#### Free Translation

They shot each other with arrows. His wife broke up with him and married someone else. "Father, there are ripe fruits in the tree there."

"I will pick the fruits. You are hungry. I'm going to climb the tree. Wait for me. Stand there."

He went up into the tree. He picked the *watama* fruits. The *watama* fruits were falling. The boy was picking up the *watama* fruits.

She and her husband came back.

"What about him?"

"Shoot him with an arrow right away. He hates me," she said, calling about him.

He was coming down from the tree. He shot him with an arrow soon after he started coming down from the tree.

"I don't want to shoot him. He's not an animal."

"Shoot him with an arrow right away," she said.

He shot him with an arrow. He came down, wounded.

"Somebody is shooting me with an arrow. Don't kill me."

"I will pull the arrow out from you," he said, since he was wounded.

He grabbed him. His wife stood there watching him. He broke his body with his arms.

She started running. He ran after her. He chased her, and caught her. He caught her, and broke her body, too. Then he started home.

"Hoo, boy I am wounded. Someone shot me with an arrow. We won't go back."

I guess the boy was somewhat big. When the *iha* poison started affecting his father, he sat on the ground. He sat on the ground, and keeled over. Iii, he keeled over.

I guess the boy ate *watama* fruits. He sat next to his father during the night. He didn't come back, and his father missed him.

"My son didn't come back. They must have killed him. They hate him," he said, his father.

He slept. "I'm going to sleep. I will go see them in the morning. My son didn't come back." He slept.

He woke up talking. "I'm going to go see them. I'm remembering that my son didn't come back."

He went and found his son. He came upon the boy crying, who had sat there during the night.

He brought his grandson back. He took his grandson back to their village. He dropped his grandson off.

"He died, so he didn't come back. He is lying there on the ground. Someone shot him with an arrow," he said.

He brought them there. He took them there. They buried his son in the forest. They dug a hole for his son in the forest.

He went to another village. He came upon them as they were playing with a shuttlecock. "Our grandfather is coming," they said. "Grandfather, what have you come for?"

"I came to get my agouti tooth, my agouti tooth that is stuck in the rafters."

"Is there an agouti tooth stuck in the rafters? We didn't see the agouti tooth."

He had a strong odor, because he had painted himself red.

"I'm going to get my agouti tooth," he said.

They were laughing as they played with the shuttlecock. He went inside the longhouse. He hit on the thatch with his hand. He kept hitting on the thatch with his hand, so the agouti tooth would fall down.

"Grandfather, what are you looking for?"

"I'm looking for my agouti tooth," he said. "I am looking for the agouti tooth that is stuck in the eaves, but it is gone," he said.

He was hitting the thatch to find the agouti tooth that was missing. He picked up some old burlap that was lying there, and shook the old burlap. He shook the piece of old burlap, and the people fell down dead.

Then he left. "I'm leaving," he said.

He went home, after having cast a spell on them. After he left, they got sick. He was upset. He didn't see them anymore.

They went after him. He heard a toucan calling. He came to the old garden. He heard a toucan calling.

He spoke near where the two of them had come and were standing, and they were listening. "Oh," he said. "I think the toucan is calling at the old village of the people I cast a spell on," he said.

"That's the one who cast a spell on us talking. We will get revenge on him."

The two of them went back. They cast a spell on him, too, since he had made them sick.

He got sick. They went after him. One of them rubbed *moho* cotton between his hands. He rubbed the *moho* cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton with both palms. His cotton turned to powder and scattered. He could make people sick, too. Then he left them behind, sick. Some of them died, and others survived. Then they went after him. He took some *moho* cotton. He did the same thing as the first one had done. He rubbed cotton between his palms. He rubbed the cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton between his palms. He left them behind sick, as before. Some of them died, as before.

They hated each other, the people of long ago. Then they moved away, and came downstream. They ferried each other in a canoe. Her son was ferrying them.

Then they had an idea. They went back again, and they live back there. His arms had been tired for a long time. He was ferrying them, but some were left standing there.

They called out. "Older brother," she said. "Brother, my son is saying we should go. My son says his arms are tired," she said. "We are going back," she said.

"You go ahead back. You live there. We are going downstream. We are going," they said. "All right, we will eat you," they said.

"We are going to eat you, too," they said, calling out. They turned back, and they live back there.

They came downstream, and we live where they came to.

They put fish traps in the stream there. They put fish traps in the stream there, when Fa Ki Ra fell in the water. Fa Ki Ra fell in the water when he was setting up fish traps, with his son. He called him son.

He called them. "Hey," he said. "Hey, we two are going back ahead, because my son says he is hungry."

"Right, you two go on ahead."

"We are going on ahead. I'm going to climb after genip fruits," he said.

He came with his son, to climb after genip fruits. They came in the *kanawa* bark canoe. They were taking fish out of the traps as they came along.

"There is a genip tree with fruit there. I'm going to climb after genip fruits. You stay in the canoe. Your uncle and the others are coming. The genip fruits will float. The genip fruits are ripe."

So he climbed up. He climbed up, and picked genip fruits. The genip fruits were all falling in the water, as he picked them.

"The fruits are hanging out on the limb. I'm going to jump to reach them."

The genip fruits were out there on the limb. He jumped. He grabbed the genip branch, and it broke. The branch broke off, and he let go.

"Aii," he said. He fell in the water, korii. The *koko* ducks could be heard calling. The *koko* ducks could be heard all over.

Fa Ki Ra didn't come to the surface. Fa Ki Ra disappeared.

His son was waiting for him. He made his son cry. The boy was crying as he was in the canoe, and his uncle and the others heard him crying as they came.

"Wai came, and his son is crying there. Did he fall in the water? That's why his son is crying. Paddle over there." So they came.

"My father, my father, my father fell in the water there."

"Why is he crying?" his uncle said.

"My father fell in the water there."

"Wai has fallen in the water. Where is he? Shall we try to reach him with a pole?"

"Let's try to reach him with a pole. He will grab the pole."

They cut a pole, and poked in the water for him. "Grab onto the pole. Wai, grab onto the pole."

He didn't grab the pole. They left him because the sun went down.

"He must have died. Let's leave him. We will come after him tomorrow."

They were ready to leave. He put his nephew in his canoe, and took his nephew to where Wai, without them knowing it, had been sitting on the end of a fish trap. He paddled Wai in his canoe, too. There were many canoes one after the other.

There he was, sitting on the end of a fish trap. "There is Wai sitting."

"Oooo," he said.

They put him in the canoe, and then he was with his son. They came back with them. They came back, setting fish traps. Where is the water where they set fish traps? It was the Wara lake.

A different group, it got dark on them. When they saw the sun going down, they called loudly to each other. They all came back.

"Come on, come one, let's go home. The sun is going down."

They were the people from Awita Fa. They were ready to go.

They were all paddling. They paddled toward the place where there was a monster, which they did not see. It was a monster. The monster was extended over the water.

One of them was in the front of the canoe, paddling hard, and he saw something. "Fiko, fiko."

They disappeared, as they were coming back. They went underwater. They disappeared, and came out on the other side. The monster was left there by them.

They arrived back, and tied up the canoe. They picked up the bunches of fish. It got dark on them.

"Oh, they didn't come back. I'm going to see them. I will take a resin torch."

He lit the resin torch, and went after them. He went after them, calling them. "Hey."

"Hey, hey, hey," they said, up high. "We are coming back up high."

"Oh, I am shining the light on them like that." Boto, he put out the torch. Fowi, he went up there. They went back. He joined them, after catching up to them.

They came down to the ground, carrying the fish. They came down to the ground, and then roasted the fish on racks. They are fish for a long time.

The fish went back upstream and stayed there. He was fishing with his brother-in-law. The others left them behind. His brother-in-law was young.

He tied fish on a line. He tied two bunches of fish on lines. He called the others, but they didn't respond. His brother-in-law was crying, because he was hungry.

"Wait, stay here. I will take care of us. Tie up the bow and arrows. We will go there. They took the canoe and disappeared, leaving us behind."

He took snuff to get ready. "Look at me."

His mother was crying. They had left him behind.

Then they went home. He took snuff, and then spoke. The sound of him started up as he disappeared. The two of them disappeared. He took his brother-in-law. He carried the boy on his back. He took the boy.

They came down to the ground right next to their house.

"Whew."

"Is this our village?"

"This is our village. This is where we live."

The boy didn't recognize the place, because he was small.

They went in the house. He was carrying fish. His brother-in-law was carrying fish, too. They went inside. He made his brother-in-law go in first.

"Mother, why are you crying?"

"That is my son calling me," she said.

"Mother, it is me, the two of us came back. Gut the fish."

She began to gut the fish, as she stopped crying about her son. She cooked the fish. She fed her son, who had cried with hunger.

"Whew, you left us behind, and we came walking in the water. We have come back walking in the water. The water was almost going in my nose. He wouldn't listen to me as I was with him in the water. We were together. We are going to sleep now."

He brought him back. They came back, and stayed there. They are and took snuff. They took snuff, and talked about the forest monster.

#### Interlinear Presentation

| 1 <b>M</b> e | e   | me       | ibe   | tisa             | kaneme | temon | eke     |       |        |  |
|--------------|-----|----------|-------|------------------|--------|-------|---------|-------|--------|--|
| me           | 9   | me       | ibe   | tisa             | ka-    | na    | -hemete | -mone | -ke    |  |
| 3P           | PL. | 3PL.POSS | RECIP | shoot with arrow | COMIT  | AUX   | FP.N+F  | REP+F | DECL+F |  |
| pr           | con | pron     | pn    | vt               | aux    |       |         |       |        |  |
| wati         |     | ya .     |       |                  |        |       |         |       |        |  |
| wati         |     | ya       |       |                  |        |       |         |       |        |  |
| arrow        | W   | ADJU     |       |                  |        |       |         |       |        |  |
| nm           |     | prt      |       |                  |        |       |         |       |        |  |

'They shot each other with arrows.'

2 Fati fati hikako fati
fati fati hi- kaako+M fati
3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife OC be angry with 3SG.POSS.wife
nf vt nf

fanawemetemoneke

fana -waha -hemete -mone -ke be married change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

'His wife broke up with him and married someone else.'

3 Abi awa boni kawineke abi awa boni ka- waa -ne -ke haaro father tree fruit+F COMIT stand CONT+F DECL+F that one+F nm nf pn vi dem

"Father, there are ripe fruits in the tree there."

4 Awa boni bata onabana oke
awa boni bata o- na -habana o- ke
tree fruit+F pick 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
nf pn vt aux prt

"I will pick the fruits."

5 Tifimi tike
ti- fimi ti- ke
2SG.S be hungry 2SG.S DECL+F
vi prt

"You are hungry."

6 Yama onabanake

yama o- na -habana -ke climb 1SG.S AUX FUT+F DECL+F vt aux

"I'm going to climb the tree."

7 Owa nonoki tina
owa no- noki ti- na
1SG.O DUP wait for 2SG.S AUX
pron vt aux

"Wait for me."

8 Wawa tina fahi
wa- waa ti- na fahi
DUP stand 2SG.S AUX there
vi aux dem

"Stand there."

9 Tokomisematamonaka

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

'He went up into the tree.'

10 Tokomise watama bata ne watama foro to- ka -misa+M watama bata na+M watama foro away go/come up tree sp pick AUX tree sp fall vi nf vt aux nf vi

#### nemetemonehe

na -hemete -mone -he
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP

'He went up into the tree. He picked the watama fruits. The watama fruits were falling.'

| 11 | Watama  | watama  | foro | na   | ra  | inamatewe | yabematamona         | ama |
|----|---------|---------|------|------|-----|-----------|----------------------|-----|
|    | watama  | watama  | foro | na+F | ra  | inamatewe | yaba -himata -mona   | ama |
|    | tree sp | tree sp | fall | AUX  | 0   | child     | pick up FP.N+M REP+M | SEC |
|    | nf      | nf      | vi   | aux  | prt | nm        | vt                   | sec |

'The boy was picking up the watama fruits.'

12 Me kakamakemetemoneke maki
me ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke maki
3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS.husband pron vt nm

ya famaharo

ya fama -haaro ADJU be with IP.E+F prt vi

'She and her husband came back.'

13 E rabaya
ee na -ra -ba -ya
(question) AUX CQ+M FUT now
vi aux

"What about him?"

14 E rabaya
ee na -ra -ba -ya
(question) AUX CQ+M FUT now
vi aux

"What about him?"

15 Tisa tikanibote tinaho

tisa ti- ka- na -bote ti- na -ho
shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
vt aux aux

"Shoot him with an arrow right away."

fe 16 *Owa* kakote amane ati nemetemoneke owa kaako -tee ama -ne ati na -hemete -mone -ke fee AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.0 1SG.O be angry with HAB SEC BKG+M say pron vt sec vt aux pron

ha kanaharo

haa ka- na -haaro call COMIT AUX IP.E+F vt aux

"He hates me," she said, calling about him.'

17 Tisa tikanibote tinaho
tisa ti- ka- na -bote ti- na -ho
shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
vt aux aux

"Shoot him with an arrow right away."

18 *Owa* kakote ati nemetemonehe amane owa kaako -tee ama -ne ati na -hemete -mone -he AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP SEC BKG+M 1SG.O be angry with HAB say pron vt sec vt

"He hates me," she said."

19 Kisamematamonaka

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

'He was coming down from the tree.'

20 *Hiba* kikisama ne ra sa hiba ki- ka -risa -ma na+M saa ra soon after DUP go/come down back AUX 0 shoot with arrow conj vi aux prt vt

kanematamonaka

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

'He shot him with an arrow soon after he started coming down from the tree.'

21 Sa okana o- ka- na shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX aux

"I don't want to shoot him."

sec

22 **Bani** ama bani ama animal be

"He's not an animal."

23 Sa tikanibote tinaho ati
saa ti- ka- na -bote ti- na -ho ati
shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+M say
vt aux vt

nemetemoneni

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

"Shoot him with an arrow right away," she said.'

24 Faya sa hikanematamonaka ahi
faya saa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
so shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
conj vt aux dem

kakisamebanoho

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

'He shot him with an arrow. He came down, wounded.'

#### 25 Kisamematamonaka

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

'He came back down.'

| 26 | Owa   | me    | sa               | kanaba         | ama   | okira     | ati |
|----|-------|-------|------------------|----------------|-------|-----------|-----|
|    | owa   | me    | saa              | ka- na -hab    | a ama | okira     | ati |
|    | 1SG.0 | 3PL.S | shoot with arrow | COMIT AUX FUT+ | F SEC | 1SG.O ?+F | say |
|    | pron  | pron  | vt               | aux            | sec   | prt       | vt  |

#### nematamonane

na -himata -mona -ne AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M aux

"Somebody is shooting me with an arrow."

| 27 | Owa   | owa   | awaraba     | tinahi |     |       |
|----|-------|-------|-------------|--------|-----|-------|
|    | owa   | owa   | awaraba     | ti-    | na  | -hi   |
|    | 1SG.0 | 1SG.0 | leave alone | 2SG.S  | AUX | IMP+F |
|    | pron  | pron  | vt.         | aux    |     |       |

"Don't kill me."

| 28  | Tiwa  | soba     | okobeya |       |     |         |     | ati | nema | tamonane |       |       |
|-----|-------|----------|---------|-------|-----|---------|-----|-----|------|----------|-------|-------|
|     | tiwa  | soba     | 0-      | ka-   | na  | -be     | -ya | ati | na   | -himata  | -mona | -ne   |
|     | 2SG.0 | pull out | 1SG.S   | COMIT | AUX | IMMED+F | now | say | AUX  | FP.N+M   | REP+M | BKG+M |
|     | pron  | vt       | aux     |       |     |         |     | vt  | aux  |          |       |       |
| nol | 10    | tomako   |         |       |     |         |     |     |      |          |       |       |

noho
noho to- na -mako
be hurt CH AUX for this reason+M
vi aux

"I will pull the arrow out from you," he said, since he was wounded."

#### 29 Hiwatematamonaka

hi- wata -himata -mona -ka OC catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt

'He grabbed him.'

| 30 | Hiwate     | fati          | wa       | nemetemone       | fe    |
|----|------------|---------------|----------|------------------|-------|
|    | hi- wata+M | fati          | waa.LIST | na -hemete -mone | fee   |
|    | OC catch   | 3SG.POSS.wife | stand    | AUX FP.N+F REP+F | 3SG.O |
|    | vt         | nf            | vi       | aux              | pron  |

#### kakatomaharo

ka- katoma -haaro COMIT look at IP.E+F

'He grabbed him. His wife stood there watching him.'

| 31                                 | He    | baka  | nako | seba   |       | ama | namatamon | a      |       | ahi  |
|------------------------------------|-------|-------|------|--------|-------|-----|-----------|--------|-------|------|
|                                    | hee   | baka  | na   | -kosa  | -hiba | ama | na.NOM+M  | -mata  | -mona | ahi  |
|                                    | 3SG.0 | break | AUX  | middle | FUT+M | be  | AUX       | FP.N+M | REP+M | then |
|                                    | pron  | vt    | aux  |        |       | VC  | aux       |        |       | dem  |
| 'He broke his body with his arms.' |       |       |      |        |       |     |           |        |       |      |

32 Baka hisematamonaka baka hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka ahi break OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then vt aux dem

'He broke his body.'

fito 33 *Fati* kana ni yana tona kana na.NFIN yana to- na+F 3SG.POSS.wife run AUX start CH AUX rush nf vi aux vi aux vi

hikanamakia
hi- to- ka- na -makI+F hi- kiyo+F
OC away COMIT AUX following OC chase
aux

hiwatamakiemetemoneheni

hi- to- wata -makI -hemete -mone -he -ni OC away catch following FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F vt.

'She started running. He ran after her. He chased her, and caught her.'

34 Hiwatamakia baka hisatasemetemone ahi
hi- to- wata -makI+F baka hi- na -kosa -tasa -hemete -mone ahi
OC away catch following break OC AUX middle again FP.N+F REP+F then
vt vt aux dem

'He caught her, and broke her body, too.'

35 Faya kamematamona

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

'Then he started home.'

36 Kame kamehimatamonaka

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

'He came home.'

37 Hoo inamatewe noho oni
hoo inamatewe noho o- to- na.NOM+F
humph child be hurt 1SG.S CH AUX
inter; nm vi aux

"Hoo, boy I am wounded."

38 *Owa* ki owa me tisa tisa kana.NOM+F owa owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow COMIT AUX 1SG.O pron pron vt pron aux

"Someone shot me with an arrow."

39 E towakamakiraba e amake
ee to- ka- ka -makI -ra-haba ee ama-ke
1IN.S away COMIT go/come following NEG FUT+F 1IN.S SEC DECL+F
pron vi pron sec

"We won't go back."

| 40 Inamatewe                        | inamatewe | nanafi     | nemata     | awane        |  |  |  |  |  |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|--------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| inamatewe                           | inamatewe | na- nafi   | na -himata | awa -ne      |  |  |  |  |  |
| child                               | child     | DUP be big | AUX FP.N+M | seem+M BKG+M |  |  |  |  |  |
| nm                                  | nm        | vi         | aux        | sec          |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'I guess the boy was somewhat big.' |           |            |            |              |  |  |  |  |  |

| 41 | <i>Makoni</i> makoni for this reaconj | ,<br>ason | <pre>bati bati 3SG.POSS.father nm</pre>        | <pre>ia iha plant sp nm</pre> | <pre>wati wati plan against vt</pre> |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|    | <i>aneno</i><br>- ka- na              | -hino     | <pre>itarisematamonaka ita -risa -himata</pre> | a -mona -ka                   | ·                                    |

hi- ka- na -hino ita -risa -himata -mona -ka
OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M sit down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux vi

'When the iha poison started affecting his father, he sat on the ground.'

| 42 | Itarise     | boto      | tosematamonane                   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----|-------------|-----------|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|    | ita -risa+M | boto      | to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ne   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|    | sit down    | fall over | CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|    | vi          | vi        | aux                              |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'He sat on the ground, and keeled over.'

| 43 | Iii                      | sonematamona         | ahi         |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
|    | iii                      | sona -himata -mona   | ahi         |
|    | (sound of falling) sound | fall FP.N+M REP+M vi | then<br>dem |

'Iii, he keeled over.'

| 44 Inamatewe   | watama  | yome    | nema | ıta        | awaka  |        |     |
|----------------|---------|---------|------|------------|--------|--------|-----|
| inamatewe      | watama  | yome    | na   | -himata    | awa    | -ka    | ,   |
| child          | tree sp | swallow | AUX  | FP.N+M     | seem+M | DECL+M |     |
| nm             | nf      | vt      | aux  |            | sec    |        |     |
| bati           | beri    | ya      | ita  | nabebanoho | )      |        |     |
| bati           | beheri  | . ya    | ita  | nahaba     | -hiba  | -no    | -ho |
| 3SG.POSS.fathe | er side | ADJU    | sit  | at night   | FUT+M  | IP.N+M | DUP |
| nm             | ng      | prt     | vi   | prt        |        |        |     |

'I guess the boy ate watama fruits. He sat next to his father during the night.'

| 45  | Bati            |   | bati            | beri   | ya   | ita | nabe       |
|-----|-----------------|---|-----------------|--------|------|-----|------------|
|     | bati            | , | bati            | beheri | ya   | ita | nahaba+M ' |
|     | 3SG.POSS.father |   | 3SG.POSS.father | side   | ADJU | sit | at night   |
|     | nm              |   | nm              | pn     | prt  | vi  | prt        |
| kar | nakira          |   | tahina hati     |        | hi   | ina | Okata      |

| kamakire |           |       | tabiyo  | bati            | hiwe |         | Okatao |
|----------|-----------|-------|---------|-----------------|------|---------|--------|
| ka       | -makI     | -ra+M | tabiyo  | bati            | hi-  | awa+M ´ | okatao |
| go/come  | following | NEG   | absence | 3SG.POSS.father | OC   | feel    | my son |
| vi       |           |       | pn      | nm              | vt   |         | nm     |

kamakibona kamakira

ka -makI -hibona ka -makI -ra.CONT+M go/come following INT+M go/come following NEG vi

'He sat next to his father during the night. He didn't come back, and his father missed him. "My son didn't come back."'

| 46 | Me   | me hinahabihe |     |      |         | awane  |       |  |  |  |
|----|------|---------------|-----|------|---------|--------|-------|--|--|--|
|    | me   | me            | hi- | na-  | ahaba+M | awa    | -ne   |  |  |  |
|    | 3PL  | 3PL.S         | OC  | CAUS | die     | seem+M | BKG+M |  |  |  |
|    | pron | pron          | vt  |      |         | sec    |       |  |  |  |

"They must have killed him."

| 47 | Me    | hikako           | hinofe      | ama , | ati |
|----|-------|------------------|-------------|-------|-----|
|    | me    | hi- kaako+M      | hi- nofa+M  | ama   | ati |
|    | 3PL.S | OC be angry with | OC recently | SEC   | say |
|    | pron  | vt               | prt         | sec   | vt  |

nematamonaka
na -himata -mona -ka bati
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.father
aux nm

"They hate him," he said, his father.'

# 48 Faya amo nematamonaka faya amo na -himata -mona -ka so sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M conj vi aux 'He slept.'

49 Amo omatibe

amo o- na -mata -be sleep 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F vi aux

"I'm going to sleep."

50 Me owamaminibe

me o- to- awa -ma -mina -be 3PL.O 1SG.S away see back morning IMMED+F pron vt

"I will go see them in the morning."

51 Okatao kamakikara

okatao ka -makI -ka -ra my son go/come following DECL+M NEG+M nm vi

"My son didn't come back."

52 *Faya* amo ne amo ne ati faya amo na+M amo na+M ati SO sleep AUX sleep AUX voice conj vi aux vi

katafimatamonahane

ka- tafi -himata -mona -ha -ne COMIT wake up FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M

'He slept. He woke up talking.'

53 Hiba me owamamatibe

hiba me o- to- awa -ma -mata -be wait 3PL.0 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F interj pron vt

"I'm going to go see them."

| 54 | Okatao | kamakiram | ako       | owati | ama  |      |          |          |       |     |
|----|--------|-----------|-----------|-------|------|------|----------|----------|-------|-----|
|    | okatao | ka        | -makI     | -ra   | -mal | KO   |          | 0-       | ati   | ama |
|    | my son | go/come   | following | NEG   | for  | this | reason+M | 1SG.POSS | voice | be  |
|    | nm     | vi        |           |       |      |      |          | pn       |       | VC  |

biti towasimebanoho

biti to- wasi -ma -hiba -no -ho 3SG.POSS.son away find back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

nm vt

"I'm remembering that my son didn't come back." He went and found his son."

55 Inamatewe ita nabeno ohi ni ra-hino inamatewe ita nahaba ohi na.NFIN ra child sit at night IP.N+M AUX 0 cry vi vi nm prt aux prt

towasimematamonane

to- wasi -ma -himata -mona -ne away find back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

vt

'He came upon the boy crying, who had sat there during the night.'

56 Faya inamatewe ohi ni hinaka noti faya inamatewe ohi na.NFIN to- wasi -ma+M hinaka noti so child cry AUX away find back 3SG.POSS grandson conj vi aux pron nm

kakamehinakanotika-ka-ma+MhinakanotiCOMITgo/comeback3SG.POSSgrandsonvtpronnm

towakamematamonaka tahori fara me va to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka tabori fara me ya away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.POSS place+F same+F A D.TII dem pron pn prt

'He came upon the boy crying. He brought his grandson back. He took his grandson back to their village.'

57 Hinaka noti towakame hinaka noti noti hinaka hinaka t.o- kaka -ma+Mnoti grandson away COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS grandson pron nm vt pron nm

tosemematamonaha

to- isI -ma -himata -mona -ha away drop off back FP.N+M REP+M DUP

'He took his grandson back. He dropped his grandson off.'

58 Abamako kamakirenoho home -ho ahaba -mako ka -makI -ra -hino homa.NOM+M go/come following NEG IP.N+M DUP die for this reason+M lie on ground vi vi vi

ahi

ahi there

dem

"He died, so he didn't come back. He is lying there on the ground."

59 Me hikanenone ati sa me hi- kana -hino -ne ati saa OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M BKG+M 3PL.S shoot with arrow say pron aux vt

#### nematamonaha

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

"Someone shot him with an arrow," he said."

60 Faya me mera kakamematamonaka faya me mera ka- ka -ma

faya me mera ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka so 3PL 3PL.O COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

conj pron pron vt

'He brought them there.'

61 Mera kakame biti me -ma+M ka- ka biti mera me COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S 3PL.O pron vt nm pron

hikamokosematamonahane

hi- to- kamo -kosa -himata -mona -ha -ne OC CH bury middle FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M

'He took them there. They buried his son in the forest.'

62 *Biti* hotonebona wi hinakose me fiva biti hotone -bona me wii hi- tona -kosa+M fiva pass 3SG.POSS.son hole+M INT+M 3PL.S dia OC СН AUX middle pron vt vi aux ng

tonamematamonaka

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

'They dug a hole for his son in the forest. He went to another village.'

63 *Fiva* fiya toname tatao fiya to- na -ma+Mfiya to- na -ma+M tatao away AUX back away AUX back pass pass shuttlecock 3PL.S vi aux vi aux pron

tao nani mera towasimematamonane tao na -hani mera to- wasi -ma -himata -mona -ne hit with one's hand AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O away find back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M aux pron vt

'He went to another village. He came upon them as they were playing with a shuttlecock.'

64 **E** ka iti kame ati nemetemone me ee ka iti ka -ma+Mati na -hemete -mone me 1IN POSS grandfather go/come back 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F pron prt nm vi pron vt. aux

ahi

ahi

then

dem

"Our grandfather is coming," they said.'

65 *Iti* himata ebe tinahaba tikamine iti himata ti- na -haba tika ebe -ma -ne grandfather 2SG.S AUX FUT+F 2SG.S go/come back CONT+F what? purpose interrog vt aux vi

tiriya
ti- ri -ya
2SG.S CQ+F now

"Grandfather, what have you come for?"

sinama onakamine 66 **Oko** ino ka 0sinama ino o- na- ka -ma -ne 1SG.POSS POSS agouti tooth+M 1SG.S CAUS go/come back CONT+F prt nm pn v/t oko ino basa tonenoho oni sinama 0--hino -ho ni  $\circ$ ka sinama ino basa to- na 1SG.POSS POSS protrude AUX IP.N+M DUP 1SG.S BKG+F agouti tooth+M СН prt prt nm pn vi aux ati nematamonahane ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M vt aux

"I came to get my agouti tooth, my agouti tooth that is stuck in the rafters."

67 Sinama ino sinama ino basa ? tone awa sinama ino sinama ino basa to- na+M awa tooth+M agouti tooth+M protrude CH AUX agouti seem+M pn nm pn vi aux sec

"Is there an agouti tooth stuck in the rafters?"

68 Sinama ino ota awarini
sinama ino otaa awa -ra -ni
agouti tooth+M 1EX.S see NEG BKG+F
nm pn pron vt

"We didn't see the agouti tooth."

69 *Maho* kitakanikimematamona hiwa mawa maho kita -kanikima -himata -mona hiwa mawa be strong scattered FP.N+M REP+M smell+M 3SG.REFL.M paint red νi pron vt

nenoho

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

aux

'He had a strong odor, because he had painted himself red.'

70 Oko sinama ino
o- ka sinama ino
1SG.POSS POSS agouti tooth+M
prt nm pn

otimamatibeyaatio-to-iti-ma-mata-be-yaati1SG.S away take out back short time IMMED+F now sayvtvt

nematamonahane

na -himata -mona -ha -ne AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M

"I'm going to get my agouti tooth," he said."

71 *Tatao* me tao haha na me tatao me tao na+F me haahaa hit with one's hand shuttlecock 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S laugh pron aux pron nemetemone amani mρ ama -ni na -hemete -mone me AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F pron sec 'They were laughing as they played with the shuttlecock.' 72 *Faya* tokiyomame yobe to yama yama yama to- ka -ma+Mfaya -yoma yama yobe t 00 thing so away go/come through back thing thatch hit hand on nf nf conj 77 i nm 77 T nematamona ahi na -himata -mona ahi AUX FP.N+M REP+M then aux dem 'He went inside the longhouse. He hit on the thatch with his hand.' 73 *Yobe* kisakisa kana nematamona ahi sinama kisa- kisa na -himata -mona ahi yobe kana DUP shake up COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M then thatch agouti aux aux ino soni tabivo sona.NFIN tabivo ino wanting tooth+M fall vi pn 'He kept hitting on the thatch with his hand, so the agouti tooth would fall down.' 74 *Iti* himatani siba tine tiriya himata -ni tiiti siba tina -ne ri what? IP.N+F 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S CQ+F now look for grandfather interrog vt aux prt "Grandfather, what are you looking for?" 75 *Oko* sinama ino siba one oni ka sinama ino siba 0na -ne 0-1SG.POSS POSS agouti tooth+M look for 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F pn vt aux prt ati nematamonaha ati na -himata -mona -ha say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP vt. aux "I'm looking for my agouti tooth," he said.' 76 Sinama ino basa toneno ino sinama ino ino basa to- na -hino CH AUX IP.N+M agouti tooth+M protrude tooth+M pn vi aux onakame ino fawa ati 0na.CONT+M -ne naka -ma+M ino fawa ati BKG+M 1SG.S CAUS go/come back tooth+M disappear AUX say vi vt pn aux

#### nematamonahane

na -himata -mona -ha -ne AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M

"I am looking for the agouti tooth that is stuck in the eaves, but it is gone," he said."

| 77 <b>Sinama</b> | ino         | fawa    | ne      | tabij | yo .   | yama  | kisa     | ne   |  |
|------------------|-------------|---------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------|------|--|
| sinama           | ino         | fawa    | na+M    | tab   | iyo    | yama  | kisa     | na+M |  |
| agouti           | tooth+M     | disappe | ar AUX  | wan   | ting   | thing | shake up | AUX  |  |
| nm               | pn          | vi      | aux     | pn    |        | nf    | vt       | aux  |  |
| isitoba          | bote fore   |         | iti     | ,     | sitoba | bote  | wiyi     |      |  |
| isitoba          | bote for I  | -       | iti+M   | i     | sitoba | bote  | wiyi     |      |  |
| estopa           | old lie     | on top  | pick up | е     | stopa  | old   | shake    |      |  |
| nf               | adj vi      |         | vt      | n     | f      | adj   | vt       |      |  |
| nematamona       | ka          | a       | ıhi .   |       |        |       |          |      |  |
| na -hima         | ıta -mona - | ·ka a   | ahi     |       |        |       |          |      |  |
| AUX FP.N+        | M REP+M D   | ECL+M t | then    |       |        |       |          |      |  |
| aux              |             | Ċ       | dem     |       |        |       |          |      |  |
|                  |             |         |         |       |        |       |          |      |  |

'He was hitting the thatch to find the agouti tooth that was missing. He picked up some old burlap that was lying there, and shook the old burlap.'

| 78 | Isitoba   |       | wiyi    |           | ene           | siwa   | rebanoho |       |        |     |
|----|-----------|-------|---------|-----------|---------------|--------|----------|-------|--------|-----|
|    | isitoba   | bote  | wiyi    | na+M ´    | ehene         | siwa   | na -ra   | -hiba | -no    | -ho |
|    | estopa    | old   | shake   | AUX       | victim of+M   | die    | AUX NEG  | FUT+M | IP.N+M | DUP |
|    | nf        | adj   | vt      | aux       | pn            | vi     | aux      |       |        |     |
| ,  | ene       | fo    | roro    | kanebanoh | 10            |        | •        |       |        |     |
|    | ehene     | f     | oro -ro | ka- na    | a -hiba -no   | -ho    |          |       |        |     |
|    | victim of | f+M f | all DUP | COMIT A   | UX FUT+M IP.N | +M DUP |          |       |        |     |
|    | ng        | V     | i       | aux       |               |        |          |       |        |     |

'He shook the piece of old burlap, and the people fell down dead.'

#### 79 Faya tokomematamona

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

'Then he left.'

# 80 Okomibonehe o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M vi vt aux

"I'm leaving," he said.'

# 81 Tokomematamonaka to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka mera mera wiso mera wiso away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O 3PL.O blow vi

#### kanahari

ka- na -haari COMIT AUX IP.E+M

'He went home, after having cast a spell on them.'

| 82 | 2 Tokome |         |       | nowati | ya   | me    | tohakosemetemone |    |        |         |       | ahi  |
|----|----------|---------|-------|--------|------|-------|------------------|----|--------|---------|-------|------|
|    | to-      | ka      | -ma+M | nowati | ya   | me    | to-              | ha | -kosa  | -hemete | -mone | ahi  |
|    | away     | go/come | back  | behind | ADJU | 3PL.S | CH               | be | middle | FP.N+F  | REP+F | then |
|    | vi       |         |       | pn     | prt  | pron  | vi               |    |        |         |       | dem  |

'After he left, they got sick.'

#### 83 Faya yawematamonaka

faya yawa -himata -mona -ka so be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M conj vi

'He was upset.'

#### 84 Faya mera aawama tere

faya mera a- awa -ma na -tee -ra+M so 3PL.O DUP see back AUX HAB NEG conj pron vt aux

'He didn't see them anymore.'

#### 85 Me hinakamakimatamonaka

me hi- to- na- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M pron vt

'They went after him.'

#### 86 Me hinakamaki

me hi- to- na- ka -makI+M yaki hai
3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following toucan sp call of toucan
pron vt nm vi

hai

yaki

ni mitematamona

aux vt

'They went after him. He heard a toucan calling.'

#### 87 Kamematamona

ka -ma -himata -mona fatara ya go/come back FP.N+M REP+M garden ADJU nf prt

'He came to the old garden.'

| 88 | Yaki      | hai            | ni      | mite   | ati   | yana  |
|----|-----------|----------------|---------|--------|-------|-------|
|    | yaki      | hai            | na.NFIN | mita+M | ati   | yana  |
|    | toucan sp | call of toucan | AUX     | hear   | voice | start |
|    | nm        | vi             | aux     | vt     | pn    | vi    |

nematamonaka yoro nake ni yama me me ya na -himata -mona -ka na -kI me yoro me ni ya yama AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S stand AUX coming 3PL to ADJU thing aux pron vi aux pron prt prt

mekamitamatimeka-mita+Fmati3PL.SCOMIT hear3PL.Spronvtpron

'He heard a toucan calling. He spoke near where the two of them had come and were standing, and they were listening.'

89 Haa ati nematamonahane
haa ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne
oh say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
interj vt aux

"Oh," he said.'

90 *Me* ya wiso okanamaro tabori bote me wiso o- ka- na -hamaro me me tabori bote va blow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O 3PL.POSS place+F old ADJU pron pron vi aux adi pn prt hai awaraya ati nematamonahane yaki ne ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne yaki hai na+M awaraya toucan sp call of toucan AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M vi vt aux aux

"I think the toucan is calling at the old village of the people I cast a spell on," he said."

91 Era wiso kanemata ati ama era wiso ka- na -himata ati ama 1IN.O blow COMIT AUX FP.N+M voice be pron vi aux pn vc

"That's the one who cast a spell on us talking."

92 Manako tohabaya

manako to- ha -ba -ya revenge CH pay back IMMED+M now nf result

"We will get revenge on him."

93 Me wete tokanamemetemone

me wete to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone 3PL.S return away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F pron vi aux

'The two of them went back.'

94 *Me* wiso hikabisematamonaka mera ko hi- ka- na -bisa -himata -mona -ka wiso mera koo blow OC COMIT AUX also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S 3PL.O have a tumor pron νi aux pron vi

tonihamako

to- niha- ha -mako CH CAUS AUX for this reason+M aux

'They cast a spell on him, too, since he had made them sick.'

95 Ene siwa nematamonaha

ehene siwa na -himata -mona -ha victim of+M die AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP pn vi aux

'He got sick.'

96 Faya me hinakamaki , yehe bako yehe bako so 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following conj pron vt , yehe bako pn pn

| moho    | kiyo | nawahematan | nawahematamona |       |      |      | tokomakehari |           |        |  |  |
|---------|------|-------------|----------------|-------|------|------|--------------|-----------|--------|--|--|
| moho    | kiyo | na -waha    | -himata        | -mona | ahi  | to-  | ka           | -makI     | -haari |  |  |
| tree sp | rub  | AUX change  | e FP.N+M       | REP+M | then | away | go/come      | following | IP.E+M |  |  |
| nf      | vt   | aux         |                |       | dem  | vi   |              |           |        |  |  |

'They went after him. He rubbed moho cotton between his hands.'

| 97 <b>Yehe</b> | bako    |        |        | moho   |     | kiyo | nawa  | ihe     | m    | oho     |           |
|----------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|-----|------|-------|---------|------|---------|-----------|
| yehe           | bako    |        |        | moho   |     | kiyo | na na | -waha+i | M mo | oho     |           |
| hand           | inner   | surfac | ce+M   | tree   | sp  | rub  | AUX   | change  | tı   | ree sp  |           |
| pn             | pn      |        |        | nf     |     | vt   | aux   |         | ni   | f       |           |
| tao            |         |        | kanema | itamon | a   |      |       | ahi     | ye   | bako    |           |
| tao            |         |        | ka-    | na     | -hi | mata | -mona | ahi     | yehe | e bako  |           |
| hit wit        | h one's | hand   | COMIT  | AUX    | FP. | N+M  | REP+M | then    | hand | d inner | surface+M |
| vt             |         |        | aux    |        |     |      |       | dem     | pn   | pn      |           |
| ya .           |         |        |        |        |     |      |       |         |      |         |           |
| ya             |         |        |        |        |     |      |       |         |      |         |           |
| ADJU           |         |        |        |        |     |      |       |         |      |         |           |
| prt            |         |        |        |        |     |      |       |         |      |         |           |

'He rubbed the moho cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton with both palms.'

| 98 | Hinaka   | moho    | bo      | tonemeten |     | etemoneni |       |       |  |  |
|----|----------|---------|---------|-----------|-----|-----------|-------|-------|--|--|
|    | hinaka   | moho    | boo     | to- na    |     | -hemete   | -mone | -ni   |  |  |
|    | 3SG.POSS | tree sp | crumble | СН        | AUX | FP.N+F    | REP+F | BKG+F |  |  |
|    | pron     | nf      | vi      | aux       |     |           |       |       |  |  |

'His cotton turned to powder and scattered.'

| 99 | Ene         | siwa | nabisareba |       |     |       | ama | namatamonaha |        |       |     |
|----|-------------|------|------------|-------|-----|-------|-----|--------------|--------|-------|-----|
|    | ehene       | siwa | na         | -bisa | -ra | -hiba | ama | na.NOM+M     | -mata  | -mona | -ha |
|    | victim of+M | die  | AUX        | also  | NEG | FUT+M | be  | AUX          | FP.N+M | REP+M | DUP |
|    | pn          | vi   | aux        |       |     |       | VC  | aux          |        |       |     |

'He could make people sick, too.'

| 100 | Faya | mera  | kakosen | kakosematamonaka |        |         |       |        |      |  |  |
|-----|------|-------|---------|------------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|------|--|--|
|     | faya | mera  | ka-     | kana             | -kosa  | -himata | -mona | -ka    | fahi |  |  |
|     | so   | 3PL.0 | COMIT   | leave            | middle | FP.N+M  | REP+M | DECL+M | then |  |  |
|     | conj | pron  | vt      |                  |        |         |       |        | dem  |  |  |

'Then he left them behind, sick.'

| 101 | Me   | one    | ahaba   | me    | me   | one    | ta       | hasi   |
|-----|------|--------|---------|-------|------|--------|----------|--------|
|     | me   | one    | ahaba+F | me    | me   | one    | taa      | hasi   |
|     | 3PL  | some+F | die     | 3PL.S | 3PL  | some+F | contrast | escape |
|     | pron | adj    | vi      | pron  | pron | adj    | prt      | vi     |

nabisemetemoneke

then again

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

'Some of them died, and others survived.'

| 102  | Faya  | me    | hinal | nakamakibisematamonaka |      |         |           |       |         |       |        |
|------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------|------|---------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|--------|
|      | faya  | me    | hi-   | to-                    | na-  | ka      | -makI     | -bisa | -himata | -mona | -ka    |
|      | so    | 3PL.S | OC    | away                   | CAUS | go/come | following | also  | FP.N+M  | REP+M | DECL+M |
|      | conj  | pron  | vt    |                        |      |         |           |       |         |       |        |
| fahi | tasa  |       |       |                        |      |         |           |       |         |       |        |
| fah  | i tas | a     |       |                        |      |         |           |       |         |       |        |

'Then they went after him.'

| 103 | Moho<br>moho<br>tree s | tama<br>tama<br>p hold<br>vt | onto  |      | -bisa+N | fare fare same+M dem | nima<br>nima<br>like<br>prt | , | <pre>fare fare same+M dem</pre> | nima<br>nima<br>like<br>prt |
|-----|------------------------|------------------------------|-------|------|---------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| nai | bisematam              | onaka                        |       |      | far     | i                    |                             |   |                                 |                             |
| na  | -bisa                  | -himata                      | -mona | -ka  | fa      | ari                  |                             |   |                                 |                             |
| AU  | X also                 | FP.N+M                       | REP+M | DEC: | L+M th  | at one+M             |                             |   |                                 |                             |
| 211 | v                      |                              |       |      | 40      | m                    |                             |   |                                 |                             |

'He took some *moho* cotton. He did the same thing as the first one had done.'

```
104 Mo kiyo nawahabisematamonahane
moho kiyo na -waha -bisa -himata -mona -ha -ne
tree sp rub AUX change also FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
nf vt aux
```

'He rubbed cotton between his palms.'

| 105 Mo kiyo naw |           |      | ihe  | moho    | tao     | kanema | tamon | ıa  |         | ye    |      |
|-----------------|-----------|------|------|---------|---------|--------|-------|-----|---------|-------|------|
|                 | moho      | kiyo | na   | -waha+M | moho    | tao    | ka-   | na  | -himata | -mona | yehe |
|                 | tree sp   | rub  | AUX  | change  | tree sp | shoot  | COMIT | AUX | FP.N+M  | REP+M | hand |
|                 | nf        | vt   | aux  |         | nf      | vt     | aux   |     |         |       | pn   |
| bak             | 0         |      | ya   | ahi .   |         |        |       |     |         |       |      |
| bak             | 0         |      | ya   | ahi     |         |        |       |     |         |       |      |
| inr             | er surfac | e+M  | ADJU | then    |         |        |       |     |         |       |      |
| pn              |           |      | prt  | dem     |         |        |       |     |         |       |      |

'He rubbed the cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton between his palms.'

| 106 | Mera  | mera  | kakosen | kosematamonaka |        |         |       |        |      | fare   | nima |
|-----|-------|-------|---------|----------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|------|--------|------|
|     | mera  | mera  | ka-     | kana           | -kosa  | -himata | -mona | -ka    | bisa | fare   | nima |
|     | 3PL.O | 3PL.O | COMIT   | leave          | middle | FP.N+M  | REP+M | DECL+M | also | same+M | like |
|     | pron  | pron  | vt      |                |        |         |       |        | prt  | dem    | prt  |

'He left them behind sick, as before.'

| 107                             | Me    | siwa | nabis | aremetei | nonek | ene     |       | fara   | me  | nima   |      |      |
|---------------------------------|-------|------|-------|----------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-----|--------|------|------|
|                                 | me    | siwa | na    | -bisa    | -ra   | -hemete | -mone | -ke    | -ne | fara   | me   | nima |
|                                 | 3PL.S | die  | AUX   | also     | NEG   | FP.N+F  | REP+F | DECL+F |     | same+F | 3PL  | like |
|                                 | pron  | vi   | aux   |          |       |         |       |        |     | dem    | pron | prt  |
| 'Some of them died, as before.' |       |      |       |          |       |         |       |        |     |        |      |      |

be ahead HAB

| 108   | Me          | abe    | kakako       |       | raba      | na     |
|-------|-------------|--------|--------------|-------|-----------|--------|
|       | me          | abe    | ka- kaako    |       | na -raba  | na     |
|       | 3PL.POSS    | RECIP  | DUP be angry | with  | AUX a bit | AUX    |
|       | pron        | pn     | vt           |       | aux       | aux    |
| toare | emetemoneke |        |              | taiti |           | mati   |
| to-   | ha -ra -    | hemete | -mone -ke    | tai   | -tee.NOM  | M mati |

aux vi hibati ya ka mati hibati ka mati ya ADJU long time ago of 3PL prt nf prt pron

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

'They hated each other, the people of long ago.'

hibati

nf

3PL

pron

hibati

long time ago

109 *Fava* me bana me kisakimetemone -risa -kI.NOM -mete -mone faya me bana+F me ka go/come down coming FP.N+F REP+F so 3PL.S move away 3PL.S pron vi pron vi ahi amake ama -ke ahi DECL+F then be VC dem

'Then they moved away, and came downstream.'

110 *Me* kisakia kanawa ebe me ya me me ka -risa -kI+F me kanawa ya me ehe 3PL.S go/come down coming 3PL.S canoe ADJU 3PL.POSS RECIP pron vi pron nf prt pron pn iso nemetemoneheni iso na -hemete -mone -he -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F aux

'They came downstream. They ferried each other in a canoe.'

111 Kanawa ya me ebe iso biti na me kanawa ya me ebe iso na+F me biti ADJU 3PL.POSS RECIP carry off AUX 3PL.POSS 3SG.POSS.son canoe prt pron pn vt aux pron ati hiyawemetemoneke me mera iso ne na+M hiyawa -hemete -mone -ke mera iso me ati 3PL.O carry off AUX 3PL.POSS have an idea FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F voice vt vi aux pron pron pn

'They ferried each other in a canoe. Her son was ferrying them. Then they had an idea.'

112 *Me* wete tonememetemone me wete to- na -ma -hemete -mone me me 3PL.S away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S return pron vi aux pron

#### towinamineke

to- wina -ma -ne -ke away live back CONT+F DECL+F vi

'They went back again, and they live back there.'

113 *Hiba* mano ma tokaharamonamako hiba mano maa to- ka- ha -ra -mona -mako soon after CH COMIT AUX NEG REP+M for this reason+M arm+M be tired vi aux conj pn iso hina naho ahi me me nemetemone me hi- na+F naho na -hemete -mone me iso me ahi carry off OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O AUX 3PL.S stand t.hen 3PL.S pron vt aux pron vi aux dem pron ha ni yana nibeni *ya* na.NFIN na -be haa yana -ni ya AUX FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU call AUX start aux vi aux prt

'His arms had been tired for a long time. He was ferrying them, but some were left standing there. They called out.'

114 Ayo ati nemetemoneheni
ayo ati na -hemete -mone -he -ni
older brother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F
nm vt aux

"Older brother," she said."

115 Avo tokomibone okatao ati ota nρ to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone ayo otaa okatao ati na+M away go/come back INT+F say older brother 1EX.S my son AUX pron vi nm vt aux

"Brother, my son is saying we should go."

116 *Okatao* mano ma tokahamona okatao ati ati ne to- ka- ha.NOM+M -mona okatao mano maa okatao ati na+M ati my son arm+M be tired CH COMIT AUX REP+M my son AUX say say nm pn vi aux nm vt aux vt

nemetemoneheni

na -hemete -mone -he -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F aux

"My son says his arms are tired," she said."

117 Ota wete tonamibonehe ati
otaa wete to- na -ma.NOM+F -bone -he ati
1EX.S return away AUX back INT+F DUP say
pron vi aux vt

nemetemoneke

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

"We are going back," she said.'

118 Ee te wete tonama
ee tee wete to- na -ma
yes 2PL.S return away AUX back
interj pron vi aux

"You go ahead back."

119 Te winatibeya

tee wina -tee -be -ya 2PL.S live HAB IMMED+F now pron vi

"You live there."

120 Ota tokisawitibonehe

otaa to- ka -risa -witI.NOM -bone -he 1EX.S away go/come down out INT+F DUP pron vi

"We are going downstream."

121 *Ota* tokibonehe ati nemetemoneheni to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he otaa me ati na -hemete -mone -he -ni 1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F say pron 77 i pron vt aux

<sup>&</sup>quot;We are going," they said.'

122 *Ee* te ota kakaba teba otani ati otaa -ni ka- kaba na -tee -haba ee tee otaa me DUP eat AUX HAB FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 1EX.S ves 2PL.O 3PL.S interj pron pron vt aux pron nemetemone ahi na -hemete -mone ahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F then aux dem "All right, we will eat you," they said." 123 *Te* ota kabatebisaba otani ha ni me kaba -tee -bisa -haba otaa -ni na.NFIN tee otaa me haa 3PL.S call 2PL.O 1EX.S eat HAB also FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F AUX pron pron vt pron pron vi aux ati nemetemone ahi ati na -hemete -mone ahi say AUX FP.N+F REP+F then aux dem "We are going to eat you, too," they said, calling out." 124 *Me* wete tonamemetemone me to- na -ma -hemete -mone wete me return away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S pron aux pron towinamineke to- wina -ma -ne -ke away live back CONT+F DECL+F 'They turned back, and they live back there.' 125 *Me* ibe ibe kisakia me me me ibe -risa -kI+F ibe me me me ka me 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.S go/come down coming 3PL.S pron pn pron pn pron vi pron me kakimetemone va ota nanao -kI.NOM -mete -mone ya otaa na- naho go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S ADJU 1EX.S CAUS stay pron vi prt pron tohineke ahi to- ha -ne -ke ahi CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F dem 'They came downstream, and we live where they came to.' 126 *Haha* nanawina toabisemetemone fa me haaha faha na- na- wina to- ha -bisa -hemete -mone me this+F water 3PL.S DUP CAUS hang CH AUX also FP.N+F REP+F nf pron aux vt 'They put fish traps in the stream there.' 127 **Fa** nanawina ka Fa Ki Ra me toa me me to- ha+F faha me na- na- wina me me ka Faa Kii Ra water 3PL.S DUP CAUS hang CH AUX 3PL.S POSS (man's name) 3PL nf pron vt aux pron pron prt

bokebanomatiboka-hiba -nomatienter waterFUT+M IP.N+M3PLvipron

'They put fish traps in the stream there, when Fa Ki Ra fell in the water.'

128 Fa Ki Ra bokematamona wawasi wawasi Faa Kii Ra -himata -mona wa- wasi wa- wasi boka DUP get caught (man's name) enter water FP.N+M REP+M DUP get caught npropm vi nf nf nawinari biti famahari ya na- wina -haari biti fama ya -haari

na- wina -haari biti ya fama -haari CAUS hang IP.E+M 3SG.POSS.son ADJU be with IP.E+M vt nm prt vi

'Fa Ki Ra fell in the water when he was setting up fish traps, with his son.'

129 *Efe* namata ama bese hari efe na -mata ama bese na.CONT+M -ka haari this+M AUX short time be call son AUX DECL+M that one+M aux VC vt aux dem

'He called him son.'

130 Mera ha nematamonahane

mera haa na -himata -mona -ha -ne 3PL.O call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M pron vt aux

'He called them.'

131 Hee ati nematamonahane

hee ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne hey say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M interj vt aux

"Hey," he said.'

132 *Hee* ota tai tokamibonehe okatao to- kaha -ma.NOM+F -bone -he hee otaa tai okatao away COMIT AUX back INT+F DUP 1EX.S be ahead my son interj pron vi aux

fimimonaha

fimi -himona -ha be hungry REP+M DUP

vi

"Hey, we two are going back ahead, because my son says he is hungry."

133 *Ee* tai tokahamahi te tee tai to- kaha -ma -hi ee 2PL.S be ahead CH COMIT AUX back IMP+F yes interj pron vi aux

"Right, you two go on ahead."

134 Ota tai tokahamiba

otaa tai to- ka- ha -ma -baha 1EX.S be ahead away COMIT AUX back before pron vi aux

"We are going on ahead."

| 135 | Ora   | yayama          | obeya                 | ati | kane     | ahi   |
|-----|-------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----|----------|-------|
|     | ora   | ya- yama        | o- na -be -ya         | ati | na -kane | ahi   |
|     | genip | DUP climb after | 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now | say | AUX ?+M  | there |
|     | nm    | vt              | aux                   | vt  | aux      | dem   |

"I'm going to climb after genip fruits," he said.'

| 136 | Ora . | yama        | nebona     | biti         | fame    |
|-----|-------|-------------|------------|--------------|---------|
|     | ora   | yama        | na -hibona | biti         | fama+M  |
|     | genip | climb after | AUX INT+M  | 3SG.POSS.son | be with |
|     | nm    | vt.         | aux        | nm           | νi      |

kamematamonane

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

'He came with his son, to climb after genip fruits.'

| 137 | Me    | kakame | metemoneke | e    |         |       | kanawa | ya .    | kanawa |         |
|-----|-------|--------|------------|------|---------|-------|--------|---------|--------|---------|
|     | me    | ka-    | ka         | -ma  | -hemete | -mone | -ke    | kanawa  | ya     | kanawa  |
|     | 3PL.S | COMIT  | go/come    | back | FP.N+F  | REP+F | DECL+F | tree sp | ADJU   | tree sp |
|     | pron  | vi     |            |      |         |       |        | nm      | prt    | nm      |

ataro ya
ataro ya
bark+M ADJU
pn prt

'They came in the kanawa bark canoe.'

| 138 | Aba  | me    | yaba     | namahite   |              |   | Ora   | kawe        | ama |
|-----|------|-------|----------|------------|--------------|---|-------|-------------|-----|
|     | aba  | me    | yaba     | na -ma -1  | hitI         | , | ora   | ka- waa+M   | ama |
|     | fish | 3PL.S | take out | AUX back a | long the way |   | genip | COMIT stand | SEC |
|     | nm   | pron  | vt       | aux        |              |   | nm    | vi          | sec |

ahi

ahi

there dem

'They were taking fish out of the traps as they came along. "There is a genip tree with fruit there."

| 139 | Ora   | yama        | omatibe |     |       |      |         |  |
|-----|-------|-------------|---------|-----|-------|------|---------|--|
|     | ora   | yama        | 0-      | na  | -mata |      | -be     |  |
|     | genip | climb after | 1SG.S   | AUX | short | time | IMMED+F |  |
|     | nm    | 7/          | aux     |     |       |      |         |  |

"I'm going to climb after genip fruits."

| 140 | Kaka | fowa  |       |       | karai | na        | tina  |     |  |
|-----|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|--|
|     | ka-  | ka-   | fowa  |       | na    | -karahama | ti-   | na  |  |
|     | DUP  | COMIT | be in | water | AUX   | only do   | 2SG.S | AUX |  |
|     | vi   |       |       |       | aux   |           | aux   |     |  |

"You stay in the canoe."

| 141 | Koko                      | me    | kamakiba |      |         |     | ama |
|-----|---------------------------|-------|----------|------|---------|-----|-----|
|     | koko                      | me    | ka       | -ma  | -kI.NOM | -ba | ama |
|     | 2SG.POSS.mother's brother | 3PL.S | go/come  | back | coming  | FUT | be  |
|     | nm                        | pron  | vi       |      |         |     | VC  |

"Your uncle and the others are coming."

143 Ora hate awane
ora hata+M awa -ne
genip be ripe seem+M BKG+M
nm vi sec

"The genip fruits are ripe."

144Fayatokomisematamonakafahifayato- ka -misa -himata -mona -ka fahiso away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M thenconj videm

'So he climbed up.'

145 Tokomise bata ahi ora nematamona -misa+Mbata na -himata -mona ahi ora away go/come up pick AUX FP.N+M REP+M then genip vt aux dem

'He climbed up, and picked genip fruits.'

ahi 146 *Ora* koho nematamona bata kanikima amane koho na -kanikima na -himata -mona ama -ne ahi bata ora AUX scattered AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M genip hit then pick nm vi aux aux sec dem vt

hinahari

hi- na -haari OC AUX IP.E+M

'The genip fruits were all falling in the water, as he picked them.'

147 *Ora* koho ne Ora ora ta tokane ora koho na+M ora ora taa to- ka-CH COMIT AUX hit AUX genip genip protrude vi aux nm nm νi aux

'The genip fruits were falling in the water. "The fruits are hanging out on the limb."

148 Yoyora obaha
yo- yora o- na -baha
DUP jump 1SG.S AUX before
vi aux

"I'm going to jump to reach them."

149 *Ora* tokane ta si tone to- kasii yora ora taa na+M to- na+M CH COMIT AUX stand CH AUX jump genip protrude aux vi vi vi aux

towitimatamona

to- na -witI -himata -mona away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M

'The genip fruits were out there on the limb. He jumped.'

150 *Yora* towiti rama ahi to- na -witI+M vora rama ahi away AUX out jump unusual then vi aux prt dem

'He jumped.'

151 *Ora* ino hikane ino waha wara hi- to- kaora ino wara na+M ino waha grab come apart genip branch+M OC CH COMIT AUX branch+M nm vt aux vi pn pn

kanematamonaka

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

'He grabbed the genip branch, and it broke.'

152 Waahaa ino tokane ahi sore rama waahaa ino sore to- kana+M rama ahi (sound of falling off) branch+M pull off CH COMIT AUX unusual then vt aux prt dem

'The branch broke off, and he let go.'

153 Aii ati kane ahi
aii ati na -kane ahi
interj say AUX ?+M then
vt aux dem

"Aii," he said.'

154 Korii bokakane ahi
korii boka -kane ahi
(sound of falling in water) enter water ?+M then
sound vi dem

'He fell in the water, korii.'

155 *Koko* me ati yana rikosakani ahi koko -kosa -kani me ati yana na -ri ahi 3PL.POSS AUX DISTR middle ?+F duck sp voice start then pron pn vi aux dem

'The koko ducks could be heard calling.'

156 Koko ati me kanikima nemetemone yana koko yana na -kanikima na -hemete -mone me ati 3PL.POSS AUX scattered AUX FP.N+F REP+F duck sp voice start pron pn vi aux aux

meamaahimeamaahi3PL.POSSSECthenpronsecdem

'The koko ducks could be heard all over.'

157 Fa Ki Ra kimisamematamonaha

Faa Kii Ra ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ha (man's name) go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DUP npropm vi

ubrobii AT

'Fa Ki Ra didn't come to the surface.'

|                                       | <i>Fa Ki Ra</i><br>Faa Ki   |   |  | wa   |  | tamonaka<br>              | :<br>a -mona                 | _ka            | , <i>bit</i> i<br>bi |                   |      |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|--|--|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|------|
|                                       | (man's  |   |  | awa<br>isappear  | na<br>Mily                               | FP.N+M                    |                              |                |                      | G.POSS.son        |      |
|                                       | npropm  |   | v:   |  | aux                                      | 11.11.11                  | 1(111 111                    | рцсц           | nm                   |                   |      |
| oki                                   |   | hine  | V -  | -<br>biti  | auzi                                     | ohi                       | nibanoho                     | ,              | 11111                |                   |      |
| nok                                   |   |   | na+M   | biti   |  |                           | niha-                        |                | hiba -no             | -ho               |      |
| ai                                    |   | OC  | AUX  | 3SG.POS  | S.son                                    |                           |                              |                | UT+M IP.N            | +M DUP            |      |
| 7t                                    |   | aux   |  | nm   |  | vi                        | aux                          |                |                      |                   |      |
| Fa I                                  | Ki Ra disa  | appea   | red. His   | s son was w  | aiting f                                 | or him. H                 | e made h                     | is son c       | ery.'                |                   |      |
| 59                                    | Inamate   | we  | ohi  | ni   | kafo                                     |                           |                              |                | ohi                  | ni                |      |
|                                       | inamat  | ewe   | ohi  |  |  | fowa                      |                              | -hin           |                      | na.NFIN           |      |
|                                       | child   |   | cry  |  |  | IT be i                   | n water                      | IP.N           |                      | AUX               |      |
| ,                                     | nm<br>•   |   | vi   | aux  | vi                                       |                           |                              |                | vi                   | aux               |      |
| koko                                  |   |   |  |  | me                                       |                           | <i>nakimatan</i><br>iita −ma |                |                      | a -mona -ha -     | 20   |
|                                       | ori<br>.POSS.m  | no+he   | rle h  |  | me<br>3PL.S                              |                           |                              |                |                      | REP+M DUP B       |      |
| nm                                    |   | 10 0116                                       | :  |  | pron                                     | vt                        | ear 101                      | . TOWII        | IG FF.N·M            | KEFIM DOE B       | DIIG |
|                                       |   |   |  | 1  | 5 - 011                                  | . 0                       |                              |                |                      |                   |      |
| Γhe                                   | boy was   | cryin   | g as he v  | was in the c   | anoe, a                                  | nd his un                 | cle and th                   | e othe         | rs heard him         | crying as they ca | ıme  |
| 60                                    | Wai   |   | ka   | ımahi  |  | biti                      |                              | ohi            | na                   | ahi               |      |
|                                       | Wai   |   | ká   |  | na+M                                     | biti                      |                              | ohi            | na.CONT+             | •                 |      |
|                                       | (man's  | nam   | e) go  | o/come ba  | ack                                      | 3SG.POS                   | SS.son                       | cry            | AUX                  | there             |      |
|                                       | npropm  |   | V  | i  |  | nm                        |                              | vi             | aux                  | dem               |      |
| 'Wa                                   | ai came, a  | ınd hi  | s son is   | crying ther  | e.'''                                    |                           |                              |                |                      |                   |      |
|                                       |   |   |  |  |  |                           |                              |                |                      |                   |      |
|                                       | Boke<br>boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i  | wate  | sed  | em+M   |  |                           |                              |                |                      |                   |      |
| "Die                                  | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i  | wate  | awa<br>r see<br>see  | a<br>em+M<br>C   |  | ohi                       | na                           |                |                      |                   |      |
| "Die                                  | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi   | wate  | awa<br>r see<br>see  | a<br>em+M<br>C   |  | <i>ohi</i><br>ohi         | <i>na</i><br>na.CON          | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Die                                  | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i  | wate  | awa<br>r see<br>sec<br>water?"   | a<br>em+M<br>c<br>'<br>'<br><b>biti</b><br>biti                              | SS.sor                                   | ohi                       | na<br>na.CON<br>AUX          | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Die                                  | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i<br><i>Makoni</i><br>makoni   | wate  | awa<br>r see<br>sec<br>water?"   | a<br>em+M<br>c<br>'<br>'<br><b>biti</b><br>biti                              | SS.son                                   | ohi                       | na.CON                       | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Dio                                  | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i<br>Makoni<br>makoni<br>for th  | wate nthe                                     | awar see sec water?"   | biti biti 3SG.POS  | SS.son                                   | ohi<br>cry                | na.CON<br>AUX                | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Dio<br>162<br>"Th                    | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i<br>Makoni<br>makoni<br>for th<br>conj<br>at's why l                                  | n the   | awar see sec water?" eason n is cryi   | biti biti 3SG.POS  | SS.son                                   | ohi<br>cry                | na.CON<br>AUX                | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Dio<br>162<br>"Th                    | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i<br>Makoni<br>makoni<br>for th<br>conj<br>at's why l                                  | n the is r his so                             | awar see sec water?" eason n is cryi   | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."   |  | ohi<br>n cry<br>vi        | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux         | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Dio<br>162<br>"Th                    | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i<br>Makoni<br>makoni<br>for th<br>conj<br>at's why l                                  | n the is r his so                             | awar see sec water?" eason n is cryi   | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."'  | -kosa                                    | ohi<br>cry<br>vi<br>-makI | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux         | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Dio<br>62<br>"Th                     | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i<br>Makoni<br>makoni<br>for th<br>conj<br>at's why l                                  | n the is r his so                             | awar see sec water?"  eason  n is cryi  akosama  to G.S. at                        | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."   | -kosa                                    | ohi<br>cry<br>vi<br>-makI | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux         | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Dio<br>162<br>"Th                    | boka+M<br>enter<br>vi<br>d he fall i<br>Makoni<br>makoni<br>for th<br>conj<br>at's why l<br>Ori<br>ori<br>paddle          | is r<br>his so<br>tin<br>ti<br>2s<br>au       | awar see sec water?"  eason  n is cryi  akosama  to G.S. an                        | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."'  | -kosa                                    | ohi<br>cry<br>vi<br>-makI | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux         | T+M            |                      |                   |      |
| "Did<br>162<br>"Th<br>163             | boka+M enter vi dhe fall i  Makoni makoni for th conj at's why l  Ori ori paddle vi ddle over                             | is r<br>his so<br>tin<br>ti<br>2s<br>au       | awar see sec water?"  eason  n is cryi  akosama  to G.S. an                        | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."'  | -kosa<br>middle                          | ohi cry vi -makI          | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux         | T+M            |                      | ahi               |      |
| "Did<br>162<br>"Th<br>163             | boka+M enter vi dhe fall i  Makoni makoni for th conj at's why l  Ori ori paddle vi ddle over  Faya                       | is r his so tin ti 2s au there                | awar see sec water?"  eason n is cryi  akosama  G.S. an                            | biti biti SSG.POS nm ng."'  ake o- na way AUX n                              | -kosa<br>middle                          | ohi cry vi -makI          | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux         |                | ete -mone            | <i>ahi</i> .      |      |
| "Did<br>162<br>"Th<br>163             | boka+M enter vi dhe fall i  Makoni makoni for th conj at's why l  Ori ori paddle vi ddle over  Faya faya                  | is r his so tin ti 2s au there                | awar see sec water?"  eason n is cryi  akosama  G.S. an                            | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."' ake o- na way AUX n                          | -kosa<br>middle<br>mikemete<br>ka        | ohi cry vi -makI e follor | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux<br>wing | -heme          | ete -mone<br>F REP+F | ahi .             |      |
| "Did<br>162<br>"Th<br>163             | boka+M enter vi dhe fall i  Makoni makoni for th conj at's why l  Ori ori paddle vi ddle over  Faya faya so conj          | is r his so tin ti 2s au there me me 3PL pron | awar see sec water?"  eason n is cryi  akosama  G.S. at  x.  ""  me me             | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."'  ake o- na way AUX n  kakama ka- S COMIT     | -kosa<br>middle<br>mikemete<br>ka        | ohi cry vi -makI e follor | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux<br>wing | -heme          |                      | ahi .             |      |
| "Did<br>62<br>"Th<br>63               | boka+M enter vi dhe fall i  Makoni makoni for th conj at's why l  Ori ori paddle vi ddle over  Faya faya so               | is r his so tin ti 2s au there me me 3PL pron | awar see sec water?"  eason n is cryi  akosama - to G.S ar x :"'  me me 3PL.:      | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."'  ake o- na way AUX n  kakama ka- S COMIT     | -kosa<br>middle<br>mikemete<br>ka        | ohi cry vi -makI e follor | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux<br>wing | -heme          |                      | ahi<br>then       |      |
| "Did<br>62<br>"Th<br>63<br>"Pad<br>64 | boka+M enter vi dhe fall i  Makoni makoni for th conj at's why l  Ori ori paddle vi ddle over  Faya faya so conj          | is r his so tin ti 2s au there me me 3PL pron | awar see sec water?"  eason n is cryi  akosama - to G.S ar x :"'  me me 3PL.:      | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ng."  ake o- na way AUX n  kakama ka- S COMIT vi   | -kosa<br>middle<br>mikemete<br>ka        | ohi cry vi -makI e follor | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux<br>wing | -heme          |                      | ahi<br>then       |      |
| "Did<br>62<br>"Th<br>63<br>"Pad<br>64 | boka+M enter vi dhe fall i  Makoni makoni for th conj at's why!  Ori ori paddle vi ddle over  Faya faya so conj chey came | is r his so tin ti 2S au there me me 3PL pron | awar see see water?"  eason n is cryi akosame - to G.S av x 2."'  me me 3PL.: pron | biti biti biti 3SG.POS nm ang."'  ake o- na way AUX n  kakama ka- S COMIT vi | -kosa<br>middle<br>nkemete<br>ka<br>go/c | ohi cry vi -makI e follor | na.CON<br>AUX<br>aux<br>wing | -heme<br>FP.N+ | F REP+F              | ahi<br>then       |      |

nm

nm

prt nm

| okobi | !        | ,        |         |         | okob    | i          |       |           |          | ra  | okobi     |        |             |
|-------|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|------------|-------|-----------|----------|-----|-----------|--------|-------------|
| 0-    |          | ka       | abi     |         | 0-      |            | ka    |           | bi       | ra  | 0-        | ka     | abi         |
| 1SG.  | POSS     | POSS     | S fat   | her     | 1SG     | .POSS      | POS   | S f       | ather    | 0   | 1SG.POSS  | POSS   | father      |
| nm    |          |          |         |         | nm      |            |       |           |          | prt | nm        |        |             |
| okobi | į        |          |         |         | boke    |            |       | yan       | nani     | aya |           |        |             |
| 0-    |          | ka       | abi     |         | bok     | a.NOM-     | +M    | ya        | mani     | aya |           |        |             |
| 1SG.  | POSS     | POSS     | S fat   | her     | ent     | er wat     | ter   | te        | lling    | the | re        |        |             |
| nm    |          |          |         |         | vi      |            |       |           |          | dem |           |        |             |
| '''My | father,  | my fa    | ather,  | my fat  | ther fe | ell in the | e wat | er th     | iere.''' |     |           |        |             |
| 166   | Himata   |          | ebe     |         | neno    |            | (     | ohi       | nahi     | 2   | kokori    |        |             |
|       | himat    |          | ebe     |         | na      | -hino      |       | ohi       |          | •   | kokori    |        |             |
| ,     | what?    |          | purpo   | ose     | AUX     | IP.N+      | -M (  | cry       | AUX      |     | 3SG.POSS. | mothe. | r's brother |
|       | inter    |          |         |         | aux     |            |       | - 1<br>7i |          |     | nm        |        |             |
| ati   |          |          | nahan   | o       |         |            |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| ati   | na       |          |         |         | a -h    | a -ne      |       | •         |          |     |           |        |             |
| say   | _        |          |         |         |         | P BKG      |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| vt    | aux      |          |         |         | 11 20   | ı Dito     |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| -     | y is he  | omzina   | າງ" hic | unele   | hio     | ,          |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| VV 11 | y is ne  | Crynn    | g: ms   | uncie   | saiu.   |            |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| 167   | Okobi    |          |         |         |         | boke       |       |           | yamani   | į   | aya .     |        |             |
|       | 0-       |          | ka      | abi     |         | boka.      | NOM+  | -M        | yaman    | i   | aya       |        |             |
|       | 1SG.P    | OSS      | POSS    | fath    | ner     | enter      | wat   | er        | telli    | ng  | there     |        |             |
| :     | nm       |          |         |         |         | vi         |       |           |          |     | dem       |        |             |
| '''My | father   | fell in  | the w   | ater tl | here."  | 1          |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| 168   | Okobi    |          |         |         |         | bokaha     | ıre   |           |          | ay  | a         |        |             |
|       | 0-       |          | ka      | abi     |         | boka       |       |           | -hare    | ay  | •         |        |             |
|       | 1SG.P    |          |         |         | ner     |            | wat   | er        | IP.E+M   | _   | iere      |        |             |
|       | nm       | 000      | 1000    |         |         | vi         |       | .0_       |          | de  |           |        |             |
|       | father : | fall in  | thow    | ator tl | horo "  |            |       |           |          | o.c |           |        |             |
| WIY   | iatiici  | 1011 111 | tiic w  | ater ti | icic.   |            |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| 169   | Wai      |          |         | boka    | waini   |            |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
| 1     | Wai      |          |         | boka    | a.      | _          | waha  |           | -ni      |     |           |        |             |
|       | (man'    | s na     | me)     | ente    | er wa   | ter c      | hang  | re E      | 3KG+F    |     |           |        |             |
|       | npropi   |          |         | vi      |         |            | _     |           |          |     |           |        |             |
|       | i has fa |          | n the v | vater.' | "       |            |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |
|       |          |          |         |         |         |            |       |           |          |     |           |        |             |

170 E rabaya
ee na -ra -ba -ya
(question) AUX CQ+M FUT now

vi aux

"Where is he?"

171 *E* bori nabana bori na+M -bana 1IN.S poke AUX FUT pron vt aux

"Shall we try to reach him with a pole?"

172 *E* bori na ee bori na na . 1IN.S poke AUX pron vt aux

"Let's try to reach him with a pole."

```
173 E
        bori
             na
        bori
             na
  1IN.S poke AUX
  pron vt
              aux
```

"Let's try to reach him with a pole."

```
174 Awa
            wara
                     tobaya
    awa wara to- na -ba -ya
wood grab CH AUX IMMED+M now
                                       -ya
    nf
            vt
                     aux
```

"He will grab the pole."

175 Awa me ti me bori hinematamona na me tii me na+F bori hi- na -himata -mona awa 3PL.S tree 3PL.S cut through AUX poke OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M pron nf pron vt aux vt aux

'They cut a pole, and poked in the water for him.'

```
176 Awa
         wara
             tina
   awa
         wara ti-
                   to- na
   wood grab 2SG.S CH AUX
   nf
        vt
              aux
```

"Grab onto the pole."

177 **Wai** awa wara tinahi wara ti- to- na -hi Wai awa (man's name) wood grab 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F npropm nf vt aux

"Wai, grab onto the pole."

178 Awa tonematamonaha wara to- na -himata -mona -ha awa wara grab CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP wood nf vt aux

'He didn't grab the pole.'

179 *Bai* toke ene me to- ka+M ehene bahi away go/come because of+M 3PL.S vi pn pron

hekanakosematamonaka

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

'They left him because the sun went down.'

| 180 <b>Bai</b> | i tol | ke         |         | ene          | me    | hekai | nakose |       |         | Abe     |
|----------------|-------|------------|---------|--------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|---------|---------|
| bał            | hi to | <b>)</b> – | ka+M    | ehene        | me    | hi-   | ka-    | kana  | -kosa+M | ahaba+M |
| sur            | n av  | way        | go/come | because of+M | 3PL.S | OC    | COMIT  | leave | middle  | die     |
| nm             | vi    | Ĺ          |         | pn           | pron  | vt    |        |       |         | vi      |
| abe            | awa   | aka        |         |              |       |       |        |       |         |         |
| ahaba+         | M awa | a          | -ka     |              |       |       |        |       |         |         |

die seem+M DECL+M

vi sec

"They left him because the sun went down. "He must have died.""

181 **E** kakosaho e kakana -kosa -ho ee COMIT leave middle IMP+M 1IN.S 1IN.S pron pron nakiminebana -kI -mina -hibana na- ka CAUS go/come coming morning FUT+M "Let's leave him. We will come after him tomorrow." ibewaki 182 *Me* vana hinaka bitimi tona me hinaka bitimi -waha -kI+Mme yana to- na+F me ihT nephew 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS put inside change coming start CH pron vi pron pron aux nm vt bitimi Wai hinaka towakamematamona ahi ka hinaka bitimi to- ka--ma -himata -mona ahi Wai 3SG.POSS nephew away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then (man's name) pron nm dem npropm noki itarino va wawasi tame va ita -rI.NOM -no wa- wasi noki tame ya ya sit raised surface IP.N+M ADJU DUP get caught end+F foot+F ADJU nf prt pn pn prt They were ready to leave. He put his nephew in his canoe, and took his nephew to where Wai, without them knowing it, had been sitting on the end of a fish trap.' 183 *Wai* kawakane ahi ori Wai ka--kane ahi ori na -waha paddle (man's name) COMIT AUX change ?+M then vi dem npropm aux 'He paddled Wai in his canoe, too.' 184 *Me* kasawiwi kawahakani ahi -wi ka- na -kani me kasawi -waha ahi COMIT be present DUP COMIT AUX change ?+F then 3PL.S pron aux dem 'There were many canoes one after the other.' 185 Awa itarikosakane ahi ita -rI -kosa ahi (sound of seeing) sit raised surface middle ?+M there sound vi dem wawasi noki tame ya wa- wasi noki tame ya DUP get caught end+F foot+F ADJU pn pn 'There he was, sitting on the end of a fish trap.'

ha

haa DEM

dem

-haaro

| 111 | ere is vva | Sitting   | ,•   |           |       |     |       |
|-----|------------|-----------|------|-----------|-------|-----|-------|
| 187 | 0000       | ati       | nema | tamonahan | e     |     |       |
|     |            |           |      | -himata   |       |     |       |
|     | interj     | say<br>vt |      | FP.N+M    | REP+M | DUP | BKG+M |

itariaro

vi

ita -rI

sit raised surface look+F

186 *Wai* 

Wai

npropm

(man's name)

"There is Wai sitting "

```
"'Oooo," he said.'
```

```
188 Fava
                 hibewe
                                         biti
         me
                                                        va
                          -waha+M
         me
                hi- ibI
                                         biti
   faya
                                                        ya
         3PL.S
                OC put inside change
                                         3SG.POSS.son
                                                        ADJU
   conj pron
                                                        prt
```

famawematamonakafahifama-waha-himata-mona-kafahibe with changeFP.N+MREP+MDECL+Mthenvidem

'They put him in the canoe, and then he was with his son.'

189 Me ya me ya me
me ya me ya me
3PL ADJU 3PL ADJU 3PL.S
pron prt pron prt pron

tabamawahemetemoneheni

taba -ma -waha -hemete -mone -he -ni be together back change FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F vi

'They came back with them.'

190 *Me* kamawemetemone ahi aba me me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone ahi aba me me go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S then fish 3PL.0 3PL.S pron vi dem nm pron pron

'They came back, setting fish traps.'

191 *Hibaka* fa me nanawina hihemete hi- to- ha -hemete na- na- wina hibaka faha me OC CH AUX FP.N+F DUP CAUS hang where water 3PL.S interrog nf pron vt aux

tohariya
to- ha -ri -ya
CH be CQ+F now

'Where is the water where they set fish traps?'

192 Afamete itineke Wara

afa -mete ita -ne -ke Wara

this+F FP.N+F sit CONT+F DECL+F (name of lake)

dem vi npropf

'It was the Wara lake.'

193 *Haha* me one me one kakayomaharo haaha ka- kayoma -haaro me one me one this+F 3PL other+F COMIT darken IP.E+F 3PL other+F pron adj pron adj νi

'A different group, it got dark on them.'

| 194 | Bai |     | toke |          | me     | awa |     | me    | ,   | bai  | toke    |         | me    |  |
|-----|-----|-----|------|----------|--------|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|---------|---------|-------|--|
|     | bah | i   | to-  | ka+M     | me     | awa | +F  | me    |     | bah: | i to-   | ka+M    | me    |  |
|     | sun |     | away | go/come  | 3PL.S  | see | !   | 3PL.S | 5   | sun  | away    | go/come | 3PL.S |  |
|     | nm  |     | vi   |          | pron   | vt  |     | pron  |     | nm   | vi      |         | pron  |  |
| awa |     | me  |      | kita     | me     |     | abe | h     | a   | neme | temone  |         | ahi . |  |
| awa | +F  | me  |      | kita     | me     |     | abe | h     | aa  | na   | -hemete | -mone   | ahi   |  |
| see |     | 3P1 | L.S  | strength | 3PL.PO | SS  | REC | IP c  | all | AUX  | FP.N+F  | REP+F   | then  |  |
| vt  |     | pro | on   | nf       | pron   |     | pn  | V.    | t   | aux  |         |         | dem   |  |
|     |     |     |      |          |        |     |     |       |     |      |         |         |       |  |

'When they saw the sun going down, they called loudly to each other.'

195 *Me* abe ha na me me yama haa na+F me ahe me me yama RECIP AUX 3PL.POSS call 3PL.S 3PL.S turn pron pn pron vt aux pron vi

ahi

namehemetemone

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

'They called to each other. They all came back.'

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

"Come on, come one, let's go home."

197 *Bai* hari yafi toke Awita Fa mati yafi hahi  $+ \circ$ ka+M haari Awita Fa mati (name of stream) 3PL sun away go/come that one+M inhabitant of 77 i dem npropf nm pn pron

"The sun is going down." They were the people from Awita Fa.

198 *Me* yana tonemetemone ahi me yana to- na -hemete -mone ahi CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S start then pron vi aux dem

'They were ready to go.'

199 *Me* orioriri tokanemetemone ahi ori- ori -ri to- ka--hemete -mone me na 3PL.S DUP paddle DUP CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then dem pron vi aux

'They were all paddling.'

200 Me ahi ori nemetemone yama waini ya waa.NOM+F -ni na -hemete -mone me ori ahi yama ya paddle AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S there thing stand IP.N+F ADJU nf pron vi aux dem vi prt

maka

maka

monster

nm

'They paddled toward the place where there was a monster, which they did not see.'

201 Makamata awaka
maka -mata awa -ka
monster FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M

nm sec

'It was a monster.'

202 *Maka* nikimematamona faha here neme va na -kima ya maka bere -himata -mona faha neme be across monster AUX spread out FP.N+M REP+M water ADJU over vi nf aux pn prt

ahi

ahi

there

dem

'The monster was extended over the water.'

203 *Tai* tokahame raba oori ne tai to- kaha -ma+M o- ori na -raba na+M noko be ahead CH COMIT AUX back DUP paddle AUX a bit AUX eye+M aux vi aux pn

awa namata

awa.LIST na.NOM+M -mata
see AUX FP.N+M

vi aux

'One of them was in the front of the canoe, paddling hard, and he saw something.'

204 Fiko fiko fawa me me me fiko fiko fawa me me me disappear (cry of capuchin) 3PL 3PL.S (cry of capuchin) 3PL 77 i vi pron pron pron

kanemetemonekemekakamamatika-na-hemete-mone-kemeka-ka-ma+FmatiCOMITAUXFP.N+FREP+FDECL+F3PL.SCOMITgo/comeback3PL.Sauxpronvipron

"Fiko, fiko." They disappeared, as they were coming back."

205 *Me* towakamemetemone fa boti ya to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone faha boti ya away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F water inside ADJU pron nf

'They went underwater.'

206 Fawaii tokanamemetemone ahi tasi me fawaii me tasi to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone ahi 3PL.S emerge away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F there sound pron vi aux

'They disappeared, and came out on the other side.'

207 *Maka* ihi towakosematamona ama me to- waa -kosa -himata -mona ihi maka ama me CH stand middle FP.N+M REP+M SEC 3PL.POSS because of+F vi sec pron

'The monster was left there by them.'

| 208  | Me    | kobo         | kanama   |     |       | kanawa | me    | watam | akani |       | ahi  |
|------|-------|--------------|----------|-----|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
|      | me    | kobo         | ka-      | na  | -ma+F | kanawa | me    | wata  | -ma   | -kani | ahi  |
|      | 3PL.S | arrive       | COMIT    | AUX | back  | canoe  | 3PL.S | put   | back  | ?+F   | then |
|      | pron  | vi           | aux      |     |       | nf     | pron  | vt    |       |       | dem  |
| 'The |       | haalr and +: | ad un th |     | 201   |        |       |       |       |       |      |

'They arrived back, and tied up the canoe.'

209 *Aba* kayabemetemone ahi mρ mρ ya me aba me me ka- yaba -hemete -mone ahi ya me COMIT pick up FP.N+F REP+F fish 3PL.0 3PL.S then ADJU 3PL.S nm pron pron dem vt. prt pron

kakayomabanimatika-kayoma -haba -nimatiCOMIT darken FUT+F IP.N+F3PL.Svipron

'They picked up the bunches of fish. It got dark on them.'

210 *Me* kakayomemetemonekene aba me ka- kayoma -hemete -mone -ke aba me me 3PL.S COMIT darken FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish 3PL 3PL pron vi pron pron 'It got dark on them.'

211 Aa me kamari
aa me ka -ma -ra.NOM+F
(expression of displeasure) 3PL.S go/come back NEG
interj pron vi

"Oh, they didn't come back."

212 Me owawitematibe

me o- to- awa -witI -mata -be 3PL.O 1SG.S away see out short time IMMED+F pron vt

"I'm going to see them."

213 Wami tama okobe

wami tama o- ka- na -be

tree sp hold onto 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F

nf vt aux

"I will take a resin torch."

214 Wami sari kane , mera wami sari ka- na+M mera tree sp burn COMIT AUX 3PL.O nf vt aux pron

tonakematamonahane

to- na- ka -himata -mona -ha -ne away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M vt

'He lit the resin torch, and went after them.'

| 215 | Mera  | tonake |      |         | • | mera  | tonake | ?    |         | , | mera  | haha |      |
|-----|-------|--------|------|---------|---|-------|--------|------|---------|---|-------|------|------|
|     | mera  | to-    | na-  | ka+M    |   | mera  | to-    | na-  | ka+M    |   | mera  | ha-  | haa  |
|     | 3PL.0 | away   | CAUS | go/come |   | 3PL.O | away   | CAUS | go/come |   | 3PL.O | DUP  | call |
|     | pron  | vt     |      |         |   | pron  | vt     |      |         |   | pron  | vt   |      |

#### towitimatamonahane

to- na -witI -himata -mona -ha -ne away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M aux

'He went after them. He went after them, calling them.'

216 *Hee* 

hee hey

interj

"Hey."

| 217 | Hee    | hee    | hee    | hee    | me    | ati | neme | rtemone |       | neme | ya   |
|-----|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-----|------|---------|-------|------|------|
|     | hee    | hee    | hee    | hee    | me    | ati | na   | -hemete | -mone | neme | ya   |
|     | hey    | hey    | hey    | hey    | 3PL.S | say | AUX  | FP.N+F  | REP+F | up   | ADJU |
|     | interj | interj | interj | interj | pron  | vt  | aux  |         |       | nf   | prt  |

ahi

ahi

there

dem

"Hey, hey, hey, hey," they said, up high."

| 218 | Ota   | kamini  |      |       | neme | ka   | ya   |
|-----|-------|---------|------|-------|------|------|------|
|     | otaa  | ka      | -ma  | -ni   | neme | ka   | ya   |
|     | 1EX.S | go/come | back | BKG+F | up   | LOC  | ADJU |
|     | pron  | vi      |      |       | nf   | prt. | prt. |

"We are coming back up high."

| 219 | Aa     | e         | me    | na   | me    | firi           | one       |        |
|-----|--------|-----------|-------|------|-------|----------------|-----------|--------|
|     | aa     | ee        | me    | na+F | me    | firi           | o- na     | -ne    |
|     | oh yes | like this | 3PL.S | AUX  | 3PL.0 | shine light on | 1SG.S AUX | CONT+F |
|     | interj | dem       | pron  | aux  | pron  | vt             | aux       |        |

onihi

o- na.NOM+F -ni -hi 1SG.S AUX IP.N+F DUP

aux

"Oh, I am shining the light on them like that."

| 220 | <b>Boto</b> | wami    | boto      | kasematamona |     |        |         |       | ahi  |
|-----|-------------|---------|-----------|--------------|-----|--------|---------|-------|------|
|     | boto        | wami    | boto      | ka-          | na  | -kosa  | -himata | -mona | ahi  |
|     | sound       | tree sp | bend over | COMIT        | AUX | middle | FP.N+M  | REP+M | then |
|     |             | nf      | vt        | aux          |     |        |         |       | dem  |

'Boto, he put out the torch.'

| 221 | Fowi  | tokomakekane |         |           |       |             |  |
|-----|-------|--------------|---------|-----------|-------|-------------|--|
|     | fowi  | to-          | ka      | -makI     | -kane | ahi         |  |
|     | sound | away         | go/come | following | ?+M   | then<br>dem |  |

'Fowi, he went up there.'

| 222 | Me    | tokom | akani   |      |       | ahi  |
|-----|-------|-------|---------|------|-------|------|
|     | me    | to-   | ka      | -ma  | -kani | ahi  |
|     | 3PL.S | away  | go/come | back | ?+F   | then |
|     | pron  | vi    |         |      |       | dem  |

'They went back.'

| away find<br>vt  | -makI<br>following                | vi<br>-haari  | -ma  |                                       | -kane ahi<br>?+M then<br>dem                  | mera<br>mera<br>3PL.O<br>pron       |  |  |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| 224 Me  me  3PL.S  pron  na mati  na+F mat:  AUX 3PL  aux pron  They came d      | .S<br>n                           | nemetemone na -hemete n AUX FP.N+F aux  round, carrying the   | -mone a<br>REP+F t<br>d                    | hi 'a<br>hen f                        | ba me<br>ba me<br>ish 3PL.O<br>m pron         | me weye me weye 3PL.S carry pron vt |  |  |
| 225 Me  me 3PL.S pron  tabasi tabasi roast on ovt  'They came d                  | nah<br>grill at<br>prt            | aux<br><i>abani</i><br>aba -haba -n<br>night FUT+F IP   | -mone a REP+F t d mati i mat C.N+F 3PL pro | .S<br>n                               |   | me me me me 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron   |  |  |
| aba fish nm  tokomatasi to- ka away go/co vi banani -bana -ni FUT BKG-           | pron pr  -ma -  ome back a  .     | ka- kaba L.S DUP eat on vt nofa tasa nofa+F   | na hi- AUX OC aux aux me me 7 3PL.S pron   | towinamine<br>to- windaway live       | -hemete -mc FP.N+F REF a -ma -ne e back CONT+ | P+F 3PL.S<br>pron<br>,              |  |  |
| 227 Wabori fame wabori fama+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law be with nm vi wabori nm vi |                                   |   |  |                                       |   |                                     |  |  |
| nf vt , me me 3PL.0  | ok at AUX<br>aux<br><i>me hei</i> | , me me model in the me model | ne hekene hi- BPL.S OC pron vt  -kosa -h   | anakosahani ka- ka COMIT la me ani me | ana -kosa<br>eave middle<br>,                 | <i>me</i> -hani me                  |  |  |

wabori nafire famahari va nafi wabori -ra+M ya fama -haari 3SG.POSS brother-in-law be big NEG ADJU be with IP.E+M vi prt vi

'He was fishing with his brother-in-law. The others left them behind. His brother-in-law was young.'

228 Aba nakose aba mera wete mera wete -kosa+M aba mera wete na aba mera wete fish 3PL.O tie AUX middle fish 3PL.O tie pron aux vi nm v/t. nm pron

nakosikimematamonaka

-kosa -kima -himata -mona -ka FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M AUX middle two aux

'He tied fish on a line. He tied two bunches of fish on lines.'

229 *Mera* ha ne ha ni hire wara mera haa na+M haa na.NFIN me wara hi- to- na -ra+M 3PL.O call AUX call AUX 3PL.S respond to OC СН AUX NEG aux vi aux pron aux niso wabori ohi ya wabori ohi niso ya

2SG.POSS.younger brother ADJU 3SG.POSS brother-in-law cry vi prt nm fimihari

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka -haari fimi AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M be hungry IP.E+M allx 77 i

'He called the others, but they didn't respond. His brother-in-law was crying, because he was hungry.'

230 Wabori Hiba ohi ne wawa karama wabori hiba -karahama ohi na+M wa- waa na AUX only do 3SG.POSS brother-in-law wait DUP stand cry AUX interj vi vi aux aux

tina

tina 2SG.S AUX

'His brother-in-law was crying. "Wait, stay here."

231 Era owakatoma awine ati owa 0 era kakatoma+F owa awine 0ati 1IN.O 1SG.S COMIT look at 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S say pron vt pron sec prt vt

nematamonaka

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

"I will take care of us."

232 *Wati* soki tikasa wati soki tika--kosa 2SG.S COMIT AUX middle tie up vt.

"Tie up the bow and arrows."

233 *E* towakamakibe ee to- kato- ka- ka -makI -be 1IN.S away COMIT go/come following IMMED+F pron vi "We will go there." 234 Kanawa me towakamahani fawa mρ to- ka- ka -ma -hani kanawa me me fawa 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F canoe 3PL.S disappear nf pron vi v/t pron tonikimineni kakosani era me to- na -kima -ne -ni ka- kana -kosa -hani era me CH AUX spread out CONT+F BKG+F 1IN.O 3PL.S COMIT leave middle IP.N+F pron pron vt mati mati 3PL.S pron "They took the canoe and disappeared, leaving us behind." 235 *Yana* toneba sina hisi nematamona ahi to- na -hiba hisi na -himata -mona ahi yana sina start CH AUX FUT+M snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M then aux nf vt aux 'He took snuff to get ready.' 236 *Sina* hisi **Tinokowamaki** ne na+M ti- noko -waha -makI sina hisi sniff AUX 2SG.S point change following snuff vt. aux 77 i 'He took snuff. "Look at me."' 237 Tinokomaki ti- noko -makI 2SG.S point following "Look at me." 238 *Mati* oi nemetemoneke me mati ohi na -hemete -mone -ke me 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S vi aux pron hinawakoseno mati hi- to- na- waa -kosa -hino mati OC CH CAUS stand middle IP.N+M 3SG.POSS.mother 'His mother was crying. They had left him behind.' 239 *Me* towakamakiemetemone ahi -makI -hemete -mone me to- ka- ka ahi

3PL.S away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F

pron

'Then they went home.'

vi

then

240 Sina hisi ne ati vana moni ne vana sina hisi na+M ati yana na+M moni yana start snuff sniff AUX voice AUX sound start nf vt aux pn vi vi aux pn fawaii tonematamonaka to- na -himata -mona -ka fawaii AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M sound

'He took snuff, and then spoke. The sound of him started up as he disappeared.'

241 *Me* fawa kanemetemone ahi ahi me fawa ka- na -hemete -mone 3PL.S COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F t.hen disappear pron vi dem aux

dem

'The two of them disappeared.'

242 Wabori towakamakimatamona ahi
wabori to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi
3SG.POSS brother-in-law away COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then
nm vt dem

'He took his brother-in-law.'

243 Inamatewe weve ne inamatewe towakamaki inamatewe weye na+M inamatewe to- kaka -makI+M child carry AUX child away COMIT go/come following nm vt aux nm vt yobe yokana fare bari ka bao me me yokana fare me ka yobe bari me bao same+M 3PL POSS house outer surface true 3PL.S come down pn pron prt adj dem nm pron vi kanisakani ahi ka- na -risa -kani ahi COMIT AUX down ?+F then

'He carried the boy on his back. He took the boy. They came down to the ground right next to their house.'

#### 244 *Hoo*

hoo whew interj

245 *Afa* e taboro ama afa taboro ama ee place this+F 1IN.POSS be dem pron VC pn

"Is this our village?"

246 *Afa* taboro ama afa ee taboro ama 1IN.POSS this+F place be pron dem pn VC "Is this our village?"

e 247 *Afa* taboro amani afa ee taboro ama -ni be BKG+F this+F 1IN.POSS place dem pron pn VC "This is our village." 248 **E** winineke haro wina -ne -ke ee haaro 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F pron vi dem "This is where we live." 249 *Noko* noko watorematamonahane yama wato -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne noko noko yama eye+M eye+M thing know NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M pn nf vt karo nafi -ra.NOM+M karo be big NEG because prt 'He didn't recognize the place, because he was small.' 250 *Fava* kiyomamakimatamonaka me ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona -ka faya me go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M so 3PL.S conj pron vi 'They went in the house.' 251 *Aba* me weye wabori aba mera weye weye.LIST wabori aha me aba mera weye fish 3PL.O carry 3SG.POSS brother-in-law fish 3PL.O carry pron pron nm nm vt nm vt nabisakane ahi na -bisa -kane ahi AUX also ?+M then dem 'He was carrying fish. His brother-in-law was carrying fish, too.' kakiyomamakekani 252 *Me* ahi me ka- ka -yoma -makI -kani ahi 3PL.S COMIT go/come through following ?+F then pron dem 'They went inside.' 253 Wabori tai wabori tai 3SG.POSS brother-in-law be ahead hinihamakimatamonane hi- to- niha- ha -makI -himata -mona -ne OC CH CAUS AUX following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

'He made his brother-in-law go in first.'

```
254 Ami
            himata
                     ebe
                               tina
                                            ohi
                                                 tine
                                           ohi
   ami
            himata
                     ebe
                               ti- na+F
                                                 ti-
                                                        na -ne
                               2SG.S AUX
                                            cry 2SG.S AUX CONT+F
   mother
           what?
                     purpose
   nf
            interrog vt
                               aux
                                            vi
                                                 aux
tiriva
ti- ri
           -va
2SG.S CO+F now
prt
"Mother, why are you crying?"
                                  namakikara
255 Efe
            okatao
                    owa
                            ha
                                                            ati
                                  na -makI.CONT+M -kara
   efe
            okatao owa
                            haa
                                                            ati
   this+M my son 1SG.O
                           call AUX following ?+M
                                                            say
   dem
            nm
                    pron
                            vt
                                  aux
                                                            vt
nemetemoneheni
na -hemete -mone -he -ni
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F
aux
"That is my son calling me," she said.'
            afa
256 Ami
                    ama
                          0
                                 ota
                                         kakamake
                                                                   ota
            afa
                    ama o-
                                         ka- ka
                                                        -makI
   ami
                                 otaa
                                                                    otaa
            this+F
                    be
                         1SG.S 1EX.S
                                         COMIT go/come following
                                                                   1EX.S
   mother
            dem
                    VC
                         prt
                                 pron
                                                                   pron
"Mother, it is me, the two of us came back."
257 Aba
                 bobi
          mρ
                        tina
                       ti-
   aha
          me
                 hohi
                              na
          3PL.O
   fish
                 slit 2SG.S AUX
          pron
                 vt
                        aux
"Gut the fish."
258 Aba
          mera
                 bobi
                        nawahemetemoneheni
                                                                 biti
                       na -waha -hemete -mone -he -ni
                                                                 biti
   aba
          mera
                 bobi
   fish 3PL.O slit AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F
                                                                 3SG.POSS.son
          pron
                 vt
                        aux
                                                                 nm
tabiyo
         ohi
             namataro
tabiyo
         ohi
              na -mata
                              -haaro
         cry AUX short time IP.E+F
         vi
               aux
'She began to gut the fish, as she stopped crying about her son.'
                 kawariwahemetemoneheni
259 Aba
          mera
   aba
          mera
                 ka- waa -rI
                                             -waha -hemete -mone -he -ni
   fish
          3PL.O
                 COMIT cook raised surface change FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F
          pron
   nm
                 vt
'She cooked the fish.'
260 Biti
                  fimihi
                              fimi
                                      ohi
                                            kane
   biti
                  fimi+M
                              fimi
                                      ohi ka-
                                                  na+M
                                      cry COMIT AUX
   3SG.POSS.son be hungry hunger
                              nf
                  77 i
                                      vi
                                            aux
natafawahemetemonehe
na- tafa -waha -hemete -mone -he
CAUS eat change FP.N+F REP+F DUP
```

'She fed her son, who had cried with hunger.'

261 *Hoo* otara te kakosani otara tee ka- kana -kosa -hani hoo 1EX.O 2PL.S COMIT leave middle IP.N+F 1EX.S interj pron pron vt kakamakine afi kana ota ota -makI -ne afi ka- na+F ka- ka otaa otaa COMIT go/come following CONT+F 1EX.S bathe COMIT AUX 1EX.S pron vi aux "Whew, you left us behind, and we came walking in the water." 262 *Ota* afi kana kakamakineni ota ka- ka -makI -ne ka- na+F otaa -ni afi otaa 1EX.S bathe COMIT AUX 1EX.S COMIT go/come following CONT+F BKG+F vi aux pron vi "We have come back walking in the water." 263 **Fa** boni hisi onakiene oni faha boni hisi o- na -kI -hene oni water mass+F sniff 1SG.S AUX coming IRR+F 1SG.S BKG+F vt "The water was almost going in my nose." 264 *Owati* okowari kasawari afi ota ati ka- sawari+M afi o- ka- na -waharI+M 1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate bathe 1SG.S COMIT AUX all over vt vi aux pron famine fari -ne faari be with CONT+F that one+M dem "He wouldn't listen to me as I was with him in the water. We were together." 265 *Ota* amo kibana ka- na+F -bana amo 1EX.S sleep COMIT AUX FUT pron vi aux "We are going to sleep now." 266 Hekamaki me kakamake me voro ka- ka -makI ka -makI+M me me voro OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.S COMIT go/come following 3PL.S stay pron vi pron namakiemetemonehe na -makI -hemete -mone -he AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DUP 'He brought him back. They came back, and stayed there.' 267 *Fava* sina me hisi nemetemoneke fahi na -hemete -mone -ke fahi faya sina me hisi me tafa+F snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S eat conj nf pron vt aux dem pron mati mati

3PL.S pron

# 'They ate and took snuff.'

| 268            | Sina    | me     | hisi    | na   | me    | , | maka    | ya   | me       | ati   |
|----------------|---------|--------|---------|------|-------|---|---------|------|----------|-------|
|                | sina    | me     | hisi    | na+F | me    | , | maka    | ya   | me       | ati   |
|                | snuff   | 3PL.S  | sniff   | AUX  | 3PL.S |   | monster | ADJU | 3PL.POSS | voice |
|                | nf      | pron   | vt      | aux  | pron  |   | nm      | prt  | pron     | pn    |
| sawihemetemone |         |        | maka    |      |       |   |         |      |          |       |
| saw            | i       | -hemet | e -mone | maka |       |   |         |      |          |       |
| be             | present | FP.N+F | REP+F   | mons | ter   |   |         |      |          |       |
| vi             |         |        |         | nm   |       |   |         |      |          |       |

'They took snuff, and talked about the forest monster.'