aux
"Older sister, you come back quickly."146
13 Yama
          vete
                 omatibe
                                         -be
   vama
           yete o- na -mata
   thing
          hunt 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
   nf
           vt
                 aux
"I'm going hunting."
14 Bani
                   fora
                                          obe
            me
   bani
           me
                    fora
                                          \circ
                                                    -he
                                                 na
   animal
            3PL.O
                   shoot with blowgun
                                          1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
            pron
                    vt
                                          aux
"I'm going to shoot animals with my blowgun."
15 Ayo
                   kamakabote
                                            tiyahi
                            -ma -kabote
                                            ti-
                                                   na -yahi
   ayo
   older brother
                    go/come back quickly
                                            2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
                    vi
"Older brother, come back quickly."
                                                                  oke
                                 obisarabana
16 Kami
                       kerewe
            -ma.NFIN
                       kerewe
                                 o- na
                                            -bisa -ra -habana
                                                                  0-
                                                                        ke
   ka
   go/come back
                       be slow
                                 1SG.S AUX also NEG FUT+F
                                                                  1SG.S DECL+F
   vi
                       vi
                                 aux
                                                                  prt
bani
        okaraboi
                                               ati
                                     ya
                                                     ne
                                                            me
        o- karaboha.NOM+F
hani
                                                ati
                                      ya
                                                     na+M
                                                            me
        1SG.S shoot with blowgun
                                                            3PL.S
                                     ADJU
                                                     AUX
animal
                                                say
                                      prt
                                                vt
                                                     aux
                                                            pron
                                             ahi
tokomemetemoneke
                                                    fatara
                                                             ya
to- ka
         -ma -hemete -mone -ke
                                             ahi
                                                     fatara
                                                              ya
away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                             there
                                                    garden
                                                             ADJU
                                             dem
                                                    nf
                                                              prt
"I will not be long in coming back, if I kill an animal with my blowgun," he said. They went to the garden."
17 Me
          tokoma
                                 me
                                         tokoma
                                                                me
                                                                        kobo
   me
           to- ka
                         -ma+F
                                 me
                                         to- ka
                                                        -ma+F
                                                                me
                                                                        kobo
           away go/come back
   3PL.S
                                 3PL.S
                                         away go/come back
                                                                3PL.S
                                                                        arrive
   pron
           vi
                                 pron
                                         vi
                                                                pron
                                                                        vi
tonama
                                   yifari
                                                                       yifari
                            faya
                                                     kayaba
                  me
                                             me
to- na -ma+F
                             faya
                                   yifari
                                                     ka- yaba+F
                                                                       yifari.LIST
                 me
                                             me
away AUX back
                  3PL.S
                             so
                                   banana
                                             3PL.S
                                                    COMIT take out
                                                                       banana
                 pron
                             conj
                                   nf
                                             pron
                                                     vt
                        hati
               yifari
sami.LIST
                        hati
               yifari
pineapple
               banana
                        ripe
               nf
                        pn
'They went, and arrived. They got the bananas, also pineapples, ripe bananas.'
18 Me
           kamemetemoneke
                   -ma -hemete -mone -ke
   3PL.S
           go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
```

pron

<sup>146</sup> Siko should have said younger sister.

'They came back.'

```
faya
19 Me
          kama
                                             iti
                                                           bote
                                                                     iti
                           me
                   -ma+F
                           me
                                             iti
                                                           bote
                                                                     iti
  me
          ka
                                      faya
  3PL.S
          go/come back
                           3PL.S
                                      so
                                             grandfather
                                                           old
                                                                     grandfather
          vi
                           pron
                                      conj
                                                           adj
                                                                     nm
  pron
```

bote winehimatamonaka

-himata -mona -ka bote wina lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M old adi vi

'They came back. The old man was lying in his hammock.'

20 Wine ati yana tonehimatamona wina+M yana ati to- na -himata -mona lie in hammock voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M pn vi aux

'As he lay in his hammock, he spoke.'

21 *Wine* ati wabise wabise yana tone wina+M ati yana to- na+M wabise wabise wabise lie in hammock voice start CH AUX spear spear spear vi aux nf nf nf pn

iti Te afi kabote iti+M na -kabote tee afi pick up AUX quickly 2PL.S bathe pron vi aux

'He spoke as he lay in his hammock. He picked up a spear. "Take you baths quickly."

-ma

22 *Te* afi nibeya afi na -be -ya tee AUX IMMED+F now 2PL.S bathe pron vi aux "Take your baths."

23 *Te* tai tohama to- ha tee tai CH AUX back 2PL.S be ahead pron vi aux "You go on ahead."

24 *Te* tai toama tee tai to- ha be ahead CH AUX back 2PL.S

vi

"You go on ahead."

pron

25 *Te* afi nibe afi na -be tee 2PL.S bathe AUX IMMED+F pron vi aux

"You take your baths."

26 Yiwaha yiwaha tama yimawa tama.LIST yiwaha yiwaha yimawa knife pot hold onto nf

aux

'He got a pot and a knife.'

towaka

hinaka

hinaka

me

me

27 *Faya* 

faya

hinaka

hinaka

```
noti me
                                towaka
to- ka- ka+F
        3SG.POSS grandson 3PL.S away COMIT go/come
                                                      3PL.S
                                                             3SG.POSS
                           pron vi
                  nm
                                                       pron pron
                               towakatima
noti
            Te
                 ai
                                                            ahi
                        te
                               to- ka- ka -tima
noti
            tee
                 ahi
                        tee
                                                            ahi
                               away COMIT go/come upstream
            2PL
                there 2PL.S
grandson
            pron dem
                        pron vi
'His grandsons went. "The two of you go upstream."
28 Te
         towakatima
                                      te
                  ka -tima+M
  tee
         to- ka-
                                      tee
  2PL.S away COMIT go/come upstream 2PL.S
  pron vi
                                      pron
kakisawama
                                        kakisama
                                                                  ahi
                                                 -risa -ma
ka- ka
            -risa -waha -ma+F tee
                                        ka- ka
                                                                  ahi
COMIT go/come down change back
                                 2PL.S COMIT go/come down back
                                                                  here
                                 pron
                                        vt
"Go upstream, then turn around and come back downstream here."
29 Owiba
                       ahi
  o- waa.NOM+F -ba ahi
  1SG.S stand FUT here
                       dem
"I will stand here."
                            faya
30 Hinaka
            wabise
                                      mate
                    wa
                    waa+F
                              faya
  hinaka
            wabise
                                      matehe
  3SG.POSS spear
                    stand
                                      children
                             SO
  pron
            nf
                    vi
                                      nf
                             conj
kakisamemetemoneke
ka- ka -risa -ma -hemete -mone -ke
COMIT go/come down back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'His spear was against a tree. They came back downstream.'
31 Abe
         te
                   abe
                          weve
                                 na
                                       tee
                                              kakisama
         tee
                   abe
                          weye
                                 na+F
                                              ka- ka
                                                           -risa -ma
                                       2PL.S COMIT go/come down back
         2PL.POSS
                  RECIP
                          carry AUX
  pn
         pron
                   pn
                          vt
                                 aux
                                       pron
                                              vt
         ya
boti
               ahi
                      fa
                             boti
                                     ya
         ya
boti
               ahi
                      faha
                             boti
                                     ya
way down ADJU there water inside ADJU
         prt
                                     prt
               dem
                      nf
                             pn
"One of you carry the other and come downstream in the water."
                                    kakisama
32 Fava
        fa
               boti
                       ya
                             me
                                                              me
                                    ka- ka
                                               -risa -ma
               boti
  faya
       faha
                       ya
                             me
                                                              me
        water inside ADJU
                            3PL.S COMIT go/come down back
                                                              3PL.S
  conj nf
               pn prt
                                    vt
                             pron
      kakisama
                                me
                                         me
                -risa -ma
      ka- ka
      COMIT go/come down back 3PL.S
                                          3PL.S
pron
                                pron
```

faya me faya me so 3PL.S conj pron abemetemoneke ahaba -hemete die FP.N+F vi They died where th	vi -mone -ke REP+F DECL+F	cated ADJU prt <i>fahi</i> . fahi	me a	a <b>haba</b> ahaba.LIST die	me me 3PL.S
34 Me aha	.c,c.c. Inc, dice	then dem l.'		√i	pron
me ahaba 3PL.S die	me , a+F me 3PL.S	<i>anoti</i> anoti 3SG.POSS	older brot	<i>anoti</i> anoti her 3SG.POS	S older brother
na.NFIN to- AUX away aux vi	a na -riwah	run vi -himat	na.NFIN AUX aux aux		<pre>kana -ma+M kana back run vi  me ka me ka 3PL POSS pron prt</pre>
father 3PL t nm pron p	ni ya no ADJU ort prt er brother, who wa bobi ne bobi na+M	s big, jumped a , mera mera 3PL.0 pron	<i>bobi nemo</i> bobi na	<i>ntamonaka</i> -himata -mor	nt running to their na -ka +M DECL+M
Then he cut them used to be seen	ne , me na+M me AUX 3P1 aux pro	te tee L.O put in	<i>hina</i> hi-	yiwaha na+F yiwaha AUX pot nf	<b>ya</b> . a ya ADJU prt
37 Yiwa ya yiwa ya pot ADJU nf prt me hiwakama	pron vt	hina hi- nside OC aux me	me na+F me AUX 3PL proi	=	<pre>hikana hi- ka- na+F OC COMIT AUX aux ,</pre>

pron vt

pron vt

<i>owa</i> owa	,	<i>owa</i> owa	<i>mete</i> mete	<i>hikar</i> hi-		na-	waa.LIST	,	<i>mati</i> mati		
one+M		one+M	rear+M	OC	COMIT	CAUS	stand		3SG.POSS.mother		
adj		adj	pn	vt					nf		
kabonaha .											
ka -l	bon	a -ha									
POSS II	NT+	M DUP									
prt											
'He nut t	hem	in the no	t and carrie	ad the	m Heh	rought	them and co	oked	them. He roasted a lea		

'He put them in the pot, and carried them. He brought them, and cooked them. He roasted a leg of one of them stuck on a stick by the fire, for his daughter.' <sup>147</sup>

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38 Mete hikanawematamonaka
mete hi- ka- na- waa -himata -mona -ka
rear+M OC COMIT CAUS stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pn vt
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'He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire.'

39 *Mete* hikanawe faya iti bote iyawa mete hi- kana- waa+M faya iti bote iyawa OC COMIT CAUS stand grandfather old manioc mash conj nm adj nf sire iyawa sirematamonaka sira+M iyawa sira -himata -mona -ka toast manioc mash toast FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire. The old man toasted manioc mash.'

40 Iyawa sire tafehimatamonaka ahi
iyawa sira+M tafa -himata -mona -ka ahi
manioc mash toast eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
nf vt vi dem

'He toasted manioc mash, and ate.'

41 <i>Tafe</i> tafe food+I pn	hinaka hinaka 3SG.PC		i ndson	me 3PL.O	<i>kabe</i> kaba+M eat vt	,	hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	noti noti grandson nm	me me 3PL.O pron
kabematame kaba -him eat FP.1	nata -mon		, <b>n</b>	abati abati tomach	<i>kawinaw</i> ka- COMIT vt	wina			-hibana
<pre>ahi ahi then dem</pre>	me day	tasi n	<b>namibeni</b> na -ma AUX bac aux	ı -be k FUT+F	-ni 'BKG+F	<i>ya</i> ya ADS prt	-		

'He ate. He ate his grandsons. He ate his grandsons, and then lay in his hammock with a full stomach. Then they appeared.'

42 <i>Ahi</i>	mati		Ì	ka	bite	ka	banibona	
ahi	mati	Ĺ	]	ka	bite	ka	bani	-bona
then	a 3SG.	.POSS.moth	ner 1	POSS	3SG.POSS.daughter	POSS	animal	INT+M
dem	nf		1	prt	nf	prt	nm	
yoto	kana							
yoto	ka-	na.LIST						
cover	COMIT	AUX						
vt	aux							
		-						

<sup>147</sup> Siko should have said bite kabonaha 'for his daughter'.

'He covered the meat for his daughter.'

43	Bani	yoto	kane		ya	me	,	tasi
	bani	yoto	ka-	na.NOM+M	ya	me		tasi
	animal	cover	COMIT	AUX	ADJU	3PL.S		emerge
	nm	vt	aux		prt	pron		vi

#### namemetemoneke

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

'When he covered the meat, they appeared.'

44	44 Faya , faya			tokomake					
	faya	faya	to-	ka	-makI	kobo			
	so	so	away	go/come	following	arrive			
	conj	conj	vi			vi			

#### tonamakebisematamona

to- na -makI -bisa -himata -mona away AUX following also FP.N+M REP+M aux

'He had gone and had arrived at the other village.'

## 45 Yetenematamonaka

yetene -mata -mona -ka teenage boy FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M adj

'He was a teenager.'

#### 46 Nafihimatamonaka

nafi -himata -mona -ka be big FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi

'He was big.'

47	Nafi	tokom	ake		bati	me	ni	ya
	nafi+M	to-	ka	-makI	bati	me	ni	ya
	be big	away	go/come	following	3SG.POSS.father	3PL	to	ADJU
	vi	vi			nm	pron	prt	prt

tokom	tokomake			tonam		, kobo		
to-	ka	-makI	kobo	to-	na	-makI	,	kobo
away	go/come	following	arrive	away	AUX	following		arrive
vi			vi	aux				vi

## tonamakematamonaka

to- na -makI -himata -mona -ka away AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux

'He was big. He went. He went to his parents, and arrived.'

# 48 Faya hiyara kaminematamonaka

faya hiyara kamina -himata -mona -ka
so story tell FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj nf vt

'He told the news.'

okatao

okatao

my son

mera

me -ra

3PL NPO

49 *Oko* 

ka

1SG.POSS POSS

```
"What about my sons?"
                                         fahi
50 Okatao
                     ? tina
           mera
                        ati ti-
                                 na+F
   okatao
           me -ra
                                          fahi
  my son 3PL NPQ
                        say 2SG.S AUX
                                          then
           pron
                        vt
                                          dem
  nm
"Don't say, 'What about my sons?'"
51 Okatao
           tikatao
                                   okiti
                          me
  okatao tikatao
                          me
                                     0-
                                              ka iti
  my son 2SG.POSS.son 3PL.O
                                     1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                          pron
                                     nm
                             hiwakitarake
         ka
              iti
                             hi- ka- ita
                                               -hara -ke
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                            OC COMIT pierce IP.E+F DECL+F
                             vt
"My grandfather speared your two sons."
             ihi
                            okiti
52 Me
                                                                         bete
                                                          ene
                                      ka iti
  me
                            0-
                                                          ehene
                                                                         bete
  3PL.POSS because of+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather because of+M
                                                                         run
             post
                            nm
                                                         post
                    okomakine
                                                       oke
     na -waha+F
                    o- ka
                                   -makI
                                                             ke
                                              -ne
                                                       \circ
1SG.S AUX change
                    1SG.S go/come following CONT+F
                                                       1SG.S DECL+F
                    77 i
                                                       prt
"I ran away because of my grandfather, and came here."
53 Okatao
           me
                         tafebone
                                        onakama
                                        o- na- ka
                                -bone
  okatao
           me
                         tafe
                                                             -ma+F
                         food+F INT+F
                                        1SG.S CAUS go/come back
           3PL.POSS
  my son
                                                                     3PL.POSS
           pron
amani
ama -ni
SEC BKG+F
"I came here to get food for my sons."
54 Faya
         bite
                              ohi
                                                               fahi
                                   nemetemoneke
                                   na -hemete -mone -ke
   faya
         bite
                              ohi
                                                                fahi
   so
         3SG.POSS.daughter
                             cry
                                   AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                               then
   conj
         nf
                             vi
                                   aux
'Then his daughter cried.'
55 Ohi
                 ohi
                                                 ohi
        na
                       ni
                                 kama
                                                       ni
                                                                fawa
  ohi na+F
                       na.NFIN ka
                                         -ma+F
                                                       na.NFIN
                 ohi
                                                 ohi
                                                                fawa
   cry AUX
                                 go/come back
                                                       AUX
                                                                 disappear
                  cry
                       AUX
                                                 cry
  vi
        aux
                 vi
                       aux
                                 vi
                                                 vi
                                                       aux
                                tasi
               kama
                                         namemetemoneke
                        -ma+F
niha- na+F
                                         na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
               ka
                                tasi
                                         AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
               go/come back
                                emerge
               vi
                                vi
'She cried. She came crying. She stopped crying. She came, and appeared.'
```

```
Fayatasinama,fayaohinama,Okataomerafayatasina -ma+Ffayaohina -ma+FokataomerasoemergeAUX backsocryAUX backmy son3PL.0
56 Faya tasi
                                                                           okatao
                                      ohi na -ma+F okatao mera okatao cry AUX back my son 3PL.O my son vi aux nm pron nm
                               conj vi aux
  conj vi aux
                            , tikabani ama tini
ti- kaba -hani ama ti- ni
.O 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
                okatao
mera abi
                        mρ
mera
       abi
               okatao me
3PL.O father my son 3PL.O
               nm pron
                                  vt
                                                       sec prt
'She appeared. She came back crying. "Father, you ate my sons."
57 Okatao
                  tikabani
                                      ama tini
  Okatao me okatao me
           me
                  ti- kaba -hani
                                       ama ti- ni
  my son 3PL.O 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
         pron vt
                                       sec prt
"You ate my sons."
58 Okatao me tafebone onakama
okatao me tafe -bone o- to- na- ka -ma+F
                                                                      okatao
                                                                      okatao
  my son 3PL.POSS food+F INT+F 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back
          pron pn
                                    vt
      tikabine
                           tiwenihi
                                                  ohi
                                                      ni
                                                                 ati
                                                                       na
me
      tikabinetiwenihiohiniatiti-kaba -neti-we -ni-hiohina.NFINati
                                                                       na+F ,
3PL.O 2SG.S eat CONT+F 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP cry AUX say AUX
                           prt
pron vt
                                                  vi aux
                                                                vt
                                                                       aux
Ohi rima
                     tinahi
ohi na -rima
                     ti- na -hi
cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
                     aux
"I went to get food for my sons, and you ate my sons," she said, crying. "Don't cry."
59 Tiwa
          tiyokoriyahi
                                    -ra -yahi
          ti- yoko
   tiwa
   2SG.O 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
  pron
          vt
"Don't make trouble for yourself."
60 Tikabona
                      kawita
                                         hari
   ti- ka
              -bona
                     ka-
                            ita.CONT+M haari
   2SG.S POSS INT+M COMIT sit
                                         that one+M
                      νi
"Yours is there in the pot."
61 Tika
                  tikabamaho
                                          tiwati
                                                            watari
                                           ti- ati
                  ti- kaba -ma -ho
  t.i-
           ka
                                                            wata -ra.NFIN
   2SG.POSS POSS 2SG.S eat back IMP+M 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG
                  vt
                                           pn
                                                            τzi
"Eat yours after coming back, without saying anything."
62 Ohi rima
                        tinahi
  ohi na -rima
                        ti- na -hi
   cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
  vi
       aux
                        aux
"Don't cry."
```

63 Tikabaho

ti- kaba -ho 2SG.S eat IMP+M

```
"Eat it."
64 Okobareka
  o- kaba -hare -ka
  1SG.S eat IP.E+M DECL+M
"I ate it."
65 Me
         tikabahi
  me
         ti- kaba -hi
  3PL.O 2SG.S eat IMP+F
  pron vt
"Eat them."
66 Tiwa
         tiyokoriyahi
                       -ra -yahi
         ti- yoko
  2SG.O 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
nematamonaka
na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
"Don't cause trouble for yourself."
67 Yama
                       kokori
                                                  bati
            matehe
                      kokori
                                                  bati
            matehe
  yama
            children 3SG.POSS.father-in-law
                                                  3SG.POSS.father
  thing
            nf
                      nm
bati
                 ati
                        watarematamonane
                        wata -ra -himata -mona -ne
bati
                 ati
                voice exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
3SG.POSS.father
                 pn
                        vi
'The father of the children didn't say anything.'
68 Bati
                    ati
                           watare
                                        fati
                                                        ta
                                                                  ohi
                                        fati
  bati
                    ati
                           wata -ra+M
                                                       taa
   3SG.POSS.father voice
                          exist NEG
                                        3SG.POSS.wife contrast
                                                                 cry
                   pn
                           vi
                                                        prt
nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'Their father didn't say anything, but his wife cried.'
69 Me
                                             kokori
       ka
              abi
                      ati
                             watare
                      ati
                             wata -ra+M
                                             kokori
  me
       ka
              abi
   3PL POSS father voice
                             exist NEG
                                              3SG.POSS.father-in-law
  pron prt
              nm
                      pn
kamematamonaka
                                   bani
                                           me
                                                   weve
                                                          nari
                                                                       ahi
ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
                                   bani
                                                          na -haari
                                           me
                                                   weye
go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M animal 3PL.O carry AUX IP.E+M
                                           pron
                                                   vt
                                                          aux
```

'Their father didn't say anything. His father-in-law came back, carrying animals.'148

70 <i>Kokori</i> kokori 3SG.POSS.father-in-law	kame ka - go/come b	-ma+M back	<pre>bani bani animal nm</pre>	me me 3PL.0 pron	koro koro throw vt
nise na -risa+M, hoo AUX down whew aux interj				-	

'His father-in-law came back, and threw down the animals. "Whew."

71 Hinakati ohi ha hinakasima ni na.NFIN hinaka asima ati ohi haa hinaka 3SG.POSS older sister 3SG.POSS younger sister cry AUX oh vi nf aux interj nf hinakasima ohi ni wasime hinakasima hinaka asima ohi na.NFIN wasi -ma+M hinaka asima 3SG.POSS younger sister cry AUX find back 3SG.POSS younger sister vi ohi wasimematamonaka na.NFIN wasi -ma -himata -mona -ka find back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M cry AUX aux

'He came upon his younger sister as she was crying.'

72 <b>Hima</b>	himata	ebe	tinani			ohi	tine		
hima	himata	ebe	ti-	na	-hani	ohi	ti-	na	-ne
let's go	what?	purpose	2SG.S	AUX	IP.N+F	cry	2SG.S	AUX	CONT+F
interj	interrog	vt	aux			vi	aux		
tiri	?								
ti- ri	-								
2SG.S CQ+F									
prt									
"Why are you c	rying?"'								

, one 73 Aa ta ati nemetemonehe yana aa one taa ati yana na -hemete -mone -he (pause) other+F contrast voice start AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP prt interj adj pn vi aux

'It was another woman who spoke.'

74	Biti	me .	abi	hikabani	ohi
	biti	me	abi	hi- kaba -hani ´	ohi
	3SG.POSS.son	3PL.O	2SG.POSS.father	OC eat IP.N+F	cry
	nm	pron	nm	vt	vi

nineni

na -ne -ni AUX CONT+F BKG+F

"She is crying because your father ate her sons."

75	Abi	hinaka	noti	me	kabeno	wina
	abi	hinaka	noti	me	kaba -hino	wina.CONT+M
	2SG.POSS.father	3SG.POSS	grandson	3PL.O	eat IP.N+M	lie in hammock
	nm	pron	nm	pron	vt	vi

<sup>148</sup> Siko should have said wabori 'his brother-in-law', also in the next sentence.

fari

faari

that one+M

"Your father ate his grandsons, and he is in the hammock there."

76	Hinaka	hinaka	wabise	wabaser	netemon	eke			yifo	beri
	hinaka	hinaka	wabise	waa	-basa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	yifo	beheri
	3SG.POSS	3SG.POSS	spear	stand	edge	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	fire	side
	pron	pron	nf	vi					nf	pn
ya	ahi									
ya	ahi									

ADJU then

dem prt

'His spear was leaning against something beside the fire.'

77	Wabise	wemetemoneke		mera	mera	noki	nari
	wabise	waa -hemete -mone -ke	,	mera	mera	noki	na -haari
	spear	stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		3PL.O	3PL.O	wait for	AUX IP.E+M
	nf	vi		pron	pron	vt	aux

'The spear was leaning against something. He was waiting for them.'

78	Faya	faya	me	ati	mite	yana	nema	itamonaka		
			me	ati	mita+M	yana	na	-himata	-mona	-ka
	so	so	3PL.POSS	voice	hear	get up	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	conj	conj	pron	pn	vt	vi	aux			

'When he heard what they said, he got up.'

```
tone , bau bati wina+M ni ro ADJU vi prt prt
79 Yana
                                  wine
                   bati
                                                ni
  yana
  start CH AUX
 vi
```

to- ka+M to- ka - away go/come to- ka -himata -mona -ne away go/come FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vi

'He got ready. He went to his father as he was in his hammock.'

80	Toke		hikat	tomaremat	amond	<i>me</i> -himata			
	to-	ka+M ′	hi-	katoma	-ra	-himata	-mona	-ne	
	away	go/come	OC	attack	NEG	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M	
	77 i		77±						

'He went. He wasn't violent with him.'

81 Hikatomare	Abi	himatabiyo	oko		bitimi	me
hi- katoma -ra+M ´	abi	himatabiyo	0-	ka	bitimi	me
OC attack NEG	father	why	1SG.POSS	POSS	nephew	3PL.O
vt	nm	interrog	prt		nm	pron
tikabarini	?					
ti- kaba -ri -ni						
2SG.S eat CQ+F IP.N+F						
vt						

'He wasn't violent with him. "Father, why did you eat my nephews?"'

82 Oko O- 1SG.POSS prt narake na -hara AUX IP.E+F aux "They said you	POSS ne nm -ke DECL+F	timi me phew 3P pr	ti-		namone EP+F	me me 3PL.S pron	ati ati say vt
83 Oko o- 1SG.POSS prt owakamara o- ka- 1SG.S COMIT vt "Didn't I bring	POSS ne nm ka go/come	timi ow phew -ma -ra	ra bar ani nm <i>owa</i> owa	me me mal 3PL. pror awine awine seem+F	oni 0-	ni BKG+F	?
wabise is spear in the spear in	pick up I vt • -hemete FP.N+F	hibona NT+M -mone -k REP+F DE	ECL+F	nf	vt		
85 Hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron hikawe hi-ka-na OC COMIT Alaux 'He grabbed his	UX change	wara h grab C vt a , <i>hik</i> M hi OC vt	ux katomaremat - katoma : attack	JX 3SG.: pron amonane -ra -hima NEG FP.N-	ka wa POSS sp nf ata -mon HM REP+	a -ne M BKG+1	
hinisemetemones hi- na -ri: OC AUX down aux 'He didn't hit hi  87 Tiwa on tiwa o-	ke sa -hemet n FP.N+F im. He stom nabowi na-	3SG. pron e -mone REP+F ped on his s	ka wab POSS spe nf -ke DECL+F spear.'  toe to- ha	ise tai ar step vt  nhi ahi then dem  ori o- na	-ra.NC	· DM+F	
2SG.O 1S	SG.S CAUS	die	CH AUX	1SG.S AUX	X NEG		

```
88 Tiwa
          onabowi
                              toe
                                        ori
                                                               fara
          o- na- aboha
                              to- ha
                                        o- na -ra.NOM+F
   tiwa
                                                               fara
   2SG.O 1SG.S CAUS die
                              CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG
                                                               same+F
  pron
          vt
                              aux
                                        aux
                                                               dem
                                       , ati
tika
                wahise
                         kote
                                                nematamonaka
                                va
                                          ati na -himata -mona -ka
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                wabise
                         kote
t i -
         ka
                                va
                               ĀDJU
2SG.POSS POSS
                spear
                         piece
                nf
                         pn
                                 prt
                                          vt
                                                allx
"I don't want to kill you with a piece of your own spear," he said."
                 faya
89 Ati
                           hine
                                  ya
                                         boke
                                                    hinise
        ne
                           hine ya
                                                    hi- na -risa+M
   ati
        na+M
                  faya
                                         hoke
   say AUX
                           only ADJU threaten OC AUX down
                  so
   77
        allx
                  conj
                           pron prt
                                         vt
                                                    allx
wabori
                           bani
                                   me
                                           tokematamonaka
wabori
                           bani
                                   me
                                           toka
                                                            -himata -mona -ka
                                           partially burn FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
3SG.POSS brother-in-law
                           animal
                                   3PL.O
                           nm
                                   pron
                                           vt.
'He just threatened him. His brother-in-law singed the hair off the animals.'
90 Bani
           me
                                        bani
                                                me
                                                        bobi
                                                               ne
                   toka+M
  bani
           me
                                       bani
                                                me
                                                        bobi
                                                               na+M
                                                                     bani
   animal
           3PL.O
                   partially burn
                                        animal
                                                 3PL.O
                                                       slit
                                                               AUX
                                                                     animal
                                                                              3PL.O
           pron
                   vt
                                       nm
                                                pron
                                                        vt
                                                               aux
       kaba
                                    me
                                                   kabemetemoneke
me
              me
                           hani
                                           me
me
       kaba+F
                me
                           bani
                                    me
                                           me
                                                   kaba -hemete -mone -ke
                                           3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
3PL.S eat
                3PL.S
                           animal
                                    3PL.O
       vt
                pron
                           nm
                                    pron
                                           pron
                                                   vt
'He singed the hair off the animals, and cut up the animals. They ate the meat.'
91 Bani
                           kaba
                                              bani
                                                               tabasi
           me
                   me
                                    me
                                                       me
                           kaba+F
                                                               tabasi
  bani
                                              bani
           me
                   me
                                  me
                                                       me
                                                               roast on grill
           3PL.O 3PL.S eat
                                    3PL.S
                                              animal
                                                       3PL.O
   animal
                   pron
                                    pron
   nm
           pron
                           vt
                                              nm
                                                       pron
      bani
               me
                        Abi
                                            hikabarabana
                                            hi- kaba -ra+M -bana
na+M bani
               me
                          abi
               3PL.O
                          2SG.POSS.father
                                           OC eat NEG
AUX
      animal
               pron
                          nm
                                            vt.
'They ate the meat. He roasted the meat on a rack, "Isn't your father going to eat it?"
            vama
                       yama
                               kakitimatamonaka
                               ka- iti
                                               -himata -mona -ka
             vama
                       vama
                               COMIT take out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   (pause)
            thing
                       thing
   interi
             nf
                       nf
                               vt
'He took out the shaman's stone.'
          kakiti
93 Yama
                                       ka
                                             kanise
                               yama
                                                                  yama
          ka- iti+M
                                       kaa
   yama
                               yama
                                             ka- na -risa+M
                                                                  yama
          COMIT take out
                                       spew COMIT AUX down
                                                                  thing thing
   thing
                               thing
                                                                  nf
  nf
          v/t.
                               nf
                                       vt
                                             aux
                                                                          nf
            kane
                            bani
                                        bani
                                                 mete
                                                         ya
                                                                yama
tama
            ka-
                  na+M
                            bani
                                        bani
                                                 mete
                                                         ya
                                                                yama
hold onto COMIT AUX
                                                rear+M ADJU
                            animal
                                        animal
                                                                thing
                                                                        push
vt.
            aux
                            nm
                                        nm
                                                 pn
                                                         prt
                                                                nf
```

	thing pus	o to-ka- n h CH COMIT A aux	na -himata AUX FP.N+M	-mona -k REP+M DE	
animal.'  94 Yama yoko yama yoko thing push nf vt 'He pressed it again	CH COMIT I	dem	<i>kakab</i> ka- one+M DUP vt	kaba .	
95 <i>Iyawa</i> iyawa manioc mash nf "'Here is some man	ama haro ama haaro be that o vc dem ioc mash."'	one+F			
96 <i>Iyawa</i> iyawa manioc mash nf "'Here is some man	amake  ama -ke  be DECL+F  vc  ioc mash."'	<b>ahi</b> ahi here dem			
97 <i>Iyawa</i> iyawa manioc mash nf "'Eat it with some n	prt vt		tina ti- hing 2SG.S aux	na AUX	
98 Okatao me okatao me my son 3PL nm pron okako o- kaako 1SG.S be angry vt "Even though you a	.0 2SG.S ear n vt okare o- with 1SG.S prt	sec ka -re DECL NEG+F	ti- ke 2SG.S DEC	-ne L+F IRR+	tiwa tiwa F 2SG.O pron
99 <i>Tiwa</i> okako tiwa o- 2SG.O 1SG.S pron vt	kaako S be angry wi	-ra -ni ith NEG BKG+F			
100 <i>Tiwa</i> , <i>o</i> tiwa	natafine na- ta SG.S CAUS ea		ke G.S DECL+F		
101 Fava kokori		natafo	1	kori	

101	Faya	kokori	natafe .	kokori
	faya	kokori	na- tafa+M ´	kokori
	so	3SG.POSS.father-in-law	CAUS eat	3SG.POSS.father-in-law
	conj	nm	vt	nm

<pre>natafematamonaka na- tafa -himata -mona -ka CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M DEC</pre>				
vt 'So he gave food to his father-in-law.'	dem			
102 <i>Kokori</i> kokori 3SG.POSS.father-in-law	<pre>natafe na- tafa+M CAUS eat</pre>	, <i>faya bani</i> faya bani so anim	al eat	<i>bani</i> bani anima
nm  kabematamonaka  kaba -himata -mona -ka  eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  vt  'He gave food to his father-in-law, and	vt d he ate the meat.'	conj nm	vt	nm
103 Bani kabe hani kaba+M bani bani animal eat anima nm vt nm  fa fawematamonaka faha fawa -himata -mona water drink FP.N+M REP+M nf vt  'He ate the meat. When he was finished	result -ka DECL+M	hawa hawa be finished vi  he drank water.'	toe to- ha.NOM+M CH AUX aux	<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt
104 Fa fawe faha fawa+M faha water drink water nf vt nf 'He drank water.'	fawematamonane	a -mona -ne		
105 Fa fawe faha fawa+M faha water drink water nf vt nf 'He drank water.'	fawe ama fawa+M ama drink SEC vt sec			
106 Yama kayomi ya yama kayoma.NOM+F ya thing darken AD nf vi pri	JU so v	ti yana oice start		
kanematamonaka ka- na -himata -mona -ka COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DEC aux 'When it was getting dark, he started	L+M then dem			
107 <b>Aya ob</b> aya o-	ookora - boko -ra SG.S chest NPQ	obokora o- boko 1SG.S chest	-ra ,	
(expression of pain) 19	og.5 chest NrQ	ibo.b chebe	~	

pn

pn

pn

nematamonakaahina-himata-mona-kaahiAUXFP.N+MREP+MDECL+Mthenauxdem

"Aya, my chest, my chest," he said."

108 Obokora sai nabe sai ati ne ati ati boko -ra ati na+M ati sai nahaba+M ati sai 1SG.S chest NPQ AUX be heard at night voice be heard say voice pn vi vi pn v/t. aux prt pn

nabematamonaka

na nahaba -himata -mona -ka AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux

"My chest," he said. His voice was heard during the night."

109 Ati sai nabe biti ahaba ati sai nahaba+M faya biti me ahaba+F voice be heard at night so 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S die vi conj vi pron

hikanakabe kokori

hi- to- ka- na- kaba+M kokori

OC CH COMIT CAUS eat 3SG.POSS.father-in-law

tokanakabematamonaka

to- ka- na- kaba -himata -mona -ka
CH COMIT CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'His voice was heard during the night. Because his sons had died, he gave his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it to make him sick.'

110 Kokori tokanakabe kokori
kokori to- ka- na- kaba+M kokori
3SG.POSS.father-in-law vt subath nm

pn vi prt

'He gave his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it, and his father-in-law was heard during the night.'

111 *Ati* nabe biti ahaba sai faya me ati sai nahaba+M biti ahaba+F faya me voice be heard at night so 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S die pn vi prt conj pron nm

OC CH COMIT CAUS eat 3SG.POSS.father-in-law

tokanakabematamonaka

to- ka- na- kaba -himata -mona -ka CH COMIT CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'He was heard during the night. Because his sons died, he gave him food to eat that had a spell on it. He gave his father-in-law food that had a spell on it.'

112 Kokori tokanakabe kokori kokori to- kakokori na- kaba+M CH COMIT CAUS eat 3SG.POSS.father-in-law 3SG.POSS.father-in-law ati sai nabematamonaka -himata -mona -ka ati sai na nahaba AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M voice be heard pn vi aux 'He gave his father-in-law food that had a spell on it. His father-in-law was heard during the night.' 113 *Ati* nabe sai yama we yama ati nahaba+M sai wehe voice be heard at night thing light+F pn vi prt nf pn kamakiemetemone amake -makI -hemete -mone ama -ke go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F vi sec 'He was heard during the night. Morning came.' 114 Yama we kamakia me -makI+F yama wehe ka me go/come following thing light+F 3PL.S vi pn pron banehemetemoneke ahi -hemete -mone -ke ahi move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F t.hen 'When morning came, they moved to another place.' 115 *Me* banehemetemoneni me noki bana -hemete -mone -ni me me noki move away FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.S 3PL.S wait for pron 77 i pron vt. hirebanoho hi- na -ra -hiba -no -ho AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 'They moved to another place, and they didn't wait for him.' 116 *Me* noki hireba bako komene awa nahe hi- na me noki -ra -hiba bako komene awa nahaba+M pain+M 3PL.S wait for OC AUX NEG FUT+M chest+M feel at night pron vt. aux pn pn vt. prt nabematamonaka komene awa nahaba -himata -mona -ka komene awa pain+M feel at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M prt vt 'They didn't wait for him. He had chest pain during the night.' 117 *Me* noki hire bana me me me noki hi- na -ra+M me bana+F OC AUX NEG 3PL.S 3PL.S wait for move away 3PL.S pron aux pron vi

#### tokomemetemoneke

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

'They didn't wait for him. They moved away. They left.'

#### 118 Me tokomemetemoneke

me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

'They left.'

119 Tokomake tokomake faya me me to- ka -makI me to- ka -makI me faya away go/come following 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S so pron vi pron conj

biti hinofarematamonaka

biti hi- nofa -ra -himata -mona -ka 3SG.POSS.son OC like NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M nm vt

'They went. His son didn't take care of him.'

120 Biti hinofare Tiwiniyahi

biti hi- nofa -ra+M / ti- wina -yahi
3SG.POSS.son OC like NEG 2SG.S lie in hammock DIST.IMP+F
nm vt vi

'His son didn't take care of him. "You lie here."'

## 121 Tiwinahi

ti- wina -hi 2SG.S lie in hammock IMP+F vi

"Lie here."

122 *Tiwa* tiwa onarifa okare tiwehene ka tiwa 0narifa 0--re tiehene 1SG.S DECL NEG+F 2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S help 2SG.POSS deed pron vt prt

hiyarani tiwa oko bitimi me tikabani hiya -ra -hani tiwa 0ka bitimi me ti- kaba -hani be bad NEG IP.N+F 2SG.S 1SG.POSS POSS nephew 3PL.O 2SG.S eat IP.N+F pron prt nm pron

tiwa

tiwa 2SG.S pron

"I'm not helping you, because you did a bad thing, eating my nephews."

123 Tiwehene hiyarani tike

ti- ehene hiya -ra -hani ti- ke
2SG.POSS deed be bad NEG IP.N+F 2SG.POSS DECL+F
pn vi prt

"You did a bad thing."

124 Ota tokomibonehe
otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he
1EX.S away go/come back INT+F DUP
pron vi
""We are leaving.""

125 Faya bati kakose tokomake
faya bati ka- kana -kosa+M to- ka -makI
so 3SG.POSS.father COMIT leave middle away go/come following conj nm vt vi

tokomakematamonaka

to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi

'So he left his father behind, and left.'

126 Tokomake
to- ka -makI faya me nowati ya
away go/come following vi conj pron pn prt

ahabematamonaha

ahaba -himata -mona -ha die FP.N+M REP+M DUP vi

'He left. He died after they left.'

127 Ahabe ahaba+M ahaba -himata -mona -ka die die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi 'He died.'

128 Abohi wine abohi wina+M abohi dead body lie in hammock pn vi pn

'He lay dead in his hammock.'

129 *Faya* batarise boko me ya -risa.NOM+M faya bata boko me ya SO be rotten down ADJU vulture 3PL.S conj vi prt nf pron

hikabematamona

hi- kaba -himata -mona OC eat FP.N+M REP+M

'When he rotted, the vultures ate him.'

130Bokomehikabematamonabokorawahabokomehi-kaba -himata -monaboko -rawa -havulture3PL.SOC eat FP.N+M REP+M vulture F.PL DUPnfpronvtnf

boko sawi

boko sawi king vulture

'The vultures ate him, the king vultures.'

me

131 *Boko* me hikabematamonaka

hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka boko me vulture 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M pron nf vt

'The vultures ate him.'

132 *Boko* hikabe kamematamonaka hi- kaba+M boko me ka -ma -himata -mona -ka go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vulture 3PL.S OC eat

nf pron vt 77 i

biti

biti

3SG.POSS.son

'The vultures ate him. He came back, his son.'

133 *Kame* bati awamebona kame -ma+M bati awa -ma -hibona -ma+M ka ka 3SG.POSS.father see back INT+M go/come back qo/come back vi

nm vt

hiti hine Okobi kame ki hi- na+M -ma+M biti kii 0ka ahi ka OC AUX 3SG.POSS.son look at 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back 77 i vt nm aux nm

abakeno

ahaba -ke -no DECL IP.N+M die

'He came back, He came back to see his father. He came back, His son looked at him, "My father has died."'

134 *Hiwa* ahaba

> hiwa ahaba.NOM+M only.M die pron vi

"Let him die."

135 *Mao* hisi ati orayaho ne maho hisi o- na -ra -yaho ati na+M wete 1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+M smell+M sniff say AUX return vt. aux vt aux

tokome toname tokomematamonaka

to- na -ma+M to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka away AUX back away go/come back away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi vi

"I don't want to smell him," he said. He turned around and went back."

136	Tokome			Hiwa		
	to-	ka	-ma+M	hiwa	ahaba	-ka
	away	go/come		only.M	die	DECL+M
	vi			pron	vi	

'He went back. "Let him die."'

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137 Tokomematamonaka
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to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi

'He went back.'

138 Tokome Faira kobo toname to- na to- ka -ma+M kobo -ma+M fahi -ra away AUX back away go/come back that NPO arrive vi vi dem aux

'He went back. He arrived back. "Well?"

139 Faira ? tina abenoka

fahi -ra ati ti- na+F ahaba -hino -ka that NPQ say 2SG.S AUX die IP.N+M DECL+M dem aux vi

"You ask, 'Well?' -- he died."

140 *Boko* boko sawi hikabare boko me boko sawi boko boko sawi hi- kaba -hare boko sawi boko me vulture king vulture 3PL.S OC eat IP.E+M king vulture vulture nm pron vt

"The vultures ate him, the king vultures."

141 Boko hikabarawareka

boko hi- kaba -rawa -hare -ka vulture OC eat F.PL IP.E+M DECL+M nf vt.

"The vultures ate him."

142 *Faya* me me amo nemetemone fahi na -hemete -mone faya me me amo fahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F SO 3PL 3PL.S sleep then conj pron pron vi aux dem

'So they slept.'

143 *Me* amo na me Ati watari hinaka noti me amo na+F me ati wata -ra.NFIN hinaka noti 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S voice exist NEG 3SG.POSS grandson pron vi aux pron pn vi pron

nanarifa reno hinaka noti me kabeno me me na- narifa na -ra -hino hinaka noti me kaba -hino eat IP.N+M 3PL.O DUP help AUX NEG IP.N+M 3SG.POSS grandson 3PL.O pron aux pron nm pron vt.

me katomawahineni

me katoma -waha -ne -ni 3PL.S attack change CONT+F BKG+F

pron vt

'They slept. "He should have stayed calm. He didn't take care of his grandsons. He ate his grandsons. Now they have killed him."

144 Nakonako tohe ati raba na owa nako- nako na -raba to- ha+M owa ati na DUP be famished AUX a bit AUX CH AUX one+M say vi aux aux aux adj

#### nematamona

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

aux

"He was always wanting more than his share of food," one of them said."

145 Nakonako	raba	na	tohare		hinaka	hinaka
nako- nako	na -raba	na	to- ha	-ra.NOM+M	hinaka	hinaka
DUP be famished	AUX a bit	AUX	CH AU	X NEG	3SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
vi	aux	aux	V		pron	pron
noti me kaba		oho		-h o		

noti me kaba.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho grandson 3PL.O eat AUX IP.N+M DUP nm pron vt aux

"Because he was always wanting more food, he ate his grandsons."

146 Faya , Hiwa abaka hiwa ahaba -ka only.M die DECL+M pron vi

"Let him die."

147 Faya abe faya ahaba+M so die end DECL+F that one+F conj vi vi dem

'He died. That's the end.'