#### Free Translation

No one saw those people. They didn't see him. We used to hear the stories about him, Maiko. He killed monsters, he was a shaman. Maiko killed monsters, because he had a shaman's stone.

He went into the forest to fish. He went into the forest, and he came upon a monster standing in the shallow water. The monster was standing in the water hitting a reed on the surface of the water.

"Huh, it is hitting a reed on my water that I was going to fish in. I'm going to spear it."

He decided what to do. He took snuff. Then he went to where the monster was standing, hitting on the water with a reed. His water went, "koho".

Then Maiko came. "Kere, kere," he said, imitating the call of a kingfisher.

The monster was standing in the water. The monster had its back turned to him. He aimed at the monster.

Tiihiiii, went the sound of the monster being hit.

Toooooo went the sound of the water. It was the sound of the monster. The sound of the monster's fruits could be heard.

He came out far away. "Kere, kere." He went away calling.

He went around and sat down again. "I speared the one who was hitting a reed on the water where I was going to fish. I will fish."

Then he fished. He speared fish. He had speared the monster.

He weaved a basket to carry the fish in. He came back.

"My uncle has come back, carrying fish."

"I speared a monster, Boyori. It was hitting the water with a reed, and I speared it, and it died," he said.

He killed the monster. He told his nephews about the monster back in the village. "You can fish in the place where it was. I speared it. It died."

They speared fish. "My uncle eats a lot. I'm going to offer a feast to my uncle. He will eat fish." He planned to offer a feast to his uncle.

He offered a feast to his uncle. They gave him a feast. He ate all their food. One person normally doesn't have such a big stomach.

They cooked two pots of fish. They called him. "Uncle, uncle."

"Yes?" he said.

"Uncle, fish for you to eat. There is fish for you to eat on a leaf there."

"Right, let it lie there. I will take a look at it."

They served the fish. He ate the fish all by himself. He didn't have any companion. He ate the fish. He drank the broth, too.

"There are the two empty pots. I'm going home." There was a pile of bones from his fish on the leaf. He went home and lay in his hammock.

"You made a feast for me by myself. Now I will do the same for you. You will be just like me. You attacked me when I was alone." He went home and lay in his hammock.

The two of them went out into the forest again. After they left, he went and got nakarifa taro

in the garden. He brought back the taro, and cooked it. After he cooked the taro, he put it in a basket. He cooked some more.

They speared fish, and came back. They were angry with their wives. "We are with women who don't prepare food, we are hungry. They don't prepare food for us," they said.

"Wait a little. Your uncle is planning something for you," she said.

"There are two pots of food for you to eat there. Don't criticize your wives," he said. "You gave me a feast when I was alone. Now I have done the same to you. Eat it all."

So they ate the taro, and they were full. Their stomachs didn't stretch, the ones who had given a feast to him.

"Uncle, we are full. There is taro left over."

"You can eat more later. Leave the two pots of food there for now."

They left the two pots of taro, and they ate more later, just as he had said. They ate some taro, and left some.

They went fishing. Maiko went into the forest with his wife. "Let's go together. I'm going to fish. You watch me."

So the two of them went. Maiko was standing, fishing. He was standing there, and his wife spoke.

"Maiko, Maiko."

"What?" he said.

"Maiko, I need to defecate," she said.

"Go and defecate. I am continuing to fish."

He speared fish. His wife went to defecate. She came upon the monster. She was standing with the kill of the monster without knowing it. The monster flew away. There was a dead deer on the ground, and she looked at it. She defecated and then came back.

"Maiko, Maiko, there is a dead animal there on the ground," she said.

"What animal is it?"

"It's a deer. It's a bato mawa deer," she said. "There is a bato mawa deer on the ground

there."

"Wait, I will take a look at it."

He speared a fish, and hit the fish on the head.

"I'm going. You put the fish in the basket. Let's go look at the animal."

They were ready to go look at the animal. They were ready, and they went.

"The animal is there on the ground," she said.

"Look, the animal is there on the ground."

He didn't want to just look at the animal. He looked at the kill of the monster.

"We don't know how the animal died. It will be eaten. I will tie it up."

He pulled down some vines, and tied up the deer.

"Maiko, I think it was killed by the thing that flew away," she said.

"It was killed by it. It was killed by the monster. The deer was killed by it. Go on ahead. I'm going to carry it."

He hit his feet on the ground in order to lift the deer onto his back, bao, bao bao.

"It is holding me back," he said.

It let go. Maiko carried the deer, and he finally came to where his wife was.

"You carry the fish. Let's go."

They were ready, and they came back to his village. They cooked the fish back in the village. As they cooked the fish, he devoted himself to preparing the deer. In order to burn the hair off of the deer, he went after firewood, and cut the firewood, and brought the firewood back to the

village. He split the firewood back in the village. He lit the firewood, and burned the hair off the deer. Then he cut it up. He made a roasting rack for it, and he roasted it.<sup>64</sup>

They only ate the fish. Maiko's wife ate fish.

He took snuff, and slept. When he was going to sleep, a child began to cry. There was the sound of a child crying, coming toward the village. "One, one, one," the child said.

"Oh no, he didn't put my grandson to sleep early, now he is putting my grandson to sleep late at night," he said.

Then his wife spoke. "Maiko, it is the voice of the monster, whose kill we brought back," she said.

"Yes, it is its voice," he said.

It came.

"I will take a look at it," he said.

He took a look at it. He opened the door. The monster had come and was standing on the plaza. It was standing there. Maiko had brought back the monster's kill, and the cooked ribs of the deer were there in the pot.

The monster came crying to the door. It went into Maiko's house.

Maiko didn't sleep. "I want to sleep. No one ate it. It is there on the rack, I roasted it. The ribs are in the pot there."

"I will give it food. I want it to go away."

He gave food to the monster, cooked deer. He gave it food. The sound of its throat could be heard.

"Maiko, there are two monsters."

"I guess there are two of them."

He put a spell on the cooked meat. He gave broth for it to drink, too.

"OK, there is roasted meat on the rack there, too. I didn't eat the meat."

Then he gave it the roasted meat. He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted deer meat. People talk about it, the monster that kills us. He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted meat. It gave food to its mate.

It hadn't eaten. Then it ate. It stayed with him.

"You two go away. Go away. I am going to sleep. Go away."

He told it to go away, but it didn't go away. It stayed with him.

Maiko had eaten. He wanted to sleep, and he kept looking at it.

"Oh no, it wants to stay with me. I want to sleep. It is staying with me."

"I'm going to take you there. I will take care of it."

Maiko took his wife away. He took his wife to the familiar spirits.

"Don't give any food to my wife. My wife has already eaten. I'm going to go and take care of the monster that stayed with me."

He called them to go, but he went instead of them.

"I'm going to go and take care of the monster that stayed with me."

He went back, and his wife stayed behind. He came back with the familiar spirits. He came up out of the ground, and he took a look. It was still there.

"There the monster is, I am telling you. I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me."

He took a brand out of the fire, and put a spell on the brand. He threw the brand at it and hit

it.

<sup>64</sup> Whereas Yowao has used masculine agreement for the deer up to this point (the gender of the species is masculine), in this sentence and in most of the rest of the story he uses feminine agreement, indicating that the deer was a female.

"You go on ahead back. Don't get in my way."

After they were gone, he hit it with the brand. Koro, tiihii, went the sound of it.

The monster set the house on fire. It went away hurt, because Maiko had hit it with the brand. Maiko hit it.

"It was hit. I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me. It brought misfortune on itself." His familiar spirits came down to the ground. Baowa, barorere.

"Oh, over here. Help me." His voice could be heard as he called his familiar spirits.

The familiar spirits were all dead as they came down to earth, because of the monster. "Tokowisa Abono Fana, help me."

Tokowisa Abono Fana filled her mouth with *kawaki* grass. She came down to earth dead. "I called her, but she is not going to help me."

Tokowisa Abono Fana came down dead. He called others of his familiar spirits. He called his familiar spirits. Another Tokowisa Abono Fana came down to earth, and spit *kawaki* grass juice out.

"Help me, Grandma."

She spit it out. "You messed with the monster," she said. Tokowisa Abono Fana spit out *kawaki* grass juice.

"Come on, I'm going to sleep. I'm going to go get my wife."

He went and picked up his wife. He went after his wife. He brought his wife back.

"Tie up the hammocks now that you are back. Let's sleep."

There were not many people living in Maiko's village. His relatives lived somewhere else. So he slept finally. He slept, and woke up.

"I threw something at the monster and hit it. Look, there are the signs of it. Its mate was there on the ground. Its mate fell on the ground. It took its mate away."

It went away hurt. He looked at the signs of it. He blew on the place. He blew to take away its smell.

Then he got his bow and arrows. "You stay here. I'm going there to take a look at it. I'm going to spear a fish."

He went there. He speared fish, and brought fish back. He came back carrying fish.

He killed the monsters. Then he moved away. He lived there a long time, at a place where there were no monsters, after he killed the monsters. Where did he go? He must have gone somewhere else. His descendents live there. No one saw them. They live everywhere. His old village was there. The foundation poles of his house used to be there. I have said the name of Maiko. The foundation poles of Maiko's house used to be there at Toto Boti.

## **Interlinear Presentation**

1	Ha	me	awabisaremete	awaremata			
	haa	me	awa -bisa -ra -hemete	awa -ra -himata			
	DEM	3PL.S	see also NEG FP.N+F	see NEG FP.N+M			
	dem	pron	result	result			
13.7		.1	1 1 - 1 - 1				

'No one saw those people. They didn't see him.'

2	Tamine	ota	mimita	toabisemari	amaka	ahi
	tamine	otaa	mi- mita	to- ha -bisa -himari	ama -ka	ahi
	news about	1EX.S	DUP hear	CH AUX also FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M	then
	pn	pron	vt	aux	sec	dem

Maiko

. Maiko (man's name) npropm

'We used to hear the stories about him, Maiko.'

3	Maka	mera	nanabi		toem	atamo	inawa				
	maka	mera	na- na-	ahaba	to-	ha	-himata	-mona	-ha	inawa	
	monster	3PL.O	DUP CAUS	die	CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DUP	shaman	
	nm	pron	vt		aux					nm	
'U	'He killed monsters he was a shaman '										

'He killed monsters, he was a shaman.'

4 Maiko		Maiko		yara		me	aa	Maiko
Maiko	Maiko Maiko		yara	yara me		aa	Maiko	
(man's name) (man's name)		Brazilian		3pl	(pause	e) (man's name)		
npropr	n	nprop	m	npro	opm	pron	n inter	j npropm
maka	mera	nanabi		toema	tamona			yama nakora
maka	mera	na- na-	ahaba	to- 1	ha -hi	mata	-mona	yama nakora
monster	3PL.O	DUP CAUS	die	CH Z	AUX FP.	N+M	REP+M	shaman's stone
nm	pron	vt		aux				nf
kihamako								
kiha -ma	ko							
have for	this re	eason+M						

vt

'Maiko killed monsters, because he had a shaman's stone.'

5 <i>Toke</i> to- ka+M away go/come vi	, <i>toke</i> to- ka+M away go/come vi	fakorofahakorowaterthrow snfvt	something on	<b>nebonaha</b> na -hibona -ha AUX INT+M DUP aux
toke , to- ka+M , away go/come vi	makawaifinomakawaamonsterstand wnmvi	fI -hino water IP.N+M		
<i>towasiwitibanoho</i> to- wasi -witI away find out vt	-hiba -no -ho FUT+M IP.N+M DUP			

'He went into the forest to fish. He went into the forest, and he came upon a monster standing in the shallow water.'

6	Maka	waifino			towasi	witi			, yama	
	maka	waa –	fI	-hino	to-	wasi	-witI	+M	ý yama	
	monster	stand w	ater	IP.N+M	away	find	out		monst	cer
	nm	vi			vt				nf	
wa	ifimetemone			ama	ı fa	ke	oho r	ıaro		
wa	a -fI.N	OM -mete	-mo	one ama	h fah	a k	oho r	na	-haaro	
st	and water	FP.N+	F REI	P+F be	wat	er h	it A	AUX	IP.E+F	
vi				VC	nf	v	t á	aux		
'U.	0.00000 11000	a monstar	atondi	ng in that	votor T	ho mon	ator wa	a ator	ding in the	woto

'He came upon a monster standing in the water. The monster was standing in the water hitting a reed on the surface of the water.'

7	Aa ,	oko		fa	koro
	aa	0-	ka	faha	koro
	(expression of surprise) interj	1SG.POSS prt		water nf	throw something on vt

•

onabone koho ne awa o- na -habone koho na+M awa . 1SG.S AUX INT+F hit AUX seem+M vt aux sec aux "Huh, it is hitting a reed on my water that I was going to fish in."

.

8	Ota	mata										
	0-	ita	mata	a								
	1SG.S	pierce	for	now								
	vt		prt									
'''T'	"I'm going to groon it "											

'I'm going to spear it.'

9	<i>Faya</i> faya so	<i>hiw</i> hit 3S0		. М	<i>hiwa</i> hiwa 3SG.		<i>wati</i> wati plan	aga	inst	<i>kane</i> ka- COMI	na+M T AUX	<i>sina</i> sina snufi	<i>hisi</i> his: f sni:	
	conj	pro			pror		vt			aux		nf	vt	
nal	ke –		tokaka	ine			ahi		maka		fa	koho	ne	wahi
na	-kI		to-	ka		-kane	ahi	,	maka		faha	koho	na+M	waa+M
AU	X comi	ng	away	go/	come	?+M	there		mons	ter	water	hit	AUX	stand
au	х		vi				dem		nm		nf	vt	aux	vi
<i>ni</i> ni to pr	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU t prt	•												
'He	e decideo	l wh	at to do	. He	took si	nuff. Ther	ı he went	to w	here th	le mon	ster was	standing	. hitting	on the wat

hat to do. He took snuff. Then he went to where the monster was standing, hitting on the water with a reed.'

10 Koho	<i>hinaka</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>moni</i>
koho	hinaka	faha	moni
(sound of something hi	tting) 3SG.POS	SS water	make sound
sound	pron	nf	vt
nemetemonehe	<i>Maiko</i>	<i>Maiko</i>	me)
na -hemete -mone -he	Maiko	Maiko	
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP	(man's name)	(man's na:	
aux	npropm	npropm	
<i>kamabano</i> ka -ma.NOM+M -ba -nc	ya . D ya		
go/come back FUT IP. vi	.N+M ADJU prt		

'His water went, "koho". Then Maiko came.'

11 Kere		•	kere	ati	nematamonane
kere		,	kere	ati	na -himata -mona -ne
(call of kin	ngfisher	<u>^</u> )	(call of kingfisher)	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
sound			sound	vt	aux
kere	ati	hiri	nari .		
kere	ati	hiri	na -haari		
kingfisher sp	voice	make	AUX IP.E+M		
nm	pn	vt	aux		

•

"Kere, kere," he said, imitating the call of a kingfisher.'

12	Maka	waifi		rama	faha	ya					
	maka	waa	-fI+M	rama	faha	уа					
	monster	stand	water	unusual	water	ADJU					
	nm	vi		prt	nf	prt					
'Th	'The monster was standing in the water '										

The monster was standing in the water.

13 Maka	tonokowiti	rama	maka	aahi				
maka	to- noko -witI+M	rama	maka	a- ahi				
monster	away point out	unusual	monster	DUP work on				
nm	vi	prt	nm	vt				
nematamonaha								
na -himata	-mona -ha							
AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DUP							
aux								
'The monster h	'The monster had its back turned to him. He aimed at the monster.'							

14 <i>Tiihii</i>	maka	moni	tonematamona	ahi
tiihii	maka	moni	to- na -himata -mona	ahi
(sound of hitting)	monster	make sound	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M	then
sound	nm	vt	aux	dem
'Tiihijii wont the cound of the	o monstor '			

'Tiihiiii, went the sound of the monster.'

15	Тоооооо	fa	moni	nemetemone	maka	moni	ahi			
	t000000	faha	moni	na -hemete -mon	ne maka	moni	ahi			
	sound	water	make sound	AUX FP.N+F REP-	-F monster	sound	then			
		nf	vt	aux	nm	pn	dem			
177.0	The second state and a fithe survey it such that second of the mean start'									

'Toooooo went the sound of the water. It was the sound of the monster.'

16	Maka	ka	awa	boni	moni	kohokol	hori			
	maka	ka	awa	boni	moni	koho-	koho	-ri		
	monster	POSS	tree	fruit+F	sound	DUP	hit	DISTR		
	nm	prt	nf	pn	pn	vi				
tok	tokanemetemoneni									
+ 0	- ko- n	-ho	moto -	mono -ni	-					

to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ni CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux

'The sound of the monster's fruits could be heard.'

17	Tasi	towitik	ane			ahi
	tasi	to-	na	-witI	-kane	ahi
	emerge	away	AUX	out	?+M	then
	vi	aux				dem
1		•				

'He came out far away.'

18 Kere	•	kere	ati	tokaka	ine	
kere	,	kere	ati	to-	ka	-kane
(call of kingfisher)		(call of kingfisher)	voice	away	go/come	?+M
sound		sound	pn	vi		
<i>ahi</i> . ahi then						
dem						
"Kere, kere." He went away callin	ng.'					

•

19 *Towawamakane ahi* . to- waa -waha -ma -kane ahi away stand change back ?+M then vi dem

'He went around and sat down again.'

•

20 Fa koro onabone koho neno na -hino faha koro o- na -habone koho throw something on 1SG.S AUX INT+F AUX IP.N+M water hit nf vt vt aux aux otine owatino 0 -ne 0owatino 0ita 1SG.S pierce CONT+F 1SG.S exclamation prt interj vt "I speared the one who was hitting a reed on the water where I was going to fish."

 21
 Fa
 koro
 omatibe

 faha
 koro
 o na
 -mata
 -be

 water
 throw something on
 1SG.S
 AUX
 short time
 IMMED+F

 nf
 vt
 aux
 ""
 aux

'"I will fish."'

22	Fa	koro	nawahe	aba	me	tisa
	faha	koro	na -waha+M	aba	me	tisa
	water	throw something on	AUX change	fish	3PL.O	shoot with arrow
	nf	vt	aux	nm	pron	vt
-	ual abar al	ha				

```
nawahebanoho
na -waha -hiba -no -ho
AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
aux
```

'Then he fished. He speared fish.'

23	Aba	me	tisa	kane	ahi	maka	iti	ha
	aba	me	tisa	na -kane	ahi	maka	ita.NFIN	haa
	fish	3PL.S	shoot with arrow	AUX ?+M	then	monster	pierce	DEM
	nm	pron	vt	aux	dem	nm	vt	dem

'He speared fish. He had speared the monster.'

24 <i>Aba</i> aba fish nm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS pron	<i>wiyebone</i> wiye container+F pn	-bone INT+F	<b>kowe</b> kowa+M weave vt	<i>kame</i> ka go/come vi	-ma+M back	,
<i>kamematan</i> ka go/come vi	-ma -hima	ta -mona -ka M REP+M DEC	L+M				

'He weaved a basket to carry the fish in. He came back.'

25 Kame Okobise kame aba me ka -ma+M 0ka abise ka -ma+M aba me 1SG.POSS POSS uncle go/come back go/come back fish 3PL.O vi nm vi nm pron weve nari -haari weye na AUX IP.E+M carry vt aux 'He came back. "My uncle has come back, carrying fish.""

 26
 Yama
 otini
 Boyori

 yama
 o ita
 -ni
 Boyori

 monster
 1SG.S pierce
 BKG+F
 (woman's name)

 nf
 vt
 npropf

"'I speared a monster, Boyori."'

27 Fa koho nani ota abarani ati faha koho na -hani o- ita+F ahaba -hara -ni ati water hit AUX IP.N+F 1SG.S pierce die IP.E+F BKG+F say nf vt aux vt vi vi vi vt nematamona AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux "'It was hitting the water with a reed, and I speared it, and it died," he said.'

28 Maka nabimatamonaka maka na- ahaba -himata -mona -ka monster CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M nm vt 'He killed the monster.'

29 Maka kaminamematamonane biti me ni ya maka kamina -ma -himata -mona -ne biti me ni ya monster tell back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.nephew 3PL to ADJU nm vt nm pron prt prt

.

'He told his nephews about the monster back in the village.'

30	Taboro	fa	fa	te	ki	na
	taboro	faha	faha	tee	kii	na
	place+M	water	water	2PL.S	look at	AUX
	pn	nf	nf	pron	vt	aux
'''V	ou can fish i	n tha nlace	whore it	W96 "		

"You can fish in the place where it was."

31	Otahare	?		ha	owa
	0-	ita	-hare	haa	owa
	1SG.S	pierce	IP.E+M	DEM	1SG
	vt			dem	pron
111 T	1	•			

"I speared it."

32 Ahabare	aba	me	me		tisa	nabani
ahaba -hare	aba	me	me	,	tisa	na -haba -ni
die IP.E+M	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S		shoot with arrow	AUX FUT+F IP.N+F
vi	nm	pron	pron		vt	aux
mati						

mati

3PL.S

pron

"It died." They speared fish.'

33	Okobise			tafitafi		nofaraba			nofare	ama	
	0-	ka	abise	tafa-	tafa	na	nofa	-raba	nofa	-ra+M	ama
	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	DUP	eat	AUX	recently	a bit	recently	NEG	SEC
	nm			vi		aux			prt		sec

"My uncle eats a lot."

34	Okobise						obe			
	0-	ka	abise	mari				0-	na	-be
	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	offer	а	feast	to	1SG.S	AUX	IMMED+F
	nm			vt				aux		

"I'm going to offer a feast to my uncle."

35 Aba kababaya aba kaba -ba -ya eat IMMED+M now fish nm vt "He will eat fish."

36	<i>Batise</i> batise	<i>batise</i> batise		<i>mari</i> mari		<i>nebo</i> na	-hibona
	3SG.POSS.uncl	e 35G.PO	ss.uncie		a least to	AUX	INT+M
	nm	nm		vt		aux	
	<i>tise</i> tise	<i>wati</i> wati	<i>kane</i> ka- n	na+M ,	<i>batise</i> batise		<i>mari</i> mari
3S	G.POSS.uncle	go after	COMIT A	AUX	3SG.POSS.un	cle	offer a feast to
nm	l	vt	aux		nm		vt
ne	matamonaka		fahi .				
na	-himata -mor	na -ka	fahi				
AU	X FP.N+M REP-	HM DECL+M	then				
au	Х		dem				
			· /				

'He planned to offer a feast to his uncle. He offered a feast to his uncle.'

37 <i>I</i>	Ме	· · · · ·					hiner	natam	onane		me	tafe	
n	ne		ma	ri			hi-	na	-himata	-mona	-ne	me	tafe
3	3PL.S	S	of	fer	a feast	to	OC	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M	3PL.POSS	food+F
F	pron		vt				aux					pron	pn
siwa	k	ane	bon	aha									
siwa	a k	a-		na	-hibona	-ha							
play	y C	OMI	Т	AUX	INT+M	DUP							
vi	a	ux											
'They gave him a feast. He ate all their						food	.'						

38 E tamara nabati totoka tera е to- to- ka nabati -ra+F na -tee -ra+F ee tama ee DUP away go/come 1IN.S be many NEG AUX HAB NEG 1IN.S stomach pron vi pn vi aux pron nafira е nafiharo nafi -ra+F ee nafi -haaro be big NEG 1IN.S be big IP.E+F vi pron vi

'One person normally doesn't have such a big stomach.'

39	Faya	aba	me	me	kawarik	tima				me	ha
	faya	aba	me	me	ka-	waa	-rI		-kima+F	me	haa
	SO	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	COMIT	cook	raised	surface	two	3PL.S	call
	conj	nm	pron	pron	vt					pron	vt
hin	е	<b>.</b> A	lbise	abise .							
hi	- na+M	, a	bise	abise							
OC	AUX	υ	incle	uncle							
au	х	n	ım	nm							
'Th	ey cooke	ed two p	ots of fis	h. They call	ed him. '	'Uncle,	uncle."'				

40 *Hiii* ati nematamonane hii ati na -himata -mona -ne interj say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vt aux "Yes?" he said.'

•

•

.

41	Abise	aba	tikabebo	onaha		
	abise	aba	ti-	kaba	-hibona	-ha
	uncle	fish	2SG.S	eat	INT+M	DUP
	nm	nm	vt			
		c .				

"Uncle, fish for you to eat."

42	2 Aba tikabebona				homa	hari
	aba	ti- k	kaba	-hibona	homa.CONT+M	haari
	fish	2SG.S e	eat	INT+M	lie on ground	that one+M
	nm	vt			vi	dem
1117	<u>اء منام الم</u>	-l. f	1 I	and a lasfill		

"There is fish for you to eat on a leaf there."

43	Ee		hiwa	homa	fahi
	ee	<i>,</i>	hiwa	homa.CONT+M	fahi
	yes		only.M	lie on ground	there
	interj		pron	vi	dem
'''R	ight, let it	lie †	there."'		

44 *Aawa oba* . a- awa o- na.NOM -ba DUP see 1SG.S AUX FUT vt aux

"I will take a look at it."

45 <b>F</b>	Faya	aba	me	, aba	me	me	sa	awa	hina	me	•	aba
f	Eaya	aba	me	í aba	me	me	S	sawa	hi- na+F	me	,	aba
S	50	fish	3PL	fis	h 3PL.	O 3PL	.S s	serve	OC AUX	3PL.O		fish
C	conj	nm	pron	nm	pron	n prom	n v	/t	aux	pron		nm
me		kabi	ol	haribanoh	0			tes	ene	watarari		
me		kaba.NF	IN ol	hari	-hiba	-no	-ho	í te	sene	wata	-ra	-haari
3pl.	.0	eat	be	e alone	FUT+M	IP.N+M	DUP	CO	mpanion+M	exist	NEG	G IP.E+M
pror	n ·	vt	V	i				pn		vi		

'They served the fish. He ate the fish all by himself. He didn't have any companion.'

46	<i>Aba</i> aba fish nm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.O pron	<i>kabe</i> kaba+M eat vt	<i>sari</i> sahari broth nf	<i>fawawaha</i> fawa - drink c vt	-waha.LIST	,	<b>Yiwa</b> yiwa pot nf	<i>yoro</i> yoro stand vi	<i>naro</i> na AUX aux	-haaro look+F
<i>fa</i> fa th nf <b>'H</b>	at	fish. He d	rank the br	oth, too. "T	here are th	ne two empty po	ots.'	"			
47	Okomi										

o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F 1SG.S away go/come back vi

"'I'm going home."'

•

48	Hinaka	aba	me	tone	tokak	homakosa	ıkani				ahi
	hinaka	aba	me	tone	to-	ka-	homa		-kosa	-kani	ahi
	3SG.POSS	fish	3PL.POSS	bone	CH	COMIT	lie on	ground	middle	?+F	then
	pron	nm	pron	pn	vi						dem

'There was a pile of bones from his fish on the leaf.'

49	Tokom	Tokomakane									
	to-	ka	-ma	-kane	ahi						
	away	go/come	back	?+M	then						
	vi				dem						
'Hc	wonth	nomo '									

'He went home.'

50	Tokome ,				towinamakane							
	to-	ka	-ma+M	,	to-	wina	a		-ma	-kane	ahi	
	away	go/come	back		away	lie	in	hammock	back	?+M	then	
	vi				vi						dem	
1.1.1	. 1	11			1 1							

•

'He went home and lay in his hammock.'

51	Otamara	a		owa	te	mari	na	te		
	0-	tama	-ra+F	owa	tee	mari	na+F	tee		
	1SG.S	be many	NEG	1SG.O	2PL.S	offer a feast to	AUX	2PL.S		
	vi			pron	pron	vt	aux	pron		
11157	"X are not do a facat far we have not all "									

.

•

"You made a feast for me by myself."

52	Owa	nima	te	nibe						
	owa	nima	tee	na	-be					
	1SG	like	2PL.S	AUX	IMMED+F					
	pron	prt	pron	aux						
"Now I will do the same for you."										

53	Owa	nima	te	naba		te	
	owa	nima			-haba	tee	
	1SG	like	2PL.S	AUX	FUT+F	2PL.S	
	pron	prt	pron	aux		pron	
'''V		ha inet li	ko mo "'				

"You will be just like me."

54	Otamar	a		owa	te	katoma	te
	0-	tama	-ra+F	owa	tee	katoma+F	tee
	1SG.S	be many	NEG	1SG	2PL.S	attack	2PL.S
	vi			pron	pron	vt	pron
11157	1	1 1	- T 1				

"You attacked me when I was alone."

55	Tokom	akane			ahi
	to-	ka	-ma	-kane	ahi
		go/come	back	?+M	then
	vi				dem

'He went home.'

56 Towind	ame			me	towak	katasa			me
to-	wina	-	-ma+M 🤇	me	to-	ka-	ka	-tas	a+F me
away	lie ir	n hammock }	back	3PL.S	away	/ COMIT	go/come	agai	n 3PL.POSS
vi				pron	vi				pron
nowati	ya	nakarifa	tonake			nakai	rifa to	nake	
nowati	ya	nakarifa	to- n	a- ka+1	M	naka	rifa to	o- na	a- ka+M
after	ADJU	taro sp	away C	AUS go/o	come	tarc	sp av	way Ci	AUS go/come
pn	prt	nf	vt			nf	vi	t	
nakarifa	kaka	me		yama	ware			. /	nakarifa
nakarifa	a ka-	ka	-ma+M	yama	waa	-rI		ŕ	nakarifa
taro sp	COM	IT go/come	back	thing	cook	raised	surface	t	taro sp
nf	vt			nf	vt			r	nf

•

ware ,	hisiri ya	one k	awitare		
waa -rI	hisiri ya	one k	a- i	ta -rI	
stand raised surface	basket ADJU	other+F C	COMIT s	it rais	ed surface
vi	nf prt	adj v	rt		
hikawarikimamake			aba	me	me
hi- ka- waa -rI	-kima -ma	akI Ó	aba	me	me
OC COMIT cook raised sur	rface two fo	llowing	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S
vt			nm	pron	pron
tisa na n	me kamemetel	moneni			
tisa na+F r	me ka	-ma -heme	ete -mo	ne -ni	
shoot with arrow AUX 3	3PL.S go/come	back FP.N+	-F REP	+F BKG+	F
vt aux g	pron vi				

'He went home and lay in his hammock. The two of them went out into the forest again. After they left, he went and got *nakarifa* taro in the garden. He brought back the taro, and cooked it. After he cooked the taro, he put it in a basket. He cooked some more. They speared fish, and came back.'

57 Me	kakama		me	•	me	ka	yibote	me
me	ka- ka	-ma+F	me	<i>_</i>	me	ka	yibote	me
3PL.S	COMIT go/	/come back	3PL.S		3PL	POSS	wife	3PL.S
pron	vi		pron		pron	prt	nf	pron
katomamara	wabani		mati					
katoma -m	a -rawa -	-haba -ni	mati					
attack ba	ck F.PL 1	FUT+F IP.N+F	3PL.S					
vt			pron					

'They came back. They were angry with their wives.'

58	Yamata	me	wawasi	nofa	me	ya	ota	tataba
	yamata	me	wa- wasi	na nofa+F	me	уа	otaa	ta- taba
	food	3PL.S	DUP cook	AUX recently	3pl	ADJU	1EX.S	DUP be together
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	prt	pron	vi
toh	ohine ota fimirimakoni							
to	- ha -n	e	otaa f	imi -ra -r	nakoni	_		
CH	CH AUX CONT+F 1EX.S be hungry NEG for this reason+F							
au	x		pron v	i				
۲	"We are with women who don't prepare food, we are hungry "							

"We are with women who don't prepare food, we are hungry."

59	Ota	ni	yamata	me	wawasi	no <u>f</u> ara	me	ama	me
	otaa	ni	yamata	me	wa- wasi	na nofa -ra+F	me	ama	me
	1EX	to	food	3PL.S	DUP cook	AUX recently NEG	3PL.S	SEC	3PL.S
	pron	prt	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	sec	pron
	nem i na		<b>neni</b> mete -mo	ne -ni	•				

say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F vt aux

"They don't prepare food for us," they said.<sup>65</sup>

60 Yama te kakatomahi yama tee ka- katoma -hi thing 2PL.S COMIT look at IMP+F nf pron vt "'Wait a little."'

61	Те	ka	abise	tera	wati	kane	teni	ati
	tee	ka	abise	tera	wati	ka- na+M	tee -ni	ati
	2PL	POSS	uncle	2PL.O	go after	COMIT AUX	2PL.O BKG+F	say
	pron	prt	nm	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt

65 There is an obscure phrase at the end that sounds like *me atihini*.

nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux "Your uncle is planning something for you," she said.' 62 Yama te kababone karine yoro kaba -habone yoro yama ka- na -rI tee thing 2PL.S eat INT+F stand COMIT AUX raised surface CONT+F nf pron vt vi aux "There are two pots of food for you to eat there." 63 **Te** ka yibote katomarawarima te yibote tee tee ka katoma -rawa -rima 2PL POSS wife 2PL.S attack F.PL NEG.IMP+F AUX pron prt nf pron vt "Don't criticize your wives." 64 Yamata voro karine haro ka- na -rI -ne haaro yamata yoro food stand COMIT AUX raised surface CONT+F that one+F say nf vi dem aux nematamonane na -himata -mona -ne AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M aux "There are two pots of food there," he said.' 65 Otamara owa te mari tee o- tama -ra+F mari owa 1SG.O 2PL.S offer a feast to AUX 1SG.S be many NEG pron vi pron vt "You gave me a feast when I was alone." 66 Owa owa owa nima te nahi owa nima tee owa owa na -hi 1SG 1SG like 2PL.S AUX IMP+F 1SG pron pron pron prt pron aux "Now I have done the same to you." 67 **Te** tonafiyohi to- na- fiyo -hi tee 2PL.S CH CAUS be all gone IMP+F pron vt "Eat it all." , nakarifa , nakarifa 68 Faya kabemetemone me me nakarifa me nakarifa me kaba -hemete -mone faya taro sp 3pl taro sp 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F SO pron nf pron vt conj nf 'So they ate the taro.' 60 Nahamita I.a.h. . ...

69	Nakarifa	те	kaba	те	akarikimemetemone	те
	nakarifa	me	kaba+F	me	akara -kima -hemete -mone	me
	taro sp	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	be satiated two FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt	pron	vi	pron

ha

haa

DEM

dem

-ne

ati

vt

te

tee

2PL.S

pron

ati

na

na

aux

na

na+F

aux

amafahiamafahiSECthensecdem'They are the taro, and they were full.'

70 Me nabati tokaremetemoneke fa mati nabati to- ka -ra -hemete -mone -ke faa mati me away go/come NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS stomach 3PL that pn pron vi dem pron mari fe mati me na • na+F fee mari mati me 3SG.O 3PL.S offer a feast to AUX 3PL.S pron pron vt aux pron 'Their stomachs didn't stretch, the ones who had given a feast to him.'

.

71 Abise ota akarini abise otaa akara -ni uncle 1EX.S be satiated BKG+F nm pron vi ""Uncle, we are full.""

72	Nakari	fa	hasi	i	nini			
	nakar	ifa	has	si	na	-ni		
	taro	sp	be	left	AUX	BKG+F		
	nf		vi		aux			
'''T	""There is taro left over.""							

73 *Te kabamakebanani* tee kaba -makI -habana -ni 2PL.S eat following FUT+F BKG+F pron vt

"You can eat more later."

74	Te	yoro	kare				mata
	tee	yoro	ka- i	na	-rI		mata
	2PL.S	put in place	COMIT 2	AUX	raised	surface	for now
	pron	vt	aux				prt
111 T							

"Leave the two pots of food there for now."

75	Nakarifa	me	yoro		hikan	are				me
	nakarif	a me	yoro		hi-	ka-	na	-rI		me
	taro sp	3PL.S	put i	n place	OC	COMIT	AUX	raised	surface	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt		aux					pron
hik	abamakitas	semetemone				fare		ati	nima .	
hi	- kaba -	-makI	-tasa	-hemete	-mone	e far	е	ati	nima	
OC	eat f	Eollowing	again	FP.N+F	REP+H	sam	e+M	voice	like	
vt						dem		pn	prt	
They left the two nots of taro, and they ate more later just as he had said '										

'They left the two pots of taro, and they ate more later, just as he had said.'

76	Nakarifa	me	hikaba ,	me	sa
	nakarifa	me	hi- kaba+F	me	saa
	taro sp	3PL.S	OC eat	3PL.S	leave off
	nf	pron	vt	pron	vt

hinakosemetemone hi- to- na -kosa -hemete -mone OC CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F aux 'They ate some taro, and left some.' Maiko 77 Fava ki me me fa me na kii Maiko faya me faha me na+F me look at so 3pl water 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S (man's name) pron vt pron npropm nf pron coni aux fati fame toke tokatase faya , to- ka+M fati fama+M to- ka -tasa+M faya away go/come 3SG.POSS.wife be with away go/come again so nf vi vi vi conj tokatasematamonane tokatase , to- ka -tasa -himata -mona -ne to- ka -tasa+M away go/come again FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M away go/come again vi vi fati famahari fati fama -haari 3SG.POSS.wife be with IP.E+M vi nf 'They went fishing. Maiko went into the forest with his wife.' 78 E fama fama ee 1IN.S be two pron vi "Let's go together." 79 Aba koro me fa obe na -be koro 0aba me faha 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F fish 3PL water throw something on nm pron nf vt. aux "I'm going to fish." 80 **O**wa tekatomibe owa ti- kakatoma -be 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at IMMED+F pron vt. "You watch me." 81 Faya towakemetemoneheni me faya me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -he -ni so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F conj pron vi 'So they went.' 82 *Me* towaka Maiko fa me to- kaka+F Maiko me me faha away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S (man's name) water pron vi pron npropm nf koro ne wematamona amaka na+M koro waa -himata -mona ama -ka throw something on AUX stand FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M aux vi sec vt.

'The two of them went. Maiko was standing, fishing.'

vi nf	G.POSS.wife	<i>ati</i> ati voice pn	<i>yana</i> yana start vi	<i>nemetemonehe</i> na -hemete -mone -he AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP aux
'He was standing the 84 <i>Maiko</i> (man's name) npropm "'Maiko, Maiko."'	<b>Maiko</b> Maiko (man's nar npropm	•		
85 Haa ? ati haa ati huh? say interj vt "What?" he said.'		ata -mor	na -ka HM DECL+	м
<pre>86 Maiko Maiko (man's name) npropm nemetemonehe na -hemete -mo AUX FP.N+F REP aux "Maiko, I need to de</pre>	+F DUP	AUX abo aux	ima out to	oni ati o- na -ni ati 1SG.S AUX BKG+F say aux vt
87 Mi tiwa mii ti- defecate 2SG vi au: "Go and defecate."	- to- na G.S away AU			
88 Fa koro faha koro water throw nf vt "'I am continuing to f	osa o- na 1SG.S AUX aux fish."	-saa still	0 0- 1SG.S prt	
89 Aba me aba me fish 3PL.O nm pron 'He speared fish.'	<i>tisa</i> tisa shoot with vt	arrow		<i>onahane</i> imata -mona -ha -ne .N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
aba me fish 3PL.O nm pron nabone tok	vt a	maka	aux <i>towas</i>	nf vi iwitiemetemoneke
na -habone to AUX INT+F aw aux vi	ay go/come			wasi -witI -hemete -mone -ke find out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

,

makanoho			ehene	kaweno	kawenoho			
maka	-no	-ho	ehene	ka-	waa	-hino	-ho	
monster	IP.N+M	DUP	victim of+M	COMIT	stand	IP.N+M	DUP	
nm			pn	vt				

'He was spearing fish. His wife went to defecate. She came upon the monster. She was standing with the kill of the monster without knowing it.'

91	Maka	yana	ne	tokema	atamona			amane	ahi
	maka	yana	na+M	to-	ka	-himata	-mona	ama -ne	ahi
	monster	start	AUX	away	go/come	FP.N+M	REP+M	SEC BKG+M	then
	nm	vi	aux	vi				sec	dem
1001									

'The monster flew away.'

92 <i>Bato</i> bato	<i>abowi</i> abohi	<i>home</i> homa+M	<i>abowi</i> abohi	<i>kakatoma</i> ka- katoma+F	<i>mi</i> mii
deer	dead body	lie on ground	dead body	COMIT look at	defecate
nm	pn	vi	pn	vt	vi
towitia	ka	ima .	Maiko	Maiko	bani
to- na	-witI+F ka	a -ma+F	Maiko	Maiko	bani
away AUX	Kout go	o/come back	(man's na	me) (man's n	ame) animal
aux	V	i	npropm	npropm	nm
bani	abeno	home	ahi a	ti nemetemonehe	
bani	ahaba -hino	homa.NOM+M	ahi a	ati na -hemete	-mone -he
animal	die IP.N+N	A lie on groun	d there s	ay AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DUP
nm	vi	vi	dem v	rt aux	

'There was a dead deer on the ground, and she looked at it. She defecated and then came back. "Maiko, Maiko, there is a dead animal there on the ground," she said.'

•

•

.

93	Himata	bani	amar	a	?		
	himata	bani	ama	-ra			
	what?	animal	be	CQ+M			
	interrog	nm	VC				
"What animal is it?"							

94 Bato amane . bato ama -ne deer be BKG+M nm VC ""It's a deer.""

95	Bato mawa	amane	ati	nemetemonehe
	bato mawa	ama -ne	ati	na -hemete -mone -he
	deer sp	be BKG+M	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
	nm	VC	vt	aux
111		1 11 1 11		

""It's a bato mawa deer," she said.'

96	Bato mawa	home	ahi	
	bato mawa	homa.NOM+M	ahi	
	deer sp	lie on ground	there	
	nm	vi	dem	

"There is a *bato mawa* deer on the ground there."

97	Hiba	aawa		oba						
	hiba	a-	awa	0-	na.NOM	-ba				
	wait	DUP	see	1SG.S	AUX	FUT				
	interj	vt		aux						
'''W	"Wait, I will take a look at it."									

1115

•

98 Faya , aba sa kane aba tati ba abasaкалеabasaaka-na+Mfishshoot with arrowCOMIT AUX ka- na+M aba tati baa faya fish head hit SO conj nm vt aux nm pn vt naremake Okomini o- to- ka -ma -ni na -rI -makI AUX raised surface following 1SG.S away go/come back BKG+F vi aux

'He speared a fish, and hit the fish on the head. "I'm going."

99	Aba	me	te	tina
	aba	me	tee	ti- na
	fish	3PL.O	put inside	2SG.S AUX
	nm	pron	vt	aux

"You put the fish in the basket."

100	Banimon	a	е	towam	ibe		
	bani	-mona	ee	to-	awa	-ma	-be
	animal	REP+M	1IN.S	away	see	back	IMMED+F
	nm		pron	vt			
		-					

"Let's go look at the animal."

101	Banimon	a	me	towam	abone	?		me	•	me	yana
	bani	-mona	me	to-	awa	-ma	-habone	me		me	yana
	animal	REP+M	3PL.S	away	see	back	INT+F	3PL		3PL.S	start
	nm		pron	vt				pron		pron	vi

tokanemetemonehe

to- ka- na -hemete -mone -he CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP aux

'They were ready to go look at the animal.'

102	Me	yana	tokan	a		me
	me	yana	to-	ka-	na+F	' me
	3PL.S	start	СН	COMIT	AUX	3PL.S
	pron	vi	aux			pron
towal	kamemete	mone				
to-	ka-	ka	-ma	a -hei	mete	-mone
away	COMIT	go/come	e bao	ck FP.	N+F	REP+F
vi						

'They were ready, and they went.'

103 <i>M</i>	Ме	yana	tokar	ıa		me	towa	kama			me	
n	ne	yana	to-	ka-	na+F	me	to-	ka-	ka	-ma+F	me	
3	3PL.S	start	CH	COMIT	AUX	3PL.S	awa	y COMIT	go/come	back	3PL.S	
p	oron	vi	aux			pron	vi				pron	
Bani	h	noma		hari		ati	nemet	temone				
bani	h	noma.CONT	+M	haar	i	ati	na	-hemete	-mone			
anima	al l	lie on gr	ound	that	one+M	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F			
nm	V	7i		dem		vt	aux					
'They	were r	eady, and t	hey we	ent. "The	animal	is there o	on the	ground," s	he said.'			

104	Bani	bani	homari	ha
	bani	bani	homa -haari	haa
	animal	animal	lie on ground look+M	DEM
	nm	nm	vi	dem

.

.

.

"Look, the animal is there on the ground."

105	Bani	hine	ya	aweba	ama	nikani				
	bani	hine	ya	awa -hiba	ama	na -kani				
	animal	only	ADJU	see FUT+M	be	AUX CNTRFACT				
	nm	pron	prt	vt	VC	aux				
'He	'He didn't want to just look at the animal.'									

106 Maka ehene ki nematamona ahi ehene kii ahi maka na -himata -mona monster victim of+M look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M then vt nm pn aux dem

'He looked at the kill of the monster.'

107 <i>Maka</i> maka monster nm	<i>ehene</i> ehene victim of+M pn	<i>ki</i> kii look at vt	ne , na+M AUX aux	<b>Bani</b> bani animal nm	<i>e</i> ee 1IN.S pron	<i>awareno</i> awa -ra -hino see NEG IP.N+M vt
11111	PII	ve	uun	11111	Pron	ve
abeno	ama .					
ahaba -hino	ama					
die IP.N+	M SEC					
vi	sec					
'He looked at th	o kill of the monst	tor "Wo don"	t know how	the onimal a	Hind "	

'He looked at the kill of the monster. "We don't know how the animal died."

108 *Kabehibana* kaba -hibana eat FUT+M result "'It will be eaten."'

109 Wete omataba wete o- na -mata -ba tie 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M vt aux "I will tie it up."

.

110	Mato	tore	nise		bato	wete	nema	tamona		ahi	
	mato	tore	na	-risa+M	bato	wete	na	-himata	-mona	ahi	
	vine	pull	AUX	down	deer	tie	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then	
	nf	vt	aux		nm	vt	aux			dem	
'He pulled down some vines, and tied up the deer.'											

111	Bato	wete	ne .	bato	wete	<i>nematamonane</i> na -himata -mona -ne			
	bato	wete	na+M ́	bato	wete	na -himata -mona -ne	ne		
	deer	tie	AUX	deer	tie	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	KG+M		
	nm	vt	aux	nm	vt	aux			
'He	'He tied up the deer.'								

The theu	սքս	le ueer	•

112 <b>E</b>	Bato	wete	ne		Maiko	0	yama	M	laiko		yama	yana	
k	oato	wete	na-	+M ĺ	Maik	0	yama	М	aiko		yama	yana	
Ċ	deer	tie	AUX	X	(man	's name)	thing	g (:	man's	name)	thing	get up	
n	nm	vt	auz	K	npro	pm	nf	n	propm		nf	vi	
na	ihi			toa		awine	aya	ati	neme	etemoneni			
na+F	ihi	-		to-	ha+F	awine	aya	ati	na	-hemete	-mone	-ni	
AUX	vic	ctim of	E+F	CH	be	seem+F	when	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F	
aux	pn			VC		sec	dem	vt	aux				

'He tied up the deer. "Maiko, I think it was killed by the thing that flew away," she said.'

113 Fe ehene fee ehene 3SG.POSS victim of+M pron pn ""It was killed by it.""	<i>amarabana</i> ama -ra -haban be NEG FUT+F vi	a .	
<pre>114 Maka ehene maka ehene monster victim of+M nm pn ""It was killed by the monster.""</pre>	toeawaneto- ha+MawaCHbeseem+1vcsec	-ne M BKG+M	
115 Maka ene maka ehene monster victim of+M nm pn ""It was killed by the monster.""	toeawato- ha+MawaCHbeseem+1vcsec	, <b>ba</b> . hiba M wait interj	
efe ehene t this+M victim of+M (	<b>toe awa</b> to-ha+M awa CH be seem+M vc sec	, <i>bato</i> . bato deer nm	
117 Tai tiama tai ti- to- ha be ahead 2SG.S CH AU vi aux "Go on ahead."			
118 Weye omataba weye o- na -mata carry 1SG.S AUX short vt aux "I'm going to carry it."			
119 <b>Bato weye namisebona</b> bato weye na -misa deer carry AUX up nm vt aux	a -hibona bato	bao ka-	na -himata -mona
<pre>ahi bao ahi bao then (sound of feet hitt) dem sound bao</pre>	<i>bao</i> bao ing ground) (so sou <i>bao</i>	und of feet hitting	ground)
bao (sound of feet hitting gro sound bao bao	bao	feet hitting groun	d)
(sound of feet hitting gro sound	ound) (sound of sound	feet hitting groun	d)

'He hit his feet on the ground in order to lift the deer onto his back, bao, bao bao.'

120 **Owa** tama kabana ka- na+M -bana owa tama COMIT AUX FUT 1SG.O hold onto pron vt aux "It is holding me back." 121 **Owa** ati tama kabana nematamona ahi ka- na+M -bana na -himata -mona owa tama ati ahi COMIT AUX FUT 1SG.O hold onto say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then pron vt aux vt aux dem "It is holding me back," he said.' 122 **Owa** tama kabana ati nematamonane ka- na+M -bana ati na -himata -mona -ne owa tama 1SG.O hold onto COMIT AUX FUT say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M pron vt aux vt aux "It is holding me back," he said.' 123 **Sa** ahi kabote nematamona na -kabote na -himata -mona ahi saa leave off AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then antip aux aux dem 'It let go.' 124 *Maiko* bato weve ne kamakimatamona Maiko bato weye na+M ka -makI -himata -mona (man's name) deer carry AUX go/come following FP.N+M REP+M npropm aux vi nm vt. waha amaka . ama -ka waha SEC DECL+M now prt sec 'Maiko carried the deer, and he finally came to where his wife was.' 125 Aba me weve tikana kaaba me weye tina fish 3PL.O carry 2SG.S COMIT AUX nm pron vt aux "You carry the fish." 126 **E** towakamibe ee to- kaka -ma -be away COMIT go/come back IMMED+F 1IN.S pron vi "Let's go." 127 **Me** towakamawe tokana yana me to- ka- na+F to- ka- ka -ma -waha yana me me 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back change start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S pron vi vi aux pron kakamemetemoneni fare taboro va ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni fare taboro ya COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F same+M place+M ADJU vi dem pn prt 'They were ready, and they came back to his village.'66

<sup>66</sup> Me towakamawe is a false start.

128 *Me* kakama me aba me me ka- ka -ma+F me , me aba me me fish 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S pron vi pron nm pron pron warememetemonehe waa -rI -ma -hemete -mone -he cook raised surface back FP.N+F REP+F DUP vt

'They came back. They cooked the fish back in the village.'

129	Aba	me	me	kawaria				me	ni	ya	bato
	aba	me	me	ka-	waa ·	-rI+F		me	ni	ya	bato
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	COMIT	cook :	raised	surface	3pl	to	ADJU	deer
	nm	pron	pron	vt				pron	prt	prt	nm
ihan	ati			toematama	onaka						
iha		-n	ati	to- ha	-him	ata -mo	na -ka				
tak	e in	turn on	ly one	CH AUX	FP.N	+M REP	+M DECL+I	Ā			
vt				aux							
'Act	hoveo	okad tha f	ich ha dat	oted hime	alf to pr	onaring t	ha daar '				

'As they cooked the fish, he devoted himself to preparing the deer.

130	<b>Bato</b> bato deer nm	bato toka deer partially burr nm vt			-hibona yifo			to-				o ewood
ti			nakose		yifo		kakame	matamona	!			ahi
tii			na -	kosa+M	yifo		ka-	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	ahi
cut	throu	gh	AUX m	iddle	firewoo	d	COMIT	go/com	e bacł	s FP.N+M	REP+M	then
vt			aux		nf		vt					dem
'In c	order to l	hurn	the hair	off of the	e deer he we	ant	after fire	wood an	d cut th	e firewood	and brou	oht the

In order to burn the hair off of the deer, he went after firewood, and cut the firewood, and brought the firewood back to the village.'

131 <i>Yifo</i>	tafa	name	yifo	afo	kane	•	bato
yifo	tafa	na -ma+N	4 yifo	afo	ka- na+M	,	bato
firewoo	d split	AUX back	firewood	light	COMIT AUX		deer
nf	vt	aux	nf	vt	aux		nm
tokematamona			ahi .				
toka	-hima	ta -mona	ahi				
partially }	ourn FP.N+	M REP+M	then				
vt			dem				

'He split the firewood back in the village. He lit the firewood, and burned the hair off the deer.'

132 Faya bobi hiwemetemoneni faya bobi hi- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni SO slit OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F conj vt aux 'Then he cut it up.'

133 Tanebone yama hina tabasi , tane -bone yama hi- na+F tabasi grill+F INT+F make OC AUX roast on grill vt aux pn vt hinemetemoneke . hi- na -hemete -mone -ke OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'He made a roasting rack for it, and he roasted it.'

134 <i>Aba</i> aba fish nm 'They only a	<i>me me</i> me me 3PL 3PL pron pron te the fish.'	<i>aba me</i> aba me fish 3PL. nm pron	me ka O 3PL.S ea	ababisemetemone aba -bisa -heme at also FP.N- C	
135 <i>Aba</i> aba fish nm 'They ate the	pron pr	kaba - L.S eat F	hemete -mone	fa -ke faa DECL+F that dem	<i>mati</i> . mati 3PL pron
136 <i>Maiko</i> Maiko (man' npropu 'Maiko's wif	s name) 3 m n	ati SG.POSS.wife	<b>aba me</b> aba me e fish 3PL nm pro	.0 eat FP.N+	te -mone -he
137 Faya faya so conj hinamatewe hinamatewe child nm 'He took snu	snuff sn nf vt <i>oi ni</i> re ohi na cry AU vi au	si na+M iff AUX aux yana .NFIN yana IX star IX vi	a na -hima ct AUX FP.N- aux	sleep AUX II vi aux <b>ata -</b> mona ama	prt prt
138 <i>Hinama</i> hinam child nm 'There was t	atewe ohi cry vi	na.NFIN AUX aux	<i>kamakimatamona</i> ka -mak go/come foll vi ming toward the	I -himata owing FP.N+M	<i>amane</i> . -mona ama -ne REP+M SEC BKG+M sec
sound ati nema ati na say AUX vt aux	tamonaha	sound ona -ha P+M DUP	nd of crying) 1	<i>one</i> one (sound of cr sound	<i>hinamatewe</i> hinamatewe ying) child nm
140 <i>Aa</i> aa (expr inter		displeasure)	, <i>okanoti</i> o- 1SG.POS nm	ka noti S POSS grandsc	amo amo n sleep vi
<i>nibote</i> niha- na	-bote Gquickly	ati na	okanoti	SS grandson c: v: , <i>fm</i> na -ne fa	ti ni ni niha- na ny CAUS AUX aux ti ati G.POSS.wife voice

yana nabanihi

```
yana na -haba -ni -hi
start AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
```

vi aux

"Oh no, he didn't put my grandson to sleep early, now he is putting my grandson to sleep late at night," he said. Then his wife spoke.'

141 <i>Maiko</i>	yama	ihi	е	kakama	ati
Maiko	yama	ihi	ee	ka- ka -1	ma+F ati
(man's name)	monster	victim of+F	1IN.S	COMIT go/come ba	ack voice
npropm	nf	pn	pron	vt	pn
amani ati	nemetemoneh	e			
ama -ni ati	na -hemet	te -mone -he			
be BKG+F say	AUX FP.N+H	F REP+F DUP			
vc vt	aux				

"Maiko, it is the voice of the monster, whose kill we brought back," she said.'

142	Efe	ati	ama	nabana		ati	kane		ahi
	efe	ati	ama	na.NOM+M	-bana	ati	na	-kane	ahi
	this+M	voice	be	AUX	FUT	say	AUX	?+M	then
	dem	pn	VC	aux		vt	aux		dem
'''Ye	s, it is its vo	oice," he sa	aid.'						

143 Kamematamona

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

'He came.'67

```
144 Kamaki nabematamona ahi
ka -makI nahaba -himata -mona ahi
go/come following at night FP.N+M REP+M then
vi prt dem
'It came.'
```

```
145 Aawa omataba
```

```
a- awa o- na -mata -ba
DUP see 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M
vt aux
```

"'I will take a look at it."

146	Aawa	l	omatabaya					ati	nematamonaka				
	a-	awa	0-	na	-mata		-ba	-ya	ati	na	-himata	-mona	-ka
	DUP	see	1SG.S	AUX	short	time	IMMED+M	now	say	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	vt		aux						vt	aux			

.

"'I will take a look at it," he said.'

147	7 Aawa hine		nokobi	tokanawawawitekane							ahi		
	a-	awa	hi-	na+M	nokobi	to-	ka-	na-	waa	-waha	-witI	-kane	ahi
	DUP	see	OC	AUX	door	away	COMIT	CAUS	stand	change	out	?+M	then
	vt		aux		nf	vt							dem

'He took a look at it. He opened the door.'

<sup>67</sup> This is a false start.

148	Nokobi	tokand	tokanawawawite							maka		
	nokobi	to-	ka-	na-	waa	-waha	-witI	,	maka			
	door	away	COMIT	CAUS	stand	change	out		monste	r		
	nf	vt							nm			
wam	akematama	ona			am	ane						
waa	-makI		-himat	a -mo	na am	a -ne						
sta	nd follc	wing	FP.N+M	REP	+M SE	C BKG+M	[					
vi					se	С						
					•	•						

'He opened the door. The monster had come and was standing on the plaza.'

149	<i>Maka</i> maka monster nm	<i>ene</i> ehene victi pn	, m of+M	<i>Maiko</i> Maiko (man's npropm	name) O	C COMIT g	ca - go/come b	ma+M ack	
<i>wam</i> waa sta vi	·· ·· ·	, ving	<b>hinaka</b> hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	<i>bato</i> bato deer nm	<b>bako</b> bako chest+M pn	<i>haro</i> haro.NFI be boile vi		ita.LIST sit	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux
<i>kawa</i> ka- COM vi	waa		rI.LIST aised surf	na	JX FP.N+M	-mona -n REP+M BK	-		

'It was standing there. Maiko had brought back the monster's kill, and the cooked ribs of the deer were there in the pot.' $^{\rm 68}$ 

yobe

to-	ka	-yoma	-makI -hi	.mata -mo	ona	Maiko	ka	yobe
away	go/come	through	following FP.	N+M REI	P+M	(man's name)	POSS	house
vi						npropm	prt	nm
toro	ya	ahi .	Maiko	amo	reb	anoho		
toro	ya	ahi 🥤	Maiko	amo	na	-ra -hiba -n	o –!	ho
inside+1	M ADJU	then	(man's name)	sleep	AUΣ	K NEG FUT+M IP	.N+M D	UP
pn	prt	dem	npropm	vi	aux	X		
'It went into Maiko's house. Maiko didn't sleep.'								

152 Amo onabone amo o- na -habone .

•

sleep 1SG.S AUX INT+F vi aux "'I want to sleep."'

153 *Kabaraharani* kaba -ra -hara -ni eat NEG IP.E+F BKG+F result "'No one ate it."'

68 The verb kawita ne is a false start.

.

 154
 Kawine
 ha
 tabasi
 onaharo

 ka waa
 -ne
 haa
 tabasi
 o na
 -haaro

 COMIT
 stand
 CONT+F
 DEM
 roast on grill
 1SG.S
 AUX
 IP.E+F

 vi
 dem
 vt
 aux

"It is there on the rack, I roasted it."

155	Baki	haro	kawitine	vitine			
	baki	haro.NFIN	ka-	ita	-ne	haa	
	chest+F	be boiled	COMIT	sit	CONT+F	DEM	
	pn	vi	vi			dem	
""The ribs are in the pot there.""							

156 Onatafamatabaya

o- na- tafa -mata -ba -ya 1SG.S CAUS eat short time IMMED+M now vt

"I will give it food."

#### 157 Tokomabaya

to- ka -ma -ba -ya away go/come back IMMED+M now vi

"I want it to go away."

158 Maka	natafe	ematamona		aya	maka	•	me	bani
maka	na-	tafa -hima	ata -mona	aya	maka	,	me	bani
monster	CAUS	eat FP.N-	HM REP+M	this	monster		3pl	animal
nm	vt			dem	nm		pron	nm
haro	bato	haro	ya .					
haro.NFIN	bato	haro.NFIN	ya					
be boiled	deer	be boiled	ADJU					
vi	nm	vi	prt					
	-							

'He gave food to the monster, cooked deer.'

159	Hina	tafemat	tamona			ahi
	hi-	na-	tafa	-himata	-mona	ahi
	OC	CAUS	eat	FP.N+M	REP+M	then
	vt					dem

'He gave it food.'

160	Hina	tafe			hina	tafe		namiti	moni
]	hi-	na-	tafa	+M	hi-	na-	tafa+M	namiti	moni
(	OC	CAUS	eat		OC	CAUS	eat	throat	sound
	vt				vt			pn	pn
saihin	matar	nona			ahi				
sai		-hi	mata	-mona	ahi				
be h	near	d FP.	N+M	REP+M	the	en			
vi					den	ı			
			-		-	-			

'He gave it food. The sound of its throat could be heard.'

161 <i>Maiko</i>	yama	famarawa	awineni
Maiko	yama	fama -rawa+F	awine -ni
(man's name)	monster	be two F.PL	seem+F BKG+F
npropm	nf	vi	sec
"Maiko, there are two	monsters."'		

•

162 Me fama me awineni . me fama+F me awine -ni 3PL.S be two 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F pron vi pron sec "I guess there are two of them."
163Baniharonakorokaneahibaniharo.NFINna-koro-kaneahianimalbe boiledCAUS be loose ?+Mthennmvivtdem
'He put a spell on the cooked meat.'
164Sarihinafawawahikaneahisaharihi-na-fawa-waha.LISThi-na-kaneahibrothOCCAUSdrinkchangeOCAUX?+Mthennfvtauxdem
'He gave broth for it to drink, too.'
165Mabanikaikawanahari.himabanikaha.NFINka-waa.LISTna.CONT+Mhaarihaarihaarilet's goanimalbe toastedCOMITstandAUXthat one+Mthat one+Minterjnmviviauxdem"OK, there is roasted meat on the rack there, too."
166 Bani okobarini bani o- kaba -ra -ni animal 1SG.S eat NEG BKG+F nm vt "I didn't eat the meat."
i didii t eat the meat.
167Banikaitanematamonaahibanikaha.NFINtaana-himata-monaahianimalbetoastedgiveAUXFP.N+MREP+Mthennmvivtauxdem'Then he gave it the roasted meat.'
Then he gave it the rousted meat.
168Banikaitaneniyabanikaitabanikaha.NFINtaana+Mniyabanibanikaha.NFINtaaanimalbe toastedgiveAUXtoADJUanimalbe toastedgivenmvivtauxprtprtnmvivt
nebatokaikabematamonaamanena+Mbatokaha.NFINkaba -himata -monaama -neAUXdeerbe toastedeatFP.N+MREP+MSECAUXnmvivtsec'He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted deer meat.'
169Inomehihiritoinemakaotainomehi-hirito-ha-nemakaotaaname+M3PL.SDUP sayCHAUX CONT+Fmonster1EX.Opnpronvtauxnmpronnabibonahana-ahaba-ha
CAUS die INT+M DUP vt 'People talk about it the monster that kills us '

'People talk about it, the monster that kills us.'

170 **Bani** kai ta ne bani kai kabe fati kaha.NFIN fati bani taa na+M bani kaha.NFIN kaba+M 3SG.POSS.wife animal be toasted give AUX animal be toasted eat nm vi vt aux nm vi vt nf natafematamonane na- tafa -himata -mona -ne CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M νt 'He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted meat. It gave food to its mate.' 171 *Tafare* tafare tafawematamonaka fari tafa -waha -himata -mona -ka tafa -ra+M tafa -ra+M faari eat NEG eat NEG eat change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M vi vi vi dem kawahari fe fee ka- waa -haari 3SG.O COMIT stand IP.E+M pron vt 'It hadn't eaten. Then it ate. It stayed with him.' 172 **Te** towakama to- kaka tee -ma 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back pron vi "You two go away." 173 *Tikama* ti- to- ka -ma 2SG.S away go/come back τι "Go away."" 174 Amo ama amo obana oni o- na -bana amo amo ama 0ni 1SG.S AUX FUT 1SG.S BKG+F sleep sleep SEC vi vi aux sec prt "I am going to sleep." 175 Tikamahi ti- to- ka -ma -hi 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F νi "Go awav."" 176 Faya tokomebona hiyoseme hi- to- yose faya to- ka -ma -hibona -ma+M SO away go/come back INT+M OC away command back conj vi vt tokomematamona ama fe kawahi fee -ma -himata -mona ka- waa+M to- ka ama away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M SEC 3SG.O COMIT stand νi sec pron vt 'He told it to go away, but it didn't go away. It stayed with him.'

177 Fava Maiko tafe amo nebona fare aawa hine a- awa faya Maiko tafe amo na -hibona fare hi- na+M AUX INT+M DUP see food+F OC SO (man's name) sleep same+M AUX conj npropm pn vi aux dem vt aux owa ati ne Aa kawebona , ka--hibona ati na+M aa owa waa (expression of displeasure) 1SG.O COMIT stand INT+M AUX say interj pron vt vt aux awa awa seem+M sec

'Maiko had eaten. He wanted to sleep, and he kept looking at it. "Oh no, it wants to stay with me."

178 Amo obana amo o- na -bana sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT vi aux "'I want to sleep."'

179 *Owa kawabana* owa ka- waa+M -bana 1SG.0 COMIT stand FUT pron vt

"It is staying with me."

```
180 Tiwa owakamatibeya
tiwa o- to- ka- ka -mata -be -ya
2SG.0 1SG.S away COMIT go/come short time IMMED+F now
pron vt
```

"I'm going to take you there."

181 *Maki tina* maki ti- na pay 2SG.S AUX vi aux

"I will take care of it."

182	Fati	towaka	iwakane				ahi
	fati	to-	ka-	ka	-waha	-kane	ahi
	3SG.POSS.wife	away	COMIT	go/come	change	?+M	then
	nf	vt					dem
'Ho	took his wife away '						

'He took his wife away.'

183	Maiko		fati	j	fati	
I	Maiko		fati		fati	
	(man's	name)	3SG.POSS	.wife	3SG.POS	S.wife
1	npropm		nf		nf	
towak	awematar	nonaka				
to-	ka-	ka	-waha	-himata	-mona	-ka
away	COMIT	go/come	e change	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M

•

vt

'Maiko took his wife away.'

184 Fati	towake	•	toni		me
fati	to- ka- ka+M		toni		me
3SG.POSS.wife	away COMIT go/c	come	familia	r spirit	3PL
nf	vt		nm		pron
toni	toni	me ni	ya	fati	
toni	toni	me ni	i ya	fati	
familiar spirit	familiar spirit	3PL to	o ADJU	3SG.POSS	.wife
nm	nm	pron p	rt prt	nf	
towake	fati	Oka		yibote	te
to- ka- ka+M	fati	0-	ka	yibote	tee
away COMIT go/cor	ne 3SG.POSS.wife	1SG.PG	OSS POSS	wife	2PL.S
vt	nf	prt		nf	pron
natafariya					
na- tafa -ra -ya	ahi				
CAUS eat NEG DIS	ST.IMP+F				
vt					

'He took his wife away. He took his wife to the familiar spirits. "Don't give any food to my wife."'

.

185	Oka		yibote	tafabis	ahara	
	0-	ka	yibote	tafa	-bisa	-hara
	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	eat	also	IP.E+F
	prt		nf	vi		
'''\/ <sub>\</sub>	wife has alr	and v ant	on ""			

"My wife has already eaten."

186	Yama	owa	kawa		owaman	natibe					
	yama	owa	ka-	waa+F	0-	to-	awa	-ma	-mata		-be
	monster	1SG.O	COMIT	stand	1SG.S	away	see	back	short	time	IMMED+F
	nf	pron	vt		vt						
	•		<b>0</b> . 1								

"'I'm going to go and take care of the monster that stayed with me."

187	Mera	hima	ne	me	mera	ihebonaha				
	mera	hima	na+M	me	mera	iha	-hibona -ha			
	3PL.O	call to go	AUX	3pl	3PL.O	take in turn	INT+M DUP			
	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	vt				
'He	'He called them to go, but he went instead of them.'									

188	Yama	owa	kawa		owaman	natibeya	r					
	yama	owa	ka-	waa+F	0-	to-	awa	-ma	-mata		-be	-ya
	monster	1SG.O	COMIT	stand	1SG.S	away	see	back	short	time	IMMED+F	now
	nf	pron	vt		vt							

.

"I'm going to go and take care of the monster that stayed with me."

189 Tokomematamona ahi to- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then vi dem

#### 'He went back.'

190 Tokome fati to- ka -ma+M fati away go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife vi nf to- sawi -kosa -hemete -mone -he -ni CH be present middle FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F vi .

'He went back, and his wife stayed behind.'

191	Kamemata	monane	2			•	toni		me	ya	
	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ne	ŕ	toni		me	ya	
	go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M		familiar spiri	Lt	3PL	ADJU	
	vi						nm		pron	prt	
taba	hari										
tab	a	-haa	ri								
ho	together	тр г	+M								

•

be together IP.E+M vi

'He came back with the familiar spirits.'

192	Kimisamak	xane			ahi
	ka	-misa	-ma	-kane	ahi
	go/come	up	back	?+M	then
	vi				dem

'He came up out of the ground.'

193 Kimisame	, yama	aawa	fare
ka -misa -ma+M	yama	a- awa.LIST	fare
go/come up back	monster	DUP see	same+M
vi	nf	vt	dem
wairo	kane d	ahi .	
waa -ro	na -kane a	ahi	
stand without stopping	AUX ?+M	then	
vi	aux	dem	
'II a come up out of the ground	and he took a lool	k It was still there '	

'He came up out of the ground, and he took a look. It was still there.'

194	Yama	wahara		onar	a			0	
	yama	waa	-hara	ati	0-	na	-hara	0-	
	monster	stand	IP.E+F	say	1SG.S	AUX	IP.E+F	1SG.S	
	nf	vi		vt				prt	
""Th	and the men	tonia T	and talling a						

"There the monster is, I am telling you."

195	Amo	obana			owa	kawaha	ra	
	amo	0-	na.NOM	-bana	owa	ka-	waa	-hara
	sleep	1SG.S	AUX	FUT	1SG.O	COMIT	stand	IP.E+F
	vi	aux			pron	vt		

"I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me."

196	Amo	obana			owa	kawane		
	amo	0-	na.NOM	-bana	owa	ka-	waa.CONT+M	-ne
	sleep	1SG.S	AUX	FUT	1SG.O	COMIT	stand	BKG+M
	vi	aux			pron	vt		

"I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me."

197 <i>Yifo witi</i> yifo witi brand	<i>iti</i> , iti+M take out	<i>yifo witi</i> yifo witi brand	<i>iti</i> iti+M take out	<i>yifo witi</i> yifo witi brand
nf nakoromatamona	vt	nf ahi .	vt	nf
na- koro CAUS be loose vt	-himata -mona FP.N+M REP+N			

'He took a brand out of the fire, and put a spell on the brand.'

•

198	Yifo	nakoro	omat	amona			ahi	
	yifo	na-	koi	ro	-himata	-mona	ahi	
	firewood	CAUS	be	loose	FP.N+M	REP+M	then	
	nf	vt					dem	
ITT.		1						

'He put a spell on the brand.'

199	Yifo	nakoro ,	hikinarebanoho	
		na- koro+M 🤇	hi- kina -rI -hiba -no -	ho
	firewood	CAUS be loose	OC hit raised surface FUT+M IP.N+M D	UP
	nf	vt	vt	

•

•

•

.

'He put a spell on the brand. He threw the brand at it and hit it.'

200	Те	tai	toam	a	
	tee	tai	to-	ha	-ma
	2PL.S	be ahead	СН	AUX	back
	pron	vi	aux		
'''Yo	u go on ah	ead back."'			

201 *Owa te natoriya* owa tee nahato -ra -yahi 1SG.O 2PL.S occupy NEG DIST.IMP+F pron pron vt "'Don't get in my way."

202	Owa	te	natoriya		
	owa	tee	nahato	-ra	-yahi
	1SG.O	2PL.S	occupy	NEG	DIST.IMP+F
	pron	pron	vt		
'"Do	n't get in i	my way."'			

203	Те	tai	toama						
	tee	tai	to-	ha	-ma				
	2PL.S	be ahead	СН	AUX	back				
	pron	vi	aux						
'''Go	on ahead								

204 <i>Me</i>	fawa	na	me	nowati	ya	mera	•
me	fawa	na+F	me	nowati	ya	mera	
3PL	.S disappe	ear AUX	3PL.POSS	after	ADJU	3PL.O	
pro	n vi	aux	pron	pn	prt	pron	
hitehimat	amona		ahi .				
hi- ita	a -himat	a -mona	ahi				
OC pie	erce FP.N+M	REP+M	then				
vt			dem				

'After they were gone, he speared it.'69

205	Hikir	naremai	tamona				yifo witi	ya
	hi-	kina	-rI		-himata	-mona	yifo witi	ya
	OC	hit	raised	surface	FP.N+M	REP+M	brand	ADJU
	vt						nf	prt

'He hit it with the brand.'

206	Koro	tiihii	moni
	koro	tiihii	moni
	(sound of something being thrown) sound	(sound of hitting) sound	make sound vt

69 The last clause is a false start, which is corrected in the next sentence.

•

tone		rama	ahi	
to-	na+M	rama	ahi	
CH	AUX	unusual	then	
aux		prt	dem	
'Korc	o, tiihii, v	vent the sour	nd of it.'	

207	Yama	yobe	sari	kaneba			ama	namatamon	a		ahi
	yama	yobe	sari	ka-	na	-hiba	ama	na.NOM+M	-mata	-mona	ahi
	monster	house	burn	COMIT	AUX	FUT+M	be	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then
	nf	nm	vt	aux			VC	aux			dem

'The monster set the house on fire.'

208	Towak	amemata	ı			awaka	ahi	Maiko	
	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-himata	awa	-ka	ahi	Maiko
	away	COMIT	go/come	back	FP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M	then	(man's name)
	vi					sec		dem	npropm
hikin	narehar	ri 🛛							
hi-	kina	-rI		-ha	ari				
OC	hit	raise	d surfac	e IP.	E+M				
vt									

'It went away hurt, because Maiko had hit it with the brand.'

209	Maiko	hikin	are				Kinari	hina			
	Maiko	hi-	kina	-rI		,	kina	-rI		-hina	
	(man's name)	OC	hit	raised	surface		hit	raised	surface	IRR+M	
	npropm	vt					resu	Lt			
'Mai	ko hit it. "It was hit	t <b>.'''</b>									

210	Amo	onabon	2			owa		kawama	ko						hine
	amo	0-	na	-hak	oone	owa		ka-	waa		-ma]	0			hine
	sleep	1SG.S	AUX	INT-	⊦F	1SG.C	)	COMIT	sta	nd	for	this	reaso	n+M	3.REFL
	vi	aux				pron		vt							pron
yoko	waha					,		hinaka		toni	i			me	hinaka
yok	0		-	-waha	a.CONT			hinaka		tor	ni			me	hinaka
bri	ng misf	ortune	on d	chang	ge			3SG.PO	SS	fan	nili	ar sp	irit	3PL	3SG.POSS
vt								pron		nm				pron	pron
toni			me		hinaka	ı	to	ni			ħ	ne	bao		
ton	i		me	,	hinal	ka	t	oni			n	ne	bao		
fam	iliar s	pirit	3PL		3SG.I	POSS	fā	amiliar	sp:	irit	t 3	BPL.S	come	down	L
nm			pro	n	pron		nı	m			I	oron	vi		
naba	ıni		ma	ti											
na	-haba	-ni	ma	ti											
AUX	FUT+F	IP.N+F	ЗP	L.S											
aux			pr	on											

"I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me. It brought misfortune on itself." His familiar spirits came down to the ground.'

211	Baowa		barorere	
	baowa	,	barorere	
	sound		sound	
'Poo	wa hanan			

'Baowa, barorere.'

212 Aa	•	aya	
aa		aya	
aha		here	
interj		dem	

"Oh, over here."

213 Owa te kasomamatahi owa tee ka- soma -mata -hi 1SG.0 2PL.S COMIT help short time IMP+F pron pron vt "'Help me."'

214	Ati	saimatamona			•	hiwa	ha	nari			
	ati	sai	-himata	-mona	)	hiwa	haa	na	-haari		
	voice	be heard	FP.N+M	REP+M		3SG.REFL.M	call	AUX	IP.E+M		
	pn	vi				pron	vt	aux			
'Hig	'Uie voice could be beend as he called his familier animita'										

'His voice could be heard as he called his familiar spirits.

215 Toni	yokana	me	abowi	babao
toni	yokana	me	abohi	ba- bao
familiar spir	it true	3PL.POSS	dead body	DUP come down
nm	adj	pron	pn	vi
nisakani	maka e	ne		
na -risa -kani	maka e	hene		
AUX down ?+F	monster b	ecause of+M	1	
aux	nm p	n		
	11 1 1		1 1	C • 1

'The familiar spirits were all dead as they came down to earth, because of the monster.'

216 Tok	Tokowisa Abono Fana owa			owa	tikasomamatahi					
Tok	owisa	Abono	Fana	owa	ti-	ka-	soma	-mata		-hi
(na	me of	spirit	<b>こ</b> )	1SG.O	2SG.S	COMIT	help	short	time	DUP
npr	opf			pron	vt					
'''Tokowi										

217Tokowisa Abono Fana<br/>Tokowisa Abono Fana<br/>(name of spirit),kawaki<br/>kawaki<br/>grass spmokananihi<br/>ka-<br/>no100,,,kawaki<br/>grass spmoka-100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,100,,,</tr

'Tokowisa Abono Fana filled her mouth with kawaki grass.'

218 Tokowisa Abono Fana	bao	nake ,	abowi	bao
Tokowisa Abono Fana	bao	na -kI	abohi	bao
(name of spirit)	come down	AUX coming	dead body	come down
npropf	vi	aux	pn	vi
nisakani ahi	•			
na -risa -kani ahi				
AUX down ?+F then				
aux dem				

'Tokowisa Abono Fana came down to earth dead.'

219	Owa	kasomaraba			ha	one			okira			
	owa	ka-	soma	-ra	-haba	haa	0-	na	-ne	0-	-kira	
	1SG.O	COMIT	help	NEG	FUT+F	call	1SG.S	AUX	CONT+F	1SG.S	?+F	
	pron	vt				vt	aux			prt		

"I called her, but she is not going to help me."

220	Tokowisa Abono Fana	bao	nisa .	toni	mera
	Tokowisa Abono Fana	bao	na -risa+F ´	toni	mera
	(name of spirit)	come down	AUX down	familiar spirit	3PL.O
	npropf	vi	aux	nm	pron

•

ha hiwa ha nawematamona ne haa na+M hiwa haa na -waha -himata -mona AUX change FP.N+M REP+M call AUX 3SG.REFL.M call aux pron vt vt. aux 'Tokowisa Abono Fana came down dead. He called familiar spirits. He called others of his familiar spirits.' faya 221 Hiwa ha Tokowisa Abono Fana bao ne , Tokowisa Abono Fana hiwa haa na+M fava bao 3SG.REFL.M call AUX so (name of spirit) come down pron conj npropf vi vt aux namakia firo nemetemone fahi yama ama na -makI+F fahi yama firo na -hemete -mone ama spit SEC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then AUX following thing aux nf vt aux sec dem 'He called his familiar spirits. Another Tokowisa Abono Fana came down to earth, and spit kawaki grass juice out.' 222 Owa tikasomahi aki owa tikasoma -hi aki 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT help IMP+F grandmother pron nf vt "Help me, Grandma."" 223 Yama firo ahi nemetemone firo na -hemete -mone ahi yama spit AUX FP.N+F REP+F then thing nf vt dem aux 'She spit it out.' 224 Yama ati ai neno ati amane nemetemone na -hino na -hemete -mone yama ahi ati ama -ne ati AUX IP.N+M AUX FP.N+F mess with voice REP+F monster be BKG+M say nf vt vt aux pn VC aux ahi ahi then dem "You messed with the monster," she said.' 225 Tokowisa Abono Fana kawaki firo nemetemone ama ahi Tokowisa Abono Fana kawaki firo na -hemete -mone ama ahi (name of spirit) grass sp spit AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC then npropf nf vt aux sec dem 'Tokowisa Abono Fana spit out kawaki grass juice.' 226 Hima amo obe hima amo 0--be na let's go sleep 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F aux interj vi "Come on, I'm going to sleep." 227 Oko otimamatibe vibote 0ka yibote 0to- iti -ma -mata -be 1SG.POSS POSS wife 1SG.S away take out back short time IMMED+F prt nf vt "I'm going to go get my wife."

228 Fati	totima	fati						
fati	to- iti -ma.LIST	fati						
3SG.POSS.wife	away pick up back	3SG.POSS.wife						
nf	vt	nf						
tonakamakane	ahi .							
to- na- ka	-ma -kane ahi							
away CAUS go/come	back ?+M then							
vt	dem							
'He went and picked up his wife. He went after his wife.'								

tonakame 229 Fati fati to- na- ka -ma+M , fati fati 3SG.POSS.wife away CAUS go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife nf nf vt tonakame fati -ma+M to- na- ka fati away CAUS go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife vt nf kakamematamonane ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

'He went after his wife. He brought his wife back.'

230 *Yifo tikahoma* yifo ti- kaho -ma hammock 2SG.S tie back nm vt

vt

"Tie up the hammocks now that you are back."

231 Yifo tikahomahi yifo ti- kaho -ma -hi hammock 2SG.S tie back IMP+F nm vt "Tie up the hammocks."

232	Ε	amo	kibe		
	ee	amo	ka-	na	-be
	1IN.S	sleep	COMIT	AUX	IMMED+F
	pron	vi	aux		
'''Le	t's sleep."'				

233 Maiko	tatama	toaremata	awaka						
Maiko	ta- tama	to- ha -ra -himata	awa -ka						
(man's name)	DUP be many	CH AUX NEG FP.N+M	seem+M DECL+M						
npropm	vi	aux	sec						
winahari									
wina -haari									
live IP.E+M									
vi									
'There were not many people living in Maiko's village.'									

•

234	Hine	ya	me	one	wiwina		toemetemone			me	
	hine	ya	me	one	wi- wi	na	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone	me
	only	ADJU	3PL	other+F	DUP li	ve	СН	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S
	pron	prt	pron	adj	vi		aux				pron

.

.

awineni awine -ni seem+F BKG+F sec 'His relatives lived somewhere else.' 235 Faya , amo nawemata

235 Faya , amo nawematamona fahi . faya amo na -waha -himata -mona fahi so sleep AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then conj vi aux dem

 236
 Faya
 amo
 naweno
 tafimatamonane

 faya
 amo
 na
 -waha
 -hino
 tafi
 -himata
 -mona
 -ne

 so
 sleep
 AUX
 change
 IP.N+M
 wake
 up
 FP.N+M
 REP+M
 BKG+M

 conj
 vi
 vi
 vi
 vi
 vi

237 Yama okinari yama o- kina -rI.NOM monster 1SG.S hit raised surface nf vt

"I threw something at the monster and hit it."

238	Ihi	naro		ha					
	ihi	na	-haaro	haa					
	result of+F	exist	look+F	DEM					
	pn	vi		dem					
"I ook there are the signs of it "									

"Look, there are the signs of it."

239	Fati	homa	awine	ahi
	fati	homa+F	awine	ahi
	3SG.POSS.wife	lie on ground	seem+F	there
	nf	vi	sec	dem
111	1 .1	1 !!!		

"Its mate was there on the ground."

240 Fati	soni	ama	ahi .							
fati	sona.NOM+F	ama	ahi							
3SG.POSS.wife	fall	SEC	then							
nf	vi	sec	dem							
""Its mate fell on the ground.""										

241	Fa	fati	towaka	awa			
	faa	fati	to-	ka-	ka	-ma+M	awa
	that	3SG.POSS.wife	away	COMIT	go/come	back	seem+M
	nf	nf	vt				sec
'''It †	took its r	nate away."'					

242 Towakamematamonane

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

'It went away hurt.'

243 Ene , ene			ene	e ki h			hinematamonane					,	
	ehene		,	ehene		kii		hi-	na	-himata	-mona	-ne	
	result	of+M		result o	M+fc	look	at	OC	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M	
	pn			pn		vt		aux					
dem	e e+M	the signs	of	it.'									
	Yama yama thing nf blew on th	wiso wiso blow vi	<i>kal</i> na AU au	-kane X ?+M	<i>ahi</i> ahi ther dem	1							
110		ic place.											
245	<b>Yama</b> yama thing	<i>wiso</i> wiso blow c	n	<i>kane</i> na −ka AUX ?+M	.ne a	<b>ahi</b> ahi then							

246	Mao	wiso	hine		faya	wati	kakitika	ine		fahi
	maho	wiso	hi- na+M	,				iti	-kane	fahi
	smell+M	blow on	OC AUX		SO	arrow	COMIT	pick up	?+M	then
	pn	vt	aux		conj	nm	vt			dem

•

•

dem

'He blew to take away its smell. Then he got his bow and arrows.'

247	Iita		karar	na	tina	tina			
	i-	ita	na	-karahama	ti-	na			
	DUP	stay	AUX	only do	2SG.S	AUX			
	vi		aux		aux				
'''Yo	u stay	here."'							

vt aux

#### -

nf

'He blew on the place.'

248 *Owamakemataba* o- to- awa -makI -mata -ba 1SG.S away see following short time IMMED+M

vt "'I'm going there to take a look at it."

249	Aba	sa	okomati	ibe					
	aba	saa	0-	ka-	na	-mata		-be	
	fish	shoot with arrow	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	short	time	IMMED+F	
	nm	vt	aux						
"T'm	a a a ina t								

"I'm going to spear a fish."

250	Faya	tokom	akematama	na					fahi		aba	me
	faya	to-	ka	-makI		-hi	imata	-mona	fahi	,	aba	me
	SO	away	go/come	follc	wing	FP.	.N+M	REP+M	then		fish	3PL.O
	conj	vi							dem		nm	pron
sa			neba	noho				aba	me			
saa			na	-hiba	-no		-ho	aba	me			
sho	ot wit	h arro	ow AUX	FUT+M	IP.N-	+M	DUP	fish	3PL.O			
vt			aux					nm	pron			

.

#### kakamebanoho

ka- ka -ma -hiba -no -ho COMIT go/come back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP vt

'He went there. He speared fish, and brought fish back.'

251	Kamakane			ahi	aba	me	weye nari		
	ka	-ma	-kane	ahi	aba	me	weye	na	-haari
	go/come	back	?+M	then	fish	3PL.O	carry	AUX	IP.E+M
	vi			dem	nm	pron	vt	aux	

'He came back carrying fish.'

252 <i>Maka</i> maka monster nm	me me 3PL.0 pron	<i>nabiha</i> na- CAUS vt	ahaba.LIST	,	<i>maka</i> maka monster nm	<i>mera</i> mera 3PL.O pron	<i>nabi</i> na− CAUS vt	ahaba+M die	,	<i>faya</i> faya so conj
<i>banawemata</i> bana move away vi 'He killed the	change FF		awaka awa -ka seem+M DECL sec moved away.'	+M						

253	253 Wiwinawa				toemata				e		maka	me
	wi- wina	u -wah	ia t	0-	ha	-himat	ta	awa		-ne	maka	me
	DUP live	e chan	ige C	Н	AUX	FP.N+N	A	seen	n+M 1	BKG+M	monster	3PL.S
	vi		a	ux				sec			nm	pron
watar	ri		ya		mal	ka	mer	ra	nabi	ari		
wata	a -ra.N	3M+F	ya		mal	ка	mei	ra	na-	ahaba	a -haari	
exis	st NEG		ADJU		mor	nster	3P1	L.O	CAU	S die	IP.E+M	
vi			prt		nm		pro	on	vt			

'He lived there a long time, at a place where there were no monsters, after he killed the monsters.'

? 254 Hika tokaramataya hika to- ka -ra -mata -ya away go/come CQ+M FP.N+M now where interrog vi 'Where did he go?'

255 Tokemata awaka yama one ya yama awa -ka to- ka -himata one ya away go/come FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M place other+F ADJU vi sec nf adj prt towinawititi • to- wina -witI -tee.NOM away live out HAB vi

'He must have gone somewhere else. His descendents live there.'

256	Me	awemete	me	wina	nawa	ırineti							
	me	awa -hemete	me	wina	na	-waharI	-ne	-tee.NOM					
	3PL.S	see FP.N+F	3PL.S	live	AUX	all over	CONT+F	HAB					
	pron	result	pron	vi	aux								
'No	'No one saw them. They live everywhere.'												

o one saw them. They live everywhere.

257	Taboro	bote	watemari	amake					
	taboro	bote	wata.NOM+M -mari	ama -ke					
	place+M	old	be located FP.E+M	be DECL+F					
	pn	adj	vi	VC					
'His old village was there.'									

258 *Hinaka yobe ewene waimari ama ahi*. hinaka yobe ewene waa.NOM -mari ama ahi 350 POSS house woodt stand FR FtM ho then

hinaka	yobe	ewene	waa.NOM	-mari	ama	ahi			
3SG.POS	S house	wood+M	stand	FP.E+M	be	then			
pron	nm	pn	vi		VC	dem			
'The foundation poles of his house used to be there.'									

259	Ino	hiri	ona		one		Maiko		
	ino	hiri.LIST	0-	na.CONT+M	0-	ne	Maiko		
	name+M	say	1SG.S	AUX	1SG.S	BKG+M	(man's name)		
	pn	vt	aux		aux		npropm		
'I have said the name of Maike '									

'I have said the name of Maiko.'

260 <i>Maiko</i> Maiko (man's name) npropm	<b>ka</b> ka POSS prt	<i>yobe</i> yobe house nm	<i>ewene</i> ewene wood+M pn	<i>waimari</i> waa.NOM stand vi	-mari FP.E+M	<i>hato</i> hato bamboo s nf	sp	
	pru	11111	PII	VI		111		
Toto Boti	aman	i						
Toto Boti	ama	-ni						
(name of village)	be	BKG+F						
npropf	VC							
'The foundation poles of Maiko's house used to be there at Toto Boti.'								