

## TOTO ABONO

### *Free Translation*

Toto Abono wanted to get married, so he asked for a wife. He called on his father's sister. "Aunt, I want to marry your daughter. I don't have anyone to cook my food, and my manioc is sitting in the field without being grated."

Then the girl's father came home. "Your nephew asked for your daughter. He's standing there."

"Did he really ask for my daughter? Let him take my daughter." So he gave away his daughter, but she didn't have any children.

Toto Abono went to his own home. He arrived. His new wife toasted manioc meal. Then they ate, but she didn't eat again. The two of them slept. He didn't sleep in the same hammock with her. He just lay beside her hammock in his. He didn't want to have sex with her.

"My manioc meal is all gone. I want you to pull up some manioc. Then you grate the manioc, too. When the manioc is grated, there will be a lot of manioc meal."

So she pulled up manioc. She carried the manioc. She peeled the manioc, which became the starch eaten with herself. She made the starch that was eaten with herself. She grated the manioc. When the manioc was finished being grated, she put the manioc through the sieve. The manioc was finished being put through the sieve.

"Toto Abono, aren't you a fisherman?"

"I don't have any arrows to spear fish with. The fish are there in the water, but I don't have any arrows. Because I don't have any equipment, I am always hungry."

So Toto Abono didn't go fishing. She pestered him. She ate manioc meal by itself. "I don't want to eat manioc meal by itself." She ate manioc meal by itself, before the two of them slept. She slept.

When the sun was this high, Hato Abono had cut firewood. He had put the firewood in a pile. He was planning to kill his bride, who he had brought.

While she was sleeping, he hit her on the head, at dawn. She died.

He got up early. He cut her up in the morning. He ate her in the morning. He roasted her. After he roasted her, he ate her. He ate her with the starch that she herself had grated.

When he was done eating his wife, he decided to leave. He was hungry. He went back to his mother-in-law. He arrived.

"Aha, there comes your older sister's husband."

"Whew, I have come back. Whew, my wife called for you. I came because she told me to, so you can grate manioc together."

"I guess my daughter is tired, because she is grating manioc."

"She wants you all to grate manioc together. I have come because she told me to."

"You take them. Let the two of them be together again."

He got ready to leave. "Mother-in-law, I'm going. Let your other daughter go back with me, to help her older sister, so they will grate manioc together."

She agreed. "You go back with your older sister's husband. The two of you go. You stay

## TOTO ABONO

with your older sister."

So he took her. He went back. He disappeared into the forest.

"He said my daughter is grating manioc, and now Toto Abono has taken her younger sister, too, because he said she is tired."

The two of them arrived. He was married, but he didn't have sex with his wives. He was carrying them off and eating them. He ate them. He killed her, also. He ate her. After he finished eating her, his manioc meal ran out.

"Whew, I don't have any more manioc meal. The manioc meal is all gone. I'll go get someone to grate manioc meal."

She died. He ate her. He hit her on the head. He strangled her as she slept in her hammock. He killed her. He cut her up in the morning. Then he roasted her. He ate her belly. After he ate, he lay in his hammock during the day.

"Oh, my meat. Oh, I need to roast my meat some more." So he roasted her. He ate her all day. He ate more of her the next day again. He ate another piece the next day again, and then she was all gone. He was done eating her.

Then he went back again. "I'm going to go after them, others of them, for them to grate manioc for me." He went after his father-in-law's daughters, for them to grate manioc. He went and asked for others.

"Look, Toto Abono has come again."

"Whew! I have come back. They keep pestering me. I came again because they told me to. 'Let's all process manioc together. We will all process manioc. Go get our younger sisters,' they said. I have come because they told me to."

There were two of them. He took the two of them.

"You will peel your sisters' manioc. You squeeze the poison juice out of more manioc. Don't just look at each other. My daughters must be tired."

"They are tired and they don't stop pestering me. I came because they told me to. It wasn't my idea to come."

So he went home. They arrived when the sun was this high.

"Whew! I'm going to get myself some firewood. I didn't realize I had no firewood." He was planning to kill them, too.

"Where are my older sisters? They must have gone out to pull up manioc. Sister, sister." They called their older sisters, calling, "Sister."

Their older sisters didn't call out. They looked around. They looped around. Their sister's skulls had been strung with a line of inner bark, and were hanging on the split *basioba* palm wall. They found their skulls.

"Hato Abono has been eating my older sisters."

The sound of him cutting firewood could be heard in the distance, "Teo, teo, teo, teo."

"Sister, let's go." So they got ready to go, quickly grabbing their rolled up hammocks. They went running away because they had seen their sisters' skulls.

He came back carrying the firewood. He threw the firewood on the ground. "Whew, where is some water? They said they were going to bathe, are they bathing? They aren't here. They went away."

They had gone, and he called after them. He called them. "Yoohoo, are you bathing?"

They had disappeared. They didn't call. He came back. He looked around. "What, their things aren't here. Where did they take the things?"

Toto Abono decided to leave. He went running after them. Darkness overtook him.

He came back. He arrived back. "Oh boy, because I wasn't hungry they disappeared. Now

## TOTO ABONO

I'm hungry, and they aren't here. I'm hungry now."

He lit a fire, and later did something bad.

He went to sleep hungry. He could be heard in the night. "Now I'm going to be hungry.

When I was going to eat my meat, they went away. I was going to eat them, and they went away."

Morning came. "I'll eat my belly. Look, it's thick. I'm going to eat it. I'm hungry."

It was a circular cut. He cut his belly out. Then he roasted the belly. It was ready. He licked his fingers. He toasted manioc meal. He ate some manioc meal. He ate his belly.

After he was done eating his belly, he covered the middle of his body with a wild banana leaf. He got water ready. His water was in the vessel. He drank water. He drank all the water. His water came out, "Ssssss".

"Oh no, my water came out. Look, my water came out."

So he tied inner bark around the middle of his body. He placed wild banana leaves in. He tied the middle of his body. Then he lay in his hammock, on his back.

"Hoo, I'm thirsty, because I couldn't drink water." He drank some more water.

His water came pouring out. "Oh no, it doesn't stop."

So he went back and lay in his hammock again. "Whew!"

His gut started to hurt. He lay sick in the hammock. He rotted right where he lay.

His brother-in-law came. "Toto Abono, the people eater, lives here."

He smelled him from far out. "Peeoo, is that him? He has started to rot." He was rotting because of his guts. He was dead, lying in the hammock.

He yelled at his brother-in-law, who he had found lying dead in his hammock. "Why did Toto Abono cut himself open? He didn't hunt. He was always hungry. Now he has cut himself open. He was eating my sisters. He didn't want to have children. He was strangling my sisters. Let him lie there dead in his hammock."

He left him there. He went home.

So the vultures ate him. So Toto Abono died. He lay dead in the hammock. He left him there.

He told about him back home. "Toto Abono is lying there in the hammock. He had cut himself up. Toto Abono had died. My two sisters didn't wait, they came home. He would have eaten them."

"Toto Abono had eaten our older sisters, and we found their skulls. We didn't like him. We left him behind, looking for us."

They left him behind. He ate himself. Then he died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures. But his manioc was still there, with no one to grate it.

They didn't see him anymore. "Don't go after Toto Abono anymore. Toto Abono is lying dead in a hammock. Let him be dead. He cut up his belly. He ate his belly, it tasted really good. The liquid from inside him spilled out, the water which he had drunk."

So he came home. He arrived home. "Mother, your son-in-law ate himself and he died and is lying there in the hammock."

"He was my son-in-law, but I didn't eat his game; he ate my daughters. This is what he asked for. Let him be dead. He is dead. He is no more. He has rotted. Why did he hurt himself? He has rotted. He can't be touched. He is lying rotten in his hammock."

"We will go back there and see his bones."

After three days they went after their brother-in-law. A king vulture had cut off his head and had taken his head far away from the body, and it was on the ground. "There is the head on the ground."

The vultures ate him. They came upon a vulture on the ground eating him during the day at

## TOTO ABONO

the place where he died. It ate a lot as it ate Hato Abono.

"There is a vulture sitting on a branch. His rotted hammock is hanging there. His skin is in the hammock."

They came home. They arrived home.

"Well?"

"Well, he isn't living there anymore. He isn't there. His bones are in a pile. Why did he cut into himself and eat himself? Now he is dead. There is game in the forest. Toto Abono didn't want to make my sisters pregnant, but he married them. In the end he ate himself. Now he is dead."

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Toto Abono</b>	<b>faneibona</b>		<b>fati</b>		<b>kanike</b>	
	Toto Abono	fana	-hibona	fati		ka-	nika+M
	(man's name)	be married	INT+M	3SG.POSS.wife		COMIT	ask for
	npropm	vi		nf		vt	
	<b>hinakaso</b>		<b>biti</b>		<b>hinakaso</b>		<b>ha</b>
	hinaka	aso	biti		hinaka	aso	haa
	3SG.POSS	father's sister	3SG.POSS.son		3SG.POSS	father's sister	call
	nf		nm		nf		vt
	<b>ne</b>	<b>hinakaso</b>		<b>Aso</b>		<b>aso</b>	
	na+M	hinaka	aso	aso		aso	
	AUX	3SG.POSS	father's sister	father's sister		father's sister	
	aux	nf		nf		nf	
	<b>aso</b>	<b>tikoto</b>		<b>ota</b>	<b>famabone</b>		
	aso	tikoto		otaa	fama	-habone	
	father's sister	2SG.POSS.daughter		1EX.S	be two	INT+F	
	nf	nf		pron	vi		
	<b>onara</b>	<b>oke</b>					
	ati o-	na -hara	o- ke				
	say 1SG.S	AUX IP.E+F	1SG.S DECL+F				
	vt		prt				

"Toto Abono wanted to get married, so he asked for a wife. He called his father's sister. "Aunt, I want to be with your daughter."<sup>55</sup>

2	<b>Otefe</b>	<b>wawasi</b>	<b>wawata</b>	<b>nofara</b>		<b>oko</b>	
	o-	tefe	wa- wasi	wa- wata	na nofa	-ra+F	o- ka
	1SG.POSS	food	DUP cook	DUP exist	AUX recently	NEG	1SG.POSS POSS
	pn		pn	vi	prt		prt
	<b>fowa</b>	<b>hiti</b>	<b>re</b>	<b>kawita</b>			
	fowa	hiti	na -ra+M	ka- ita.LIST			
	manioc	grate	AUX NEG	COMIT sit			
	nm	result	aux	vi			

"There is no one to cook my food, and my manioc is sitting in the field without being grated."

3	<b>Faya</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>kamematamona</b>	<b>fahi</b>	
	faya	bati	ka -ma -himata -mona	fahi	
	so	3SG.POSS.father	go/come back FP.N+M REP+M	then	
	conj	nm	vi	dem	

"Then her father came home."

<sup>55</sup> *biti* 'her son' is a mistake.

# TOTO ABONO

- 4 **Tikoto** **bitimi** **kanike** , **wa** **fari** .  
tikoto bitimi ka- nika+M waa.CONT+M faari  
2SG.POSS.daughter nephew COMIT ask for stand that one+M  
nf nm vt vi dem  
"Your nephew asked for your daughter. He's standing there."
- 5 **Okoto** **kanikanoho** ?  
okoto ka- nika -no -ho  
my daughter COMIT buy IP.N+M DUP  
nf vt  
"Did he really ask for my daughter?"
- 6 **Okoto** **hiwakamahi** .  
okoto hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hi  
my daughter OC away COMIT go/come back IMP+F  
nf vt  
"Let him take my daughter."
- 7 **Hiwakamahi**  
hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hi  
OC away COMIT go/come back IMP+F  
vt  
"Let him take her."
- 8 **Faya** **bite** **ta** **nematamona** **fahi** ,  
faya bite taa na -himata -mona fahi  
so 3SG.POSS.daughter give AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
conj nf vt aux dem  
**bite** **kaiwarabanihi**  
bite ka- hiwa -ra -haba -ni -hi  
3SG.POSS.daughter COMIT have children NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
nf vi  
'So he gave away his daughter, but she didn't have any children.'
- 9 **Faya** **Toto Abono** **tokomematamonane** .  
faya Toto Abono to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne  
so (man's name) away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
conj npropm vi  
'So Toto Abono went home.'
- 10 **Tokome** **fare** **taboro** **ya** **tokome** , **kobo**  
to- ka -ma+M fare taboro ya to- ka -ma+M kobo  
away go/come back same+M place ADJU away go/come back arrive  
vi dem pn prt vi vi  
**toname** , **kobo** **tonamematamonaka** .  
to- na -ma+M kobo to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka  
away AUX back arrive away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux vi aux  
'He went home. He went to his own home. He arrived back home.'
- 11 **Kobo** **toname** **ama** .  
kobo to- na -ma+M ama  
arrive away AUX back SEC  
vi aux sec  
'He arrived back home.'

# TOTO ABONO

12 *Yama* , *iyawa* *fati* *siremetemone* *fahi* .  
 yama , iyawa fati sira -hemete -mone fahi  
 thing manioc mash 3SG.POSS.wife toast FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nf nf nf vt dem

'His wife toasted manioc mash.'

13 *Iyawa* *fati* *sira* , *fatibonehe* .  
 iyawa fati sira+F , fati -bone -he  
 manioc mash 3SG.POSS.wife toast 3SG.POSS.wife INT+F DUP  
 nf nf vt nf

'His wife toasted manioc mash, his bride.'

14 *Faya* *iyawa* *siremetemone* *fahi* .  
 faya iyawa sira -hemete -mone fahi  
 so manioc mash toast FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj nf vt dem

'She toasted manioc mash.'

15 *Faya* *me* *tafemetemone* *fahi* , *tafamarabanihi* .  
 faya me tafa -hemete -mone fahi , tafa -ma -ra -haba -ni -hi  
 so 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then eat back NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 conj pron vi dem vi

'Then they ate, but she didn't eat again.'

16 *Faya* *me* *tafa* *me* *amo* *kana* *me* ,  
 faya me tafa+F me amo ka- na+F me  
 so 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi pron vi aux pron

*hitakoraremetemoneke* .

hi- takora -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC be in hammock with NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They ate. The two of them slept. He didn't sleep in the same hammock with her.'

17 *Hitakorara* , *hine* *ya* *winaha* *ni* *ya*  
 hi- takora -ra+F , hine ya wina+F ni ya  
 OC be in hammock with NEG only ADJU lie in hammock to ADJU  
 vt pron prt vi prt prt

*winabase* , *ai* *ni*  
 wina -basa+M , ahi na.NFIN  
 lie in hammock edge have sex with AUX  
 vi vt aux

*hinofaremetemoneke* .

hi- nofa -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC want NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'He didn't sleep in the same hammock with her. He just lay in the hammock beside where she was lying. He didn't want to have sex with her.'

18 *Ai* *ni* *hinofara* , *faya* *Toto Abono* ,  
 ahi na.NFIN hi- nofa -ra+F , faya Toto Abono  
 have sex with AUX OC want NEG so (man's name)  
 vt aux vt conj npropm

## TOTO ABONO

**Oko**                      ,                      **oko**                      **iyawa**                      **abarake**  
 o-                      ka                      o-                      ka                      iyawa                      ahaba -hara -ke  
 1SG.POSS POSS                      1SG.POSS POSS                      manioc mash                      end                      IP.E+F DECL+F  
 prt                      prt                      nf                      vi  
 'He didn't want to have sex with her. "My manioc mash is all gone."

19 **Iyawa**                      **abarake**  
 iyawa                      ahaba -hara -ke  
 manioc mash                      end                      IP.E+F DECL+F  
 nf                      vi  
 ""The manioc mash is all gone."

20 **Fowa**                      **bore**                      **tikanabone**                      **onara**  
 fowa                      bore                      ti-                      ka-                      na                      -habone                      ati o-                      na                      -hara  
 manioc                      pull out                      2SG.S COMIT AUX INT+F                      say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F  
 nm                      vt                      aux                      vt

**oke**  
 o-                      ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt  
 "I want you to pull up some manioc."

21 **Fowa**                      **bore**                      **tikana**                      **fowa**                      **hiti**  
 fowa                      bore                      ti-                      ka-                      na.LIST                      fowa                      hiti.LIST  
 manioc                      pull out                      2SG.S COMIT AUX                      manioc                      grate  
 nm                      vt                      aux                      nm                      vt  
 ""When you have pulled up the manioc, grate the manioc, too."

22 **Fowa**                      **hiti**                      **tinisahi**  
 fowa                      hiti                      ti-                      na                      -risa -hi  
 manioc                      grate                      2SG.S AUX down IMP+F  
 nm                      vt                      aux  
 "Grate the manioc."

23 **Fowa**                      **hiti**                      **tinisa**                      **iyawa**                      **nanafi**                      **nama**  
 fowa                      hiti                      ti-                      na                      -risa+F                      iyawa                      na-                      nafi                      na                      -nama  
 manioc                      grate                      2SG.S AUX down                      manioc mash                      DUP be big                      AUX SUPER  
 nm                      result aux                      nf                      vi                      aux

**nabanake**  
 na                      -habana -ke  
 AUX FUT+F                      DECL+F  
 aux  
 "When you grate the manioc, there will be a lot of manioc meal."

24 **Faya**                      **fowa**                      **bore**                      **na**                      ,                      **fowa**                      **iso**                      **na**                      **fowa**                      **sowe**  
 faya                      fowa                      bore                      na+F                      ,                      fowa                      iso                      na+F                      fowa                      sowe  
 so                      manioc                      pull out                      AUX                      manioc                      carry off                      AUX                      manioc                      scrape  
 conj nm                      vt                      aux                      nm                      vt                      aux                      nm                      result

**nemetemoneke**  
 na                      -hemete -mone -ke  
 AUX FP.N+F                      REP+F DECL+F  
 aux  
 'So she pulled up manioc. She carried the manioc. She peeled the manioc.'

# TOTO ABONO

25	<b>Fowa</b>	<b>sowe</b>	<b>na</b>	,	<b>fowa</b>	<b>sowe</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>fara</b>
	fowa	sowe	na+F		fowa	sowe	na+F	fara
	manioc	scrape	AUX		manioc	scrape	AUX	same+F
	nm	result	aux		nm	result	aux	dem

## **kawiabanihi**

kawia -ba -ni -hi  
 accompanying food FUT IP.N+F DUP  
 pn

'She peeled the manioc. She peeled the manioc that was to be the starch eaten with herself.'

26	<b>Fara</b>	<b>kawiabani</b>			<b>ra</b>	<b>ai</b>	<b>nemetemoneni</b>
	fara	kawia	-ba -ni		ra	ahi	na -hemete -mone -ni
	same+F	accompanying food	FUT IP.N+F		O	work on	AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
	dem	pn			prt	vt	aux

'She made the starch that was eaten with herself.'

27	<b>Fowa</b>	<b>hiti</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>	
	fowa	hiti	na -hemete -mone -ke	
	manioc	grate	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	
	nm	vt	aux	

'She grated the manioc.'

28	<b>Fowa</b>	<b>hiti</b>	<b>na</b>	,	<b>fowa</b>	<b>hiti</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>	
	fowa	hiti	na+F		fowa	hiti	na -hemete -mone -ke	
	manioc	grate	AUX		manioc	grate	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	
	nm	vt	aux		nm	vt	aux	

'She grated the manioc.'

29	<b>Fowa</b>	<b>hiti</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ahabe</b>	<b>ya</b>	,	<b>iyawa</b>	,	<b>fowa</b>
	fowa	hiti	na.NFIN	ahaba.NOM+M	ya		iyawa		fowa
	manioc	grate	AUX	end	ADJU		manioc mash		manioc
	nm	result	aux	vi	prt		nf		nm

<b>nano</b>	<b>na</b>	,	<b>fowa</b>	<b>nano</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>	<b>fahi</b>	
nano	na+F		fowa	nano	na -hemete -mone -ke	fahi	
squeeze	AUX		manioc	squeeze	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	then	
vt	aux		nm	vt	aux	dem	

'When the manioc was finished being grated, she put the manioc through the sieve.'

30	<b>Fowa</b>	<b>nano</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>abematamonaka</b>	
	fowa	nano	na.NFIN	ahaba -himata -mona -ka	
	manioc	squeeze	AUX	end FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
	nm	result	aux	vi	

'The manioc was finished being put through the sieve.'

31	<b>Toto Abono</b>	<b>aba</b>	,	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tani</b>	<b>tihara</b>		<b>tiwa</b>
	Toto Abono	aba		aba	me	tani	ti- to- ha -ra+F		tiwa
	(man's name)	fish		fish	3PL.POSS	killer	2SG.S CH be NEG		2SG.S
	npropm	nm		nm	pron	pn	vc		pron

**awine** **tini** ?  
 awine ti- ni  
 seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F  
 sec prt

""Toto Abono, aren't you a fisherman?""



# TOTO ABONO

32 *Aba me sasa kana wati okia*  
 aba me sa- saa ka- na wati o- kiha  
 fish 3PL.POSS DUP shoot with arrow COMMIT AUX arrow 1SG.S have  
 nm pron pn nm vt

*okere*

o- ke -re  
 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F  
 prt

"I don't have any arrows to spear fish with."

33 *Aba me kaya ke*  
 aba me kaya na -ke  
 fish 3PL.S lie AUX DECL+F  
 nm pron vi prt

"The fish are there in the water."

34 *Aba me kaya na me wati okiarihi*  
 aba me kaya na+F me wati o- kiha -rihi  
 fish 3PL.S lie AUX 3PL.S arrow 1SG.S have NEG.LIST  
 nm pron vi aux pron nm vt

"The fish are there in the water, but I don't have any arrows."

35 *Oye honarimakoni ofimi*  
 o- yehe hona -ra -makoni o- fimi  
 1SG.POSS hand have something NEG for this reason+F 1SG.S be hungry  
 pn vi vi

*onofa ama oni*  
 o- nofa+F ama o- ni  
 1SG.S recently SEC 1SG.S BKG+F  
 prt sec prt

"Because I don't have any equipment, I am always hungry."

36 *Faya Toto Abono tokare kasiro hikane*  
 faya Toto Abono to- ka -ra+M kasiro hi- ka- na+M  
 so (man's name) away go/come NEG complain about OC COMMIT AUX  
 conj npropm v vt aux  
 , *iyawa hinita kaba iyawa hinita*  
 iyawa hinita kaba+F iyawa hinita  
 manioc mash alone eat manioc mash alone  
 nf pn vt nf pn

*kabemetemoneni*

kaba -hemete -mone -ni  
 eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt

'So Toto Abono didn't go out. She pestered him. She ate manioc meal by itself.'

37 *Iyawa hinita kabi onofarini*  
 iyawa hinita kaba.NFIN o- nofa -ra -ni  
 manioc mash alone eat 1SG.S want NEG BKG+F  
 nf pn result vt

"I don't want to eat manioc meal by itself."

38 *Iyawa hinita kabemetemoneke me amo*  
 iyawa hinita kaba -hemete -mone -ke me amo  
 manioc mash alone eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S sleep  
 nf pn vt pron vi

# TOTO ABONO

**kanabone**                      **me**                      **fama**                      **mati** .  
ka-    na    -habone    me                      fama+F    mati  
COMIT AUX INT+F                      3PL.S    be two    3PL.S  
aux                      pron    vi                      pron  
'She ate manioc meal by itself, before the two of them slept.'

39 **Faya**    **amo**                      **na**                      ,    **amo**                      **nemetemone**                      **fahi** .  
faya    amo                      na+F                      ,    amo                      na    -hemete    -mone    fahi  
so                      sleep    AUX                      sleep    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    then  
conj    vi                      aux                      vi                      aux                      dem  
'She slept.'

40 **Hato Abono**                      **ai**                      **bai**                      **ite**                      **ya**                      **yifo**                      **tafa**  
Hato Abono                      ahi                      bahi                      ita.NOM+M                      ya                      yifo                      tafa  
(man's name)                      there                      sun                      be located                      ADJU                      firewood                      split  
npropm                      dem                      nm                      vi                      prt                      nf                      vt

**nematamonaka** .  
na    -himata    -mona    -ka  
AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
aux  
'When the sun was this high Hato Abono cut firewood.'

41 **Faya**    **yifo**                      **tafa**                      **ne**                      ,    **yifo**                      **tafa**                      **nematamonane**  
faya    yifo                      tafa                      na+M                      ,    yifo                      tafa                      na    -himata    -mona    -ne  
so                      firewood                      split    AUX                      firewood                      split    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
conj    nf                      vt                      aux                      nf                      vt                      aux

'He cut firewood.'

42 **Yifo**                      **ta**                      **toniharematamonaka**  
yifo                      taa                      to- niha- na    -rI                      -himata    -mona    -ka  
firewood    be piled up    CH CAUS AUX raised surface FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
nf                      vi                      aux

, **fati**                      ,    **fatitebone**                      ,    **hiwakama**  
fati                      ,    fati                      -tee    -bone                      ,    hi- ka-    ka                      -ma+F  
3SG.POSS.wife                      3SG.POSS.wife    HAB INT+F                      OC COMIT go/come back  
nf                      nf                      vt

**wati**                      **kanehinoho** .  
wati                      ka-    na    -hino    -ho  
plan against    COMIT AUX IP.N+M    DUP  
vt                      aux

'He put the firewood in a pile. He was planning against his bride, who he had brought.'

43 **Wati**                      **hikanani**                      ,    **amo**                      **na**                      ,    **amo**                      **ni**  
wati                      hi- ka-    na    -hani                      ,    amo                      na+F                      ,    amo                      na.NFIN  
plan against    OC COMIT AUX IP.N+F                      sleep    AUX                      sleep    AUX  
vt                      aux                      vi                      aux                      vi                      aux

**tati**    **ba**    **hiremetemoneke**                      ,    **amo**                      **naro**  
tati    baa    hi- na    -rI                      -hemete    -mone    -ke                      ,    amo                      na    -haaro  
head    hit    OC AUX raised surface FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F                      sleep    AUX IP.E+F  
pn    vt    aux                      vi                      aux

**ahi**                      ,    **yama**                      **we**                      **kamaki**                      **ya** .  
ahi                      ,    yama                      wehe                      ka                      -makI.NOM    ya  
then                      thing    light+F                      go/come following    ADJU  
dem                      nf                      pn                      vi                      prt

'He was planning against her. She was sleeping. While she was sleeping, he hit her on the head, at dawn.'

# TOTO ABONO

44 *Faya tati ba hiremetemone ahi* .  
faya tati baa hi- na -ra -hemete -mone ahi  
so head hit OC AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F then  
conj pn vt aux dem

'He hit her on the head.'

45 *Faya ahaba , bosa hikana bobi hinamina*  
faya ahaba+F , bosa hi- ka- na+F bobi hi- na -mina+F  
so die get up early OC COMIT AUX slit OC AUX morning  
conj vi vi aux vt aux

*hikabaminemetemoneke*

hi- kaba -mina -hemete -mone -ke  
OC eat morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vt

'She died. He got up early with respect to her. He cut her up in the morning. He ate her in the morning.'

46 *Tabasi hina , tabasi hini ya*  
tabasi hi- na+F , tabasi hi- na.NOM+F ya  
roast on grill OC AUX roast on grill OC AUX ADJU  
vt aux vt aux prt  
*hikaba , fara kakawibone hiti hinaha ya*  
hi- kaba+F , fara ka- kawia -bone hiti hi- na+F ya  
OC eat same+F DUP eat with something INT+F grate OC AUX ADJU  
vt dem pn vt aux prt

*kakawi*

*hinemetemoneke*

ka- kawi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke  
COMIT eat with something OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vt aux

'He roasted her. After he roasted her, he ate her. He ate her with the starch that she herself had grated.'

47 *Faya kakawi hina , faya abi ya ,*  
faya ka- kawi hi- na+F , faya ahaba.NOM+F ya ,  
so DUP eat with something OC AUX so die ADJU  
conj vt aux conj vi prt  
*faya fati kabi abi ya , yana tone*  
faya fati kaba.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya , yana to- na+M  
so 3SG.POSS.wife eat end ADJU start CH AUX  
conj nf result nm prt vi aux

*fimihi yana tone , tokomematamonaka*

fimi+M yana to- na+M , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
be hungry start CH AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi vi aux vi

'He ate her with starch. When he was done eating his wife, he got ready to leave. He was hungry, and he got ready to leave. He went back.'

48 *Tokome , hinaka koma ni ya , hinaka*  
to- ka -ma+M , hinaka koma ni ya , hinaka  
away go/come back 3SG.POSS son-in-law to ADJU 3SG.POSS  
vi pron nm prt prt pron  
*koma ni ya tokome kobo toname , kobo*  
koma ni ya to- ka -ma+M kobo to- na -ma+M , kobo  
son-in-law to ADJU away go/come back arrive away AUX back arrive  
nm prt prt vi vi aux vi

*tonamematamonaka*

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

# TOTO ABONO

'He went back. He went back to his mother-in-law. He arrived.'<sup>56</sup>

49 *Aa* , *ati* *maki* *kame*  
aa , ati maki ka -ma+M  
aha 2SG.POSS.older sister 3SG.POSS.husband go/come back  
interj nf nm vi

"Aha, there comes your older sister's husband."

50 *Oof* , *okomine* *oke*  
oof , o- ka -ma -ne o- ke  
hoo 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
interj vi prt

"Whew, I have come back."

51 *Hoo* , *oko* *yibote* *tera* *ati* *na* *ati*  
hoo , o- ka yibote tera ati na+F ati  
whew 1SG.POSS POSS wife 2PL.O call for AUX voice  
interj prt nf pron vt aux pn  
*ihi* *okomine* *oni* , *fowa* *te* *hiti*  
ihi o- ka -ma -ne o- ni , fowa tee hiti  
because of+F 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F manioc 2PL.S grate  
post vi prt nm pron vt  
*nabone* *te*  
na -habone tee  
AUX INT+F 2PL.S  
aux pron

"Whew, my wife called for you. Because of what she said I have come, so you can grate manioc together."

52 *Okoto* *ma* *toa* *awineni* , *fowa* *hiti*  
okoto maa to- ha+F awine -ni , fowa hiti  
my daughter be tired CH AUX seem+F BKG+F manioc grate  
nf vi aux sec nm vt

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

"I guess my daughter is tired, because she is grating manioc."

53 *Fowa* *te* *hiti* *nabone* *ati* *na* *ati* *ihi*  
fowa tee hiti na -habone ati na+F ati ihi  
manioc 2PL.S grate AUX INT+F say AUX voice because of+F  
nm pron vt aux vt aux pn post

*okomine* *o*  
o- ka -ma -ne o-  
1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S  
vi prt

"She wants you all to grate manioc together. Because of what she said I have come."

54 *Me* *tekamiya*  
me ti- to- ka- ka -ma -yahi  
3PL.O 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
pron vt

"You take them."

56 *hinaka koma* appears to be a mistake, since this means 'his daughter/son-in-law'; it should be *hinakaso* 'his mother-in-law'.

# TOTO ABONO

55 *Me famamiyahi* .  
 me fama -ma -yahi  
 3PL.S be two back DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vi

"Let the two of them be together again."

56 *Yana tonematamona fahi* .  
 yana to- na -himata -mona fahi  
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux dem

'He got ready to leave.'

57 *Yana toneibona Aso aso* ,  
 yana to- na -hibona aso aso  
 start CH AUX INT+M mother-in-law mother-in-law  
 vi aux nf nf

*okoma oke* .  
 o- to- ka -ma o- ke  
 1SG.S away go/come back 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi prt

'He got ready to leave. "Mother-in-law, I'm going."

58 *Tikoto one ota tofamamibana* ,  
 tikoto one otaa to- fama -ma.NOM+F -bana  
 2SG.POSS.daughter other+F 1EX.S away be two back FUT  
 nf adj pron vi  
*hinakati asota nabonehe* , *fowa me hiti*  
 hinaka ati asota na -habone -he fowa me hiti  
 3SG.POSS older sister help AUX INT+F DUP manioc 3PL.S grate  
 nf vt aux nm pron vt

*nabone mati* .  
 na -habone mati  
 AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron

"Let your other daughter go back with me, to help her older sister, so they will grate manioc together."<sup>57</sup>

59 *Ati amosematamonaka* .  
 ati amosa -himata -mona -ka  
 voice be good FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vi

'What he said was acceptable to her.'

60 *Ati maki te tofamamahi* .  
 ati maki tee to- fama -ma -hi  
 2SG.POSS.older sister 3SG.POSS.husband 2PL.S away be two back IMP+F  
 nf nm pron vi

"You go back with your older sister's husband."

61 *Ati maki te tofamamahi* .  
 ati maki tee to- fama -ma -hi  
 2SG.POSS.older sister 3SG.POSS.husband 2PL.S away be two back IMP+F  
 nf nm pron vi

"You go back with your older sister's husband."

57 The recording sounds like *tofamibana*, but the correct word is *tofamamibana*.

# TOTO ABONO

## 62 *Te towakamahi*

tee to- ka- ka -ma -hi  
2PL.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F  
pron vt

"The two of you go."

## 63 *Ati*

ati tee fa- fama -waha.LIST na  
2SG.POSS.older sister 2PL.S DUP be two change AUX  
nf pron vi aux

## *toharima*

## *nahi*

to- ha -rima na -hi  
CH AUX intermittent AUX IMP+F  
aux aux

"You stay with your older sister."

## 64 *Faya hiwakamemetemone*

faya hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone amake  
so OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F ama -ke  
conj vt sec DECL+F sec

'So he took her.'

## 65 *Hiwakama*

hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F  
OC away COMIT go/come back  
vt

## *hiwakamemetemoneke*

hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vt

'He took her.'

## 66 *Tokome*

## *fawa*

## *tosame*

## *fawa*

to- ka -ma+M fawa to- na -kosa -ma+M fawa  
away go/come back disappear CH AUX middle back disappear  
vi vi aux vi

## *tonakosamematamonaka*

to- na -kosa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
CH AUX middle back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux

'He went back. He disappeared into the forest.'

## 67 *Okoto*

## *fowa*

## *hiti*

## *namone*

## *hinakasima*

okoto fowa hiti na -hamone hinaka asima  
my daughter manioc grate AUX REP+F 3SG.POSS younger sister  
nf nm vt aux nf

## *Toto Abono*

## *towakama*

## *ne*

## *ma*

## *toamone*

Toto Abono to- ka- ka -ma na+M maa to- ha -hamone  
(man's name) away COMIT go/come back AUX be tired CH AUX REP+F  
npropm vt aux vi aux

## *ati*

## *ihimonehe*

ati ihi -mone -he  
voice because of+F REP+F DUP  
pn pn

"My daughter is said to be grating manioc, and now Toto Abono has taken her younger sister, too, because she is said to be tired."

# TOTO ABONO

68 **Faya me kobo tokanama** , **fanahi mera**  
 faya me kobo to- ka- na -ma+F , fana+M mera  
 so 3PL.S arrive away COMMIT AUX back be married 3PL.O  
 conj pron vi aux vi pron

**yor** **rari** .  
 yori na -ra -haari  
 have sex with AUX NEG IP.E+M  
 vt aux

'The two of them arrived. He was married, but he didn't have sex with them.'

69 **Mera yori re** , **mera iiso tohe mera**  
 mera yori na -ra+M , mera i- iso to- ha+M mera  
 3PL.O have sex with AUX NEG 3PL.O DUP carry off CH AUX 3PL.O  
 pron vt aux pron vt aux pron

**kakaba toemata** .  
 ka- kaba to- ha -himata  
 DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+M  
 vt aux

'He didn't have sex with them. He was carrying them off. He was eating them.'

70 **Mera kabe** , **faya hinabowamake** ,  
 mera kaba+M , faya hi- na- aboha -makI ,  
 3PL.O eat so OC CAUS die following  
 pron vt conj vt

**hikabemetemoneke fahi** .  
 hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vt dem

'He ate them. He killed her, also. He ate her.'

71 **Hikaba** , **kabi abi ya hinaka iyawa**  
 hi- kaba+F , kaba.NFIN ababa.NOM+F ya hinaka iyawa  
 OC eat eat end ADJU 3SG.POSS manioc mash  
 vt result vi prt pron nf

**ahaba** , **faya hinaka iyawa** , **hinaka iyawa aba** ,  
 ahaba+F , faya hinaka iyawa , hinaka iyawa ahaba+F ,  
 end so 3SG.POSS manioc mash 3SG.POSS manioc mash end  
 vi conj pron nf pron nf vi

**Oof** , **iyawa okiamari** .  
 oof iyawa o- kiha -ma -ra.NOM+F  
 hoo manioc mash 1SG.S have back NEG  
 interj nf vt

'He ate her. After he finished eating her, his manioc mash ran out. "Whew, I don't have any more manioc mash."

72 **Iyawa abake** .  
 iyawa ahaba -ke  
 manioc mash end DECL+F  
 nf vi

""The manioc mash is all gone.""

73 **Iyawa hihiti nisaba**  
 iyawa hi- hiti na -risa -ba  
 manioc mash DUP grate AUX down FUT  
 nf pn

# TOTO ABONO

## onakamamate

o- to- na- ka -ma -mate  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time.IMP+F  
 vt  
 "I'll go get someone to grate manioc mash."

74 **Faya abemetemone amani**  
 faya ahaba -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 so die FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 conj vi sec  
 'She died.'

75 **Hikabemetemone amake**  
 hi- kaba -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 OC eat FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 vt sec  
 'He ate her.'

76 **Tati ba hiremetemone**  
 tati baa hi- na -rI -hemete -mone  
 head hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F  
 pn vt aux  
 'He hit her on the head.'

77 **Tati ba hire** , **namiti** , **namiti** **niki**  
 tati baa hi- na -rI , namiti , namiti niki  
 head hit OC AUX raised surface neck neck press on  
 pn vt aux pn pn vt  
**hikanemetemoneke** , **amo** **naro**  
 hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke , amo na -haaro  
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F sleep AUX IP.E+F  
 aux vi aux  
 'He hit her on the head. He strangled her as she slept.'

78 **Amo ni winaha ra namiti niki**  
 amo na.NFIN wina+F ra namiti niki  
 sleep AUX lie in hammock O neck press on  
 vi aux vi prt pn vt

**kanematamonaka**  
 ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux  
 'He strangled her as she slept in her hammock.'

79 **Faya namiti niki hikana** , **hinahabiha** , **bobi**  
 faya namiti niki hi- ka- na+F , hi- na- ahaba+F , bobi  
 so neck press on OC COMIT AUX OC CAUS die slit  
 conj pn vt aux vt vt  
**hinamina** , **bobi** **hinamina** **faya** **tabasi** **hina**  
 hi- na -mina+F , bobi hi- na -mina+F faya tabasi hi- na+F  
 OC AUX morning slit OC AUX morning so roast on grill OC AUX  
 aux vt aux conj vt aux  
**sobori** **hikabemetemoneke** **ahi**  
 sobo -ri hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 belly PN OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pn vt dem  
 'He strangled her. He killed her. He cut her up in the morning. Then he roasted her. He ate her belly.'



# TOTO ABONO

80 *Sobori* *hikaba* , *tafe* *ya* *wina* *nati*  
 sobo -ri hi- kaba+F , tafa.NOM+M ya wina na nahatI+M  
 belly PN OC eat eat ADJU lie in hammock AUX daytime  
 pn vt vi prt vi prt

, *Aa* , *oko* *bani* .  
 aa , o- ka bani  
 oh yes 1SG.POSS POSS animal  
 interj prt nm

'He ate her belly. After he ate, he lay in his hammock during the day. "Oh, my meat."'

81 *Aa* , *oko* *bani* *tabatabasi*  
 aa , o- ka bani taba- tabasi  
 oh yes 1SG.POSS POSS animal DUP roast on grill  
 interj prt nm vt

*okowamate*

o- ka- na -waha -mate  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX change short time.IMP+F  
 aux

"Oh, I need to roast my meat some more."

82 *Faya* *tabasi* *hina* , *hikaba* *hinate* ,  
 faya tabasi hi- na+F , hi- kaba+F hi- nahatI ,  
 so roast on grill OC AUX OC eat OC daytime  
 conj vt aux vt prt

*hikabaminatasa* , *one* *hikabaminatasi* *ya*  
 hi- kaba -mina -tasa+F , one hi- kaba -mina -tasa.NOM+F ya  
 OC eat morning again other+F OC eat morning again ADJU  
 vt adj vt prt

*aba* , *faya* *abemetemoneke* .  
 ahaba+F , faya ahaba -hemete -mone -ke  
 end so end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi conj vi

'So he roasted her. He ate her all day. He ate her the next day again. He ate another piece the next day again, and then she was all gone.'

83 *Kabi* *aba* , *kabi* *abemetemone* *fahi* ,  
 kaba.NFIN ahaba+F , kabi.NFIN ahaba -hemete -mone fahi ,  
 eat end eat end FP.N+F REP+F then  
 result nm result vi dem

*tokomatasebanoho*

to- ka -ma -tasa -hiba -no -ho  
 away go/come back again FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'The eating of her was done. Then he went back again.'

84 *Me* *onakamamatibe* , *me* *one* ,  
 me o- to- na- ka -ma -mata -be , me one ,  
 3PL.O 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time IMMED+F 3PL other+F  
 pron vt pron adj

*oko* *fowa* *me* *hiti* *naba* *mati* .  
 o- ka fowa me hiti naba -haba mati  
 1SG.POSS POSS manioc 3PL.S grate AUX FUT+F 3PL.S  
 prt nm pron vt aux pron

"I'm going to go after them, others of them, for them to grate my manioc."

# TOTO ABONO

- 85 *Oof* , *fowa* *me* *hiti* *nabone* *mera* ,  
 oof fowa me hiti na -habone mera  
 hoo manioc 3PL.S grate AUX INT+F 3PL.O  
 interj nm pron vt aux pron
- kokori* *biterawa*  
 kokori bite -rawa  
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law 3SG.POSS.daughter F.PL  
 nm nf
- tonakamatasarawe* , *mera* *tonakame*  
 to- na- ka -ma -tasa -rawa+M , mera to- na- ka -ma+M  
 away CAUS go/come back again F.PL 3PL.O away CAUS go/come back  
 vt pron vt
- mera* *tokanikamatase* , *Hiya* , *aa* , *Toto Abono*  
 mera to- ka- nika -ma -tasa+M , hiya , aa , Toto Abono  
 3PL.O away COMIT buy back again come on aha (man's name)  
 pron vt interj interj npropm
- kamatasari* *hari*  
 ka -ma -tasa -haari haari  
 go/come back again look+M that one+M  
 vi dem
- 'He went after his father-in-law's daughters, for them to grate manioc. He went after them. He went and asked for others. "Look, Toto Abono has come again."
- 86 *Oof* , *okomine* *oke* .  
 oof o- ka -ma -ne o- ke  
 hoo 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 interj vi prt
- "Whew! I have come back."
- 87 *Me* *ati* *kakasiro* *ra* *me* *ati* *ihi*  
 me ati ka- kasiro na -ra+F me ati ihi  
 3PL.POSS voice DUP persist AUX NEG 3PL.POSS voice because of+F  
 pron pn vi aux pron pn post
- okomatasine* *oni* .  
 o- ka -ma -tasa -ne o- ni  
 1SG.S go/come back again CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi prt
- "They keep pestering me. Because of what they said I have come again."
- 88 *Fowa* *e* *nafi* *ahi* *nibeya* .  
 fowa ee nafi ahi na -be -ya  
 manioc 1IN.POSS all work on AUX IMMED+F now  
 nm pron pn vt aux
- "Let's all process manioc together."
- 89 *Ota* *nafi* *fowa* *ahi* *nabanani* .  
 otaa nafi fowa ahi na -habana -ni  
 1EX.POSS all manioc work on AUX FUT+F BKG+F  
 pron pn nm vt aux
- "We will all process manioc."
- 90 *Ota* *ka* *asima* *tinakamarawahi*  
 otaa ka asima ti- to- na- ka -ma -rawa -hi  
 1EX POSS younger sister 2SG.S away CAUS go/come back F.PL IMP+F  
 pron prt nf vt

# TOTO ABONO

**me ati narake**  
 me ati na -hara -ke  
 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vt aux  
 "'Go get our younger sisters,' they said."

91 **Faya me ati na me ati ihi**  
 faya me ati na+F me ati ihi  
 so 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS voice because of+F  
 conj pron vt aux pron pn post

**okomine oke**  
 o- ka -ma -ne o- ke  
 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi prt  
 "'I have come because of what they said.'"

92 **Faya me , me famarawemetemoneke**  
 faya me me fama -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL 3PL.S be two F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron pron vi  
 'There were two of them.'

93 **Famarawa towakame me**  
 fama -rawa+F , to- ka- ka -ma+M , me  
 be two F.PL away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O  
 vi vt pron

**hekamemetemoneke**  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt  
 'He took the two of them. He took them.'

94 **Me hekama Ati ka**  
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F , ati ka  
 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back 2SG.POSS.older sister POSS  
 pron vt nf prt  
**fowa te sowe na fowa owa te nano niyahi**  
 fowa tee sowe na+F fowa owa tee nano na -yahi  
 manioc 2PL.S scrape AUX manioc other+M 2PL.S squeeze AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 nm pron result aux nm adj pron vt aux

'He took them. "You will peel your older sister's manioc. You squeeze the poison juice out of more manioc."

95 **Fowa te nano niyahi**  
 fowa tee nano na -yahi  
 manioc 2PL.S squeeze AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 nm pron vt aux

"You squeeze the poison juice out of the manioc."

96 **Te ebe kakatomariyahi**  
 tee ebe ka- katoma -ra -yahi  
 2PL.POSS RECIP COMIT look at NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pn vt

"Don't just look at each other."

# TOTO ABONO

97 **Okoto**            **ma**            **toarawa**            **awineni**  
 okoto            maa            to- ha -rawa+F    awine -ni  
 my daughter    be tired    CH    AUX    F.PL            seem+F    BKG+F  
 nf            vi            aux            sec

"My daughters must be tired."

98 **Me**            **ma**            **toarara**  
 me            maa            to- ha -ra -hara  
 3PL.S    be tired    CH    AUX    NEG    IP.E+F  
 pron    vi            aux

"They are tired."

99 **Me**            **ma**            **toa**            **me**            **ati**            **kasiroarake**  
 me            maa            to- ha+F    me            ati            kasiro -hara -ke  
 3PL.S    be tired    CH    AUX    3PL.POSS    voice    persist IP.E+F    DECL+F  
 pron    vi            aux            pron            pn            vi

"They are tired and they don't stop pestering."

100 **Me**            **ma**            **toa**            **me**            **ati**            **kasiroarake**  
 me            maa            to- ha+F    me            ati            kasiro -hara -ke  
 3PL.S    be tired    CH    AUX    3PL.POSS    voice    persist IP.E+F    DECL+F  
 pron    vi            aux            pron            pn            vi

"They are tired and they don't stop pestering."

101 **Me**            **ati**            **ihi**            **okomine**            **oke**  
 me            ati            ihi            o- ka            -ma -ne    o- ke  
 3PL.POSS    voice    because of+F    1SG.S go/come back CONT+F    1SG.S DECL+F  
 pron    pn            post            vi            prt

"Because of what they said I have come."

102 **Owati**            **amakere**  
 o-            ati            ama -ke            -re  
 1SG.POSS    voice    be    DECL+F    NEG+F  
 pn            vc

"It wasn't my idea."

103 **Owati**            **amara**            **ya**            **okomine**            **oni**  
 o-            ati            ama -ra+F    ya            o- ka            -ma -ne    o- ni  
 1SG.POSS    voice    be    NEG    ADJU    1SG.S go/come back CONT+F    1SG.S BKG+F  
 pn            vc            prt            vi            prt

"I have come, not because of my idea."

104 **Faya**            **kame**            **me**            **kobo**            **namemetemoneke**  
 faya            ka            -ma+M    me            kobo            na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 so            go/come back    3PL.S    arrive            AUX back FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 conj    vi            pron    vi            aux

'So he went home. They arrived back.'

105 **Me**            **kobo**            **nama**            **me**            **bai**            **ite**            **me**            **kobo**  
 me            kobo            na -ma+F    me            bahi            ita+M    me            kobo  
 3PL.S    arrive            AUX back    3PL.S    sun            sit            3PL.S    arrive  
 pron    vi            aux            pron            nm            vi            pron    vi

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

# TOTO ABONO

'They arrived back. They arrived back when the sun was this high.'

106 *Oof oko yifoba owamatibe*  
 oof o- ka yifo -ba o- awa -mata -be  
 hoo 1SG.POSS POSS firewood FUT 1SG.S see short time IMMED+F  
 interj prt nf aux

"Whew! I'm going to get myself some firewood."

107 *Yifo okia okereni , mera wati*  
 yifo o- kiha o- ke -re -ni , mera wati  
 firewood 1SG.S have 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F IP.N+F 3PL.O plan against  
 nf vt prt pron vt

*kanenoho tasa*  
 ka- na -hino -ho , tasa  
 COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP again  
 aux prt

"I didn't realize I had no firewood." He was planning against them, too.'

108 *Hibaka okati toaha ?*  
 hibaka o- ka ati to- ha+F  
 where 1SG.POSS POSS older sister CH be  
 interrog nf vc

"Where are my older sisters?"

109 *Me towaka me awineke , fowa me*  
 me to- ka- ka+F me awine -ke , fowa me  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F manioc 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron sec nm pron

*bore naba mati*  
 bore na -haba mati  
 pull out AUX FUT+F 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron

"They must have gone out to pull up manioc."

110 *Ati , ati , ati ya me ka*  
 ati ati ati ya me ka  
 older sister older sister older sister ADJU 3PL POSS  
 nf nf nf prt pron prt

*ati me ha na me , me ka ati haha*  
 ati me haa na+F me , me ka ati ha- haa  
 older sister 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.S 3PL POSS older sister DUP call  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron prt nf vi

*remetemoneke*  
 na -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux

"Sister, sister." They called their older sisters, calling, "Sister." Their older sisters didn't call out.'

111 *Yama me siba na me , me moto tokanama*  
 yama me siba na+F me , me moto to- ka- na -ma+F  
 thing 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S loop away COMIT AUX back  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vi aux

*, me , hinakati tati tone ra , hinakati*  
 me hinaka ati tati tone ra hinaka ati  
 3PL.S 3SG.POSS older sister head bone O 3SG.POSS older sister  
 pron nf pn pn prt nf

# TOTO ABONO

**tati tone tasi tokasani**  
 tati tone tasi to- ka- na -kosa -hani , **mato ya tasi**  
 head bone emerge CH COMIT AUX middle IP.N+F mato ya tasi  
 pn pn vi aux nf prt vi  
**tokasa watehemetemoneni**  
 to- ka- na -kosa+F wata -hemete -mone -ni , **basioba**  
 CH COMIT AUX middle hang FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F basioba  
 aux vi nf palm sp  
 nf

**kawari ya**  
 ka- waa -rI.NOM ya  
 COMIT stand raised surface ADJU  
 vi prt

'They looked around. They looped around. Her sister's skulls had been strung with a line of inner bark, and were hanging with a line of inner bark through them, on the basioba palm wall.'

112 **Faya tati tone me hiwasia Hato Abono**  
 faya tati tone me hi- wasi+F Hato Abono  
 so head bone 3PL.S OC find (man's name)  
 conj pn pn pron vt npropm  
**okati me kakaba toeino awane**  
 o- ka ati me ka- kaba to- ha -hino awa -ne  
 1SG.POSS POSS older sister 3PL.O DUP eat CH AUX IP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
 nf pron vt aux sec

'They found their skulls. "Hato Abono has been eating my older sisters."

113 **Yifo , yifo ti ne moni saiba**  
 yifo , yifo tii na+M moni sai -baa  
 firewood firewood cut through AUX sound be heard at a distance  
 nf nf vt aux pn vi  
**nematamona hike ya ahi , teo**  
 na -himata -mona hike ya ahi , teo  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M far ADJU then (sound of hitting)  
 aux nf prt dem sound

**teo , teo , teo**  
 teo , teo , teo  
 (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)  
 sound sound sound

'The sound of him cutting firewood could be heard in the distance, "Teo, teo, teo, teo."

114 **Ati e towakamahi**  
 ati ee to- ka- ka -ma -hi  
 older sister 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F  
 nf pron vt

'Sister, let's go.'

115 **Faya me yana tokanemetemone fahi , yifo**  
 faya me yana to- ka- na -hemete -mone fahi , yifo  
 so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then hammock  
 conj pron vi aux dem nm  
**tabo me itikimakabote**  
 tabo me iti -kima -kabote  
 bunch+M 3PL.S pick up two quickly  
 pn pron vt

'So they got ready to go, quickly grabbing their rolled up hammocks.'

# TOTO ABONO

116 *Me kana ni towakamemetemoneke ahi*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux vi  
 , *me ka ati , tati me awa mati , tati tone .*  
 me ka ati , tati me awa+F mati , tati tone  
 3PL POSS older sister head 3PL.S see 3PL.S head bone  
 pron prt nf pn pron vt pron pn pn

'They went running away because they had seen their sisters' skulls.'

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

'They went running away.'

118 *Me kana ni towakama me ,*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma+F me ,  
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux vi pron  
*kamematamonaka yifo tiwa ni .*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka yifo tiwa na.NFIN  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M firewood carry AUX  
 vi nf vt aux

'They went running away. He came back carrying the firewood.'

119 *Yifo tiwa ni kame , yifo koro*  
 yifo tiwa na.NFIN ka -ma+M yifo koro  
 firewood carry AUX go/come back firewood throw  
 nf vt aux vi nf vt

*nisematamonaka .*  
 na -risa -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He came back carrying the firewood. He threw the firewood down.'

120 *Oof , oof , oof , haa , fahara ?*  
 oof oof oof haa faha -ra  
 hoo hoo hoo (expression of exhaustion) water NPQ  
 interj interj interj interj nf

""Whew, where is some water?""

121 *Me afi kanabone me afi kana me awine*  
 me afi ka- na -habone me afi ka- na+F me awine  
 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX 3PL.S seem+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron sec

?

""They said they were going to bathe, are they bathing?""

122 *Me watariya .*  
 me wata -ra+F -ya  
 3PL.S exist NEG now  
 pron vi

""They aren't here.""

# TOTO ABONO

123 *Me towakamiya*  
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F -ya  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back now  
 pron vi

"They went away."

124 *Me towakama me nowati ra ha ne mera*  
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F me nowati ra haa na+M mera  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S after O call AUX 3PL.O  
 pron vi pron pn prt vi aux pron

*ha ne Hii , hii , te afi kini ?*  
 haa na+M hii , hii , tee afi ka- na -ni  
 call AUX yoohoo yoohoo 2PL.S bathe COMIT AUX BKG+F  
 vt aux interj interj pron vi aux

"They had gone, and he called after them. He called them. "Yoohoo, are you bathing?"

125 *Yama fafawa*  
 yama fa- fawa  
 thing DUP disappear  
 nf vi

"They had disappeared."

126 *Yama fafawa nemetemoneke ahi*  
 yama fa- fawa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 thing DUP disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 nf vi aux dem

"They had disappeared."

127 *Me ha remetemoneke*  
 me haa na -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S call AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

"They didn't call."

128 *Me ha ra me , me ha*  
 me haa na -ra+F me , me haa  
 3PL.S call AUX NEG 3PL.S 3PL.S call  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi

*remetemoneni*  
 na -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux

"They didn't call."<sup>58</sup>

129 *Kame , yama siba nematamonaka ahi*  
 ka -ma+M , yama siba na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 go/come back thing look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi nf vt aux dem

"He came back. He looked around."

130 *Hika , me ka yama watakare*  
 hika , me ka yama wata -ka -re  
 where 3PL POSS thing exist DECL NEG+F  
 interrog pron prt nf vi

"What, their things aren't here."

58 The next sentence in the recording is unintelligible.



# TOTO ABONO

131 **Hika yama me towakamarini** ?  
 hika yama me to- ka- ka -ma -ri -ni  
 where thing 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back CQ+F IP.N+F  
 interrog nf pron vt

"Where did they take the things?"

132 **Toto Abono yana tonematamonaka** .  
 Toto Abono yana to- na -himata -mona -ka  
 (man's name) start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropm vi aux

'Toto Abono was ready to leave.'

133 **Yana tone , yana tone kana ni**  
 yana to- na+M , yana to- na+M kana na.NFIN  
 start CH AUX start CH AUX run AUX  
 vi aux vi aux vi aux

**tokomakematamona ahi** .  
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi dem

'He was ready to leave. He went running after them.'

134 **Kana ni tokomake , yama soki , yama**  
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI , yama soki.NFIN , yama  
 run AUX away go/come following thing be dark thing  
 vi aux vi nf vi nf

**soki bata hikane , wete name , kobo**  
 soki.NFIN bata hi- ka- na+M , wete na -ma+M , kobo  
 be dark surprise OC COMIT AUX return AUX back arrive  
 vi vt aux vi aux vi

**name , Hoo , ofimirimakoni me**  
 na -ma+M , hoo o- fimi -ra -makoni me  
 AUX back humph 1SG.S be hungry NEG for this reason+F 3PL.S  
 aux interj vi pron

**fawa kineni** .  
 fawa ka- na -ne -ni  
 disappear COMIT AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 vi aux

'He went running after them. Darkness overtook him. He came back. He arrived back. "Oh boy, because I wasn't hungry they disappeared."'

135 **Ofimi ya owa ni me fawa kineke**  
 o- fimi.NOM ya owa ni me fawa ka- na -ne -ke  
 1SG.S be hungry ADJU 1SG to 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX CONT+F DECL+F  
 vi prt pron prt pron vi aux

"Now I'm hungry, and they aren't here."

136 **Ofimi oke haro** .  
 o- fimi o- ke haaro  
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F that one+F  
 vi prt dem

"I'm hungry now."

# TOTO ABONO

137 *Faya yifo afo kane* , *ene hiyarebanoho*  
 faya yifo afo ka- na+M , ehene hiya -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 so fire light COMIT AUX deed+M be bad NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 conj nf vt aux pn vi

'He lit a fire, and then did something bad.'

138 *Faya fimi amo kane* , *ati sai nabe* ,  
 faya fimi amo ka- na+M , ati sai nahaba+M ,  
 so hunger sleep COMIT AUX voice be heard at night  
 conj nf vi aux pn vi prt

*Ofimiaba ama okanani* , *oko bani*  
 o- fimi -haba ama o- ka na -hani , o- ka bani  
 1SG.S be hungry FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL AUX IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS animal  
 vi sec aux prt nm

*me okobabone me ona me*  
 me o- kaba -habone me ati o- na+F me  
 3PL.O 1SG.S eat INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron vt pron

*towakamani me me okobabone me*  
 to- ka- ka -ma -hani me me o- kaba -habone me  
 away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.O 1SG.S eat INT+F 3PL.O  
 vi pron pron vt pron

*ona me towakamine ninihi*  
 ati o- na+F me to- ka- ka -ma -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi  
 say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP  
 vt pron vi aux

'He went to sleep hungry. He could be heard in the night. "Now I'm going to be hungry. When I was going to eat my meat, they went away. I was going to eat them, and they went away."

139 *Faya yama wamini ya* , *yama waminemetemone*  
 faya yama waha -mina.NOM+F ya , yama waha -mina -hemete -mone  
 so thing dawn morning ADJU thing dawn morning FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj nf vi prt nf vi

*amake*  
 ama -ke  
 SEC DECL+F  
 sec

'In the morning it dawned.'

140 *Faya Oko sobo okobamakoni* , *sobo*  
 faya o- ka sobo o- koba -makoni , sobo  
 so 1SG.POSS POSS belly 1SG.S hit for this reason+F belly  
 conj prt nf vt nf

*haro*  
 haaro  
 that one+F  
 dem

'I'll eat my belly.'"<sup>59</sup>

141 *Hoho bayikene* , *bayikene*  
 hoho , bayi -ke -ne , bayi -ke -ne  
 look be thick DECL+F IRR+F be thick DECL+F IRR+F  
 interj vi vi

'Look, it's thick.'

59 *okobamakoni* apparently is an error, it should be *okobimakoni*.

# TOTO ABONO

## 142 *Okobabanake*

o- kaba -habana -ke  
1SG.S eat FUT+F DECL+F  
vt

"I'm going to eat it."

## 143 *Ofimi*

o- fimi o- ke  
1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F  
vi prt

"I'm hungry."

## 144 *Kero*

kero na -waha -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
make with circular motion AUX change back FP.N+F REP+F then  
result aux dem

'It was circular.'

## 145 *Wisi*

hisemetemone ahi  
wisi hi- na -kosa -hemete -mone ahi  
cut up OC AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F then  
vt aux dem

'He cut it out.'

## 146 *Wisi*

hisa yoto  
wisi hi- na -kosa.LIST yoto  
cut up OC AUX middle intestines+M  
vt aux pn

'He cut his belly out.'<sup>60</sup>

## 147 *Faya*

tabasi hinemetemoneke , sobori  
faya tabasi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke sobo -ri  
so roast on grill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F belly PN  
conj vt aux pn

'Then he roasted the belly.'

## 148 *Sobori*

tabasi hina , tabasi hina  
sobo -ri tabasi hi- na+F tabasi hi- na+F  
belly PN roast on grill OC AUX roast on grill OC AUX  
pn vt aux vt aux

## *kaha*

ye sosobi hina iyawa  
kaha.LIST yehe so- sobi na -hina.LIST iyawa  
be toasted hand DUP lick AUX at same time manioc mash  
vi pn vt aux nf

## *sisirihina*

iyawa sisirihina  
si- sira -hina.LIST iyawa si- sira -hina  
DUP toast at same time manioc mash DUP toast at same time  
vt nf vt

## *nematamonaka*

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

'He roasted the belly. He roasted it. It was ready. He licked his fingers. He toasted manioc mash.'

60 yoto probably begins a new clause that was left unfinished.

# TOTO ABONO

149 *Iyawa* *sire* *iyawa* *kakabihina* , *sobori*  
 iyawa sira+M iyawa ka- kaba -hina sobo -ri  
 manioc mash toast manioc mash COMIT eat at same time belly PN  
 nf vt nf vt pn

*kabematamonaka* *ahi* .  
 kaba -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt dem

'He toasted manioc mash. He ate some manioc mash. He ate his belly.'

150 *Sobori* *kabe* , *sobori* *kabe* , *sobori*  
 sobo -ri kaba+M sobo -ri kaba+M sobo -ri  
 belly PN eat belly PN eat belly PN  
 pn vt pn vt pn

*kabematamonaka* .  
 kaba -himata -mona -ka  
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He ate his belly.'

151 *Sobori* *kabe* , *sobori* *kabe* *ya* *sobori* *kabi*  
 sobo -ri kaba+M sobo -ri kaba.NOM+M ya sobo -ri kaba.NFIN  
 belly PN eat belly PN eat ADJU belly PN eat  
 pn vt pn vt prt pn vt

*abe* *ya* , *toro* *tama* *kanematamona* *ahi* ,  
 ahaba.NOM+M ya toro tama ka- na -himata -mona ahi  
 end ADJU guts+M hold onto COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi prt pn vt aux dem

*honofe* .  
 honofe  
 plant sp  
 nm

'He ate his belly. After he was done eating his belly, he covered the middle of his body with a wild banana leaf.'

152 *Fa* *hawa* *tonihawame* *hinaka* *fa*  
 faha hawa to- niha- ha -waha -ma+M hinaka faha  
 water be finished CH CAUS AUX change back 3SG.POSS water  
 nf vi aux pron nf

*kawita* , *fa* *fawehimatamonaka* .  
 ka- ita+F faha fawa -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT sit water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi nf vt

'He got water ready. His water was in the vessel. He drank water.'

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

'He drank water.'

154 *Fa* *fawe* *fa* *nafi* *fawe* , *hinaka* *fa* *taha*  
 faha fawa+M faha nafi fawa+M hinaka faha taha  
 water drink water all drink 3SG.POSS water scatter  
 nf vt nf pn vt pron nf vi

# TOTO ABONO

## tonemetemoneke

to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , ssssss  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of water)  
 aux dem sound

'He drank water. He drank all the water. His water came out, "Ssssss".'

155 See , oko fa ababa amakira .  
 see o- ka faha ahaba -haba ama -kira  
 oh no 1SG.POSS POSS water spill FUT+F SEC ?+F  
 interj prt nf vi sec

""Oh no, my water came out.""

156 Oko fa ababa amakira .  
 o- ka faha ahaba -haba ama -kira  
 1SG.POSS POSS water spill FUT+F SEC ?+F  
 prt nf vi sec

""My water came out.""

157 Te awa .  
 tee awa  
 2PL.S see  
 pron vt

""Look!""

158 Oko fa ababa amakenihi .  
 o- ka faha ahaba -haba ama -ke -ni -hi  
 1SG.POSS POSS water spill FUT+F SEC DECL+F IP.N+F DUP  
 prt nf vi sec

""My water came out.""

159 Faya toro wete nakose , honofe nawane toro  
 faya toro wete na -kosa+M honofe na- wana+M toro  
 so guts+M tie AUX middle plant sp CAUS be attached guts+M  
 conj pn vt aux nm vt pn

wete nakose , faya winematamonaka ,  
 wete na -kosa+M faya wina -himata -mona -ka  
 tie AUX middle so lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux conj vi

tobokomisari ahi .  
 to- bako -misa -haari ahi  
 away lie belly up up IP.E+M then  
 vi dem

'So he tied inner bark around the middle of his body. He placed wild banana leaves in. He tied the middle of his body. Then he lay in his hammock, on his back.'

160 Tobokomise winematamona ahi .  
 to- bako -misa+M wina -himata -mona ahi  
 away lie belly up up lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi vi dem

'He lay in his hammock on his back.'

161 Hoo , bakasi owa oke , fa fawarama  
 hoo bakasi o- awa o- ke faha fawa -rama  
 humph thirst 1SG.S feel 1SG.S DECL+F water drink unusual  
 interj nf pron prt nf vt

# TOTO ABONO

**ora** **owa** .  
 o- na -ra+F owa  
 1SG.S AUX NEG 1SG.S  
 aux pron

"Hoo, I'm thirsty, because I couldn't drink water."

162 **Fa fawarama ora bakasi owine**  
 faha fawa -rama o- na -ra+F bakasi o- awa -ne  
 water drink unusual 1SG.S AUX NEG thirst 1SG.S feel CONT+F  
 nf vt aux nf vt

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

prt

"I couldn't drink water and I'm thirsty."

163 **Faya fa fawamatase hinaka fa taha tona**  
 faya faha fawa -ma -tasa+M hinaka faha taha to- na+F  
 so water drink back again 3SG.POSS water scatter CH AUX  
 conj nf vt pron nf vi aux

**tasi tona See kasiroarake** .  
 tasi to- na+F , see , kasiro -hara -ke  
 emerge CH AUX oh no persist IP.E+F DECL+F  
 vi aux interj vi

'He drank some more water. His water came pouring out. It came out. "Oh no, it doesn't stop."

164 **Faya towiname** ,  
 faya to- wina -ma+M  
 so away lie in hammock back  
 conj vi

**towinamematamonaka** .  
 to- wina -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 away lie in hammock back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'So he went back and lay in his hammock again.'

165 **Hoo** .  
 hoo  
 whew  
 interj

"Whew!"

166 **Faya toro komene yana ne , toro komene yana**  
 faya toro komene yana na+M , toro komene yana  
 so guts+M pain+M start AUX guts+M pain+M start  
 conj pn pn vi aux pn pn vi

**nematamona fahi** .  
 na -himata -mona fahi  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem

'His gut started to hurt.'

167 **Faya kawine fare wine ya , fare**  
 faya ka- wina+M fare wina.NOM+M ya , fare  
 so COMIT lie in hammock same+M lie in hammock ADJU same+M  
 conj vi dem vi prt dem

# TOTO ABONO

**wine**                      **ya**                      **batematamonaka**                      **fahi** .  
wina.NOM+M                      ya                      bata                      -himata                      -mona                      -ka                      fahi  
lie in hammock                      ADJU                      be rotten                      FP.N+M                      REP+M                      DECL+M                      then  
vi                      prt                      vi                      dem  
'He lay sick in the hammock. He rotted right where he lay.'

168 **Wabori**                      ,                      **wabori**                      **kamaki** ,  
wabori                      wabori                      ka                      -makI+M  
3SG.POSS brother-in-law                      3SG.POSS brother-in-law                      go/come following  
nm                      nm                      vi  
**wabori**                      **kamakimatamonane** .  
wabori                      ka                      -makI                      -himata                      -mona                      -ne  
3SG.POSS brother-in-law                      go/come following                      FP.N+M                      REP+M                      BKG+M  
nm                      vi  
'His brother-in-law came.'

169 **Toto Abono**                      **wini**                      **nofe**                      **amake**                      ,                      **era**                      **kakaba** .  
Toto Abono                      wina                      nofa.NOM+M                      ama                      -ke                      era                      ka-                      kaba  
(man's name)                      live                      recently                      be                      DECL+F                      1IN.O                      DUP                      eat  
npropm                      vi                      prt                      vc                      pron                      pn  
'"Toto Abono, the people eater, lives here.'"

170 **Era**                      **kakaba**                      **wini**                      **nofe**                      **amake**                      **ahi** .  
era                      ka-                      kaba                      wina                      nofa+M                      ama                      -ke                      ahi  
1IN.O                      DUP                      eat                      live                      recently                      be                      DECL+F                      here  
pron                      pn                      vi                      prt                      vc                      dem  
'"The people eater lives here.'"

171 **Hike**                      **hike**                      **ya**                      **mao**                      **hisi**                      **naba**  
hike                      hike                      ya                      maho                      hisi                      na                      -baa  
far                      far                      ADJU                      smell+M                      smell                      AUX                      at a distance  
nf                      nf                      prt                      pn                      vt                      aux  
**hinematamonaka**                      **hike**                      **ya**                      **ahi** .  
hi-                      na                      -himata                      -mona                      -ka                      hike                      ya                      ahi  
OC                      AUX                      FP.N+M                      REP+M                      DECL+M                      far                      ADJU                      then  
aux                      nf                      prt                      dem  
'He smelled him from far out.'

172 **Hanf**                      ,                      **hanf**                      ,                      **hanf**                      ,                      **efe**                      **amare**                      ?  
hanf                      hanf                      hanf                      efe                      ama                      -ra+M  
peeoo                      peeoo                      peeoo                      this+M                      be                      NEG  
interj                      interj                      interj                      dem                      vc  
'"Peeoo, is that him?'"

173 **Batawaha** .  
bata                      -waha.CONT+M  
be rotten change  
vi  
'"He has started to rot.'"

174 **Yoto**                      **ene**                      **batehino** ,  
yoto                      ehene                      bata                      -hino  
intestines+M                      because of+M                      be rotten                      IP.N+M  
pn                      pn                      vi

# TOTO ABONO

## *batematamonaka*

bata -himata -mona -ka  
be rotten FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi  
'He was rotting because of his guts.'

175 *Batehino* *abowi* *winematamona* *fahi*  
bata -hino abohi wina -himata -mona fahi  
be rotten IP.N+M dead body lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M then  
vi pn vi dem

'He was rotting. He was dead, lying in the hammock.'

176 *Faya* *abowi* *winehino* *hiwasimaki*  
faya abohi wina -hino hi- wasi -makI+M  
so dead body lie in hammock IP.N+M OC find following  
conj pn vi vt  
*wabori* *hora* *ne* , *Toto Abono* *himatabiyo* *hiwa*  
wabori hora na+M , Toto Abono himatabiyo hiwa  
3SG.POSS brother-in-law scold AUX (man's name) why 3SG.REFL.M  
nm vt aux npropm interrog pron

*wisi* *nen* *yama* *yete* *re* *nanako* *raba*  
wisi na -hino yama yete na -ra+M na- nako na -raba  
cut up AUX IP.N+M thing hunt AUX NEG CAUS be famished AUX a bit  
vt aux nf vt aux vi aux

*nofe* *hiwa* *wisi* *nawa* *nano*  
na nofa+M hiwa wisi na -waha.LIST na.NOM+M -no  
AUX recently 3SG.REFL.M cut up AUX change AUX IP.N+M  
prt pron vt aux aux

'He yelled at his brother-in-law, who he had found lying dead in his hammock. "Why did Toto Abono cut himself open? He didn't hunt. He was always hungry. Now he has cut himself open."'

177 *Okasima* *kabi* *nofarawenoho*  
o- ka asima kaba nofa -rawa -hino -ho  
1SG.POSS POSS younger sister eat recently F.PL IP.N+M DUP  
nf vt prt

'He was eating my sisters.'

178 *Okasima* *kabi* *nofaraweno*  
o- ka asima kaba nofa -rawa -hino  
1SG.POSS POSS younger sister eat recently F.PL IP.N+M  
nf vt prt  
*kakahiwa* *reba* *okasima*  
ka- ka- hiwa na -ra -hiba o- ka asima  
DUP COMIT have children AUX NEG FUT+M 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister  
vi aux nf

*niki* *nofarawahari*  
niki na nofa -rawa -haari  
press on AUX recently F.PL IP.E+M  
vt prt

'He was eating my sisters. He didn't want to have children. He was strangling my sisters.'

179 *Hiwa* *kawinaka*  
hiwa ka- wina -ka  
only.M COMIT lie in hammock DECL+M  
pron vi

'Let him lie dead in his hammock.'



# TOTO ABONO

## 180 *Hekanakosematamonaka*

hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vt

'He left him there.'

## 181 *Tokomematamonaka*

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

'He went home.'

182 *Faya boko* , *boko yome hirawematamona fahi* .  
faya boko boko yome hi- na -rawa -himata -mona fahi  
so vulture vulture swallow OC AUX F.PL FP.N+M REP+M then  
conj nf nf vt aux dem

'So the vultures ate him.'

183 *Boko yome hirawe* , *faya Toto Abono abe* ,  
boko yome hi- na -rawa+M faya Toto Abono ahaba+M  
vulture swallow OC AUX F.PL so (man's name) die  
nf vt aux conj npropm vi

*abowi wine hekanakose hikaminame* ,  
abohi wina+M hi- ka- kana -kosa+M hi- to- kamina -ma+M  
dead body lie in hammock OC COMIT leave middle OC away tell back  
pn vi vt vt

*Toto Abono winaka ahi* , *hiwa bobi*  
Toto Abono wina -ka ahi hiwa bobi  
(man's name) lie in hammock DECL+M there 3SG.REFL.M slit  
npropm vi dem pron vt

## *nenoho*

na -hino -ho  
AUX IP.N+M DUP  
aux

'The vultures ate him. So Toto Abono died. He lay dead in the hammock. He left him there. He told about him back home. "Toto Abono is lying there in the hammock. He had cut himself up."

184 *Toto Abono abareka* .  
Toto Abono ahaba -hare -ka  
(man's name) die IP.E+M DECL+M  
npropm vi

""Toto Abono died.""

185 *Abawahe* .  
ahaba -waha+M  
die change  
vi

""He had died.""

186 *Me ferene me kakamani me amake*  
me fere -hene me ka- ka -ma -hani me ama -ke  
3PL.S wait IRR+F 3PL.S COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
pron vi pron vi pron sec

*haro* .  
haaro  
that one+F  
dem

## TOTO ABONO

"They didn't wait, the two of them came home."

187 *Me hikabene me amake* .  
 me hi- kaba -hene me ama -ke  
 3PL.O OC eat IRR+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F  
 pron vt pron sec

"He would have eaten them."

188 *Toto Abono okati kabi nofaraweno*  
 Toto Abono o- ka ati kaba nofa -rawa -hino  
 (man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS older sister eat recently F.PL IP.N+M  
 npropm nf vt prt

*okati tati tone ota wasirawarani* .  
 o- ka ati tati tone otaa wasi -rawa -hara -ni  
 1SG.POSS POSS older sister head bone 1EX.S find F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F  
 nf pn pn pron vt

"Toto Abono had eaten our older sisters, and we found their skulls."

189 *Ota nofare ota kakose yama siba*  
 otaa nofa -ra+M otaa ka- kana -kosa+M yama siba  
 1EX.S like NEG 1EX.S COMIT leave middle thing look for  
 pron vt pron vt nf vt

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

"We didn't like him. We left him behind, looking for us."

190 *Me abe me hekanakose me hiwa*  
 me ahaba+M me hi- ka- kana -kosa+M me hiwa  
 3PL die 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle 3PL 3SG.REFL.M  
 pron vi pron vt pron pron

*kabe abawahematamonaka fahi* .  
 kaba+M ahaba -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 eat die change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt vi dem

'He died. They left him behind. He ate himself. Then he died.'<sup>61</sup>

191 *Faya abe faya abematamonaka ahi* .  
 faya ahaba+M faya ahaba -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 so die so die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi conj vi dem

'He died.'

192 *Aabe boko hikabarawematamonaka boko* ,  
 ahaba+M boko hi- kaba -rawa -himata -mona -ka boko  
 die vulture OC eat F.PL FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vulture  
 vi nf vt nf

*boko sawi* .  
 boko sawi  
 king vulture  
 nm

'He died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures.'

61 *Me* at the beginning is a mistake, also the *me* after *hekanakose*.

# TOTO ABONO

193 *Boko sawi me hikabematamonane* .  
 boko sawi me hi- kaba -himata -mona -ne  
 king vulture 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm pron vt

'The king vultures ate him.'

194 *Hinaka fowa ta kawita , hihiti*  
 hinaka fowa taa ka- ita.LIST , hi- hiti  
 3SG.POSS manioc contrast COMIT be located DUP grate  
 pron nm prt vi pn

*watarari*

wata -ra -haari  
 exist NEG IP.E+M

vi

'But his manioc was still there, with no one to grate it.'

195 *Faya me hiwamarematamona fahi* .  
 faya me hi- awa -ma -ra -himata -mona fahi  
 so 3PL.S OC see back NEG FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj pron vt dem

'They didn't see him anymore.'

196 *Toto Abono te tonakamariyahi* .  
 Toto Abono tee to- na- ka -ma -ra -yahi  
 (man's name) 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 npropm pron vt

""Don't go after Toto Abono anymore.""

197 *Toto Abono bate winarene* .  
 Toto Abono bata+M wina -hare -ne  
 (man's name) be rotten lie in hammock IP.E+M BKG+M  
 npropm vi vi

""Toto Abono is lying dead in a hammock.""

198 *Hiwa abaka* .  
 hiwa ahaba -ka  
 only.M die DECL+M  
 pron vi

""Let him die.""

199 *Sobori bobi nakoseno ahi* .  
 sobo -ri bobi na -kosa -hino ahi  
 belly PN slit AUX middle IP.N+M there  
 pn vt aux dem

""He cut up his belly.""

200 *Sobori bobi nakose sobori kabeinoka* ,  
 sobo -ri bobi na -kosa+M sobo -ri kaba -hino -ka  
 belly PN slit AUX middle belly PN eat IP.N+M DECL+M  
 pn vt aux pn vt

*eeto raba rinihi* .  
 e- eheto na -raba na -ra.NOM+F -ni -hi  
 DUP be good AUX a bit AUX NEG IP.N+F DUP  
 vi aux aux

""He cut up his belly. He ate his belly, it tasted really good.""

# TOTO ABONO

201 **Toro** **fene** **itarisareka** , **fa** **faweno** **karo**  
 toro fehene ita -risa -hare -ka , faha fawa -hino karo  
 inside+M juice+M sit down IP.E+M DECL+M water drink IP.N+M which  
 pn pn vi nf vt prt

"The liquid from inside him spilled out, the water which he had drunk."

202 **Faya** **kamematamona** **fahi** .  
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona fahi  
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj vi dem

'So he came home.'

203 **Kame** **kobo** **name** , **Ami** , **ami** **tika**  
 ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , ami , ami ti- ka  
 go/come back arrive AUX back mother mother 2SG.POSS POSS  
 vi vi aux nf nf prt

**koma** , **tika** **koma** **hiwa** **kabehino** ,  
 koma ti- ka koma hiwa kaba -hino  
 son-in-law 2SG.POSS POSS son-in-law 3SG.REFL.M eat IP.N+M  
 nm prt nm pron vt

**abeno** **winaka** **ahi** .  
 ahaba -hino wina -ka ahi  
 die IP.N+M lie in hammock DECL+M there  
 vi vi dem

'He came home. He arrived home. "Mother, your son-in-law ate himself and he died and is lying there in the hammock."

204 **Koma** **oteharekana** **ene**  
 koma o- na -tee -hare -ka -na ehene  
 call son-in-law 1SG.S AUX HAB IP.E+M DECL+M IRR+M victim of+M  
 vt aux pn

**okobarari** , **okoto** **kabaterawari** .  
 o- kaba -ra -haari , okoto kaba -tee -rawa -haari  
 1SG.S eat NEG IP.E+M my daughter eat HAB F.PL IP.E+M  
 vt nf vt

"He was my son-in-law, but I didn't eat his game; he ate my daughters."

205 **Afa** **tabiyo** **hiwani** **ra** **hiri** **nawa**  
 afa tabiyo hi- awa -hani ra hiri na -waha.CONT+M  
 this+F wanting OC feel IP.N+F O do AUX change  
 dem pn vt prt vt aux

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

"This is what he asked for."

206 **Hiwa** **abakana** .  
 hiwa ahaba -ka -na  
 only.M die DECL+M IRR+M  
 pron vi

"Let him die."

# TOTO ABONO

## 207 *Abarare*

ahaba -ra -hare  
die NEG IP.E+M  
vi

"He is dead."

## 208 *Watamahare*

wata -ma -hare  
exist back IP.E+M  
vi

"He is no more."

## 209 *Batareka*

bata -hare -ka  
be rotten IP.E+M DECL+M  
vi

"He has rotted."

## 210 *Himatabiyo*

himatabiyo  
why  
interrog

## *hiwa*

hiwa  
3SG.REFL.M  
pron

## *katoma*

katoma.CONT+M  
attack  
vt

## *namata*

na.NOM+M -mata  
AUX ?+M  
aux

## *onarekana*

ati o- na -hare -ka -na  
say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M DECL+M IRR+M  
vt

"Why did he hurt himself?"

## 211 *Batareka*

bata -hare -ka  
be rotten IP.E+M DECL+M  
vi

"He has rotted."

## 212 *Itihina*

iti -hina  
pick up can  
vt

## *rareka*

na -ra -hare -ka  
AUX NEG IP.E+M DECL+M  
aux

"He can't be touched."

## 213 *Winareka*

wina -hare -ka  
lie in hammock IP.E+M DECL+M  
vi

## *bete*

bete  
rotten+M  
pn

"He is lying rotten in his hammock."

## 214 *Bete*

bete wina -hare -ka  
rotten+M lie in hammock IP.E+M DECL+M  
pn vi

## *winareka*

"He is lying rotten in his hammock."

## 215 *Ota*

otaa to- awa -ma -hibana -ka  
1EX.S away see back FUT+M DECL+M  
pron vt

## *towamebanaka*

## *tone*

tone  
bone  
pn

"We will go back there and see his bones."

# TOTO ABONO

216	<b>Faya</b>	<b>wabori</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>amo</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>tere</b>	
	faya	wabori		me	amo	na.NFIN	terei	
	so	3SG.POSS	brother-in-law	3PL.POSS	sleep	AUX	be three	
	conj	nm		pron	vi	aux	vi	
	<b>toi</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>wabori</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>hinakame</b>		
	to-	ha.NOM+F	ya	wabori	me	hi- na- ka	-ma+M	,
	CH	AUX	ADJU	3SG.POSS	brother-in-law	3PL.S	OC CAUS	go/come back
	aux		prt	nm		pron	vt	
	<b>tati</b>	<b>boko sawi</b>	<b>ti</b>	<b>hiseno</b>		<b>tati</b>		
	tati	boko sawi	tii	hi- na -kosa -hino	tati			
	head	king vulture	cut through	OC AUX middle	IP.N+M	head		
	pn	nm	vt	aux		pn		
	<b>hekamakino</b>			<b>tati</b>	<b>itamakematamonaka</b>			
	hi- ka- ka	-makI	-hino	tati	ita -makI	-himata -mona -ka		
	OC	COMIT	go/come	following	IP.N+M	head	sit following	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vt			pn	vi			

'After three days they went after their brother-in-law. A king vulture had cut off his head and had taken his head away, and it was on the ground.'

217	<b>Tati</b>	<b>itaro</b>	<b>ha</b>	
	tati	ita -haaro	haa	
	head	sit look+F	DEM	
	pn	vi	dem	

""There is the head on the ground.""

218	<b>Boko</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hikabematamonaka</b>		<b>fahi</b>	
	boko	me	hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka	fahi		
	vulture	3PL.S	OC eat	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	nf	pron	vt			dem

'The vultures ate him.'

219	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hikabe</b>	,	<b>hikabe</b>	<b>abeno</b>	<b>ya</b>	,	<b>boko</b>
	faya	me	hi- kaba+M		hi- kaba+M	ahaba -hino	ya		boko
	so	3PL.S	OC eat		OC eat	die	IP.N+M	ADJU	vulture
	conj	pron	vt		vt	vi		prt	nf
	<b>tone</b>	<b>boko</b>	<b>kiro</b>	<b>natini</b>		<b>wani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>towasima</b>	
	tone	boko	kiro	nahatI -hani	waa -hani	me	to- wasi -ma+F		
	bone	vulture	gnaw	daytime	IP.N+F	stand	IP.N+F	3PL.S	away find back
	pn	nf	vt	prt	vi		pron	vt	
	<b>faya</b>	<b>tafe</b>	<b>tafatafa</b>	<b>raba</b>	<b>rinihi</b>				
	faya	tafa+M	tafa- tafa	na -raba	na -ra.NOM+F	-ni	-hi		
	so	eat	DUP eat	AUX a bit	AUX NEG		IP.N+F	DUP	
	conj	vi	vi	aux	aux				
	<b>Hato Abono</b>	<b>kabaharo</b>							
	Hato Abono	kaba -haaro							
	(man's name)	eat	IP.E+F						
	npropm	vt							

'They ate him. They came upon a vulture on the ground eating him during the day at the place where he died. It ate a lot as it ate Hato Abono.'<sup>62</sup>

62 The word *abeno* is a mistake, it should be *abano*. Also, the first occurrence of *boko* is a mistake.

# TOTO ABONO

220 *Boko* , *wareharo* *haro* .  
 boko waa -rI -haaro haaro  
 vulture stand raised surface look+F that one+F  
 nf vi dem

"There is a vulture sitting on a branch."

221 *Wareharo* *ha* , *haro* .  
 waa -rI -haaro haa haaro  
 stand raised surface look+F DEM that one+F  
 vi dem dem

"It's sitting on a branch."

222 *Hinaka* *yifo* *bete* *kawinari* *hari* .  
 hinaka yifo bete ka- wina -haari haari  
 3SG.POSS hammock rotten+M COMIT hang look+M that one+M  
 pron nm pn v dem

"His rotted hammock is hanging there."

223 *Ataro* *winari* *ha* .  
 ataro wina -haari haa  
 skin+M lie in hammock look+M DEM  
 pn vi dem

"His skin is in the hammock."

224 *Me* *kakamemetemone* *fahi* .  
 me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

"They came home."

225 *Me* *kakama* *me* , *me* *kakama* *me* .  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me me ka- ka -ma+F me  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

*kobo* *kanami* *ya* , *me* *kobo* .  
 kobo ka- na -ma.NOM+F ya me kobo  
 arrive COMIT AUX back ADJU 3PL.S arrive  
 vi aux prt pron vi

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

"They came come. They arrived home."

226 *Me* *kobo* *kanama* *me* , *Faira* ?  
 me kobo ka- na -ma+F me fahi -ra  
 3PL.S arrive COMIT AUX back 3PL.S that NPQ  
 pron vi aux pron dem

"They arrived home. "Well?"

227 *Faira* *tina* *winahare* .  
 fahi -ra ati ti- na+F wina -hare  
 that NPQ say 2SG.S AUX live IP.E+M  
 dem vt vi

"Well, he isn't living there anymore."

# TOTO ABONO

## 228 *Watarareka*

wata -ra -hare -ka  
exist NEG IP.E+M DECL+M  
vi

"He isn't there."

## 229 *Faya*

<b>tone</b>	<b>ta</b>	<b>tori</b>	<b>ahi</b>
faya tone taa	to- na -rI.NOM	ahi	
so bone be piled up	CH AUX raised surface	there	
conj pn vi	aux	dem	

"His bones are in a pile."

## 230 *Himatabiyo*

<b>hiwa</b>	<b>wisi</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>namata</b>
himatabiyo hiwa	wisi na.CONT+M	na.NOM+M -mata	
why 3SG.REFL.M	cut up AUX	AUX ?+M	
interrog pron	vt aux	aux	

## *oneheno*

<b>hiwa</b>	<b>kabehino</b>
ati o- na -hino	hiwa kaba -hino
say 1SG.S AUX IP.N+M	3SG.REFL.M eat IP.N+M
vt pron	vt

"Why did he cut into himself and eat himself?"

## 231 *Abawahane*

<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>
ahaba -waha -ne	bani me	bani me	
die change BKG+M	animal 3PL	animal 3PL.S	
vi nm	pron nm	pron	

## *nahorimakoni*

naho -ra -makoni  
stand NEG for this reason+F  
vi

"Now he died. There is game."

## 232 *Toto Abono*

<b>okasima</b>
Toto Abono o- ka asima
(man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
npropm nf

## *kanahiwarawareba*

<b>okasima</b>
ka- na- hiwa -rawa -ra -hiba
COMIT CAUS have children F.PL NEG FUT+M
vt 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
nf

## *yabaraweimata*

yaba -rawa -himata  
marry F.PL FP.N+M  
vt

"Toto Abono didn't want to make my sisters pregnant, but he married my sisters."

## 233 *Hiwa*

<b>kabi</b>	<b>yotoimata</b>
hiwa kaba.NFIN	yoto -himata
3SG.REFL.M eat	follow FP.N+M
pron vt	vi

"In the end he ate himself."

## 234 *Abawane*

ahaba -waha.CONT+M -ne  
die change BKG+M  
vi

"Now he died."



TOTO ABONO