Appendix I: Catalog of scholarly work on Lokono language and culture

A digital catalog of the works concerning Lokono language and culture is available at the Zotero webpage under the link below. Notice that the category Unpublished Manuscripts contains different types of sources (grammars, dictionaries, biblical texts).

https://www.zotero.org/groups/the_lokono_collection/items/collectionKey/DQU2N925
Appendix II: Lokono organizations

Guyana

1. Ministry of Amerindian Affairs

2. Arawak Language Project
   Father Johnes Richards (teacher)
   tel: +592 6018868

Suriname

1. Vereniging Inheemse Dorpshoofden in Suriname
   [Association of Surinamese Village Chiefs]
   email: infovids@vids.sr
   tel: + 597 520 130
   tel: + 597 520 131

2. Wadian Bokotothi
   [Language Keepers Association]
   email: melvin_mackintosh@hotmail.com
   tel: +597 850 69 74

French Guiana

1. Kayeno
   email: willem.visser@mediaserv.net
   tel: +594 594 694 960 797

The Netherlands

1. Sociaal Culturele Vereniging Wajonong
   [Social Cultural Association Wajonong]
   homepage: [http://www.wajonong.com](http://www.wajonong.com)
   email: wajonong@gmail.com

2. Rutu Foundation
   email: info@rutufoundation.org

3. Amazone Khonanong
   [People of the Amazon]
   Facebook: Amazone Khonanong
   email: akhonanong@gmail.com
Appendix III: Color Figures

![Diagram showing different parts of a landform with labels in Lokono language.]

**Figure 1.**—Focal denotation of some of the Lokono landform.
Appendix IV: Sample text

The Lokono story about an old woman, her daughter and two men

The Lokono story was told in November 2009 by Mr. Martin Purci, who at that time was the chief of the Cassipora village in Suriname (see Figure 2). Purci, who is now 65 years old, is one of the youngest and most fluent speakers of Lokono in his village. Interestingly, he only developed active Lokono language skills in his thirties after having been chosen the head of the village. He then made it his priority to address his people in the native language rather than Dutch or Sranantongo. Purci is today deemed a specialist on the Lokono language and culture, and devotes his time to language revitalization and conservation projects. Purci is a fluent speaker of Dutch and Sranantongo, and the text was translated and analyzed together with him. Language contact and language shift are clearly reflected in the text, which contains numerous borrowings. Particularly salient are the sentence connectors such as Sranantongo ma ‘but’, te ‘until’, or the Dutch of ‘or’, of ‘if’, zo ‘so’, dan ‘then’ and want ‘because’—a feature typical of many Lokono speakers today.

Purci recounts the story of a mother anxious about marrying her daughter to the one man who can cut open the biggest field for her. Angered by the materialistic and judgmental approach of the mother, one of the two prospective sons-in-law, a man with ancestral powers, punishes everyone involved by turning them into animals. The story thus explains the peculiar behavior of different species: the calls of two types of doves, wîro (Leptotila verreauxi) and yaburhu (Patagioenas speciosa), and the amphibian nature of hikorhi (turtle species, Chelonoidis denticulata). The man with ancestral powers turns himself into korhashiri (bird species, Turdus albicollis). The text is linked to an idiomatic expression hikorhi koban (lit. ‘turtle’s field’), meaning ‘a very small field’—such as the one made by the second prospective son-in-law, who is metamorphosed into a hikorhi ‘Chelonoidis denticulata’. The metamorphosis element links the story to a number of other Lokono texts explaining the characteristics of the natural world through human transformation. In van Baarle and colleagues (1989), a different version of the story is published—though without glosses—focusing on the explanation of the ebb and flow of the sea instead. Such transitions between the human and non-human world are typical of the animistic beliefs of the Guianan Amerindians (see Roth 1915). According to Purci, the story is also a celebration of the traditional gender-related subsistence practices and a cautionary tale against gossiping and basing your life choices on beauty and wealth.

1 I would like to acknowledge the contribution of Mr. Martin Purci, the narrator of the story, Mrs. Ursula-Visser Biswane and Mrs. Sonia Orassie, who have offered me long-term support and help with collecting and analyzing the data. I also would like to thank the funding body. The research presented here was carried out within the project When “what” and “where” fall into place: the ontological status of place terms in Lokono, funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (project number 322-70-005).
Figure 2.—Mr. Martin Purci in front of his house in Cassipora.
1. Bâmun koba tha aba loko hiyaro, aba thoyosabotho ma hebetho kho tora.
   b-a:mîŋ=koba=ṭa aba loko hiyaro
   2SGA−have=REM.PST=RPR IND F Lokono woman
   aba ṭoyo−sabo−ṭo ma hebê−ṭo=k̬o to−ra
   INDF elderly−CMPR−SBJ.REFL but aged−SBJ.REFL=NEG DEM:F−MED
   ‘You had once a Lokono woman, it is said, an old one but not an aged one.’

2. Ken kia kâmun koba aba thusa, aba hiyaro kiba.
   ḵeŋ kia k−a:mîŋ=koba aba ṭ−isa aba hiyaro kiba
   and DSC EXPL−have=REM.PST IND 3SA−child IND woman too
   ‘And this woman had a child, (and) a girl in addition.’

   ḵeŋ kia hiyaro bikido−lia−ṭo to−ra
   and DSC woman raise:REFL−INCH−SBJ.REFL DEM:F−MED
   ‘And this girl, she was a young lady (lit. one that begins to grow).’

   ḵeŋ h−i:ṭa−li−ka alika n−ã−ŋ na
   and 2PL−know−VOL−PFV how 3PLA−E.V−NMLZ DEM:PL
   ṭoyo−ṭi−nōŋ=koba wakili
   elderly−SBJ.REFL−PL=REM.PST long.ago
   ‘And you must know how the elders were back in those days.’

5. Bâmunharukha hiyaro of wadili diaro, bushikiha thurethiwa, of burethita no, of
   bushika lureithowa.
   b−a:mîŋ−harîk’a hiyaro of wadîli d’aro bi−fîki−ha
   2SGA−have−COND woman or man maybe 2SGA−give−FUT
   ṭi−reṭi−wa of bi−reṭi−ta=no
   3SA−husband−REFL or 2SGA−husband−VBZ=3FB
   of bi−fîka li−reṭi̱o−wa
   or 2SGA−give 3MA−wife−REFL
   ‘If you had a girl or a boy maybe, you would give her a husband, or you would
   marry her, or you would give him a wife.’

6. Ken ki dia tha to loko hiyaro kida.
   ḵeŋ ki d’a ṭ−a to loko hiyaro kida
   and SPEC SMLR 3SA−E.V DEM:F Lokono woman too
   ‘And this is how the Lokono woman was too.’
7. Ma to hiyaro, alika danbo âkanda hu…
ma to hiyaro alika d–ã–m–bo a:kâ–n=da=hi
‘But the woman, about whom I am telling you now…’

8. Tha bianon tha wadili.
t³–a biã–n=t³a wad’i
3Fₚₐ=E.V two–PL=RPRT man
‘It is said there were two men.’

9. ‘Wakhaibethi kho hi wadilinon kiba.’
wakʰ’ә–i–be–tʃi=kʰ’o hi: wad’i–nɔŋ kiba
bad–VERI–COL–SBJ.REL:M=NEG 2PL man–PL too
‘Very handsome men you are too.’

10. Dukhushabo to hiyaro, to thoto, to thoysabotho hiyaro.
dikʰʃa–bo to hiyaro to t³–oto
peep–PRG DEM:F woman DEM:F 3Fₐ–daughter
  to t³ˈoyo–sabo–t³’o hiyaro
    DEM:F elderly–CMPR–SBJ.REL:F woman
‘(Those) peeping at the girl, the daughter of the older woman.’

11. ‘Ma biamake nama kho kakun dasa oma,’ thanbia tha.
ma biama–k’e n–a–ma=k’h’o kakî–n da–sa oma
but two.COM–INTSV 3PLₐ=E.V–ABIL¹=NEG alive–NMLZ 1SGₐ–child COM
  t³–ã–m–bia=t³’a
3Fₐ=E.V–NMLZ–TRNSF=RPRT
‘But with the two together they cannot live with my child,’” she concluded, it
  is said.’

12. ‘Ken bîtha amaha?’ tha tha namun.
kʰ’әŋ b–i.t³’a amaha t³–a=t³’a na–mîŋ
and 2SGₐ–know what 3Fₐ=E.V=RPRT 3PLₐ–DAT
‘And you know what?’ she said to them, it is said.’

13. ‘Dashikâma to hiyaro humun, ma biaman khoror.
da–ʃika–ma to hiyaro hi–mîŋ ma biàmâ–ŋ=k’h’oro
1SGₐ–give–ABIL¹ DEM:F woman 2PLₐ–DAT but two.COM–NMLZ=NEG
‘I can give you the girl, but two together cannot (live with her).’

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¹ The form wakhaibethikho ‘very handsome ones’ (lit. ‘ones that are not very bad’) is an example of
litotes—an ironical understatement, in which an affirmative is expressed by the negative of its contrary—
a popular stylistic device in Lokono.

da– dik₅a–t₄–ka alikan₄ k₄dwaŋiabo wadili₄ alikan₄
1SGₐ–see–DES–PFV who really true able who

wadili₄=sa sabo alikan₄ dik₄–p₄–i–ma da–sa k₄ona
able–PFV=CMPR who see–NMLZ–EP–ABIL.₁ 1SGₐ–child about

‘‘I want to see who is really capable, who is more capable, who can take care of my child.’’

15. “Munékatan kho no!
mine:ka–t₄–ŋ=NGₔ=no
grief–VBZ–NMLZ=NEG=3FB
‘‘Don’t give her grief (lit. not making her grieve)!”

dei ka–mine:ka ma dei=NGₐ k–əŋʃi–ka da–sa
1SG ATR–grief but 1SG=NEG EXPL–love–PFV 1SGₐ–child

ka–mine:ka–sabœ–ŋ
ATR–grief–CMPR–NMLZ
‘‘I am poor but I don’t want my child to be poor anymore.’’

17. “Kia doma dadukhatika khidwaniabo alikan dukunima san thokhona, alikan shikithima amathali thumun, ama diaro bóthikishama thumun.
kia doma da–dik₅a–t₄–ka k₄idwaŋiabo
DSC reason 1SGₐ–see–DES–PFV really true

alikan₄ dik₄–p₄–i–ma sā–ŋ t₅o–k₄ona
who see–NMLZ–EP–ABIL.₁ good–NMLZ 3FAₐ–about

alikan₄ ʃiki–tʃi–ma amat₃ali t₅i–miŋ
who give–OBJ.REL=F–ABIL.₁ thing 3FAₐ–DAT

ama d₅aro b–o–tʃi–ʃa–ma t₅i–miŋ
what maybe 2SGₐ–find–OBJ.REL–ABIL.₁ 3FAₐ–DAT

‘‘Therefore I want to really see who can take good care of her, who can give her everything, whatever you can find for her.’’


kia–bo da–dik₅a–t₄–ka alika h–ə–ŋ–ha
‘‘That exactly I want to see, how you will be.’’

19. “Kia san bena dadukhun foshida, da dashikàma to hiyar o humun.

kia sā–m bena da–dik₅i–ŋ foʃi=da
DSC good–NMLZ after 1SGₐ–see–NMLZ first=DIRECT
“After I have seen all that, then I can give the girl to you.’


hi–kanaba=no tʰ–a=tʰa na–mǐŋ
2PLₐ–hear=3Fb 3Fₐ=E,V=RPRT 3PLₐ–DAT
‘Did you hear it?’ she said to them, it is said.’


wa–kanaba=no n–a=tʰa
1PLₐ–hear=3Fb 3PLₐ=E,V=RPRT
‘We heard it,’ they answered, it is said.’


kʰɛn=da ama=kʰɛŋ w–anį–koma n–a=tʰa
and=DIRECT what=DIM 1PLₐ–do–ABIL₂ 3PLₐ–E,V=RPRT
‘And then… “What could we do?” they said, it is said.’

23. “Budukha alika wan dishian tahāya ināya.”

2SGₐ=see how 1PLₐ–E,V–NMLZ tame–NMLZ long.time.ago
‘Look how we are acculturated since long time ago.’

24. “Kabuya kho weibisha to.

kabiya=kʰo w–eibi–ʃa to
field=NEG 1PLₐ–leave–OBJ.REL DEM:F
‘The field is something we never leave.’

25. “Barhin diaro amadiaro māmun ba, ma aba kabuya bāmunha.

bɑʃiŋ d’aro ama d’aro m–a:mǐŋ b–a
though–NMLZ maybe what maybe PRV–have 2SGₐ=E,V
ma aba kabiya b–a:mǐŋ–ha
but INDF field 2SGₐ–have–FUT
‘Even when you don’t have anything, you do have a field.’


kʰɛŋ kia loko=wa:ya bi–dikʰa:–ma
and DSC inside=SRC:TL 2SGₐ–see–ABIL₁
of b–a:mǐŋ–koma bi–kŋp–ia–wa
or 2SGₐ–have–ABIL₂ 2SGₐ–food–EP–REFL

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2 The verb *dishan ‘tame’* is used in (23) with the meaning ‘be used to’ to talk about Lokono culture—that is, the things the Lokono people are used to do since time immemorial.
‘And from inside of it, you can see... or you can have your food.’

27. “Amathali diaro māmum bASHA lokhodi, bōthika tádi, konokodi bōthikāma.

28. “Ma to kabiya, kia to... ma to kabiya kia to

29. “Buwadilikaharukhabo, kia buwaya bumarhitīha.”
34. "Kia bena ki biamaha wôsun dukhun alika motho kabuya humarhitin.
   kia bena ki biamaha w–o:sì–ŋ dikʰi–ŋ
   DSC after SPEC two.COM–FUT 1PL₃A–go–NMLZ see–NMLZ
   alika m–o–tʰo kabiya hi–maːtʰi–ŋ
   how EXPL–E.V–SBJ.REL:F field 2PL₃A–make–NMLZ
   "‘Thereafter we’ll go like that with the two of us to see what sort of field you
   made.’

35. “Of sâ no of thandun dalwa lokonro,” tha tha to hiyaro, to thoyotho namun.
of saː=no of tʰ–ãndi–ŋ da–lwa lokô–n–ro
if good=3Fb if 3F₃A–arrive–NMLZ 1SG₃A–heart inside–LOC.WHR–ATL
   tʰ–a=tʰa to hiyaro to tʰoːyo–tʰo naːmîŋ
   ‘If they’re good, if they make me glad,’ said the old woman to them, it is
   said.’

   ki dʰa w–a=kʰân dʰâ–ŋ n–a=tʰa
   SPEC SMLR 1PL₃A–E.V=DIM talk–NMLZ 3PL₃A–E.V=RPRT
   ‘That’s what we say,’ they said, it is said.’

37. So... nanebetâka.
   so na–nebetaː–ka
   so 3PL₃A–divide.INTRV–PFV
   ‘So... they parted.’

38. Alonro nôsun, kia kho weitha mada nanekhebohaba.
   alô–n–ro n–o:sì–ŋ kia=kʰo we–cɪtʰa
   where–LOC.WHR–ATL 3PL₃A–go–NMLZ DSC=NEG 1PL₃A–know
   ma=da na–nekʰoːbo–ha–ba
   but=DIRECT 3PL₃A–work–FUT–AND
   ‘Where they went, that we don’t know but they went to work.’

39. To hiyaro, thudiadiadwaka to thuṣa oma.
   to hiyaro tʰi–dʰa–dʰa–dwa–ka
   DEM:F woman 3F₃A–ITR–speak–VBZ.INTRV.REFL.–PFV
   to tʰi–isa oma
   DEM:F 3F₃A–child COM
   ‘The woman, she talked with her child.’
40. Thumarhikhotâka no alika thanha, karethinhada no.
   tʰi-marritic⁷-o-ta-ka=no  alika  tʰ-ã-ῆ-ha
   3Fₐ-knowledge-VZB.INTRV–PFV=3Fₐ how  3Fₐ-E.V–NMLZ–FUT
   ka–refティ–ῆ–ha=da=no
   ATR–husband–NMLZ–FUT=DIRCT=3Fₐ
   ‘She taught her how she has to act when she will have a man.’

41. Ama theithinha, ama thaninima, ama manin thashama, alika na wadilinon.
   ama  m–ang–ʒ–a=fa–ma
   alika  n–a
   how  3PLₐ–E.V
   man–PL
   ‘What she has to know, what she can do, what she cannot do, how men are.

42. Kiabo sakhaniin tha ki tha âkakadun to thusawa.
   kia–bo  sak’tJapanese–i–ʒ=ma
   a:k–a:ka–ði–ʒ  to  tʰ–is–wa
   ITR–tell–VBZ–NMLZ DEM:  3Fₐ–child–REFL
   ‘About all that she told her child, it is said.’

43. To thukhuthu waboken, thodokothi thâmunisha, nei waboken shika diha thumun.
   to  tʰ–ikJapanese–ik=lang
   DEM:  3Fₐ–grandmother=as.well
   tʰ–dokotJapanese  tʰ–a:miŋ–i=fa
   3Fₐ–grandfather  3Fₐ–have–EP–OBJ.REL
   nei=wabok’en  ñi=tαka  dα–ha  tʰ–miŋ
   3PL=as.well give talk–ABST.NMLZ  3Fₐ–DAT
   ‘Her grandmother as well, her grandfather that she had, they also told her stories.’

44. “Mashikin bali habori wamun, hiyaro,” na tha thumun.
   ma–fiki–m  b–a–li  haburi  wa–miŋ  hiyaro
   PRV–give–NMLZ  2SGₐ–E.V–VOL shame  1PLₐ–DAT woman
   n–a=tʰa  tʰ–miŋ
   3PLₐ–E.V=RPRT  3Fₐ–DAT
   ‘“Don’t bring shame on us, woman,” they said to her, it is said.’
"Wanshisha bi.

You are the one we love.

"Alikan kanshin bo, dia wa dukhun kidaba bo.

You are the one we love.

"Kia doma mashikati wa kakuthinon mun barhindu no.

Therefore we don’t want to give her to people.

"Ma ki dia than doma to kaku hibin, buwaya kho yâdi bama.

But because life is like this already, you don’t have to be here alone.

"Buwaya ki bithihada no.

Your partner is somewhere but who he is we can’t tell you and even you don’t know.

"You yourself will find it out.”
   alikān b–ānʃi–ʃa li–ki bi–niki–ha
   who 2SG–love–OBJ.REL DEM:M–SPEC 2SG–take–FUT
   ‘The one you love, him you will take.’

52. “Of kanshisha bî, li ki anduhathe bibithiro.
   or EXPL–love–OBJ.REL 2SG DEM:M–SPEC arrive–FUT=VEN 2SG–LOC.WHT–ATL
   ‘Or he who loves you will come to you.’

53. “Ki dia tha.”
   ki ḏa ṭ̣–a
   SPEC SMLR 3F–E
   ‘That’s the way it is.’

54. “Mōdāko tha tha thonwa, mōnaban tha.
   mo:da–ko ṭ̣–a ṭ̣ŋ–wa m–o:nabā–n ṭ̣–a
   ‘She remained quiet, she did not answer.’

55. “Ma thowaya thukoborokwakada no.
   ma ṭ̣–i–waya ṭ̣–i–koborokwa–ka=da=no
   but 3F–self 3F–think–PFV=DIRCΤ=3F
   ‘But she thought about it in herself.’

   dei=kbo i:ṭ̣–a
   1SG=NEG know
   ‘I don’t know.’

   adaya–li=rŋ ki ʃika–ma sa–tʃi wadîli da–mŋ
   mature=M=only SPEC give–ABIL.1 good–SBJ.REL:M man 1SG–DAT
   sa–tʃi–ma dikb–i–n da–kɔna ṭ̣–a=ṭ̣–a ṭ̣ŋ–wa
   ‘Only God can give me a good man, a good one who can take care of me,’
   she said to herself, it is said.’

58. Na bianinon nuka waboroko.
   na biaŋ–i–nŋ nika waboroko
   DEM:PL two–EP–PL take road
   ‘The two men took to the road.’
59. Li tha abali wadili, li tha möthiâbo la tha thokhodon.

DEM:M=RPRT INDF=–M man

lî=tha möthiâbo – l–a=tha tîkô=ôdô=–ô

DEM:M=RPRT morning–INTS 3M=–E.V=RPRT descend–NMLZ

‘The first man, he descends (from his hammock) early in the morning, it is said.’

60. Möthiâbon, Warokoma kayara mankhada no, lösa hibin.


m–â–ô=da=–m–i=sa hibî–ô


‘Early in the morning, when the Morning Star is not born, he is already gone, it is said.’

61. Lösâ nekhebon, wadun tha san alon löthikinima satho horhorho, marhítin to kabuya, alika lan kanabun to thoyotho hîyarô <TransformItem>ôya.</TransformItem>

l–o:sa nekê=ebô–ô wadî–n=tê=ô sâ–ô alô–ô

3M=–go work–NMLZ search–NMLZ=RPRT good–NMLZ where–LOC.WHR

l–o:tsiki–pi–i=ma sa–tê=ô hîro(lo)


maritî=–n to kabiyas

make–NMLZ DEM:F field

alika l–â–ô kanabî–ô

how 3M=–E.V–NMLZ hear–NMLZ

tô=iyo–tê=ô iyaro o:ya

DE:MR:SBJ.REL:F woman SRC:ATL

‘He is gone to work, searching well where he can find good land to make a field, like he heard from the old woman.’

62. “Sâharukhada no, damukuthuhada no,” la tha lonwa.

si=harikô=da=–no da=mikilô=ha=–da=–no

good–COND=DIRECT=3Fb 1SG=mother.in.law–FUT=DIRECT=3Fb

l–a=tê=ô lô=–wa

3M=–E.V=RPRT 3M=DAT–REFL

‘If it is good, I will make her my mother-in-law,’” he says to himself.’
63. Mithamithada tha lonwa.

mitʰa – mitʰa – da=tʰa lõŋ–wa
itr – laugh–vblz=rprt 3M.dat–refl

‘He keeps laughing to himself, it is said.’

64. “Barhin alika ban, dei dei nuka to kia hiyaro,” la tha li abali.

baɾ安心 alika b-å-ŋ

though–nmnz how 2SG-æ.v–nmnz

dei dei nika to kia hiyaro

1SG 1SG take dem:f dsc woman

l-a=tʰa li abā-li

3M-æ.v=rprt dem:m indf–m

‘ ‘Whatever you have to do, I, I will take that girl,” the man says, it is said.’

65. Ki la tha nekhebon.

ki l-a=tʰa nekʰebō-ŋ

spec 3M-æ.v=rprt work–nmnz

‘That is the way he works, it is said.’

66. Móthia lõsun, makuburekhanin, makhotorekhanin, te kasakoda foshi tha landakikada.

moʔʃa l-ò:sî-ŋ m–akibi–re–kʰàŋ–l-ŋ


ma–kʰoto–re–kʰap–l–ŋ

prv–eat–rest1–dim–ep–nmnz

 te kasakoda foji=tʰa l-ânda–ki–ka=da

until night first=rprt 3M-arrive–spec–pfv=direct

‘He is gone in the morning, without resting, without eating, until before the nightfall he comes back again, it is said.’

67. Ma lirabo to li bianthe, lirabokili wadili, wakhaithi kho lonwa kida, san tatabodin kiba.


wadʰiːli wakʰa–i–ʔʃi=kʰo lõŋ–wa kida

man bad–veri–sbl.rel=m=neg 3M.dat–refl too

sâ–ŋ tatabudʰi–ŋ kiba

good–nmnz with.strength–nmnz too

‘But that other one, the second one, that other man is a handsome one too, a strong man.’
68. Li thada tholâko ma, dukha alika than to adali kayaran foshi.
    li=t\textsuperscript{1}a=da \quad t\textsuperscript{3}ola=:ko \quad m–a \quad dik\textsuperscript{3}a alika \quad t\textsuperscript{h}–\textsuperscript{a}–n
    DEM:M=RPT=DIRCT \quad hanging–CONT \quad EXPL–E.V \quad see \quad how \quad 3F\textsubscript{A}–E.V–NMLZ
to \quad adali \quad kayarâ–ŋ \quad foji
    DEM:F \quad sun \quad born–NMLZ \quad first
    ‘He is lazing around in his hammock watching the sun come up first.’

69. Kande diaro oni khia san bena thubarha kona to oniabo ada khonayâbe, thubana khonâya, dan foshi tha li ôsa.
    kânde \quad d’aro \quad uɲi \quad k\textsuperscript{h}a \quad sâ–m \quad bena
    maybe \quad maybe \quad rain \quad rain \quad good–NMLZ \quad after
    \quad t\textsuperscript{b}i–bâqa \quad konâ to \quad uɲiabo \quad ada \quad k\textsuperscript{h}ona=a:ya–be
    3F\textsubscript{A}–hair \quad run \quad DEM:F \quad water \quad tree \quad about=SRC:TL–COL
    \quad t\textsuperscript{b}i–bana \quad k\textsuperscript{h}ona=a:ya \quad dân \quad foji=tha \quad li \quad o:sa
    3F\textsubscript{A}–leaf \quad about=SRC:TL \quad then \quad first=RPT \quad DEM:M \quad go
    ‘Maybe the rain falls, after that the water drips off the trees, off their leaves, after that, he goes.’

70. Ah! Wâdiaro la tha kho andathe.
    ah \quad wa:d\textsuperscript{a}–ro \quad l–a=t\textsuperscript{b}a=k\textsuperscript{h}o \quad \text{o}nda=t\textsuperscript{b}e
    ah \quad later–REST2 \quad 3M\textsubscript{A}–E.V=RPT=NEG \quad arrive=VEN
    ‘Ah! He does not come back home late, it is said.’

71. Thutherethin tha to adali, landa hibin kiba.
    t\textsuperscript{i}–t\textsuperscript{e}re–t\textsuperscript{f}i–n=t\textsuperscript{b}a \quad to \quad adali \quad l–\text{o}nda \quad hibi–ŋ \quad kiba
    3F\textsubscript{A}–hot–APRX–NMLZ=RPT \quad DEM:F \quad sun \quad 3M\textsubscript{A}–arrive already–NMLZ \quad too
    ‘When the sun is getting warmish, he is already back again.’

72. Mada to hiyaro, to thoyotho, kande to hiyaro... nawadushabo to hiyaro oyo, kia tha dukha.
    ma=da \quad to \quad hiyaro \quad to \quad t\textsuperscript{b}oyo–t\textsuperscript{b}o \quad kânde \quad to \quad hiyaro
    but=DIRCT \quad DEM:F \quad woman \quad DEM:F \quad old–SBJ,REL:F \quad maybe \quad DEM:F \quad woman
    na–wadi–jà–bo \quad to \quad iyaroyoyo \quad kia=t\textsuperscript{h}a \quad dik\textsuperscript{h}a
    3PL\textsubscript{A}–search–OBJ,REL–PRG \quad DEM:F \quad woman \quad mother \quad DSC=RPT \quad see
    ‘But the woman, the old woman, maybe the woman...the mother of the one they are looking for, she looks.’

73. Ma thudiâka kho want ki nanawa dian.
    ma \quad t\textsuperscript{i}–d\textsuperscript{a}–ka=k\textsuperscript{h}o \quad wânt \quad ki \quad n–a–na–wa \quad d\textsuperscript{a}–ŋ
    but \quad 3F\textsubscript{A}–talk–PFV=NEG \quad because \quad SPEC \quad 3PL\textsubscript{A}–E.V–EXPC–CERT \quad talk–NMLZ
    ‘But she says nothing because that is of course what they agreed on.’
“Dei kho dukhuhathe hibithiro, ma dadukhuha alika han.”

I will not come watching you, but I will see what you do."

Than bena thada, tora dukhako ma kida.

‘Having said that, she stares again.’

Ma lira danshir ama khidohan dasa dukhun khona.

‘But surprisingly I could really want him to take care of my child.’

Ma wadilika kho thudian nama.

‘But she cannot speak with them.’

Wadilika kho thudian to thusa oma kida.

‘She cannot talk with her child either.’

Dukhuro tha.

‘She only watches.’
81. Ma to liraboki waboken, wakhaithi kho lira tha, liwa to.
   ma to li-ra-bo-kili=wabok'en
   wakʰa-i-tʃi=kʰo
   li-ra=tʰa
   li-wa to
   DEM:M–MED=RPRT DEM:M–CERT DEM:F
   'But that other one, he really is a pretty one, it is said, he is the one indeed.'

82. "Li ba to nukuraha to dasa," tha tha thonwa.
   li ba to nɨkɨ-ra–ha to da–sa
   DEM:M maybe DEM:F take–UNEXPC–FUT DEM:F 1SGₐ–child
   tʰ–a=tʰa
   tʰøn–wa
   3Fₐ–E,V=RPRT 3F,DAT–REFL
   'He maybe will take my child, surprisingly,' she says to herself, it is said.'

83. Ma liwa to móthiâbo man ôsun.
   ma li–wa to mo tʃaː–bo m–ā–ŋ o:sī–ŋ
   'But this one of course goes really early in the morning.'

84. Kasakoda wei landa.
   kasakoda–wei l–ānda
   night–EMPH 3MA–arrive
   'Late at night, he comes back.'

   kʰa da–sa=kʰaŋ wadîli bin–ŋ–ha
   ah 1SGₐ–child=DIM able plant–NMLZ–FUT
   ki dʒ–a=tʃʰa
   kabiya tʰ–a=tʰa
   tʰøn–wa
   'Ah! How could my child plant such a field,' she says to herself, it is said.'

   m–eːtʃi–ka=da wa–dikʰa–li m–o–ro tʰ–a
   PRV–know–PFV=DIREC 1PLₐ–see–VOL EXPL–E,V–REST2 3Fₐ–E,V
   'I don’t know, we shall see,' she only said, it is said.'

87. Thusa waboken kho mun ama diaro thama.
   tʰ–isa=wabok'en=kʰo mîŋ ama d'aro tʰ–a–ma
   3Fₐ–child=as.well=NEG DAT what maybe 3Fₐ–E,V–ABIL₁
   'She cannot say anything to her child either.'
88. Want alika nadian, ki dia na dian hibin.

want alika n-a d'ã-ŋ
because how 3PLA=E.V speak=NMLZ

ki d'a n-a d'ã-ŋ hibi-ŋ
SPEC SMLR 3PLA=E.V speak=NMLZ already--NMLZ

‘Because what they said, that is what they said already.’

89. Ki dia na tha ôsosadun nekhebonro.

ki d'a n=a=t a o:s=ō.sa=dĩ-ŋ nek'bëô--n=ro
SPEC SMLR 3PLA=E.V=RPRT ITR=go--VBZ--NMLZ work--LOC.WHR--ATL

‘This is the way they go everyday to work, it is said.’

90. Abahan tha thôsa: “Dadukhubaya alika na nashikwawa,” tha tha to hiyaro, to kasaroda, to tha thôsa.

abahã=t a tʰ=ō:sa da=dik'î--ba--ya
once=RPRT 3F=go 1SG=see--AND--VERI

alika n-a na=sikwa--wa tʰ=a=tʰa
how 3PLA=E.V 3PLA--house.POSS--REFL 3F=RPRT

to hiyaro to ka=s-a=ro=da to=tʰa tʰ=ō:sa
DEM:F woman DEM:F ATR--child=F=DIRECT DEM:F=RPRT 3F=go

‘Once she says: “I will go see really how they made their houses,” said the woman, the one with children, and she went, it is said.’

91. Li abali bithiro thôsa.

li aba-li biʧi-ro tʰ=ō:sa
DEM:M one--M LOC.WHT--ATL 3F=go

‘She went to the first one.’

92. “Yarakâ hu wadili?” tha tha.

ya-ra=ka=hi wad'ili tʰ=a=tʰa
LOC:DEM--MED--PFV=2PLa man 3F=E.V=RPRT

‘Are you there, boy?’ she says, it is said.’

93. Ama khororo, alikan kho diâka.

ama=ko'oro alikân=k'o d'a--ka
what=NEG who=NEG talk--PFV

‘Nothing, nobody talks.’

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1 In 92 the woman uses a plural form when addressing a single man to show respect.
Alikan kho onabâka.

'Somebody answered.'


"He is surely already gone," she says to herself.

96. Bakulama shibon, orhiroko shifodi tha, thôsa kida.

"Before the afternoon, before darkness, she goes again, it is said.'

97. "Yaraka hu?

"Are you here?"

98. "Alikan yaka?"

"Is someone here?"

99. Alikan kho onaba.

'Somebody answered.'

100. Ah! Orhirokonbo hibin, nekheborekili, mandunko laya do.

'Ah! It is now already dark, the one that only works, he surely still didn’t return.'

101. Thokoywakikaba.

'She returned again.'
102. Abahan tha thọsa li lirabo bithiro.

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 once=RPT 3FX=go DEM:M DEM:M-MED-CNTR LOC.WHT-ATL
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‘One time, she went to that other man.’

103. Adali fotikidāha.

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 sun enter.non-containment.INTRV-FUT
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‘The sun came out.’

104. Thọsa.

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 She went.
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105. Theîbonon mathali nin thushikwan, thọsa.

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 Having finished doing things at her house, she went.
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106. “Ah!” Thudukha tha li yoyodakwan.

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 “Ah!” She saw him hanging (in a hammock), it is said.
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107. “Yaka hu?”

```
 “Are you here?”
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108. “Alikan yaka?”

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 “Is anyone here?”
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109. “Aha, yaka we.”

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 “Aha, we are here.”
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110. “Yaka de,” la tha yoyodákwan.
   ya-ka=de  l=a=tʰa  yoyodaːkwâ–ŋ
   LOC:DEM=PFV=1SGM  3MA=E.V=RPRT  hanging–CONT=NMLZ
   ‘I am here,’ he says hanging (in a hammock), it is said.’

111. “Ma li kho li kanshina dasa.
   ma  li=kʰo  li  k–ânﬁ-ña  da–sa
   but  DEMM=EMPH  DEMM  EXPL=love–EXPC  1SGA–child
   ‘But is of course he the one that loves my child.’

112. “Li khoda dukhuha thokhona.
   li=kʰo=da  dikʰi–ha  tʰo–kʰona
   DEMM=EMPH  DEMM  1SGA–about
   ‘He is the one that will take care of her.’

113. “Li kho li dànskika.
   li=kʰo  li  d–ânﬁ–ka
   DEMM=EMPH  DEMM  1SGA–love–PFV
   ‘He is the one I want.’

   haɾa  matʰali=da  d–a:mîn–i–fa
   all  thing=DIRECT  1SGA–have–EP–OBJ.REL
   da–jîkʰi–ha  tʰi–mîn  m–a=da
   1SGA–give–FUT  3FA–DAT  EXPL=E.V=DIRECT
   ‘Everything that I have I will give her,’ he said.’

115. “Ma li dianthi, mio kho hayomunin to adali hibin, ki yâdiko labo kwan.
   ma  li  dʰâ–n–tʃi  mio=kʰo  hayo–mîp–i–ŋ
   to  adali  hibí–ŋ
   DEM:F  sun  already–NMLZ
   ki  yaː–dʰi–ko  l–a–bo  kwâŋ
   SPEC  LOC:DEM:PRX–VIA=CONT  3MA=E.V=PRG  still
   ‘But somebody like him, the sun is already very high, he is still at home.’

   sa–tʃi  kânde  li  kaki–tʃi
   good–SBJ.REL:M  maybe  DEM:M  live–SBJ.REL:M
   of  wadʰili=kʰam  baɾʧ–ŋ  tʰ–a=tʰa
   or  man=DIM  though–NMLZ  3FA=E.V=RPRT
   ‘Is he a good person or man though,’’ she thought, it is said.’
117. “Ma wakhaithi kho barhin lira.
   ma wak^2a–i–tʃi=k^b o  barʃ–ŋ   li–ra
   ‘But he is handsome though.’

118. “Nekhebo måya, meithika alika mothianthi li.
   nek^ebo ma:ya m–eɪtʃi–ka
   work side PRV–know–PFV
   alika m–o–tʃa–n–tʃi    li
   ‘Concerning work, I don’t know what kind of a person he is.’

119. “Ma “kidia"," damaka kho lumun,” tha tha.
   ma ki d=ə b=– a d–a=ma=k^b o  li–mʃŋ  t^h–a=t^h a
   but SPEC SMLR 2SG=–E.V  1SG=–E.V–ABIL1=NEG 3M=DAT 3F=E.V=RPRT
   ‘But I cannot tell him “you have to do like this?”’, she said, it is said.’

120. “Ah, dōsufa khan ya måya kida,” tha tha lon.
    ah d–o:si–fa=k^b aŋ  ya ma:ya kida t^h–a=t^h a lŋ
    ah 1SG=–go–FUT=–DIM LOC:DEm side again 3F=E.V=RPRT 3M=DAT
    ‘Ah, I’ll go to this side (of the village) again,” she said to him, it is said.’

121. “Ehe, dei waboken tanokesabo dōsufa nekhebonro.
    ehe dei=waboken tano–k=e–sabo d–o:si–fa nek^ebo=–n–ro
    yes 1SG=as.well now–INTSV–CMPR 1SG=–go–FUT work–LOC:WHR–ATL
    ‘Yes, I too will go to work shortly.’

122. “Kabuya kathia khanada wei,” la tha thon, to thoyo tho mun.
    kabiya katʃi=–a=k^ana=da  wei l–a=t’ a  t^ŋ
    field moon=–POSS=sure=–DIREC 1PL 3M=E.V=RPRT 3F=DAT
    to t’oyo=–t’ o  miŋ
    DEM:F old–SBJ.REL:F DAT
    ‘It is the field season of course,” he said to her, it is said, to the old woman.’

123. “Sare ba nekhebon.
    sa–re b=– a nek=ebo–ŋ
    good–REST 2SG=–E.V work–NMLZ
    ‘Enjoy your work.’

124. “Bi dianthi nikoma no!” tha tha, shifoda ṣosun.
    bi d=ŋ=–tʃi ni–koma=ŋ
    2SG SMLR–NMLZ–SBJ.REL:M do–ABIL2=3F
25

"Someone like you can do it!!" she said and went back, it is said.

125. Ma lukanaba kho, ma lukanaba tak shokhan tha thuthudathin.

ma li–kanaba=kᵇ⁰
but 3Mʳ—hear=NEG

ma li–kanaba tak fokᵇʰân tʰ–a tʰᵗʰida–tʃ–ŋ
but 3Mᵗ—hear COMP little 3Fʳ–E.V murmur–APRX–NMLZ

‘Though he did not hear it, he heard that she briefly kind of whispered.’

126. “San, thuthuthudâka.

sãŋ tʰ–tʰᵗʰida–ka
what 3Fʳ–murmur–PFV
‘What! She whispered!’


bi–dikʰ⁰–li 1–a=tʰ⁰ lôn–wa
2SGʳ–see–VOL 3Mᵗ–E.V=RPRT 3M.DAT=REFL
‘You will see! he said to himself, it is said.’


bi–dikʰ⁰–ha 1–a
2SGʳ–see–FUT 3Mᵗ–E.V
‘You will see,’ he said.’

129. Te san bena tha aba nekhebon mano loo month, neithana to kiawa ken to

hīyaro itha.

tᵉ sᵃ–m bena=tʰ⁰ aba nekʰ⁰chô–ŋ m–ã–n–tʰ⁰
until good–NMLZ after=RPRT INDF work–NMLZ EXPL–E.V–NMLZ–SBJ.REL:F

katʰᵗʰi fakᵗʰ⁰–ŋ n–ei:tʰ⁰–na to kia–wa
month pass–NMLZ 3PLᵗ–know–EXPC DEM:F DSC–CERT

kʰ²ŋ to hīyaro i:tʰ⁰
and DEM:F woman know

‘Until well after a month of work passed, they know it of course and the
woman knows (it), it is said.’

130. Nandunbia koba tha thubithiro kida.

n–ândi–m–bia=koba=tʰ⁰ tʰⁱ–biṭṭʰi–ro kida
3PLᵗ–arrive–NMLZ–TRNSF=REM.PST=RPRT 3Fᵗ–LOC.WHT–ATL again
‘They finally came back again to her, it is said.’
26

   tʰoyo–tʰo n–a=tʰa
   old–SBJ.REL:F 3PLA–E.V=RPRT
   ‘Grandma,” they said, it is said.’

132. Li abali foshi anda.
   li aba–li foʃi ãnda
   DEM one–M first arrive
   ‘The first one arrived.’

133. “Budukha, deibwa sokonda dakoˌbaˌnwa.
   2SGA–see 1SGA–finish.REFL cut–NMLZ=DIRECT 1SGA–field.POSS–EP–REFL
   ‘Look, I finished cutting open my field.”’

134. “Kia ten dabitiha, kha ɾẹŋ dabitiha,” la tha thumun.
   kia tɛŋ da–bîtʰi–ha kʰa=rəŋ da–bîtʰi–ha
   DSC time 1SGA–burn–FUT time=exactly 1SGA–burn–FUT
   1–a=tʰa  tʰi–mïŋ
   3MA–E.V=RPRT 3FA–DAT
   ‘At such time, I will burn, at such time exactly I will burn,” he said to her, it is said.’

   kʰidônha=no tʰ–a=tʰa
   is.it.true=3FA 3FA–E.V=RPRT
   ‘Is it true?” she said, it is said.’

136. “Budukha, bibitinha.”
   bi–dikʰa bi–bîtʰ–ŋ–ha
   2SGA–see 2SGA–burn–NMLZ–FUT
   ‘Look, you will burn.”’

137. “Dabitiha, kia kasakabo dabitiha,” la tha thumun.
   da–bîtʰ–ha kia kasakabo da–bîtʰ–ha
   1SGA–burn–FUT DSC day 1SGA–burn–FUT
   1–a=tʰa  tʰi–mïŋ
   3MA–E.V=RPRT 3FA–DAT
   ‘I will burn, on this and this day I will burn,” he said to her, it is said’.

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4 The noun ten ‘time’ is a borrowing from Sranantongo; the second part of the sentence is a self correction in Lokono.
aha da–dikʰa–li 1–ã–m–bia
aha 1SGA–see–VOL 3M_A–E.V–TRANS–FIN
‘“Aha, I will have to see,” he concluded.’

139. “Budukha alika da mafadunha to adali koshi,” la tha.
bí–dikʰa alika d–a m–afa–dí–ŋ–ha
2SGA–see how 1SGA–E.V PRV–blind–VBZ–NMLZ–FUT
to adali kuʃi 1–a=tʰa
DEM:F sun eye 3M_A–E.V=RPRT
‘“Look how I will obliterate the sun,” he said, it is said.’

140. “Khidohan tha to?”
kʰidohán=tʰa to
it.is.true=RPRT DEM:F
‘“This be true?”’

141. “Khidwaniabo to?”
kʰidwąniabo to
really.true DEM:F
‘Is this really true?’

142. “Sarekhanada,” tha tha.
sa–re–kʰana=da tʰ–a=tʰa
good–REST1–sure=DIRECT 3F_A–E.V=RPRT
‘That’s just great,’ she said, it is said.’

143. Lokoywa.
lò–koywa
3M_A–go.home.REFL
‘He went home.’

144. Torabo kasakabo diaro lirabo andathe.
to–ra–bo kasakabo d’aro li–ra–bo ãnda=tʰe
DEM:F–MED–CNTR day maybe DEM:M–MED–CNTR arrive=VEN
‘Some other day the other man comes.’

tʰoyo–tʰo l–a=tʰa ya–ra–ka=bo
old–SUBJ.REL:F 3M_A–E.V=RPRT LOC.DEM–MED–PFV=2SGB
‘“Grandma,” he says, it is said, “are you there?”’
146. “Yaka we.
   ya–ka=we
LOC:DEM–PFV=1PLb
‘‘We’re here.’’

147. “Bokodwathe”.
   bo–kodwa=t’e
2SG$_{A}$–enter.containment.REFL=VEN
‘‘Come in.’’

   biː=roːni tʃi–roː tʃi
2SG=only LOC:WHT–ATL–SBJ:REL:M 1SG 3SG$_{A}$–E.V=RPRT
‘‘I came to you only,’’ he says.’

149. “Deibwakhanka to kabuya khonâya.”
   d–eibwa–kɔːŋ–ka to kabiya kɔːŋ–a:ya
1SG$_{A}$–finish.REFL–DIM–PFV DEM/F field about–SRC:TL
‘‘I am finished with the field.’’

150. “Khidohan?” tha tha lumun.
   kɔːdìohɔːŋ tʃi–a=t’a liːmiŋ
it.is.true 3FR$_{A}$–E.V=RPRT 3SG$_{A}$–DAT
‘‘Is it true?’’ she says to him, it is said.’

151. “Kia kasakabo dabitatibo,” la.
   kia kasakabo da–bita–tʃi–bo l–a
DSC day 1SG$_{A}$–burn–DES–PRG 3SG$_{A}$–E.V
‘‘On this day, I want to burn it,’’ he said.’

152. “Oh! Khidohan?
   oh kɔːdìohɔːŋ
oh it.is.true
‘‘Oh! Is it true?’’

   biː–bitiː–m bena ki
2SG$_{A}$–burn–NMLZ after SPEC
   da–dikʃi–ha=t’b e to bo–kobɔːŋ kida
1SG$_{A}$–see–FUT=VEN DEM:F 2SG$_{A}$–field.POSS too
   tʃi–a=t’a liːmiŋ
3FR$_{A}$–E.V=RPRT 3SG$_{A}$–DAT
‘‘After you burn, I will come to see your field too,’’ she said to him, it is said.’
154. “Aha, khidwan, ki dia wa khan dian.”

155. Li kho kabena, lushifodäka, lôsa.

156. To kasakabobe anda.

157. To thoyothon dukha

158. To tano to lirabo, li ôsosadali môthiâboro mali ôsun, kasakoda andun kiba, li to bitiha tanoho, la tha.

159. To kasakabo dukhako tha, dukhunbia tha awadoli khona tha.

160. Kharemerekhan tha ayomunro.
161. Alika tha korhedin.

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3-E.V  red–VBZ–NMLZ
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‘What a smoke.’

162. Ah, budukhun khan alika than.

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2SGA–see–NMLZ=DIM how 3F=–E–V–NMLZ
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‘Ah, if you could see how it was.’

163. Mishidwarokhan tha to ikihi ayomunro.

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‘Precisely straight went the fire into the sky.’

164. Korhedin tha, thiarekhanin bitono.

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briefly 3F=–E–V
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‘Little later’


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great good small–SBJ.REL:F=NEG DEM:F field burn,REFL–PRG
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‘Great! Good! It is a big field that is burning,’ she said, it is said.’

166. Shokhan tha.

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3F=–E–V
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‘Little later’


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but how 3F=–E–V=sure 3F=–E–V=RPRT
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‘Ha! What is happening,” she said, it is said.

168. “Shokwaboro thora to...

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‘It is surprisingly small this…’
169. “Alika nāka?”
ali ka n–a–ka
how 3PL.A=E.V–PFV
‘What have they done?’

170. Môdâko tha tha thonwa.
mo:da–ko tʰ–a=tʰa tʰōn–wa
silent–CONT 3F.A=E.V=RPRT 3F.DAT–REFL
‘She stood silent, it is said.’

171. “Kia kho dadiâkoma.
kia=k h o da–dja–koma
DSC=NEG 1SG.A=talk–ABL2
‘This I cannot judge.’

172. “Dadukhun bena foshi ki deitha, ma dadukhun
thâ tha.
da–dikʰ–m bena fojî ki d–eitʰa
1SG.A=see–NMLZ after first SPEC 1SG.A=know
ma da–dikʰ–ŋ  tʰ–a=tʰa
but 1SG.A=see–NMLZ 3F.A=E.V=RPRT
‘After I see it, I will know, but having seen it,” she said, it is said.’

173. So lirabo kasakabo anda.
so li–ra–bo kasakabo ānda
so DEM=M–MED–CNTR day arrive
‘So, the day of the second man arrived.’

ah li=tʰa=da
ah DEM=M=RPRT=DIRCT
‘Ah, he is as usual.’

175. Sa man kho thankha tha to adali theren kwanda, lira kalemeta hibin.
sa m–ā–ŋ=kʰo tʰ–ā–ŋ–kʰa=tʰa to adali
tʰerē–ŋ kwâm=da li–ra kaleme–ta hib–ŋ
hot–NMLZ still=DIRCT DEM:M=MED light–VBZ already–NMLZ
‘It is not the time yet for the sun to be warm, it is said, he already sets (the
field) alight.’

176. Korhedin tha bâren.
kore–dʰ–ŋ  tʰ–a ba:rēŋ
red–VBZ–NMLZ 3F.A=E.V suddenly
‘The smoke came suddenly.’
177. Dududududákwan, dudududákwan, iki ayondi, wa tatan ani... thunukun to iki mothosaboka ŋudun to awaduli.


[goal]3F to smoke [goal]3F to smoke

iki / fire

wa tatâ–ŋ ani tî–nikî–ŋ to iki

because strong-NMLZ do 3F–take-NMLZ DEM:F fire

m-o–tâ–sabo–ka fidî–ŋ to awaduli


‘It is becoming much warmer, because strongly... the fire took up that the wind blows harder.’

178. Ah! ki diarekhainin.

ah ki d’–a–re–khaŋ–î–ŋ


‘Ah! It is just like that.’

179. Thutheretwâboka to adali.

tî–i–t’ere–twâ–bo–ka to adali

3F–hot–VBZ.REFL.INTRV–INTS–PFV DEM:F sun

‘It is becoming much warmer, the sun.’

180. Kia thôsâboka nukun.

kia / (The field) catches (fire)

(3F–go–INTS–PFV take–NMLZ)

‘The field catches (fire) faster.’

181. Ah, to thoyotho dukha.

ah to t’–oyo–t’–o dik’ha

ah DEM:F old–SBJ.REL:F see

‘Ah! The old woman looks.’

182. ‘Amaron khana?

ama–rôn=k’ana

what–only=sure

‘What on earth is this now?’

183. Konoko kho to bitwanabothe,” tha tha.

konoko=k’o to bitwa–na–bo=t’e t’–a=t’ha


‘It is of course not the forest that is burning,” she said, it is said.’
184. Mawadiilikà to...

ma–wad’ili–ka to
PRV–able–PFV DEM:F
‘She cannot....’

185. Alikà na dian, thòsàma kho dukhun.

alika n–a dì’–ñ tì’–o:sà–ma=kò dihkì–ñ
how 3PLₐ=E.V talk–NMLZ 3Fₐ=go–ABIL=NEG see–NMLZ
‘As they said, she cannot go looking.

186. Eh! Bakulamano thudukha thothokodon to ikihi.

eh bakilàmà–n–ro tì’–dihk’ìa tì’–o–tìokòdò–ñ
eh afternoon–LOC.WHR–ATL 3Fₐ=see 3Fₐ=descend–NMLZ

‘Eh! Towards the afternoon, she sees the fire descending.’

187. ‘Kha!’ tha tha thonwa.

k’hà tì=at’hà ìò’–n–wa
what 3Fₐ=E.V=RPRT 3F.DAT–REFL
‘What!” she said to herself, it is said.’

188. Ma lira thà wadili kia kho khonanka, òsa yoyodàkwan kiba.

ma li–ra=t’ìa wad’ili kia=kò k’ònàñ–ìa
but DEM:M=MED=RPRT man DSC=NEG about–PFV

ò:sà yoyoda–kòwà–ñ kiba
go hanging–CONT–NMLZ again
‘But the man is not worried about that, he went hanging (in a hammock) again.’

189. To kasakabò anda

to kasakabò ìnda
DEM:F day arrive
‘The day arrived.’

190. So, to thoyotho marhita thukashiriwa, thòsuha dukhun alika than, alika nan to
nakobon thorhodon, alika than bitonon.

so to t’oyo–t’òo marìta tì’–kàfìri–wa
so DEM:F old–SBJ.REL:F make 3Fₐ=cessiri–REFL

tì’–o:sì–ìa dikì–ñ alika tì’–à–ñ
3Fₐ=go–FUT see–NMLZ how 3Fₐ=E.V–NMLZ

alika n–à–ñ to ñà–kòbàñ tì’òròdò–ñ
how 3PLₐ=E.V–NMLZ DEM:F 3PLₐ=field.POSS open–NMLZ
alika tʰ-ā-m bito-nwâŋ
how 3F₂₃=E.V-NMLZ burn.REFL-NMLZ.REFL
'So the old woman makes cassava beer, she will go see how they are, how they cut open their fields, how they are burned.'

so da-sa tʰ-a=tʰa w-eiba=tʰe
so 1SG₃=child 3F₂₃=E.V=RPRT 1PL₃=finish=VEN
‘So, my child,” she said, “we are finished.”'

192. “Wôsuha dukhunba to bokoban.
w–o:sǐ-ha dikʰi–m–ba to bo–kobâŋ
1PL₃=go–FUT see–NMLZ–AND DEM:F 2SG₃=field.POSS
‘We are going to see your field.’

alikâm–bo=rêm bo–kobap–i–ha
who–EXACTLY=only 2SG₃=field.POSS–EP–FUT
‘Whose exactly field will be yours.’

194. “Kia kho deitha ma wadukhabathe,” na tha.
kia=kʰo d–eitʰa ma wa–dikʰi–ba=tʰe
dsc=NEG 1SG₃=know but 1PL₃=see–AND=VEN
n–a=tʰa
3PL₃=E.V=RPRT
‘That I don’t know but we’ll go see (and come back),” they said, it is said.’

195. So, nôsa
so n–o:sa
so 3PL₃=go
‘So, they went.’

196. Na wadilinon andathe.
na wâdîli–nôŋ ânda=tʰe
DEM:PL man=PL arrive=VEN
‘The men arrived.’

197. Bîthirekha tha nôsun, nôsa, anda.
bîtʃi–re–kʰ’a=tʰa n–o:sî–ŋ n–o:sa ânda
four–REST1–SIM=RPRT 3PL₃=go–NMLZ 3PL₃=go arrive
‘They went all four, they went, arrived.’
198. “Yâdi ki to dabunaha,” la tha.
yâ–dî i to dbinâ–ha l–a=tâ
LOC:DEM.PRX–VIA SPEC DEM:F 1SGA–path 3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘Here, this is my path,” he said.’

199. Lôsa li wadili nabora to, to thoyo theinaboka ken li înaboka to lirabwa liwa to koban nadukhana kwan.
l–ösâ li wadi–li n–bora
3MA–go DEM:M man 3PL–before
tô tʰ–oyo tʰ–eimbo–ka
DEMC: 3FA–mother 3FA–behind–PFV
kê li inaboka to li–ra–bwa li–wa to
kôbâŋ na–dikʰ–na kwâŋ
field.POSS 3PL–see–EXPC still
‘He, the man, went before them, the old woman is behind her and behind him, the other one, the one whose field they will still see of course.’

n–ândî–m–bia=tʰa
‘Finally they arrive at his field.’

201. Tha tha: “San bitono ma shokora thà lokoban.”
tʰ–a=tʰa sâ–m bito–nwaŋ
3FA–E.V=RPRT good–NMLZ burn.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
ma jôko–ra=tʰa
but little–UNEXPC=RPRT 3MA–field.POSS
‘She says: “It is well burned but his field is surprisingly small.”’

2SGA–stand–VERI 1SGA–field.POSS middle–EXACTLY=only
l–a=tʰa
3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘Stand right in the middle of my field to check,” he said, it is said.’

203. Ludinaba, thudukha to hiyaro lubithiro, li wadili.
lî–dîinâ a tʰ–dikʰ–a to hiyaro
3MA–stand 3FA–see DEM:F woman
36

li–bitši–ro li waďili
3MA–LOC.WHT–ATL DEM:M man
‘He stands, she looks at him, the man.’

204. “Li khan li bokoban,” tha tha.
li=kǎŋ li bo–kobǎŋ tʰ–a=tʰa
3M=DIM DEM:M 2SGA–field.POSS 3F_A–V=RPRT
‘Is this your cute little field,” she said, it is said?’

205. “Dakoban tora!”
da–kobǎn to–ra
1SGA–field.POSS DEM:F–MED
‘This is my field!”’

206. “Buda wakhayan kho thubitonon.”
bida wakʰaẏ–ŋ=kʰo tʰi–bito–nwaŋ
2SGA,look bad–NMLZ=NEG 3TA–burn.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
‘Look how well it is burned.’

207. “Sékere,” thanbia tha.
seːkje–re tʰ–ā–m–bia=tʰa
disgusting–REST 3F_A–V–NMLZ=TRNSF=RPRT
‘Disgusting!” she concluded, it is said.’

208. “[Bu] dankha balutun barhin bokoban loko, deiroko ebeketáma to barhin bokoban,” tha tha.
d–ā–ŋ–kʰa baliti–m baŗi–m bo–kobǎŋ loko

d–eiroko ebekʰetaː–ma to baŗi–m bo–kobǎŋ
1SGA–buttock–COL fill–ABIL1 DEM:F though–NMLZ 2SGA–field.POSS

tʰ–a=tʰa
3F_A–V=RPRT
‘[Bu] If I sat in your field, however, my buttocks could fill your field,” she said.’

209. Môdako la tha.
mo daː–ko l–a=tʰa
silent–CONT 3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘He stood silent, it is said.’

da–dʰaː–ka=kʰo kwâŋ
1SGA–talk–PFV=NEG still
‘I am not going to judge yet.’
211. Dasa, mera bathe.
   da–sa   mera   b–a=t^6\ e
1SGA–child   quickly   2SGA–E,V=VEN
‘Child, come quickly.’

212. Wadukhubathe lirabo koban.”
   wa–dik^\\i–ba=t^6\ e   li–ra–bo   koban
1PLA–see–AND=VEN   DEM:M–MED–CNTR   field.POSS
‘We are going to see the field of the other man.’

213. Shifodâka, kaima loko tha thushifodâka.
   jifodaː–ka   kaima   loko=t^6\ a   t^6\–jifodaː–ka
   turn.INTRV–PFV   anger   inside=RPRT   3F_A–turn.INTRV–PFV
‘Turned around, in anger she turned around.’

214. Nanda, lirabo tha landun.
   n–ända   li–ra–bo=t^6\ a   l–ändi–ŋ
3PLA–arrive   DEM:M–MED–CNTR=RPRT   3MA–arrive–NMLZ
‘They arrived, the other one arrived, it is said.’

215. “Yâdi ki to dakoban, thoyotho,” la tha.
   ya–d^i–ki   to   da–koban   t^6\oyo–t^6\o
   LOC:DEM–VIA   SPEC   DEM:F   1SGA–field.POSS   old–RL:F
   l–a=t^6\a
   3MA–E,V=RPRT
‘Here is my field, old woman,” he said, it is said.’

216. Luwaboroko bitwarekhan ma andun lokobanirro want shokoda kho to iki
   nukun, mowakawan.
   li–waboroko   bitwa–re=k^h\an   m–a   ändi–ŋ
   lo–koba=–i–n–ro
3MA–field.POSS=EP–LOC.WHR–ATL
   wânt   foko=da=k^h\o   to   iki   nikī–ŋ   mowka–kwā–ŋ
   because   little=DIRECT=NEG   DEM:F   iki   take–NMLZ   empty–CONT–NMLZ
‘His road is all well burned coming to his field because it was not a small fire
that consumed it (lit. took), all open!’

217. “Oh! Adiake than to firon.”
   oh   a đ^a–k^e\   t^6–a   t^6–firo–ŋ
   oh   a,lot–INTSV   3FA–E,V   3FA–big–POSS
‘Oh! It is extremely big.’
218. To thoyotho bokwabo thusa mun kida.

The old woman is worrying about her child.

219. “Wadilikomakhana to diantho firotho kabuya thubunuhna dasa tha?”

Will she be able to plant such a big field, my child?

220. Thoyotho, to to dakoban.

Grandma, this is my field.

221. Washathe tâ anakunro, washathe, la tha, “budukhunti.

Let’s go far to the middle, let’s go, he said, “you wanted to see.’

222. Yon wâya budukha san to dakoban.”

From there you see my field well.

223. Ah! To san bitono harhan to adowkilibe.

Ah! Everything, the bushes, all is well burned.

224. Sakhaniman, san bitonwan.

Everything, well burned.”
225. Thanda, dukhåko tha, to thoyotho libithiro.
*tåndâ dîkâ:ko tå-a
3FĄ-arrive see-CONT 3FĄ-E.V
 to t'oyo-t'o li–bitjî–ro
DEM:F old–SBL.REL:F 3MĄ–LOC.WHT–ATL
'She came, she stares the old woman, at him.'

*bi=k’o li yoyoda:kwa m–a–noma mo:tjà–noma
‘You are the one who swings all the time, every morning.’

227. “Bi kho li yoyodâkwa mana, adali theren bora bandakikaba.”
*bi=k’o li yoyoda:kwa m–a–na
2SG=EMPH DEM:M hanging–CONT EXPL–E.V–EXPC
 adali t’erë–m bora b–åndâ–ki–ka–ba
sun hot–NMLZ before 2SGÅ–arrive–SPEC–PFV–ADO
‘You are of course the one always swinging (in a hammock) and before the
sun is hot you come back home again.’

228. “Dei kho.”
dei=k’o
1SG=EMPH
‘That’s me.’

229. “Bi koban khidwan to,” tha tha.
*bi: kobâŋ k’idwâ–n to t–a=t–a
2SG field.POSS true–NMLZ DEM:F 3FĄ–E.V=RPRT
‘Is it really your field?’ she said, it is said.’

230. “Dakoban tora.”
da–kobâŋ to–ra
1SGÅ–field.POSS DEM:F–MED
‘That is my field.’

231. “Budukha, danuka to kashiri to kâna loko,” tha tha.
*bi-dîkå da–nika to kâfiri to kâna loko t–a=t–a
2SGÅ–see 1SGÅ–take DEM:F cassiri DEM:F pot inside 3FĄ–E.V=RPRT
‘Look, I took the cassava bear in this pot,’ she said.

232. “Watha kho kashiri shoko diaro lirabo koban loko, want dadukhatika alikan
khidwaniabo kabuya of sasabon of alikan diaro firo sabon.
wa–t–a=k’o kâfiri joko d’aro li–ra–bo kobâŋ loko
1PLÅ–drink=NEG cassiri little maybe DEM:M–MED–CNTR field.POSS inside
“We did not drink a drop of cassiri in the field of the other man, because I wanted to see whose field is really truly better or whose is bigger.’

“Liki, deitha, dukhunima dasakhona”.

“Khidohan,” la tha.

“Is that true?” he said, it is said’.

Ma lithin doma than to lumukuthuhada diadiadun, da li kho khona san thandun.

But because he knew she, the one who would be his mother-in-law, gossiped, he did not find it good.’

“Toradianthi wa diadiadun kakuthinon khona,” la tha lonwa.

“She did not find it good.’

“Lirabo barhika diaro môthiâbo ma ôsun.

Even though the other one goes very early in the morning.’
238. “Ma ki dianthi lira.
ma ki dâ–n–tfi li–ra
but SPEC SMLR–NMLZ–SBJ,REL:M DEM:M–MED
‘But this is how he is.’

dei=khô li–maða m–a ma dei abâːka ma
1SG=NEG 3M–resemble EXPL–E.V but 1SG one–PFV but
dei wadîli kida
1SG able too
de i–a=tʰa lôn–wa
1SG 3M=E.V=RPRT 3M,DAT–REFL
‘I’m not like him, I’m different, but I’m able too,’” he said to himself, it is said.

240. “Buda to busawa wakhaitho kho hiyaro khidwan, li dukhushama khona kida to,
ma bî nayonatho…” la tha.
bida to b–isa–wa
2SGA,look DEM:F 2SGA–child–REFL
wakʰa–i–tʰo=kʰô hiyaro kʰidwâ–ŋ
bad–VERI–SBJ,REL=F=NEG woman true–NMLZ
li dikʰi–fa–ma kʰona kida to
DEM:M see–OBJ,REL–ABIL about too DEM:F
ma bi: na–yonatʰo 1–a=tʰa
but 2SG 3PL–shared.mother 3M=E.V=RPRT
‘Look, your child, a truly beautiful woman, of whom he can take care too, but you, our mother,’” he said, it is said…”

241. “So, wathuha to kashiri,” tha tha to hiyaro.
so wâ–tʰi–ha to kâːfiri tʰ–a=tʰa to hiyaro
so 1PL–drink–FUT DEM:F cassiri 3F=E.V=RPRT DEM:F woman
‘So, let’s drink cassava beer,” the woman said, it is said.’

242. Ma lira koborokwatwabo lonwa alika lanha.
ma li–ra koborokwatwaː–bo lôn–wa
but DEM:M–MED think–PRG 3M,DAT–REFL
alika l–ã–ŋ–ha
how 3M=E.V–NMLZ–FUT
‘But he is thinking in himself what he shall do.’
243. “Toch to diantho katharik of to diantho katharik, kaku hu dadukhatik sabò,” la tha.

   toch to dà–n–t'ò kàkì–tjì

   of to dà–n–t'ò kàkì–t'ò
or DEM:F SMLR–NMLZ–SBJ.REL:F alive–SBJ.REL:F

   kàkì–hi da–dik'hì–t'ì–ka=sabò l–a=t'á
alive–ABST.NMLZ 1SGk–see–DES–PFV=RMPR 3MA–E,V=RPRT

   ‘“However, do I want to see more (of) this kind of person or this kind of woman, life,” he said, it is said.’

244. “Danshika to hiyaro, busa,” la tha lonwa.

d–ànìji–ka to hiyaro b–isa l–a=t'á lòn–wa
1SGA=love–PFV DEM:F woman 2SGA–child 3MA–E,V=RPRT 3M.DAT–REFL

   ‘I love the woman, your child,’ he said to himself, it is said.’


   d–ànìji–ka bi da–mikìhì–wa kiba
1SGA=love–PFV 2SG 1SGA–mother.in.law–REFL too

   ‘‘I love you too, my mother—in—law.’”


   li–ra–bo li wadìlì k–ànìji–sa to b–isa

   li=wabok'èn d–ànìji–ka kiba
DEM:M=as.well 1SGA–love–PFV too

   ‘‘The other one, that man loves your child, him too I love.’


   k'èn dei m–eiñì–ka of h–anìñì–n=dà=dè
and 1SG PRV–know–PFV if 2PLA–love–NMLZ=DRECT=1SGH

   ma wa–dikì–hà=dà=no l–a=t'á
but 1PLA–see–FUT=DRECT=3Fh 3MA–E,V=RPRT

   ‘‘And I don’t know if you love me but we will see it,” he said, it is said’.

248. Adia than tha nukun to ìda, wa nathanahau kàshíri ñuru loko, nabo kwabon, abarobaro tha tha sunkun kàshíri namun.

   adà t'à–n=t'ìà nìkì–n to i:da wa
once 3FA–E,V–NMLZ=RPRT take–NMLZ DEM:F calabash because

   na–t'à–na–ha kàñìri irì loko n–abo kwabòñ
3P–drink–EXPC–FUT cassiri even inside 3PLA–COM.together
‘Once she took the calabash, because they of course are going to drink cassava beer equally, all together, one by one she pours cassava beer for them.’

249. Thunukun, thododono to kâna khona totodonima to ìda lokonroda, lu-thirikidanbia to theyotho hiyaro ken [thonakodanona] thutikidinbia tha to kâna.

‘Taking (the calabash), bending herself over the bucket to be able to pour (the cassiri) into the calabash, (he) finally pushed the old woman, and in the end the pot fell.’

250. Tikida kiba to ìda, tikida famodonon.

‘The calabash fell, fell turning upside down.’

251. Lirabo wadili dukhâko ma alika mothian to.

‘The other man stares at what kind of thing this is.’


‘What on earth is happening to us,” he said, it is said”.

253. To hiyaro, to thusa dukha.

‘The woman, the child, looks.’
254. “Alikathianthiboda hi!”
alika–tʃa–n–tʃl–bo=da
how–APRX–NMLZ–SBJ,REL:M–PRG=DIREC
‘What kind of people are you!’

255. Ludinabunbia tha.
li–dɪnab–m–bɪa=tʰa
3M₂A–stand.up–NMLZ–TRNSF=RPRT
‘He stood up.’

256. “Módako ba!
mo:dako–ko b–a
still–CONT 2SG₃A–EV
‘Be still!’

257. “Badakhota boyowa ama than dian bokhonan, ama than lirabo khona dian, ama
than dei khona dian.
b–adakʰota b–oyo–wa
2SG₃A–ask 2SG₃A–mother–REFL
ama tʰ–ã–n dɪ–m bo–kʰonãŋ
what 3F₃A–E,V–NMLZ talk–NMLZ 2SG₃A–about
ama tʰ–ã–n dei kʰona dɪ–ŋ
what 3F₃A–E,V–NMLZ 1SG about talk–NMLZ
‘Ask your mother what she said about you, what she said about the other
man, what she said about me.’

258. “Ken kia diako wathuhathe to kashiri.
kʰèŋ kia ðako wa–tʰi–ha=tʰe to kafiri
and DSC top 1PL₃A–drink–FUT=VEN DEM:F cassiri
‘And to that we came to drink cassava beer.’

dei=kʰo tʰa–ma to kafiri l–a=tʰa
1SG=SEG drink–ABIL.1 DEM:F cassiri 3MA₃A–E,V=RPRT
‘I cannot drink the cassava beer,’” he said.

260. To thothodwa to kashiri, thothodonon, thothodonon
to tʰo–tʰodwa to kafiri tʰo–tʰo–nwaŋ
DEM:F 3F₃A–throb.REFL DEM:F cassiri 3F₃A–throb.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
 tʰo–tʰo–nwaŋ
3F₃A–throb.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
‘The cassava beer throbs, throbbing, throbbing.’

261. Ma to kia tatan doma luthirikidanda no, kia kho wadili....

ma to kia tatā–n doma li–tʃirikidā–n=da=no
but DEM.F DSC strong–NMLZ reason 3M-Am–push–NMLZ=DIREC=3FR

kia=kʰo wadiliki

‘Because he pushed her hard, she could not...’

262. Karatorekhan tha tikidin lokoban loko.

karato–re-kʰ人为 tʰ-a tʃikid–ŋ lo–kobāŋ loko
bury–REST1–DEM 3Fₐ=E.V fall–NMLZ 3M–field.POSS inside

‘She fell and is stuck in his field.’

263. Thothodwathie kashiri.

tʰo–tʰodwa=tʰe kaʃiri

3Fₐ–throb.REFL=VEN cassiri

‘The cassava beer throbs.’

264. Ki tha to fatunbo to kashiri, fatunda no.

ki tʰ-a to faṭī–m–bo

SPEC 3Fₐ=E.V DEM:F stream–NMLZ–PRG

to kaʃiri faṭī–n=da=no

DEM:F cassiri stream–NMLZ=DIREC=3FR

‘The cassava beer is streaming like this, streaming.’

265. Thutundwabo to lokoban want shokona kho to lokoban.

tʰi–tʰindwa=bo to lo–kobāŋ

3Fₐ–submerge.REFL=PRG DEM:F 3M–field.POSS

wānt joko–na=kʰo to lo–kobāŋ

because small–EXPC=NEG DEM:F 3M–field.POSS

‘His field stands under water, because it is of course not a small field.

266. Kia lokoda to kashirida oniabobiakathe.

kia loko=da to kaʃiri=da ọniabo–bia–ka=tʰe

DSC inside=DIREC DEM:F cassiri=DIREC water–TRANS–PFV=VEN

‘In the meantime the cassava beer finally became water.’

267. Thumudathe thudiakhodi.

tʰi–mida=tʰe tʰi–dʃakʰo–dʰi

3Fₐ–ascend=VEN 3Fₐ–top–VIA

‘It ascends the field.’
268. So lu’dukha to hiyaro lumukuthubia thoma, faranbo to iniabo rako.
so li-di’ka to hiyaro li-mikit’i-bia=t’o=ma
so 3M_A−see DEM:F woman 3M_A−mother.in.law−TRNSF−SBJ.REL:F−ABIL:1
farâ=m−bo to iniabo rako
fight−NMLZ−PRG DEM:F water inside[liquid]
’So, he sees the woman who could have become his mother in law in the end,
fighting in the water.’

269. ‘Dei kho dukhatika ōdaha,’’ la tha.
dei=k’o di’ka=ti−ka o:da−ha l−a=t’a
1SG=NEG see−DES−PFV die−ABST,NMLZ 3M_A−E,V=RPRT
‘I don’t want to see death,’’ he said, it is said.’

270. ‘Tanohoda theibwa to mathali, theibwa to diaha,’’ la tha.
tano−ho=da t’−eibwa to mat’ali
now−ABST,NMLZ=DIRECT 3F_A−finish,REFL DEM:F thing
1de=ibwa to d’a=ha l−a=t’ a
3F_A−finish,REFL DEM:F talk−ABST,NMLZ 3M_A=RPRT
‘Today the thing is finished, the story is finished,’’ he said, it is said’.

271. ‘Bì damukuthuthokoma bi ma tano kho dadukhatika deithatika...
damukuthubia kho,’’ la tha.
bì: da−mikit’−t’o−koma=bi
2SG 1SG_A−mother.in.law−SBJ.REL:F−ABIL:2=HOD
ma tano=k’o da-di’ka=ti−ka
but now=NEG 1SG_A−see−DES−PFV
1de=ib a−ti−ka da−mikit’−bia=k’o l−a=t’ a
1SG_know−DES−PFV 1SG_A−mother.in.law−TRNSF=NEG 3M_A=RPRT
‘You, who could have been my mother-in-law today, now I don’t want to see,
I don’t want to know (you) as my mother-in-law,’’ he said, it is said.’

272. ‘Tanô wâya to bi kho dukhâma dakoban sabo.
tano wa:ya to bi=k’o di’ka=−ma da−kobân=sabo
today SRC:TL DEM:F 2SG=NEG see−ABIL:1 1SG_A−field.POSS=CMPR
‘From now you cannot take care of my field anymore.’’

273. Bì kho andâma to dakoban diakonro sabo.
bì=k’o anda=−ma to da−kobân d’akô−n−ro=sabo
2SG=NEG arrive−ABIL:1 DEM:F 1SG_A−field.POSS top−LOC.WHR−ATL=CMPR
‘You cannot come to my field anymore.’
274. Damikoda bî.

da–mikoda  bî:
1SGA–send  2SG
'I send you away.'

275. To thoyothin ithaha loko damikodohara bo.
to  t'oyo–tʃi–nøŋ  i:t̩a–ha  loko
DEM:F  old–SBJ.REL:M–PL  know–ABST.NMLZ  inside

da–mikodo–ha–ra=bo
1SGA–send–FUT–UNEXPC=2SGB
‘In the knowledge of the old people, I will send you away.’

276. Bî tanoho, bî toda, yaburhubia dashikabo,” la tha.
bî:  tano–ho  bî:  to=da
2SG  now–ABST.NMLZ  2SG  DEM:F=DIRCT

yabịри–bia  da–fika=bo  l–a=t̩a
bird.sp–TRANSF  1SGA–give=2SGB  3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘You today, you are…I make you a scaled pigeon,’” he said, it is said.’

277. “Yaburhu,” lan tha thumun, rubutwa to oniabo rako wâya morodon ayomunro.
yabịри  1–a–n=t̩a
bird.sp  3MA–E.V–NMLZ=RPRT  3FA–DAT

ribitwa to oniabo rako wa:ya
pull.REFL  DEM:F  water  inside[liquid]  SRC:TL

morodô–ŋ  ayo–mîn–ro
fly–NMLZ  high–LOC.WHR–ATL
‘“Scaled pigeon,” he said to her, it is said, and (she) pulled herself out of the water, flying towards the sky.’

278. Alonro thôsun, kia kho leitha.
alô–n–ro  t̩o–o:sí–ŋ  kia=k̩o  l–i:t̩a
where–LOC.WHR–ATL  3FA–go–NMLZ  DSC=NEG  3MA–know
‘Where she went, that he doesn’t know.’

279. Ludukha kho theinabo kiba.
li–dikʰa=ko  tʰu–cinabo  kiba
3MA–see=NEG  3FA–behind  too
‘He didn’t follow her either.’

280. Toda ludukha farafaradunbo kiba.
to=da  li–dikʰa  fara–fara–dǐ–m–bo  kiba
DEM:F=DIRCT  3MA–see  ITR–fight–VBZ–NMLZ–PRG  too
‘He saw this one fighting and fighting too.’
281. “Danshikabo.”
\[
d–ánñi–ka=bo
\]
1SG – love – PFV = 2SG
‘I love you.’

282. Ki latha dukhun kendra litha lusanbia thiri want madukhati lana to hiyaro lushibon mayarodononha.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki} & \quad 1–a=t^a & \text{dik}^i–t^i–ŋ \quad k’en=da & \quad 1–i=t^a \\
\text{SPEC} & \quad 3\text{MA}–\text{E.V}=\text{RPRT} & \text{see}–\text{NMLZ} & \text{and} \quad \text{DIRECT} & 3\text{MA}–\text{know} \\
\text{li–sā–m–bia} & \quad tf–i:ri \\
3\text{MA}–\text{call}–\text{NMLZ}–\text{TRANSF}=\text{RPRT} & 3\text{MA}–\text{name} \\
\text{wānt} & \quad ma–dik^i–a–t^i \quad 1–a–na \quad \text{to} \quad \text{hiyaro} \\
\text{ SPEC} & \quad \text{PRV–see–DES} & \quad 3\text{MA}–\text{E.V}–\text{EXPC} & \text{DEM.F} & \text{woman} \\
\text{li–jibō–ŋ} & \quad \text{mayarodo–nwāŋ–ha} \\
3\text{MA}–\text{face–LOC.WHR} & \text{sink,REFL–NMLZ,REFL–FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘So he sees it and he knows to finally call her name because of course he does not want to see the woman sink in front of him.’

283. “Bi hiyaro, danshisha bi.”
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bi:} & \quad \text{hiyaro} \quad d–ánñi–ja \quad \text{bi:} \\
\text{2SG} & \quad \text{woman} \quad 1\text{SG}–\text{love–OBJ.REL} & \text{2SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘You woman, you are the one I love.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d–eit}^i\text{a} & \quad \text{dei} \quad \text{dik}^i–\text{p}–\text{ma} \quad \text{bo–k}^\text{on}a \\
1\text{SG}–\text{know} & \quad 1\text{SG} & \text{see}–\text{NMLZ–EP–ABIL.1} & 2\text{SG}–\text{about} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘I know that I can take care of you.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d–eit}^i\text{a} & \quad \text{bi–dik}^i–\text{p}–\text{ma} \quad \text{dei} \quad \text{k}^\text{on}a \quad \text{kiba} \\
1\text{SG}–\text{know} & \quad 2\text{SG}–\text{see}–\text{NMLZ–EP–ABIL.1} & 1\text{SG} & \text{about too} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘I know that you can take care of me too.’

286. “Ma tanoho boyo doma kia kho kakuhu wâmunsabokoma,” la tha.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma} & \quad \text{tano}–\text{ho} \quad \text{b–oyo} \quad \text{doma} \quad \text{kia}=\text{k}^\text{lo} \\
\text{but} & \quad \text{now–ABST.NMLZ} & 2\text{SG}–\text{mother reason DSC}=\text{NEG} \\
\text{kaki–hi} & \quad \text{w–a:mīŋ–sabo–koma} \quad 1–a=t^a \\
\text{life–ABST.NMLZ} & 1\text{PLA}–\text{have–CMPR–ABIL.2} & 3\text{MA}–\text{E.V}=\text{RPRT} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘But today because of your mother we can no longer have this life,’ he said, it is said.’
287. “Bi dashika ma dakanabatika harhandiron damadin kibabo.
2SG 1SGA-love–PFV but 1SGA-hear–DES–PFV
complete–NMLZ–VIA–REST2–NMLZ 1SGA–resemble–NMLZ too=2SGb
‘I love you and I want to hear you everywhere like me too.’

bi: to=da wi.ro d–a bi–mîŋ
2SG DEM=F–DIRECT bird.sp 1SGA–E,V 2SGA–DAT
“You are a white-tipped dove,” I say to you.”

wi.ro b–ò:sa l–a=b{a l’o–morodô–m–bia ba:rêŋ
bird.sp 2SGA–go 3MA–E,V=RPRT 3FA–fly–NMLZ–TRANsf at.once
‘White-tipped dove, go,’ he said, it is said, and she flew away at once.’

290. Alonro thosun kia kho lítha.
alô–n–ro t{b–o:sî–ŋ kia=k’o l–i’t{a
where–LOC.WHR–ATL 3FA–go–NMLZ DSC=NEG 3MA–know
‘Where she went, that he does not know.’

291. Lirabo wadili, ludukha, lítha, lidukha, kámunthi lonwa kida.
li–ra–bo wad’ili=t{a lî–dik’ã l–i’t{a lî–dik’ã
DEM=M–MED–CNTR man=RPRT 3MA–see 3MA–know 3MA–see
k–a:min–tʃi lôn–wa kida
EXPL–have=SBJ.REFL:M 3MDAT–REFL too
‘The other man, he looks, he knows, he looks, he is the one who has
(knowledge) too.’

292. Kia don kho lobadona lirabo boran.
DSC reason=NEG 3MA–wait–EXPC DEM=M–MED–CNTR fore–LOC.WHR
‘Therefore he will of course not wait for the other one.’

da–dik’ã=a=bo l–a=t{a
1SGA–see=2SGb 3MA–E,V=RPRT
‘I see you,” he said, it is said.’

da–dik’ã=a=bo bi: wad’ili
1SGA–see=2SGb 2SG man
“I see you, man.”’
Tora batika, tora bakhana,” lanbia thā.

“You want to be this, then be this,” he concluded, it is said.’

“Bī to hikorhi,” la thā.

“You are a yellow-footed turtle,” he said, it is said.”

“Ma bī oniabo rakhodi, alondiron buyādāma bī kiba.”

“But you through water, through wherever, you can walk too!”’

“Dei to korhashiri,” la thā.

“I am a white-necked thrush,” he said, flying away, flying above his field, turning like crazy, searching.’
Ludukha lumukutubia, lanshishabia lumukutu, ludukha thösun.
li–dikʰa li–mikitʰi–bia
3Mₓ–see 3Mₓ–mother.in.law–TRNSF
l–änfɨ–fâ–bia li–mikitʰi
3Mₓ–love–OBJ.REL–TRNSF 3Mₓ–mother.in.law
li–dikʰa tʰ–o:sɨ–ŋ
3Mₓ–see 3Fₓ–go–NMLZ
‘He sees his mother-in-law, the mother-in-law that he wanted, he sees her go away.’

Ludukha yontho to hiyaro lanshinimasha koba ôsun.
l–dɨkʰatõ
3MxAA–see 3MxAA–mother.in.law–TRNSF
l–änfɨ–nɨ–ma–fã=koba kiba o:sɨ–ŋ
‘He sees where the woman who he could have loved before went too.’

Ludukha li hikorhi.
l–dikʰa li hikuʃi
3MxAA–see DEM:M turtle.sp
‘He sees the yellow-footed turtle.’

“Hikorhi khan,” la tha.
hikuʃi=kǎŋ 1–a=tʰa
turtle.sp=DIM 3MxAA–E.V=RPRT
‘Little yellow-footed turtle,” he says, it is said.’

“Dei to korhashiri,” la tha.
dei to korʃifiri 1–a=tʰa
1SG DEM:F bird 3MxAA–E.V=RPRT
‘I am a white-necked thrush,” he says, it is said.’

“Kia don dei, bukanaba harhandiron de.
kia dön dei bi–kanaba haʁâ–n–ði–ɾō–n=de
disc reason 1SG 2SGₓ–hear complete–NMLZ–VIA–REST2–NMLZ=1SGₓ
‘Therefore I, you hear me everywhere.’

Harhandiron nashikwadi bukanabâha de.
bi–kanaba–ha=de
2SGₓ–hear.INTRV–FUT=1SGₓ
‘Wherever their houses are, you will hear me.’
309. Dei kho tâthiha dayono ōya, dei…, "la tha.
  dei= kho ta–jī–ha d–oyo–no o:ya dei l–a=tʰa
  1SG=NEG far–SBJ.REL.M–FUT 1SG→mother–PL SRC:ATL 1SG 3MA=E-V=RPRT
  ‘I will not be far from my family, 1…,” he said, it is said.’

  2SG→hear–DES–PFV what 1SG→E.V melody–VRB.INTRV.REFL–NMLZ
  l–a=tʰa
  3MA=E-V=RPRT
  ‘Do you want to hear what I sing?’ he said, it is said.’

311. Meithika damorhidahadahu ma dakishidwatika.
  PRV→know–PFV 1SG→lie–FUT=DIRECT=2PL,ŋ but 1SG→try.REFL–DES–PFV
  ‘I don’t know, maybe I will lie to you but I want to try.’

312. “Korhashiri wadili khan dei, hiyaro khan doma,” la tha yentwan Ionwa.
  koɾʃiri wadːil=ŋ dei hiyro=ŋ doma
  bird.sp man=DIM 1SG woman=DIM reason
  l–a=tʰa yen–twā–ŋ lən–wa
  3MA=E-V=RPRT melody–VRB.INTRV.REFL–NMLZ 3M.DAT=REFL
  ‘White-necked thrush, I am a little man, because of a young lady,” he said
  singing to himself it is said.’

313. So to ludukha to yabiri.
  so to li–diːkʰa to yabiri
  so DEM:F 3MA=see DEM:F bird.sp
  ‘So he sees the scaled pigeon’

314. “Yaburu bi, bī doma ki to tha ɨbonon to kakuhu.
  yabiri bi: bi: doma ki to tʰ–a i:bo–nwǎŋ
  bird.sp 2SG 2SG reason SPEC DEM:F 3F=E-V finish.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
  to kakī–hi
  DEM:F alive–ABST,NMLZ
  ‘You scaled pigeon, because of you life has finished like this.”’

315. “Satho kakuhu dashikathifā bī mun kiba, ken to boto mun.
  good–SBJ.REL.F alive–ABST,NMLZ 1SG→give–DES–OBJ.REL 2SG DAT too
  kʰəŋ to b–oto mĩŋ
  and DEM:F 2SG→daughter DAT
  ‘Good life is what I wanted to give to you too and to your daughter.”’
316. “Ma buwâdali boto bithiro barhin alondi.
but 2SGA–search–VOL 2SGA–daughter LOC.WHT–ATL
baʃi–ŋ alɔ–n–d’i
though–NMLZ where–LOC.WHR–VIA
‘‘But you have to look for your daughter everywhere.’”

kia to dei koʃiri m–a bɔŋ
DSC DEM F 1SG bird.sp EXPL–E.V 2SG.DAT
‘‘This is what I, a white-necked thrush say to you.’”

318. “Kia doma ayondi, ada shî diakhodi buyeyedwaha “dato khan, dato khan”.
kia doma ayõ–n–d’i ada jî: d’akɔ–o–d’i
DSC reason high–LOC.WHR–VIA tree head top–VIA
2SGA–ITR–sing–VBZ.REFL–ITR–FUT 1SGA–daughter=DIM 1SGA–daughter=DIM
‘‘Therefore in the sky, above the tops of the trees, you will keep on singing
‘‘my little daughter, my little daughter’’.”

baʃi–ŋ alɔ–n–d’i
though–NMLZ where–LOC.WHR–VIA
yɔ–n–d’i–tʃi jikwa–d’i–tʃi
yɔ–n–to loko–no
LOC.ANPH–LOC.WHR–SBJ.REL:F Lokono–PL
‘‘My little daughter you will keep on saying, wherever you are, where
villages are, where Lokono people are.’”

320. “Dato khan, dato khan”, kia to bi, dei korhashiri ma bumun.
da–to=kɔŋ da–to=kɔŋ kia to bi:
1SGA–daughter=DIM 1SGA–daughter=DIM DSC DEM:F 2SG
dei koʃiri m–a bi–mŋ
1SG bird.sp EXPL–E.V 2SGA–DAT
‘‘My little daughter, my little daughter’, that is you, I, a white-necked thrush,
say this to you.’”
321. “Danshisha koba hiyaro, manshin dan doma thôdon of iniabo rako madukhati dada no, kia doma ki wei yontho wayono kobantwandihada no.”

\[d\text{-ânʃi-fa=koba hiyaro}\]

\[1SG_{A}\text{-love-OBJ.REL=REM.PST woman}\]

\[m\text{-ânʃi-n d–ā-n doma tʰ-o:ɗô-ŋ of PRV=love-NMLZ 1SG_{A}=E.V.–NMLZ reason 3F_{A}=die-NMLZ or}\]

\[iniabo rako ma–dik’a–t’i d–a=da=no\]

\[water inside[liquid] PRV=see–DES 1SG_{A}=E.V=DIRECT=3F_{B}\]

\[kia doma ki wei yô–n–t’o\]

\[DSC\text{ reason SPEC 1PL LOC.ANPH–LOC.WHR–SBJ.REL:F}\]

\[wa–yo–no kobân-twâ–n d’i–ha=da=no\]

\[1PL_{A}\text{-mother–PL field.POSS–VBZ.INTRV.REFL–NMLZ–VIA–FUT=DIRECT=3F}_{B}\]

“The woman that I loved before, because I did not want her death or I did not want to see her in the water, therefore, where our people make fields she will be.”

322. Kia to dashikifa diaha tora din bumun.

\[kia to da–ʃiki–ʃa d’â–ha\]

\[DSC DEM:F 1SG_{A}=give–OBJ.REL talk–ABST.NMLZ\]

\[to–ra d’i–n bi–mîŋ\]

\[DEM:F–MED SMLR–NMLZ 2SG_{A}=DAT\]

“This is the story that I tell like this to you.”

323. “Wiro, bi toda “dayo, dayo, dayo” ba wadun boyo bithiro ma dei yaradika.

\[wi:ro bi: to=da da–yo da–yo da–yo\]

\[bird.sp 2SG DEM:F=DIRECT 1SG_{A}=mother 1SG_{A}=mother 1SG_{A}=mother\]

\[b–a wa:di–n b–oyo bitʃi–ro\]

\[2SG_{A}=E.V search–NMLZ 2SG_{A}=mother LOC.WHT–ATL\]

\[ma dei ya–ra–d’i–ka\]

\[but 1SG LOC.DEM=ME–VIA–PFV\]

“White-tipped dove, you say “mother, mother, mother” searching for your daughter, but I am there too.”


\[dei to=da korʃafiri\]

\[1SG DEM:F=DIRECT bird.sp\]

“I am a white-necked thrush.”
325. “Korhashiri to dei.”
korajiri to dei
bird.sp DEM:F 1SG
‘I am a white-necked thrush.’

326. Abakwan “korhashiri, wadili khan dei, hiyaro khan doma ni.”
abakwaŋ korajiri wad'ilil=ki=ŋ de hiy=ki=ŋ doma ni
once.again bird man=DEM 1SG woman=DEM reason do
‘One more time: “White-necked thrush, I am a little man, because of a
woman.”’

327. Ki da diadiadun.
ki d-a d'a-d'i-ŋ
SPEC 1SG-A.V ITR-speak-VBZ-NMLZ
‘That’s how I tell it.’

328. Meithika dia damorhidaka hu.
m-ei=t-ka d'a da-muři=da-ka=h
PRV-know-PFV maybe 1SG-A-deceive.INTRV-PFV=2PLB
‘I don’t know maybe I lied to you.’

329. Sare hali.
sa-re h-a-li
good-REST1 2PL-A-VOL
‘All the best to you.’

330. Dòsathe.
d-o:s=te
1SG-A-go=VEN
‘Goodbye!’
1. Bámun koba tha aba loko hiyaro, aba thoyosabotho ma hebetho kho tora.
   b–a:miŋ=koba=tʰa aba loko hiyaro
   2SGA–have=REM.PST=RPRT INDIF Lokono woman
   aba tʰoyo–sabo–tʰo ma hebe–tʰo=kʰo to–ra
   INDIF elderly–CMPR–SBJ.RELF but aged–SBJ.RELF=NEG DEM:F–MED
   ‘You had once a Lokono woman, it is said, an old one but not an aged one.’

2. Ken kia kâmun koba aba thusa, aba hiyaro kiba.
   kʰɛŋ kia k–a:miŋ=koba aba tʰ–isa aba hiyaro kiba
   and DSC EXPL–have=REM.PST INDIF 3FA–child INDIF woman too
   ‘And this woman had a child, (and) a girl in addition.’

   kʰɛŋ kia hiyaro bikido–lia–tʰo to–ra
   and DSC woman raise:REFL–INCH–SBJ.RELF DEM:F–MED
   ‘And this girl, she was a young lady (lit. one that begins to grow).’

   kʰɛŋ h–i–tʰ–a–li–ka alika n–a–ŋ na
   and 2PLA–know–VOL–PFV how 3PLA–E.V–NMLZ DEM:PL
   tʰoyo–tʃi–nɔŋ=koba wakili
   elderly–SBJ.RELF–PL=REM.PST long.ago
   ‘And you must know how the elders were back in those days.’

5. Bámunharukha hiyaro of wadili diaro, bushikiha thurethiwa, of burethita no, of
   bushika lureithowa.
   b–a:miŋ–harĩkʰa hiyaro of wadili diaro bi–fiki–ha
   2SGA–have–COND woman or man maybe 2SGA–give–FUT
   tʰi–reʃi–wa of bi–reʃi–ta=no
   3FA–husband–REFL or 2SGA–husband–VBZ=3FB
   of bi–fika li–reʃʰo–wa
   or 2SGA–give 3MA–wife–REFL
   ‘If you had a girl or a boy maybe, you would give her a husband, or you would
   marry her, or you would give him a wife.’

6. Ken ki dia tha to loko hiyaro kida.
   kʰɛŋ ki dᵃ to loko hiyaro kida
   and SPEC SMLR 3FA–E.V DEM:F Lokono woman too
   ‘And this is how the Lokono woman was too.’
7. Ma to hiyaro, alika danbo âkanda hu…
ma to hiyaro alika d–ã–m–bo a:kâ–n=da=hi
but DEM:F woman how 1SGX–E.V–NMLZ–PRG tell–NMLZ=DIRCT=2PL it
‘But the woman, whom I am telling you now…’

8. Tha bianon tha wadili.
â–t=â bia=n=â=t=a wad’ili
3F.A–E.V two–PL=RPRT man
‘It is said there were two men.’

9. ‘Wakhaibethi kho hi wadilinon kiba.’
wa=kha ibi=k–he=ti=k=â ho hi=:wad ji=li=n=â=t=â=h=ka
19.
‘Very handsome men you are too.’

10. Dukhushabo to hiyaro, to thofo, to thoysabotho hiyaro.
dikâ=i–bo to hiyaro to â–t=â=oto
peep–PRG DEM:F woman DEM:F 3V.A–daughter
to â–t=â=yo–sabo–t=â hiyaro
DEM:F elderly–CMPR–SBJ.REL:F woman
‘(Those) peeping at the girl, the daughter of the older woman.’

11. ‘Ma biamake nama kho kakun dasa oma,” thanbia tha.
ma bia=ma=k e n–a=ma=k=â=mo kakâ–n da–sa oma
but two.COM–INTSV 3PLX=E.V–ABIL1=NEG alive–NMLZ 1SGX–child COM
â–t=â–m–bia=t=a
3F.A–E.V–NMLZ–TRANSF=RPRT
‘‘But with the two together they cannot live with my child,” she concluded, it
is said.’

12. ‘Ken bîtha amaha?” tha tha namun.
ka=ti=â a amaha â–t=â=na=mi=x
and 2SGX–know what 3FX=E.V=RPRT 3PLX–DAT
‘‘And you know what?” she said to them, it is said.’

13. ‘Dashikâma to hiyaro humun, ma biaman khor.
da=fikâ–ma to hiyaro hi–mi=x ma biâmâ–n=â=kâ=oro
1SGX–give–ABIL1 DEM:F woman 2PLX–DAT but two.COM–NMLZ=NEG
‘I can give you the girl, but two together cannot (live with her).’

1 The form wakhaibethikho ‘very handsome ones’ (lit. ‘ones that are not very bad’) is an example of
litote—an ironical understatement, in which an affirmative is expressed by the negative of its contrary—
a popular stylistic device in Lokono.

da–dikʰa–tʰi–ka alikân kʰidwaniabo wadʰili alikân
1SG_A–see–DES–PFV who really.true able who

able–PFV<CMPR who see–NMLZ–EP–ABIL1 1SG_A–child about

*I want to see who is really capable, who is more capable, who can take care of my child.*

15. “Munêkatan kho no!
mine:ka–tā–ŋ=kʰo=no
grief–VBZ–NMLZ=NEG=3FB
‘Don’t give her grief (lit. not making her grieve)!’

1SG ATR–grief but 1SG=NEG EXPL–love–PFV 1SG_A–child

ka–mine:ka–sabô–ŋ
ATR–grief–CMPR–NMLZ
‘I am poor but I don’t want my child to be poor anymore.’

17. “Kia doma dadukhatika khidwaniabo alikan dukhunima san thokhona, alikan shikithima amathali thumun, ama diaro bóthikishama thumun.

kia doma da–dikʰa–tʰi–ka kʰidwaniabo
DSC reason 1SG_A–see–DES–PFV really.true

alikân dikʰ–p–i–ma sā–ŋ tʰ–o–kʰona
who see–NMLZ–EP–ABIL1 good–NMLZ 3FA–about

alikân jiki–tʃi–ma amatʰali tʰ–i–mēŋ
who give–OBJ.REL=–ABIL1 thing 3FA–DAT

ama dʰaro b–o:jiki–fa–ma tʰ–i–mēŋ
what maybe 2SG_A–find–OBJ.REL–ABIL1 3FA–DAT

‘Therefore I want to really see who can take good care of her, who can give her everything, whatever you can find for her.’


‘That exactly I want to see, how you will be.’


kia sā–m bene da–dikʰi–ŋ foʃi=da
DSC good–NMLZ after 1SG_A–see–NMLZ first=DIRECT
“After I have seen all that, then I can give the girl to you.’

‘Did you hear it?’ she said to them, it is said.’

‘And then… ‘What could we do?’ they said, it is said.

‘Look how we are acculturated since long time ago.’

‘The field is something we never leave.’

‘Even when you don’t have anything, you do have a field.’
"And from inside of it, you can see... or you can have your food.'


    amat'ali d'aro m–a:mīn b–a:fa kabiya lokô–d'î
thing maybe PRV–have 2SGA=E.V—OBJ.REL field inside—VIA

    b–o'tîka ta–d'î konokô–d'î b–o'tîka–:ma
2SGA—find far—VIA forest—VIA 2SGA—find—ABIL.1

    "Things you may not have in a field, you find far, in the forest you can find.'

28. "Ma to kabuya, kia to...

    ma to kabiya kia to
but DEM:F field DSC DEM:F

    "But the field, that is..."

29. "Buwadilikaharukhabo, kia buwaya bumarhitïha."

2SGA—able—FFV—COND—PRG DSC 2SGA—self 2SGA—make—FUT

    "If you are capable, you will make it yourself."

30. Ki na tha diän.

    ki n–a=t'â dîã–n
SPEC 3PLA=E.V=RPRT talk—NMLZ

    'That is what they said, it is said.'


    k'ên bi–dik'â wad'îli–nôn tî–a=t'â na–mîn
and 2SGA—look man—PL 3FJ=E.V=RPRT 3PLA=DAT

    "And look, gentlemen," she said to them, it is said.'

32. "Hibôharukhâ...dei koi dukuhahthe alika ha nekhebon!

    hi–bo:–harik'â dei=k'ô dik'î–ha=t'e alika h–a nek'ebô–n
2PLA—leave.REFL—COND 1SG=NEG see—FUT=VEN how 2PLA=E.V work—NMLZ

    "When you are finished...I will not come look how you work!"

33. "Ma hibôharukha to kabuya kônânya hibitin, da handathe dabithiro kida.

    ma hi–bo:–harik'â to kabiya kôn=a:ya h–bîtî=–n
but 2PLA—leave.REFL—COND DEM:F field about=SRC:TL 2PLA—burn—NMLZ

    da h–ând=t'ê da–bîtî=ro kida
then 2PLA—arrive=VEN 1SG—LOC.WHT—ATL again

    "But when you’re finished with burning the field, then you return to me again.'
34. "Kia bena ki biamaha wósun alika motho kabuya humarhitin.

Kia bena ki biamaha wósun alika motho kabuya humarhitin.

DSC after SPEC two.COM–FUT 1PLA–go–NMLZ see–NMLZ

ali ka m–o–tOWL kabiya hi–mačiri–ŋ

how EXPL–E.V–SBJ.REL:F field 2PLA–make–NMLZ

‘‘Thereafter we’ll go like that with the two of us to see what sort of field you made.’’

35. "Of sà no of thandun dalwa lokonro,” tha tha to hiyaro, to thoyotho namun.”

Of sà no of th–andi–ŋ da–lwa lok–n–ro

if good=3Fb if 3Fb–arrive–NMLZ 1SGA–heart inside LOC.WHR–ATL

³¹–a=³¹a to hiyaro to ³¹o–tOWL na–mĩŋ


‘‘If they’re good, if they make me glad,” said the old woman to them, it is said.”’


Ki dia wa khan dian,

SMLR 1PLA–E.V–DIM talk–NMLZ 3PLA–E.V–RPRT

³¹–a=³¹a to hiyaro to ³¹o–tOWL na–mĩŋ


‘‘That’s what we say,” they said, it is said.’’

37. So... nanebetâka.

So na–nëbeta–ka

so 3PLA–divide.INTRV–PFV

‘‘So... they parted.’’

38. Alonro nôsun, kia kho weitha mada nankebohaba.

Alonro nôsun, kia kho weitha mada nankebohaba.

where–LOC.WHR–ATL 3PLA–go–NMLZ DSC=NEG 1PLA–know

³¹=³¹a na–nek³¹ebo–ha–ba

but=DIRECT 3PLA–work–FUT–AND

‘‘Where they went, that we don’t know but they went to work.’’

39. To hiyaro, thudiadiadwaka to thusa oma.

To hiyaro ³¹–d³¹–d³¹–dwa–ka

DEMF woman 3Fb–ITR–speak–VBZ.INTRV.REFL–PFV

to ³¹–isa oma

DEMF 3Fb–child COM

‘The woman, she talked with her child.’
40. Thumarhikhotâka no alika thanha, karethinhada no.
\( t^\text{h}i\text{-marji}k^\text{b}o\text{-}ta\text{-}ka\text{-no} \)
\( \_ \text{alika} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{-}\text{a}\text{-}\text{ji}\text{-}ha \)
\( 3F_A\text{-knowledge}\text{-VZB.INTRV-PFV=3F_B} \)
\( \text{how} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-E.V.-NMLZ-FUT} \)
\( \text{ka-} \text{retfi-} \text{ji} \text{-}ha\text{=}da\text{=}no \)
\( \text{ATR-} \text{husband-} \text{NMLZ-} \text{FUT=} \text{DIRECT=} 3F_B \)

‘She taught her how she has to act when she will have a man.’

41. Ama theithinha, ama thaninima, ama manin thashama, alika na wadilinon.
\( \_ \text{ama} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{-}\text{ei}t\text{ji}\text{-}ha \)
\( \_ \text{ama} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{-aji} \text{-}i\text{-ma} \)
\( \text{what} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-know-} \text{NMLZ-} \text{FUT} \)
\( \text{what} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-do-} \text{NMLZ-} \text{EP-ABIL} \)
\( \text{ama} \)
\( m\text{-aji} \text{-}ha \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{-a-} \text{fa-} \text{ma} \)
\( \text{what} \)
\( \text{PRV-do-} \text{NMLZ} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-E.V.-OBJ.REL-ABIL} \)
\( \text{alika} \)
\( n\text{-a} \)
\( \text{wad'ili-n} \text{-}n} \)
\( \text{how} \)
\( 3PL_A\text{-E.V} \)
\( \text{man-PL} \)

‘What she has to know, what she can do, what she cannot do, how men are.

42. Kiabo sakhanin tha ki tha àkakadun to thusawa.
\( \text{kiabo} \text{-} \text{bo} \)
\( \text{sak'aji-} \text{-}ha \)
\( \_ \text{t}^\text{h}\text{-a-} \text{ki} \text{=}t^\text{h}\text{a} \)
\( \text{DSC-EXACTLY} \)
\( \text{complete-} \text{EP-} \text{NMLZ} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-E.V.-SPEC=} \text{RPRT} \)
\( \text{a} \text{=}k\text{-} \text{a-} \text{di} \text{-}ha \)
\( \text{to} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{-} \text{isa-} \text{wa} \)
\( \text{ITR-} \text{tell-} \text{VBZ-NMLZ DEMF} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-child-} \text{REFL} \)

‘About all that she told her child, it is said.’

43. To thukhuthu waboken, thodokothi thâmunisha, nei waboken shika diaha thumun.
\( \_ \text{to} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{-i} \text{k}\text{h}i\text{=}t^\text{h}\text{i=} \text{wabok'm} \)
\( \text{DEM:F} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-grandmother=} \text{as.well} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{o-} \text{doko}\text{ti} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{-a} \text{-} \text{mi} \text{-} \text{fa} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-grandfather} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-have-EP-OBJ.REL} \)
\( \text{nei=} \text{wabok'ë} \text{ji} \text{ka} \)
\( d\text{a=} \text{ha} \)
\( t^\text{h}\text{i} \text{-} \text{mi} \text{g} \)
\( 3PL=\text{as.well} \)
\( \text{give} \)
\( \text{talk-ABST.NMLZ} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-DAT} \)

‘Her grandmother as well, her grandfather that she had, they also told her stories.’

44. ‘Mashikin bali habori wamun, hiyaro,’ na tha thumun.
\( \_ \text{ma} \text{-jiki} \text{-} \text{m} \)
\( \_ \text{b-} \text{a-li} \text{haburi} \)
\( \text{PRV-} \text{give-NMLZ} \)
\( 2SG_A\text{-E.V.-VOL shame} \)
\( 1PL_A\text{-DAT woman} \)
\( n\text{-a=}t^\text{h}a \)
\( \_ \text{t}^\text{h}\text{i} \text{-} \text{mi} \text{g} \)
\( 3PL_A\text{-E.V=} \text{RPRT} \)
\( 3F_A\text{-DAT} \)

‘Don’t bring shame on us, woman,’ they said to her, it is said.’
   w–āŋʃī–faction bi:
   1PLA–love–OBJ.REL 2SG
   ‘You are the one we love.

46. “Alika wan kanshin bo, dia wa dukhun kidaba bo.
   alika w–āŋʃī–faction k–āŋʃī–m=bo
   how 1PLA–V,E,V–NMLZ EXPL–love–NMLZ=2SG
   d’ā w–a dik’āŋʃī–kida–ba=bo
   SMLR 1PLA–V,E see–NMLZ too–ADD=2SG
   ‘How we love you, we want to see just like that again too.’

47. Kia doma mashikati wa kakuthinon mun barhinda no.
   kia doma ma–ʃika–t’i w–a kaki–ʃī–nōŋ mīŋ
   baŋʃī–n=da=no
   though–NMLZ=DIRC=3FB
   ‘Therefore we don’t want to give her to people.’

48. “Ma ki dia than doma to kaku hibin, buwaya kho yādi dabe bama.
   ma ki d’a t’h–ā–n doma to kaki hibī–ŋ
   but SPEC SMLR 3FA–E,V,–NMLZ reason DEM:F alive already–NMLZ
   bi–waya=k’họ ya–d’i dabe b–a–ma
   2SG,–self=NEG LOC,DEM–VIA stay 2SG,–E,V–ABIL,1
   ‘But because life is like this already, you don’t have to be here alone.’

49. “Bubianthe abanboka ma alikanin kia kho wama bon ken bi wabo kho itha.
   bi–biān–t’è abā–m–bo–ka ma alikan–t’i–ŋ
   kia=k’họ w–a–ma bōŋ
   DSC=NEG 1PLA–E,V–ABIL,1 2SG,DATE
   k’èŋ bi=ːwabo=k’họ i=t’h a
   and 2SGA=even=NEG know
   ‘Your partner is somewhere but who he is we can’t tell you and even you
don’t know.’

50. “Buwaya ki bithihada no.
   bi–waya–ki b–i:ʃī–ha=da=no
   2SGA–self–SPEC 2SGA–know–FUT=DIRC=3FB
   ‘You yourself will find it out.’
alikān b–ānfi–fā li–ki bi–niki–ha
who 2SG.love–OBJ.REL DEM: M–SPEC 2SG. take–FUT
‘The one you love, him you will take.’

52. “Of kanshisha bî, li ki anduhathe bibithiro.
or EXPL–love–OBJ.REL 2SG DEM: M–SPEC arrive–FUT=VEN 2SG: A. LOC.WHT–ATL
‘Or he who loves you will come to you.’

53. “Ki dia tha.”
ki d'a tʰ=a
SPEC SMLR 3F: A–E.V
‘That’s the way it is.’

54. Mōdāko tha tha thonwa, mānaban tha.
m'o:daːko tʰ=a tʰoŋ=wa m–o:nabā=n tʰ=a
‘She remained quiet, she did not answer.’

55. Ma thowaya thukoborokwakada no.
ma tʰi=waya tʰi=koborokwâː=ka=da=no
‘But she thought about it in herself.’

56. "Dei kho îtha.
dei=kʰ o i tʰ=a
1SG=NEG 1SG know
‘I don’t know.’

adayaːli=rōŋ ki jīkaː=ma sa–tʃi wadili da–mīŋ
mature=M=only SPEC give.–ABIL.1 good.–SBJ.REL: M man 1SG.–DAT
sa–tʃi=ma dikʰi=n da–kʰ ona tʰ=a=tʰ a tʰoŋ=wa
good.–SBJ.REL: M.–ABIL.1 see.–NMLZ 1SG.–about 3F: A.–E.V.=RPRT 3F: DAT.–REFL
‘Only God can give me a good man, a good one who can take care of me,”
she said to herself, it is said.’

58. Na bianinon nuka waboroko.
na bian–i–nōŋ nika waboroko
DEM: PL two.–EP.–PL take road
‘The two men took to the road.’
59. Li tha abali wadili, li tha möthiâbo la tha thokhodon.

Li=tha aba–li wad’ili

DEM:M=RPRT INDF–M man

Li=tha mo tʃa−bo l–a=tha t’ok’odô–ŋ

DEM:M=RPRT morning–INTS 3M_A=E.V=RPRT descend–NMLZ

‘The first man, he descends (from his hammock) early in the morning, it is said.’

60. Möthiâbon, Warokoma kayara mankhada no, lösa hibin.

Mo tʃa−bô–ŋ Warokoma kayarã–ŋ


m–aŋ–ka=da=no l–o:sa hibî–ŋ

EXPL–E.V–NMLZ–SIM=DIRECT=3F_B 3M_A=go already–NMLZ

‘Early in the morning, when the Morning Star is not born, he is already gone, it is said.’

61. Lösa nekhebon, wadun tha san alon löthikinima satho horhorho, marhitin to kabuya, alika lan kanabun to thoyothro hiyaro ñya.

l–o:sa nek’ebô–ŋ wadî–n=t’â sà–ŋ alô–ŋ

3M_A=go work–NMLZ search–NMLZ=RPRT good–NMLZ where–LOC.WHR

l–o:ʃikí–pi–i–ma sa t’o hoɾoɾo


maɾi’ti−n to kabiya

make–NMLZ DEM:F field

alika l–aŋ–ŋ kanabî–ŋ

how 3M_A=E.V–NMLZ hear–NMLZ

to t’oyo–t’o iyaro o’ya

DEM:F elderly–SBJ.REL:F woman SRC:ATL

‘He is gone to work, searching well where he can find good land to make a field, like he heard from the old woman.’

62. ‘Sâharukhada no, damukuthuhada no,” la tha lonwa.

Sa−harîk’â=da=no da−mikîl’î−ha=da=no

good–COND=DIRECT=3F_B 1SG_A=mother.in.law–FUT=DIRECT=3F_B

l–a=t’â lôŋ–wa

3M_A=E.V=RPRT 3M.DAT–REFL

‘If it is good, I will make her my mother-in-law,” he says to himself.’
63. Mithamithada tha lonwa.
mitʰã–mitʰa–da=tʰa lõŋ–wa
titr–laugh–vibz=rp rt 3m.dat–refl
‘He keeps laughing to himself, it is said.’

64. “Barhin alika ban, dei dei nuka to kia hiyaro,” la tha li abali.
bq̃i–ŋ alika b–ã–ŋ
through–nmlz how 2sg–e.v–nmlz
dei dei nika to kia hiyaro
1sg 1sg take dem:f dsc woman
l–a=tʰa li abā–li
3m=–e.v=rp rt dem:m indf–m
‘‘Whatever you have to do, I, I will take that girl,” the man says, it is said.’

65. Ki la tha nekhebon.
ki l–a=tʰa nekʰebō–ŋ
spec 3m=–e.v=rp rt work–nmlz
‘That is the way he works, it is said.’

66. Môtthia lõsun, makuburekhanin, makhotorekhanin, te kasakoda foshi tha landakikada.
morning 3m–go–nmlz prv–breathe–rest1–dim–ep–nmlz
ma–kʰotɔ–re–kʰãŋ–ĩ–ŋ
prv–eat–rest1–dim–ep–nmlz
 te kasakoda foʃi=tʰa l–ãnda–ki–ka=da
until night first=rp rt 3m–arrive–spec–pfv=direct
‘He is gone in the morning, without resting, without eating, until before the nighttime he comes back again, it is said.’

67. Ma lirabo to li bianthe, lirabokili wadili, wakhaithi kho lonwa kida, san tatabodin kiba.
wad’lĩi wakʰa–i–tʃi=ɛ=kʰo lõŋ–wa kida
man bad–veri–sbl,rel:m=neg 3m,dat–refl too
sâ–ŋ tatabud‘i–ŋ kiba
good–nmlz with.strength–nmlz too
‘But that other one, the second one, that other man is a handsome one too, a strong man.’
17

68. Li thada tholâko ma, dukha alika than to adali kayaran foshi.

li=tda da tola–ko m–a dikhâ alika tî–n
DEM:M=RPT=DIRCT hanging–CONT EXPL–EV see how 3F̄A–E–V–NMLZ to adali kayarâ–ŋ foshi
DEM:F sun born–NMLZ first

‘He is lazing around in his hammock watching the sun come up first.’

69. Kande diaro oni khia san bena thubarha kona to oniabo ada khonayâbe, thubana khonâya, dan foshi tha li ısâ.

kânde d’aro upi k’ia sâ–m bena maybe maybe rain rain good–NMLZ after

3F̄A–hair run DEM:F water tree about=SRC:TL–COL

3F̄A–leaf about=SRC:TL then first=RPRT DEM:M go

‘Maybe the rain falls, after that the water drips off the trees, off their leaves, after that, he goes.’

70. Ah! Wâdiaro la tha kho andathe.

ah wa:da–ro l–a=t’ha=k’o andan=t’e
ah later–REST2 3Ma–E–V=RPT=NEG arrive=VEN

‘Ah! He does not come back home late, it is said.’

71. Thutherethin tha to adali, landa hibin kiba.


‘When the sun is getting warmish, he is already back again.’

72. Mada to hiyaro, to thoyotho, kande to hiyaro... nawadushabo to hiyaro oyo, kia tha dukha.

ma=da to hiyaro to t’oyo–t’o kânde to hiyaro but=DIRCT DEM:F woman DEM:F old–SIJ,REL:F maybe DEM:F woman

na–wadi–fâ–bo to iyaro oyo kia=t’ha dikhâ
3PLa–search–OBJ,REL–PRG DEM:F woman mother DSC=RPRT see

‘But the woman, the old woman, maybe the woman...the mother of the one they are looking for, she looks.’

73. Ma thudiâka kho want ki nanawa dian.

ma tî–d’â–ka=k’o wànt ki n–a–na–wa dâ–ŋ
but 3F̄A–talk–PFV=NEG because SPEC 3PLa–E–V–EXPC–CERT talk–NMLZ

‘But she says nothing because that is of course what they agreed on.’
74. “Dei kho dukhuhathe hibithiro, ma dadukhuha alika han.”

\[ \text{dei} = k^b_0 \quad \text{dik}^b_i \cdot \text{ha} = t^e_i \quad \text{hi} \cdot \text{bitf}i \cdot \text{ro} \]

\[ \text{1SG} = \text{NEG} \quad \text{see} \cdot \text{FUT} = \text{VEN} \quad 2\text{PL}_A \cdot \text{LOC} \cdot \text{WHT} \cdot \text{ATL} \]

\[ \text{ma} \quad \text{da} \cdot \text{dik}^b_i \cdot \text{ha} \quad \text{alika} \quad h \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{ŋ} \]

\[ \text{but} \quad \text{1SG}_A \cdot \text{see} \cdot \text{FUT} \quad \text{how} \quad 2\text{PL}_A \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{V} \cdot \text{NMLZ} \]

“I will not come watching you, but I will see what you do.”

75. Than bena thada, tora dukhako ma kida.

\[ t^b \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{m} \quad \text{bena} = t^a \cdot \text{da} \]

\[ 3\text{F}_A \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{V} \cdot \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{after} = \text{RPRT} = \text{DIRCT} \]

\[ \text{to} \cdot \text{ra} \quad \text{dik}^b_a \cdot \text{ko} \quad m \cdot \text{a} \quad \text{kida} \]

\[ \text{DEM} \cdot \text{F} \quad \text{see} \cdot \text{INTRV} \cdot \text{CONT} \quad \text{EXPL} \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{V} \quad \text{again} \]

‘Having said that, she stares again.’

76. “Ma lira danshir khidohan dasa dukhun khona.

\[ \text{ma} \quad \text{li} \cdot \text{ra} \quad \text{d} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{ŋf} \cdot \text{ra} \cdot \text{ma} \quad k^b_0 \text{idohan} \]

\[ \text{but} \quad \text{DEM} \cdot \text{M} \quad \text{1SG}_A \cdot \text{love} \cdot \text{UNEXPC} \cdot \text{ABIL} \quad \text{it.is.true} \]

\[ \text{da} \cdot \text{sa} \quad \text{dik}^b_i \cdot \text{ŋ} \quad k^b_0 \text{ona} \]

\[ 1\text{SG}_A \cdot \text{child} \quad \text{see} \cdot \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{about} \]

‘But surprisingly I could really want him to take care of my child.’

77. “Ma tora diaro larukhada, osoroma la khana,” tha tha thonwa.

\[ \text{ma} \quad \text{to} \cdot \text{ra} \quad \text{d}^a \cdot \text{ro} \quad l \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{rik}^a \cdot \text{da} \]

\[ \text{but} \quad \text{DEM} \cdot \text{F} \quad \text{SMLR} \cdot \text{REST} \quad 3\text{M}_A \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{V} \cdot \text{COND} = \text{DIRCT} \]

\[ \text{osorom}a \cdot \text{ŋ} \quad 1 \cdot \text{a} = k^b_0 \text{ana} \quad t^b_0 \cdot \text{a} = t^a \text{a} \quad t^b_0 \text{ŋ} \cdot \text{wa} \]

\[ \text{in.vain} = \text{NMLZ} \quad 3\text{M}_A \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{V} = \text{sure} \quad 3\text{F}_A \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{V} = \text{RPRT} \quad 3\text{F} \cdot \text{DAT} \cdot \text{REFL} \]

‘But if he’s like this, he can work in vain,” she said to herself, it is said’.

78. Ma wadilika kho thudian nama.

\[ \text{ma} \quad \text{wa} \cdot \text{di} \cdot \text{li} \cdot \text{ka} = k^b_0 \quad \text{t}^b \cdot \text{i} \cdot \text{d} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{ŋ} \quad \text{na} = \text{ma} \]

\[ \text{but} \quad \text{ABLE} \cdot \text{PFV} = \text{NEG} \quad 3\text{F}_A \cdot \text{speak} \cdot \text{NMLZ} \quad 3\text{PL}_A \cdot \text{COM} \]

‘But she cannot speak with them.’

79. Wadilika kho thudian to thusa oma kida.

\[ \text{wa} \cdot \text{di} \cdot \text{li} \cdot \text{ka} = k^b_0 \quad \text{t}^b \cdot \text{i} \cdot \text{d} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{ŋ} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{t}^b \cdot \text{isa} \quad \text{oma} \quad \text{kida} \]

\[ \text{able} \cdot \text{PFV} = \text{NEG} \quad 3\text{F}_A \cdot \text{speak} \cdot \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{DEM} \cdot \text{F} \quad 3\text{F}_A \cdot \text{child} \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{too} \]

‘She cannot talk with her child either.’

80. Dukhuro tha.

\[ \text{dik}^b_i \cdot \text{ro} \quad t^b \cdot \text{a} \]

\[ \text{see} \cdot \text{REST} \quad 3\text{F}_A \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{V} \]

‘She only watches.’
81. Ma to liraboki li waboken, wakhaithi kho lira tha, liwa to.

   li-ra-bo-kili=wabok  


   li-ra=li-wa to

   DEM:M–MED=RPRT DEM:M–CERT DEM:F

   ‘But that other one, he really is a pretty one, it is said, he is the one indeed.’

82. “Li ba to nukuraha to dasa,” tha tha thonwa.

   li ba to nɨk–ra–ha to da–sa

   DEM:M maybe DEM:F take–UNEXPC–FUT DEM:F 1SG–child

   tʰ–a=tʰ  

   3F,–E,V=RPRT 3F,DAT–REFL

   ‘He maybe will take my child, surprisingly,’ she says to herself, it is said.

83. Ma liwa to môthiâbo man ôsun.


   ‘But this one of course goes really early in the morning.’

84. Kasakoda wei landa.

   kasakoda–wei l–ãnda

   night–EMPH 3MA–arrive

   ‘Late at night, he comes back.’


   ah 1SG–child=DIRCT able plant–NMLZ–FUT

   ki d’h–n–tʰ  

   SMLR–NMLZ–SBJ.REL:F field 3F,–E,V=RPRT 3F,DAT–REFL

   ‘Ah! How could my child plant such a field,’ she says to herself, it is said.

86. “Meithikada, wadukhali,” moro tha.

   m–eiti–k’a–da wa–dik’a–li  

   PRV–know–PFV=DIRCT 1PL–see–VOL EXPL–E,V–REST2 3F,–E,V

   ‘I don’t know, we shall see,’ she only said, it is said.

87. Thusa waboken kho mun ama diaro thama.

   tʰ–isa=wabok  

   3F,–child=as.well=NEG DAT what maybe 3F,–E,V–ABIL 1

   ‘She cannot say anything to her child either.’
88. Want alika nadian, ki dia na dian hibin.

\[
\text{wânt alika n–a } \text{dâ–} \eta
\]

because how 3PL\text{–}E.V speak\text{–}NMLZ

\[
\text{ki } \text{d’a } \text{n–a } \text{dâ–} \eta \text{ hibi–} \eta
\]

SPEC SMLR 3PL\text{–}E.V speak\text{–}NMLZ already\text{–}NMLZ

‘Because what they said, that is what they said already.’

89. Ki dia na tha ôsosadun nekhebonro.

\[
\text{ki } \text{d’a } \text{n–a }=t\text{a } \text{o:s–o:sa–dî–} \eta \text{ nek}^b \text{ebô–n–ro}
\]

SPEC SMLR 3PL\text{–}E.V=RPRT ITR\text{–}go\text{–}VBZ\text{–}NMLZ work\text{–}LOC.WHR\text{–}ATL

‘This is the way they go everyday to work, it is said.’

90. Abahan tha thôsa: “Dadukhubaya alika na nashikwawa,” tha tha to hiyaro, to kasaroda, to tha thôsa.

\[
\text{abahãn=t}^b \text{a } \text{t}^b \text{–o:sa } \text{da–dik}^b \text{–i–ba–ya}
\]

once=RPRT 3FA\text{–}go 1SG\text{–}see\text{–}AND\text{–}VERI

\[
\text{alika n–a } \text{na–fikwa–wa } \text{t}^b \text{–a=t}^b \text{a}
\]

how 3PL\text{–}E.V 3PL\text{–}house.POSS\text{–}REFL 3FA\text{–}E.V=RPRT

\[
\text{to hiyaro to k} \text{a–sa–ro}=\text{da to=t}^b \text{a } \text{t}^b \text{–o:sa}
\]

DEM\text{–}F woman DEM\text{–}F ATR\text{–}child=DIRCT DEM\text{–}F=RPRT 3FA\text{–}go

‘Once she says: “I will go see really how they made their houses,” said the woman, the one with children, and she went, it is said.’

91. Li abali bithiro thôsa.

\[
\text{li } \text{aba–li } \text{bitʃi–ro } \text{t}^b \text{–o:sa}
\]

DEM\text{–}M one\text{–}M LOC.WHT\text{–}ATL 3FA\text{–}go

‘She went to the first one.’

92. “Yaraka hu wadili?” tha tha.\text{\textsuperscript{1}}

\[
\text{ya–ra–} \text{ka=hi } \text{wadil} \text{i} \text{t}^b \text{–a=t}^b \text{a}
\]

LOC\text{–}DEM\text{–}MED\text{–}PFV=2PL\text{a} man 3FA\text{–}E.V=RPRT

‘Are you there, boy?’ she says, it is said.

93. Ama khororo, alikan kho diâka.

\[
\text{ama=k}^\text{o:ro } \text{alikâŋ}=k^\text{o} \text{ ka}
\]

what=NEG who=NEG talk\text{–}PFV

‘Nothing, nobody talks.’

\text{\textsuperscript{1}} In 92 the woman uses a plural form when addressing a single man to show respect.
21

94. Alikan kho onabàka.
   alikàŋ=kò onabà–ka
   who=NEG answer.INTRV–PFV
   ‘Nobody answers.’

   l–o:sa–i=bi=do hibi–ŋ tʰ–a=tʰa tʰoŋ–wa
   ‘He is surely already gone,’ she says to herself.’

96. Bakulama shibon, orhiroko shifodi tha, thôsa kida.
   bakilama fíbí–ŋ urí–roko jífu–dí=i=tʰa tʰ–o:sa kida
   afternoon face–LOC.WHR dark–inside face–VIA=RPRT 3F̣̄A–go again
   ‘Before the afternoon, before darkness, she goes again, it is said.’

97. “Yaraka hu?
   ya–ra–ka=hí
   LOC.DEM–MED–PFV=2PLa
   ‘Are you here?’

98. “Alikan yaka?”
   alikàŋ ya–ka
   who LOC.DEM–PFV
   ‘Is someone here?’

99. Alikan kho onaba.
   alikàŋ=kò onaba
   who=NEG answer
   ‘Nobody answered.’

100. Ah! Orhirokonbo hibin, nekheborekili, mandunko laya do.
    ah urí–roko–m–bo hibi–ŋ neḳ̄ebo–re–kili
    m–ándí–ŋ–ko l–a–ya=do
    ‘Ah! It is now already dark, the one that only works, he surely still didn’t
    return.’

101. Thokoywakikaba.
    tʰ–o–koywa–kí–ka–ba
    3F̣̄A–return.REFL–SPEC–PFV–ADD
    ‘She returned again.’
102. Abahan tha thôsa li lirabo bithiro.
   once=RPRT  ³Fₓ–go  DEM:M  DEM:M–MED–CNTR  LOC.WHT–ATL
   ‘One time, she went to that other man.’

103. Adali fotikidáha.
   adali  fot'ikidaː–ha
   sun  enter.non-containment.INTRV–FUT
   ‘The sun came out.’

104. Thôsa.
   tʰ̩–ₐ:sa
   ³Fₓ–go
   ‘She went.’

105. Theîbonon mathali nin thushikwan, thôsa.
   tʰ̩–eibo–nwāŋ  mathali  nǐ–ŋ
   ³Fₓ–leave.REFL–NMLZ.REFL  thing  do–NMLZ
   tʰ̩–iʃikwaː–ŋ  tʰ̩–ₐ:sa
   ³Fₓ–house.Poss–LOC.WHR  ³Fₓ–go
   ‘Having finished doing things at her house, she went.’

106. “Ah!” Thudukha tha li yoyodakwan.
   ah  tʰ̩–i– dikʰ=³ᵗᵃ  li  yoyodaː–kwā–ŋ
   ah  ³Fₓ–see=RPRT  DEM:M  hanging–CONT–NMLZ
   ‘“Ah!” She saw him hanging (in a hammock), it is said.’

107. “Yaka hu?”
   ya–ka=bi
   LOC.DEM–PFV=2PL:B
   ‘Are you here?’

108. “Alikan yaka?”
   alikāŋ  ya–ka
   who  LOC.DEM–PFV
   ‘Is anyone here?’

109. “Aha, yaka we.
   aha  ya–ka=we
   aha  LOC.DEM–PFV=1PL:B
   ‘Aha, we are here.’
110. “Yaka de,” la tha yoyodākwan.

```
yakade
L:OC=DEM=PFV=1SG 3MA-E.V=RPRT
```

hawks
hanging–CONT–NMLZ

‘I am here,’” he says hanging (in a hammock), it is said.’

111. “Ma li kho li kanchina dasa.

```
ma
DEMM=EMPH DEM:M 1SG–love–PFV
```

but

‘But is of course he the one that loves my child.’

112. “Li khoda dukhuha thokhona.

```
li
DEMM=EMPH 1SG–love–PFV
```

‘He is the one that will take care of her.’

113. “Li kho li danshika.

```
li
DEMM=EMPH 1SG–love–PFV
```

‘He is the one I want.’


```
ha
thing=DIRECT 1SG–have–EP–OBJ.REL.
```

all

‘Everything that I have I will give her,’ he said.’

115. “Ma li dianthi, mio kho hayomunin to adali hibin, ki yādiko labo kwan.

```
ma
DEMM=M SMLR–NMLZ–SBJ.REL:M
```

but

‘But somebody like him, the sun is already very high, he is still at home.’


```
satike
DEM:F
```

good–SBJ.REL:M

good=

‘Is he a good person or man though,’” she thought, it is said.’
117. “Ma wakhaithi kho barhin lira.
ma  wagd—a–tfi=k^b_o  barʃ—ŋ  li–ra
but  bad—VERI–SBJ.REL:M=NEG  though–NMLZ  DEM:M–MED
‘But he is handsome though.’

118. “Nekhebo mâya, meithika alika mothianthi li.
nek^ebo  ma:ya  m–eitʃi–ka
work  side  PRV–know–PFV
alika  m–o–tʃa–n–tfi  li
‘Concerning work, I don’t know what kind of a person he is.’

ma  ki  d^a  b–a  d–a–ma=k^b_o  li–mǐŋ  t–a=t^b_a
but  SPEC  SMLR  2SG_A–E.V  1SG_A–E.V–ABIL1=NEG  3m_A–DAT  3F_A–E.V=RPRT
‘But I cannot tell him “you have to do like this”,’ she said, it is said.’

120. “Ah, dōsuda khan ya mâya kida,” tha thon.
ah  d–o:si–fa=k^b_h  ya  ma:ya  kida  t−a=t^b_a  lǒŋ
ah  1SG_A–go–FUT=–DIM  LOC.DEM  side  again  3F_A–E.V=RPRT  3m.DAT
‘Ah, I’ll go to this side (of the village) again,” she said to him, it is said.’

121. “Ehe, dei waboken tanokesabo dōsuda nekhebonro.
ehe  dei=wabok^e:n  tano–k^e–sabo  d–o:si–fa  nek^e:bo–n–ro
yes  1SG=as.well  now–INTSV–CMPR  1SG_A–go–FUT  work–LOC.WHR–ATL
‘Yes, I too will go to work shortly.’

122. “Kabuya kathiya khanada wei,” la tha thon, to thoyotho mun.
kabiya  katʃi–a=k^ana=da  wei  l–a=t^a  t–ŋ
field  moon–POSS=sure=DIRECT  1PL  3m_A–E.V=RPRT  3F.DAT
  to  t^oyo–t^o  mǐŋ
DEm:F  old–SBJ.REL:F  DAT
‘It is the field season of course,” he said to her, it is said, to the old woman.’

123. “Sare ba nekhebon.
sa–re  b–a  nek^e:bo–ŋ
good–REST  2SG_A–E.V  work–NMLZ
‘Enjoy your work.’

bi:  dَا–n–tfi  ni–koma=no
2SG  SMLR–NMLZ–SBJ.REL:M  do=ABIL2=3Fh
125. Ma lukanaba kho, ma lukanaba tak shokhan tha thuthudathin.
ma li–kanaba=k:o
but 3MA=hear=NEG
ma li–kanaba tak fok’àn t’h–a t’hida–tfî–ŋ
but 3MA=hear COMP little 3F–E.V murm–APRX–NMLZ
‘Though he did not hear it, he heard that she briefly kind of whispered.’

126. ‘San, thuthuthu’dâka.
sân t’h–tfî–th–a–t’hida–ka
what 3F–E.V+ murm–PFV
‘What! She whispered!’

127. ‘Budukhalî,’ la tha lonwa.
bî–dik’h–lî 1–a=t’h–a lôn–wa
2SG–see–VOL 3MA=RPRT 3MDAT–REFL
‘You will see!’ he said to himself, it is said.’

128. ‘Budukhuha,‘ la.
bî–dik’h–hâ 1–a
2SG–see–FUT 3MA=E.V
‘You will see,’ he said.’

129. Te san bena tha aba nekhebon manthro fakutun, neithana to kiawa ken to hiyaro itha.
te sâ–m bena=t’h–a aba nek’ebo–ŋ m–n–t’h–o
katì fakiti–ŋ n–ei:t’h–a–na to kia–wa
k’ëŋ to hiyaro i:t’h–a
and DEM:F woman know
‘Until well after a month of work passed, they know it of course and the woman knows (it), it is said.’

130. Nandunbia koba tha thubithiro kida.
n–ândî–m–bia=koba=t’h–a t’h–bi’tî–ro kida
‘They finally came back again to her, it is said.’

\[ \text{t}^b\text{o=y-o} \quad \text{n-a=t}^h\text{a} \]

old-SBJ.REL:F 3PLA=E.V=RPRT

‘“Grandma,” they said, it is said.’

132. Li abali foshi anda.

\[ \text{l} \quad \text{ab-a-li} \quad \text{fo} \quad \text{f} \quad \text{à} \quad \text{nda} \]

DEM:one-M first arrive

‘The first one arrived.’

133. “Budukha, deibwa sokonda dakobaniawa.

\[ \text{bi-d}^k\text{a} \quad \text{d-eibwa} \quad \text{sok}^=\text{o=n-da} \quad \text{da-kopan-ia-wa} \]

2SGA=see 1SGA=finish.REFL cut-NMLZ=DIRECT 1SGA=field.POSS=EP=REFL

‘Look, I finished cutting open my field.’

134. “Kia ten dabitiha, kharen dabitiha,” la tha thumun.

\[ \text{kia} \quad \text{t}^e\text{n} \quad \text{da-bit'i-ha} \quad \text{k}^3\text{a=r}^e\text{n} \quad \text{da-bit'i-ha} \]

DSC time 1SGA=burn-FUT time=exactly 1SGA=burn-FUT

\[ \text{l-a=t}^h\text{a} \quad \text{t}^h\text{i-m}^e\text{n} \]

2SGA=see 3FA=E.V=RPRT 3FA-DAT

‘At such time, I will burn, at such time exactly I will burn,” he said to her, it is said.’


\[ \text{k}^3\text{id}^o\text{n}^h\text{a=no} \quad \text{t}^b\text{-a=t}^h\text{a} \]

is.it.true=3FA 3FA=E.V=RPRT

‘Is it true?” she said, it is said.’

136. “Budukha, bibitinha.”

\[ \text{bi-d}^k\text{a} \quad \text{bi-bit'i-} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{ha} \]

2SGA=see 2SGA=burn-NMLZ-FUT

‘Look, you will burn.’

137. “Dabitiha, kia kasakabo dabitiha,” la tha thumun.

\[ \text{da-bit'i-ha} \quad \text{kia} \quad \text{kasakabo} \quad \text{da-bit'i-ha} \]

1SGA=burn-FUT DSC day 1SGA=burn-FUT

\[ \text{l-a=t}^h\text{a} \quad \text{t}^h\text{i-m}^e\text{n} \]

2SGA=see 3FA=E.V=RPRT 3FA-DAT

‘I will burn, on this and this day I will burn,” he said to her, it is said’.

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* The noun ten ‘time’ is a borrowing from Sranantongo; the second part of the sentence is a self correction in Lokono.
aha da–dik₃a–li 1–ã–m–bia
aha 1SG₃–see–VOL 3M₃–E.V.–TRANS–FIN
‘“Aha, I will have to see,” he concluded.’

139. “Budukha alika da mafadunha to adali koshi,” la tha.
bI–dik₃a alika d–a m–afa–dĩ–ŋ–ha
2SG₃–see how 1SG₃–E.V. PRV–blind–VBZ–NMLZ–FUT
to adali kuʃi l–a=t₇³a
DEM₃F sun eye 3M₃–E.V.=RPRT
‘“Look how I will obliterate the sun,” he said, it is said.’

140. “Khidohan tha to?
k₇idohâⁿ=t₇³a to
it.is.true=RPRT DEM₃F
‘“This be true?”’

141. “Khidwaniabo to?
k₇idwaniabo to
really.true DEM₃F
‘Is this really true?”’

142. “Sarekhanada,” tha tha.
sa–re–k₃a=da t₇³–a=t₇³a
good–REST1–sure=DIRECT 3F₃–E.V.=RPRT
‘That’s just great,” she said, it is said.’

143. Lokoywa.
lo–koywa
3M₃–go.home,REFL
‘He went home.’

144. Torabo kasakabo diaro lirabo andathe.
to–ra–bo kasakabo d'arọ li–ra–bo ände=t₇³e
DEM₃F–MED–CNTR day maybe DEM₃:MED–CNTR arrive=VEN
‘Some other day the other man comes.’

t₇‘oyo–t₇³ 1–a=t₇³ ya–ra–ka=bo
‘“Grandma,” he says, it is said, “are you there?”’
146. “Yaka we.
    ya–ka=we
LOC.DEM–PFV=1PL
‘‘We’re here.’’

147. “Bokodwathe”.
    bo–kodwa=ṭe
2SG–enter.containment.REFL=VEN
‘‘Come in.’’

    bi:–rōŋ̣ bitʃi–ro–tʃi
dei l–a=ṭa
2SG=only LOC.WHT–ATL–SBJ:REL:M 1SG 3M_A=E.V=RPRT
‘‘I came to you only,’’ he says.’

149. “Deibwakhanka to kabuya khonâya.”
    d–eibwa–ḳāŋ̣–ka
to kabiya ḳon–a:ya
1SG_A=finish.REFL–DIM–PFV DEM/F field about–SRC:TL
‘‘I am finished with the field.’’

150. “Khidohan?” tha tha lumun.
    ḳi:doḥāṇ ṭb–a=ṭa
li–mīŋ̣
it.is.true 3F_A=E.V=RPRT 3M_A=DAT
‘‘Is it true?’’ she says to him, it is said.’

151. “Kia kasakabo dabitatibo,” la.
    kia kasakabo da–bita–ṭi–bo
DSC day 1SG_A=burn–DES–PRG 3M_A=E.V
‘‘On this day, I want to burn it,’’ he said.’

152. “Oh! Khidohan?
    oh ḳi:doḥāṇ
oh it.is.true
‘‘Oh! Is it true?’’

    bi–bīt/–m
ten
2SG_A–burn–NMLZ after SPEC
    da–diḳ–ha=ṭe
to bo–kobāŋ̣
kida
1SG_A–see–FUT=VEN DEM:F 2SG_A=field.POSS too
    ṭb–a=ṭa
li–mīŋ̣
3F_A=E.V=RPRT 3M_A=DAT
‘‘After you burn, I will come to see your field too,’’ she said to him, it is said.’
29

154. “Aha, khidwan, ki dia wa khan dian.”
aha kʰːdwaː–ŋ ki dʰːa w–a=kʰːn dʰː–ŋ
aha true–NMLZ SPEC SMLR 1PL_A–E.V=DIM talk–NMLZ
‘Aha, that’s true, that’s what we agreed upon.’

155. Li kho kabena, lushifodåka, lôsa.
li=kʰ o ka–bena 1–ʃifodaː–ka l–o:sa
DEM:M=NEG ATR–after 3M_A–turn.INTRV–PFV 3M_A–go
‘Not long after, he turned around and went away.’

156. To kasakabobe anda.
to kasakabo–be ãnda
DEM: F day–COL arrive
‘The days have arrived.’

157. To thoyothe dukha
to tʰoʃ–tʰo dikʰa
DEM:F old–SBL.REL:F see
‘The old woman is looking.’

158. To tano to lirabo, li ôsosadali môthiâboro mali ôsun, kasakoda andun kiba, li to bitiha tanoho, la tha.
mo:tjːaː–bo–ro m–a–li o:sǐ–ŋ kasakoda ñndi–ŋ kiba
li to bitːi–ha tano–ho 1–a=tʰːa
DEM:M DEM:F burn–FUT now–ABST.NMZ 3M_A–E.V=RPRT
‘Now the other one, the one that goes every day and has to go early in the morning, coming back at night again, he will burn today, he said.’

159. To kasakabo dukhako tha, dukhunbia tha awadoli khona tha.
to kasakabo dikʰːaː–ko tʰː–a
DEM:F day see–CONT 3F_A–E.V
dikʰː–m–bia=tʰː awaduli kʰːona=tʰːa
see–NMLZ–TRNSF=RPRT wind about=RPRT
‘That day she keeps looking out, finally noticing the wind.’

160. Kharemerekhan tha ayomunro.
kʰːareme–re–kʰːn tʰː–a ayo–mǐn–ro
black–REST1–DIM 3F_A–E.V high–LOC.WHR–ATL
‘The sky is black.’
161. Alika tha korhedin.
   alika  tʰ-a koře-dï-ŋ
   how  3=E.V red–VBZ–NMLZ
   ‘What a smoke.’

162. Ah, budukhun khan alika than.
   ah  bi–dï-ŋ=ŋ kʰaŋ
   alika  tʰ–a–ŋ
   ah  2SGA–see=NMLZ=DIM how  3FA=E.V–NMLZ
   ‘Ah, if you could see how it was.’

163. Mishidwarokhan tha to ikihi ayomunro.
   miʃi–dwa–ro kʰ an tʰ–a to iki–hi ayo–mĩn–ro
   ‘Precisely straight went the fire into the sky.’

164. Korhedin tha, thiarekhanin bitono.
   ‘The smoke came, it is burning beautifully.’

   osaːbone sa  joko–tʰ=ŋ=ŋ to kabiya bitwa–bo
   great good small–SUBJ.REL:F=NEG DEM:F field burn.REFL–PRG
   tʰ–a=tʰ a
   3FA=E.V=RPRT
   ‘Great! Good! It is a big field that is burning,” she said, it is said.’

166. Shokhan tha.
   jokʰaŋ tʰ–a
   briefly 3FA=E.V
   ‘Little later’

   ha ma alika  tʰ–a=kʰana  tʰ–a=tʰ a
   ha but how 3FA=E.V=sure 3FA=E.V=RPRT
   ‘Ha! What is happening,” she said, it is said.

168. “Shokwaboro thora to...
   jok(o)–wabo–ro tʰ–o–ra to
   little–SPRL–REST2 3FA=E.V–UNEXPC DEM:F
   ‘It is surprisingly small this…’
169. “Alika naka?”
ali ka n–a–ka
how 3PL=E.V-PFV
‘What have they done?’

170. Môdâko tha tha thonwa.
mo:da–ko tʰ=a=tʰa tʰon–wa
silent–CONT 3F=E.V=RPRT 3F.DAT–REFL
‘She stood silent, it is said.’

171. “Kia kho dadiâkoma.
kia=k h o da–d jaː–koma
DSC=NEG 1SG=talk–ABL2
‘This I cannot judge.’

172. “Dadukhun bena foshi ki deitha, ma dadukhun,”
da–dikʰi–m bena foji ki d–eitʰa
1SG=see–NMLZ after first SPEC 1SG=know
ma da–dikʰi–ŋ tʰ–a=tʰa
but 1SG=see–NMLZ 3F=E.V=RPRT
‘After I see it, I will know, but having seen it,” she said, it is said.’

173. So lirabo kasakabo anda.
so li–ra–bo kasakabo ânda
so DEM=M–MED–CNTR day arrive
‘So, the day of the second man arrived.’

ah li=tʰa=da
ah DEM=M=RPRT=DIRECT
‘Ah, he is as usual.’

175. Sa man kho thankha tha to adali theren kwanda, lira kalemeta hibin.
sa m–a–ŋ=ka kʰ o tʰ–a–ŋ–kʰ a=tʰa to adali
tʰerë–ŋ kwâ=a=da li–ra kaleme–ta hib–ŋ
‘It is not the time yet for the sun to be warm, it is said, he already sets (the field) alight.’

176. Korhedin tha bären.
koɾe–dʰi–ŋ tʰ–a ba:ɾëŋ
red–VBZ–NMLZ 3FA=E.V suddenly
‘The smoke came suddenly.’
177. Dudududâkwan, dududâkwan, iki ayondi, wa tatan ani… thunukun to iki mothosaboka ŋudun to awadoli.

Dududâkwan, dududâkwan, iki ayondi, wa tatan ani… thunukun to iki mothosaboka ŋudun to awadoli.

178. Ah! ki diarekhanin.

Ah! ki diarekhanin.

179. Thutheretwâboka to adali.

Thutheretwâboka to adali.

180. Kia thôsâboka nukun.

Kia thôsâboka nukun.

181. Ah, to thoyotho dukha.

Ah, to thoyotho dukha.

182. “Amaron khana?”

“Amaron khana?”

183. Konoko kho to bitwanabothe,” tha tha.

Konoko kho to bitwanabothe,” tha tha.
184. Mawadilika to...

ma–wad’li–ka to
PRV–able–PFV DEM:F

‘She cannot....’

185. Alika na dian, thōsāma kho dukhun.

alika n–a dťâ–ŋ t’ô–o:sa–:–ma=kô dik’h–ŋ
how 3PL_A=E.V talk–NMLZ 3F_A=go–ABIL=NEG see–NMLZ

‘As they said, she cannot go looking.

186. Eh! Bakulamano thudukha thothokodon to ikihi.

eh bakilamâ–n–ro t’i– dik’â t’ô–t’okodô–ŋ
eh afternoon–LOC.WHR–ATL 3F_A=see 3F_A–descend–NMLZ
to iki–hi
DEM:F fire–UNPOSS

‘Eh! Towards the afternoon, she sees the fire descending.’

187. ‘Kha!’ tha tha thonwa.

k’hâ t’h–a=t’hâ t’hôn–wa
what 3F_A=E.V=RPRT 3F.DAT–REFL

‘What!” she said to herself, it is said.

188. Ma li ra? tha wadili kia kho khonanka, ôsa yoyodâkwan kiba.

ma li–ra=t’a wad’li kia=k’ô k’onâŋ–ka
but DEM:M–MED=RPRT man DSC=NEG about–PFV

ô:sa yoyoda–:kwâ–ŋ kiba
go hanging–CONT–NMLZ again

‘But the man is not worried about that, he went hanging (in a hammock) again.’

189. To kasakabo anda

to kasakabo ânda
DEM:F day arrive

‘The day arrived.’

190. So, to thoyo tho marhita thukashiriwa, thōsua dukhun alika than, alika nan to nakoban thorhodon, alika than bitonon.

so to t’oyo–t’ô marîta t’i–kaﬁri–wa
so DEM:F old–SBJ.REL:F make 3F_A–cassiri–REFL

3F_A=go–FUT see–NMLZ how 3F_A=E.V–NMLZ
alika n–â–ŋ to na–kobân t’ôroðô–ŋ
how 3PL_A=E.V–NMLZ DEM:F 3PL_A–field.POSS open–NMLZ
alika ŋ̱-ā-m bito-nwāŋ
how 3F̱A.E.V=NMLZ burn.REFL=NMLZ.REFL
‘So the old woman makes cassava beer, she will go see how they are, how they cut open their fields, how they are burned.’

sō da-sā ŋ̱-ā-t ŋ̱-e
sō 1SG̱A-child 3F̱A=E.V=RPRT 1PḺA=finish=VEN
‘So, my child,” she said, “we are finished.”’

192. “Wōsuha dukhunba to bokoban.
w–o:sī–ha dik-tī–m–ba to bo–kobâŋ
1PḺA=go–FUT see–NMLZ–AND DEM:F 2SG̱A–field.POSS
‘We are going to see your field.’

ālikām–bo=rema bo–kobap–i–ha
who–EXACTLY=only 2SG̱A–field.POSS=EP–FUT
‘Whose exactly field will be yours.’

194. “Ki̱a kho deitha ma wadkhubathe,” na tha.
ki=ka o d–eit ā ma wa–dik-tī–ba=tē
DSC=NEG 1SG̱A=know but 1PḺA=see–AND=VEN
n–ā=tē
3PḺA=E.V=RPRT
‘That I don’t know but we’ll go see (and come back),” they said, it is said.’

195. So, nōsa
sō n–ō:sā
sō 3PḺA=go
‘So, they went.’

196. Na wadilinon andathe.
da wadīli–nōŋ ānda=tē
dEM:PL man–PL arrive=VEN
‘The men arrived.’

197. Bīthirekha tha nōsun, nōsa, anda.
bīṯi=re–kā=tē n–ō:sī–ŋ n–ō:sā ānda
four–REST1–SIM=RPRT 3PḺA–go–NMLZ 3PḺA–go arrive
‘They went all four, they went, arrived.’
198. “Yâdi ki to dabunaha,” la tha.

 ya:–d'i ki to da–binaha 1–a=t'h
 LOC:DEM:PRX–VIA SPEC DEM:F 1SGA–path 3MAÆ=E.V=RPRT
 ‘Here, this is my path,” he said.’

199. Lôsa li wadili nabora to, to thoyo theinaboka ken li ìnaboka to lirabwa liwa to koban nadukhana kwan.
l–o:sa li wad'ili na–bora
3MAÆ=go DEM:M man 3PLÆ–before
to t'h–oyo t'h–eimabo–ka
DEM:F 3FAÆ=mother 3FAÆ=behind–PFV
k'êŋ li i:nabo–ka to li–ra–bwa li–wa to
kobãŋ na–dík'h–a–na kwâŋ
field.POSS 3PLÆ=arrive–EXPC still
‘He, the man, went before them, the old woman is behind her and behind him,
the other one, the one whose field they will still see of course.’

n–ändi–m–bia=t'ha
3PLÆ=arrive–NMLZ–TRANSF=RPRT 3MAÆ=field.POSS–EP–LOC.WHR
lo–kobap–i–ŋ
‘Finally they arrive at his field.’

201. Tha tha: “San bitono ma shokora tha lokoban.”
t'h–a=t'h sâ–m bito–nwâŋ
3FAÆ=E.V=RPRT good–NMLZ burn.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
ma fôko–ra=t'h lo–kobâŋ
but little–UNEXPC=RPRT 3MAÆ=field.POSS
‘She says: “It is well burned but his field is surprisingly small.”’

bi–díınaba–ya da–kobâŋ anak'i–bo=rêŋ
2SGAÆ=stand–VERI 1SGAÆ=field.POSS middle–EXACTLY=only
1–a=t'h
3MAÆ=E.V=RPRT
‘Stand right in the middle of my field to check,” he said, it is said.’

203. Ludinaba, thudukha to hiyaro lubithiro, li wadili.
li–díínaba t'i–dík'h a to hiyaro
3MAÆ=stand 3FAÆ=see DEM:F woman
li–bitʃi–ro li wadiliki
3MA–LOC.WHT–ATL DEM:M man
‘He stands, she looks at him, the man.’

204. “Li khan li bokoban,” tha tha.
li=kaŋ li bo–kobãŋ tʰ–anda
3M=DIM DEM:M 2SGA–field.POSS 3F̃A–E,V=RPRT
‘Is this your cute little field,” she said, it is said?”

205. “Dakoban tora!”
da–kobãŋ to–ra
1SGA–field.POSS DEM:F–MED
‘This is my field!’

206. “Buda wakhayan kho thubitonon.”
bida wakʰayɑ̃–ŋtʰi–bito–nwaŋ
2SGA,look bad–NMLZ=NEG 3F̃A–burn.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
‘Look how well it is burned.’

207. “Sêkere,” thanbia tha.
seːkje–rɛtʰã–m=ta
disgusting–REST 3F̃A–E,V–NMLZ–TRNSF=RPRT
‘Disgusting!” she concluded, it is said.’

208. “[Bu] dankha balutun barhin bokoban loko, deiroko ebeketâma to barhin bokoban,” tha tha.
d–aŋ–kʰa baliti–m baŋi–m bo–kobâŋ loko

d–eiroko ebekɛtaː–ma to baŋi–m bo–kobâŋ

tʰ–anda
3F̃A–E,V=RPRT
‘If I sat in your field, however, my buttocks could fill your field,” she said.’

209. Môdako la tha.
mo daːko l–anda
silent–CONT 3MA–E,V=RPRT
‘He stood silent, it is said.’

da–d’aː–ka=kʰo kваŋ
1SGA–talk–PFV=NEG still
‘I am not going to judge yet.’
211. Dasa, mera bathe.
   da−sa   mera   b−a=tʰe
   1SG−child   quickly   2SG=E.V=VEN
   ‘Child, come quickly.’

212. Wadukhubathe lirabo koban.”
   wa−dikʰi−ba=tʰe   li−ra−bo   kobãŋ
   1PL=see−AND=VEN   DEM:M−MED−CNTR   field.POSS
   ‘We are going to see the field of the other man.’

213. Shifodâka, kaima loko tha thushifodâka.
   shiːfodaː−ka   kaima   loko=tʰa   li−ʃiːfodaː−ka
   turn.INTRV−PFV   anger   inside=RPRT   3F−turn.INTRV−PFV
   ‘Turned around, in anger she turned around.’

214. Nanda, lirabo tha landun.
   n−ãnda   li−ra−bo=tʰa
   3PL=arrive   DEM:M−MED−CNTR=RPRT   3M=arrive−NMLZ
   ‘They arrived, the other one arrived, it is said.’

215. ‘Yâdi ki to dakoban, thoyotho,” la tha.
   ya−dîtʰi   ki   to   da−kobãŋ   tʰøo−tʰo
   LOC.DEM−VIA   SPEC   DEM:F   1SG−field.POSS   old−RL:F
   1−a=tʰa
   3M=E.V=RPRT
   3F−E=RPRT
   ‘Here is my field, old woman,” he said, it is said.’

216. Luwaboroko bitwarekhan ma andun lokobaniro want shokoda kho to iki nukun, mowakawan.
   li−waboroko   bitwa−re−kʰãŋ   m−a   ândi−ŋ
   3M=road   burn.REFL−RESTL−DIM   EXPL=E.V   arrive−NMLZ
   lo−kobãŋ−i−n−ro
   3M−field.POSS−EP−LOC.WHR−ATL
   wãnt   foko=dɑ=kʰo   to   iki   niki−ŋ   mowka−kwã−ŋ
   because   little=DIRECT=NEG   DEM:F   iki−take−NMLZ   empty−CONT−NMLZ
   ‘His road is all well burned coming to his field because it was not a small fire that consumed it (lit. took), all open!

217. “Oh! Adiâke than to firon.”
   oh   aɗa−kʰ/e   tʰ−a   tʰi−fîroŋ−ŋ
   oh   a.lot−INTSV   3F=E.V   3F−big−POSS
   ‘Oh! It is extremely big.’
218. To thoyotho bokwabo thusa mun kida.

The old woman is worrying about her child.

219. “Wadilikomakhana to diantho firotho kabuya thubununha dasa tha?”

Will she be able to plant such a big field, my child?

220. “Thoyotho, to to dakoban.

Grandma, this is my field.

221. Washathe tā anakunro, washathe,” la tha, “budukhunti.

Let’s go far to the middle, let’s go, “he said, “you wanted to see.

222. Yon wâya budukha san to dakoban.”

From there you see my field well.

223. Ah! To san bitonon harhan to adowkilibe.

Ah! Everything, the bushes, all is well burned.

224. Sakhaniman, san bitonwan.

Everything, well burned.”
225. Thanda, dukhâko tha, to thoyotho libithiro.

\[ t^b-\text{anda} \quad dik^b-\text{a}-\text{ko} \quad t^b-\text{a} \]

3\text{F}_A-\text{arrive} \quad \text{see-CONT} \quad 3\text{F}_A-\text{E.V}

to \quad t^t-\text{o-oyo} \quad \text{li-} \quad \text{bitjî-ro}

DEM:F \quad \text{old-SBI,REL:F} \quad 3\text{M}_A-\text{LOC,WHT-ATL}

'She came, she stares the old woman, at him.'

226. ‘Bî kho li yoyodâkwa manoma, môtianoma.

\[ bi=k^b'o \quad \text{li} \quad \text{yoyoda}=-\text{kwa} \quad m-\text{a-noma} \quad \text{mo.tjâ-noma} \]

2\text{SG}=\text{EMPH} \quad \text{DEM:M} \quad \text{hanging-CONT} \quad \text{EXPL-=E.V-EACH} \quad \text{morning=EACH}

‘You are the one who swings all the time, every morning.’

227. ‘Bî kho li yoyodâkwa mana, adali theren bora bandakikaba.”

\[ bi=k^b'o \quad \text{li} \quad \text{yoyoda}=-\text{kwa} \quad m-\text{a-na} \]

2\text{SG}=\text{EMPH} \quad \text{DEM:M} \quad \text{hanging-CONT} \quad \text{EXPL-=E.V-ADPC}

\[ \text{adali} \quad t^r-\text{erê=m} \quad \text{bora} \quad b-\text{ända-ki-ka-ba} \]

\[ \text{sun} \quad \text{hot-NMLZ} \quad \text{before} \quad 2\text{SG}_A-\text{arrive-SPEC-PFV-ADO} \]

‘You are of course the one always swinging (in a hammock) and before the
sun is hot you come back home again.’

228. ‘Dei kho.’

dei=k^b'o

1\text{SG}=\text{EMPH}

‘That’s me.’

229. ‘Bî koban khidwan to,” tha tha.

\[ bi: \quad \text{kobâŋ} \quad k^b-\text{idwâ-n} \quad \text{to} \quad t^b-\text{a}=t^b-a \]

2\text{SG} \quad \text{field.POSS} \quad \text{true-NMLZ} \quad \text{DEM:F} \quad 3\text{F}_A-\text{E.V}=\text{RPRT}

‘Is it really your field?’ she said, it is said.’

230. ‘Dakoban tora.”

da-\text{kobân} \quad \text{to-ra}

1\text{SG}_A-\text{field.POSS} \quad \text{DEM:F-MED}

‘That is my field.’

231. ‘Budukha, danuka to kashiri to kâna loko,” tha tha.

\[ bi-dik^b'a \quad \text{da-nika} \quad \text{to kafa}ri \quad \text{to ka-} \quad \text{na loko} \quad t^b-\text{a}=t^b-a \]

2\text{SG}_A-\text{see} \quad 1\text{SG}_A-\text{take} \quad \text{DEM:F} \quad \text{cassiri} \quad \text{DEM:F} \quad \text{pot inside} \quad 3\text{F}_A-\text{E.V}=\text{RPRT}

‘Look, I took the cassava bear in this pot,’ she said.

232. ‘Watha kho kashiri shoko diaro lirabo koban loko, want dadukhatika alikan
khidwaniabo kabuya of sasabon of alikan diaro firosabon.

\[ wa=t^b-\text{a}=k^b'o \quad \text{ka}frĩ \quad \text{foko} \quad \text{d'aro} \quad \text{li-ra-bo} \quad \text{kobâŋ} \quad \text{loko} \]

1\text{PL}_A-\text{drink=NEG} \quad \text{cassiri} \quad \text{little} \quad \text{maybe} \quad \text{DEM:M-MED-CNTR} \quad \text{field.POSS} \quad \text{inside}
wànt da– dik⁵h– ti– ka alikāŋ k⁴idwapiabo kabiya
because ¹SGA– see– DES– PFV who really true field
of sa– sabô– ƞ of alikān d'aro firo– sabô– ƞ
or good– CMPR– NMLZ or who maybe big– CMPR– NMLZ
‘We did not drink a drop of cassiri in the field of the other man, because I
wanted to see whose field is really truly better or whose is bigger.’

li ki d– eit⁵a dik⁵h– i– ma da– sa k⁴ona
DEM: M SPEC ¹SGA– know see– NMLZ– EP– ABIL1 ¹SGA– child about
‘He who is like that, I know, can take care of my child.’”

k¹idohāŋ l– a=t⁴a
it is true ³MA– RPRT
‘Is that true?’ he said, it is said’.

235. Ma lîthin doma than to lumukuthuhada diadiadun, da li kho khona san
thandun.
ma l– i=tʃi– n doma t⁴– å– n
but ³MA– know – NMLZ reason ³FA– E. V. – NMLZ
to li– miki⁵tʰ– ha=da d⁴– a=d⁴– dî– n
DEM: F ⁶MA– mother in law FUT = DIRCT ITR = speak VIB – NMLZ
da li=k⁴o k⁴ona så– n t⁴– ândî– n
then DEM: M = NEG about good – NMLZ ³FA– arrive – NMLZ
‘But because he knew she, the one who would be his mother in law, gossiped, he
did not find it good.’

to– ra d⁴– å– n– tʃi w– a d⁴– a=d⁴– dî– ƞ
alive– SBJ. REL. M– PL about ³MA– E. V. = RPRT ³MA– DAT – RELFL
‘That is how she talks about people,” he said to himself, it is said.’

237. “Lirabo barhika diaro môthiabo ma ôsun.
‘Even though the other one goes very early in the morning.’
238. “Ma ki dianthi lira.
ma ki d'ẫ-n-tʃi li-ra
but SPEC SMLR--NMLZ--SBJ,REL:M DEM:M--MED
‘But this is how he is.’

dei=kʰo li-ma打交道 m-a ma dei aba=ka ma
1SG=NEG 3M=SEMBLE EXPL--E.V but 1SG one--PFV but

dei wad'ili kida
1SG able too

dei l-a=tʰa lôn=wa
1SG 3M=E.V=RPRT 3M,DAT--REFL
‘I’m not like him, I’m different, but I’m able too,” he said to himself, it is said.’

240. “Buda to busawa wakhaitho kho hiyaro khidwan, li dukhushama khona kida to,
ma bi nayonatho...,” la tha.
bida to b=isa=wa
2SGA,look DEM:F 2SGA--child--REFL

wakʰa=i-tʰo=kʰo hiyaro kʰidwâ=ŋ
bad--VERI--SBJ,REL:F=NEG woman true--NMLZ

li dikʰ=i-fa=ma kʰona kida to
DEM:M see--OBJ,REL--ABIL about too DEM:F

ma bi: na-yonatʰo l-a=tʰa
but 2SG 3PL=shared.mother 3M=E.V=RPRT
‘ ‘Look, your child, a truly beautiful woman, of whom he can take care too, but you, our mother,’” he said, it is said...’

241. “So, wathuha to kashiri,” tha tha to hiyaro.
so wa=tʰi=ha to kaʃiri tʰ=a=tʰa to hiyaro
so 1PL=drink--FUT DEM:F cassiri 3F=E.V=RPRT DEM:F woman
‘ ‘So, let’s drink cassava beer,” the woman said, it is said.’

242. Ma lira koborokwatwabo lonwa alika lanha.
ma li=ra koborokwatwa:--bo lôn=wa
but DEM:M--MED think--PRG 3M,DAT--REFL

alika l̥=ŋ=ha
how 3M=E.V--NMLZ--FUT
‘But he is thinking in himself what he shall do.’
243. “Toch to diantho kakuthi of to diantho kakutho, kakuhu dadukhatika sabo,” la tha.

   toch to djâ–n–t’ô kaki–tʃi

   of to djâ–n–t’ô kaki–t’ô
   or DEM:F SMLR–NMLZ–SBJ.REL:F alive–SBJ.REL:F

kaki–hi da–díkʰa–t’hí–ka=sabo 1–a=t’hà
alive–ABST,NMLZ 1SG,–see–DES–PFV=CMPR 3MA–E.V=RPRT

‘“However, do I want to see more (of) this kind of person or this kind of woman, life,” he said, it is said.’

244. “Danshika to hiyaro, busa,” la tha lonwa.

d–ánʃí–ka to hiyaro b–isa l–a=t’hà lòn–wa
1SG,–love–PFV DEM:F woman 2SG,–child 3MA–E.V=RPRT 3M.DAT–REFL

‘‘I love the woman, your child, he said to himself, it is said.’


d–ánʃí–ka bi: da–mikit’hí–wa kiba
1SG,–love–PFV 2SG 1SG,–mother.in.law–REFL too

‘‘I love you too, my mother—in—law.’


li–ra–bo li wadílí k–ánʃí–sa to b–isa

li=wabok’en d–ánʃí–ka kiba
DEM:M=as.well 1SG,–love–PFV too

‘‘The other one, that man loves your child, him too I love.’


k’en dei m–eiʃí–ka of h–ánʃí–n=da=de
and 1SG PRV–know–PFV if 2PL,A–love–NMLZ=DIRECT=1SG

ma wa–dík’hí–ha=da=no 1–a=t’hà
but 1PL,A–see–FUT=DIRECT=3FR 3MA–E.V=RPRT

‘‘And I don’t know if you love me but we will see it,” he said, it is said’.

248. Adia than tha nukun to i’dà, wa nathanaka kashiri uru loko, nabokwabon, abarobarò tha tha sunkun kashiri namun.

a’d’a t’h–n=t’hà nikí–n to i:da wa
once 3FR,E.V–NMLZ=RPRT take–NMLZ DEM:F calabash because

na–t’hà–na–ha kafiri iri loko n–abokwabôn
3P–drink–EXPC–FUT cassiri even inside 3PL,A–COM.together
'Once she took the calabash, because they of course are going to drink cassava beer equally, all together, one by one she pours cassava beer for them.'

249. Thunukun, thododon to kâna khona totodonima to îda lokonroda, lu-thirikidanbia to thyotho hiyaro ken [thonakodanona] thutikidinbia tha to kâna.

tîi-nikî-n tî-odo–nwân to ka:na kâona
3F,–take–NMLZ 3F,–bend.REFL–NMLZ.REFL DEM:F vessel about

totodo–n–i–ma to i:da lokô–n–ro=da

tîrikidâ–m–bia to tî’oyo–tî’o hiyaro k’ên
push–NMLZ–TRANSF DEM:F old–SUBJ.REFL:F woman and

tî–t’ikidî–m–bia=tî’a to ka:na
3F,–fall–NMLZ–TRANSF=RPRT DEM:F vessel

‘Taking (the calabash), bending herself over the bucket to be able to pour (the cassiri) into the calabash, (he) finally pushed the old woman, and in the end the pot fell.’

250. Tikida kiba to îda, tikida famodonon.

tîkida kiba to i:da tîkida famodo–nwân
fall too DEM:F calabash fall turn.upside.down.REFL–NMLZ.REFL

‘The calabash fell, fell turning upside.down.’

251. Lirabo wadili dukhâko ma alika mothian to.

li–ra–bo wadîli dik:îa–ko m–a
DEM:M–MED–CNTR man see–CONT EXPL–E.V

alika m–o–tî:–n to
how EXPL–E.V–APRX–NMLZ DEM:F

‘The other man stares at what kind of thing this is.’

252. ‘Amaron fakutushaboda wei,’’ la tha.

ama–rôn fakiti–ja–bo=da wei l–a=tî’a
what–only pass–OBJ.REL–PRG=DIRCT 1PL 3MA–E.V=RPRT

‘What on earth is happening to us,’’ he said, it is said’.

253. To hiyaro, to thusa dukha.

to hiyaro to tî–isa dik:îa
DEM:F woman DEM:F 3FA–child see

‘The woman, the child, looks.’
254. “Alikanthiboda hi!”
alika–tʃâ–n–tʃl–bo=da hî:
‘What kind of people are you!’

255. Ludinabunbia tha.
lî–dînabi–m–bia=tâ
3M–stand.up–NMLZ–TRNSF=RPRT
‘He stood up.’

256. “Môdako ba!”
mo:da–ko b–a
still–CONT 2SG–E.V
‘Be still!’

257. ‘Badakhota boyowa ama than dian bokhonan, ama than lirabo khona dian, ama than dei khona dian.
b–adâkota b–oyo–wa
2SG–ask 2SG–mother–REFL
ama tê–a–n dî–m bo=kâonâŋ what 3F–E.V–NMLZ talk–NMLZ 2SG–about
ama tê–a–n dei kâona dî–a–ŋ what 3F–E.V–NMLZ 1SG about talk–NMLZ
‘Ask your mother what she said about you, what she said about the other man, what she said about me.’

258. “Ken kia diako wathuhathe to kashiri.
kêŋ kia dâko wa–tî–ha–tê to kafiri and DSC top 1PL–drink–FUT=VEN DEM:F cassiri
‘And to that we came to drink cassava beer.’

der=ko tâ–ma to kafiri l–a=tâ
1SG=SEG drink–ABIL.1 DEM:F cassiri 3M–E.V=RPRT
‘I cannot drink the cassava beer,” he said.’

260. To thothodwa to kashiri, thothodonon, thothodonon
to tê–t’odwa to kafiri tê–t’odo–nwaŋ
DEM:F 3F–throb.REFL DEM:F cassiri 3F–throb.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
3F–throb.REFL–NMLZ.REFL
‘The cassava beer throbs, throbbing, throbbing.’

261. Ma to kia tatan doma luthirikidanda no, kia kho wadili....

   ma to kia tatâ–n doma li–tjirikidâ–n=da=no
   but DEM:F DSC strong–NMLZ reason 3M_X–push–NMLZ=DIRCT=3F_B

   kia=k^h_o    wad^i_li
   DSC=NEG able

   ‘Because he pushed her hard, she could not...’

262. Karatorekhan tha tikidin lokoban loko.

   karato–re-k^b_an  t^h—a  t'ikid–ŋ  lo–kobâŋ  loko
   bury–REST1–DEM  3F_A–E.V fall–NMLZ  3M_A–field.POSS inside

   ‘She fell and is stuck in his field.’

263. Thothodwathe kashiri.

   t^h_o–t'odwa=t^e   ka^ʃiri
   3F_A–throb.REFL=VEN   cassiri

   ‘The cassava beer throbs.’

264. Ki tha to fatunbo to kashiri, fatunda no.

   ki  t^h—a  to  faṭī–m–bo
   SPEC 3F_A–E.V DEM:F stream–NMLZ–PRG

   to  kaʃiri  faṭī–n=da=no
   DEM:F cassiri   stream–NMLZ=DIRCT=3F_B

   ‘The cassava beer is streaming like this, streaming.’

265. Thutundwabo to lokoban want shokona kho to lokoban.

   t'i–t'indwa–bo  to  lo–kobâŋ
   3F_A–submerge.REFL–PRG DEM:F 3M_A–field.POSS

   wânt  joko–na=k^h_o  to  lo–kobâŋ
   because small–EXPC=NEG DEM:F 3M_A–field.POSS

   ‘His field stands under water, because it is of course not a small field.

266. Kia lokoda to kashirida oniabobiakathe.

   kia  loko=da  to  kaʃiri=da  oniabo–bia–ka=t^h_e
   DSC inside=DIRCT DEM:F cassiri=DIRCT water–TRANSF–PFV=VEN

   ‘In the meantime the cassava beer finally became water.’

267. Thumudathe thudiakhodi.

   t'i–mida=t^h_e  t'i–d'ak^h_o–d'i
   3F_A–ascend=VEN  3F_A–top–VIA

   ‘It ascends the field.’
46

268. So ludukha to hiyaro lumukuthbiathoma, faranbo to iniabo rako.
so li-dik’a to hiyaro li-mikit’i-bia-t’o-ma
so 3MÆ–see DEM:F woman 3MÆ–mother.in.law–TRNSF–SBJ.RELF–ABIL1
faræ–m–bo to iniabo rako
fight–NMLZ–PRG DEM:F water inside[liquid]
‘So, he sees the woman who could have become his mother-in-law in the end, fighting in the water.’

dei=k’o dik’a-t’i–ka o:da–ha l–a=t’b
1SG=NEG see–DES–PFV die–ABST,NMLZ 3MÆ–E.V=RPRT
‘I don’t want to see death,’ he said, it is said.’

270. “Tano hoda theibwa to mathali, theibwa to diahaha,” la tha.
tano–ho=da t’b–eibwa to mat’ali
now–ABST,NMLZ=DIREC 3FÆ–finish,REFL DEM:F thing
f’b–eibwa to d’a:–ha l–a=t’b
3FÆ–finish,REFL DEM:F talk–ABST,NMLZ 3MÆ=RPRT
‘Today the thing is finished, the story is finished,’ he said, it is said’.

271. “Bi damukuthuthokoma bi ma tano kho dadukhatika deithatika...
damukhuthubia kho,” la tha.
bi: da–mikit’i–t’o–koma=bi
2SG 1SGÆ–mother.in.law–SBJ.RELF–ABIL2=HOD
ma tano=k’o da-dik’a-t’i–ka
but now=NEG 1SGÆ–see–DES–PFV
f’-eit’a–t’i–ka da-mikit’i–bia=k’o l–a=t’b
1SGÆ–know–DES–PFV 1SGÆ–mother.in.law–TRNSF=NEG 3MÆ=RPRT
‘You, who could have been my mother-in-law today, now I don’t want to see, I don’t want to know (you) as my mother-in-law,’ he said, it is said.’

tano wa:ya to bi=k’o dik’a–ma da–kobān=sabo
today SRC:TL DEM:F 2SG=NEG see–ABIL1 1SGÆ–field.POSS=CMPR
‘From now you cannot take care of my field anymore.’”

273. Bi kho andâma to dakoban diakonro sabo.
bî=k’o ânda–ma to da–kobân d’a:–k’–ro=sabo
2SG=NEG arrive–ABIL1 DEM:F 1SGÆ–field.POSS top–LOC,WHR–ATL=CMPR
‘You cannot come to my field anymore.’
274. Damikoda bi.
   da–mikoda bi:
   1SGA–send 2SG
   ‘I send you away.’

275. To thoyothin ithaha loko damikodohara bo.
   to t'oyo–t'i–nôŋ i=t'ha–ha loko
   DEM:F old–SBJ.REL:M–PL know–ABST.NMLZ inside
   da–mikodo–ha–ra=bo
   1SGA–send–FUT–UNEXPC=2SGB
   ‘In the knowledge of the old people, I will send you away.’

   bi: tano–ho bi: to=da
   2SG now–ABST.NMLZ 2SG DEM:F=DIRCT
   yabiri–bia da–fika=bo 1–a=t'â
   bird.sp–TRNSF 1SGA–give=2SGB 3MA=E.V=RPRT
   ‘You today, you are…I make you a scaled pigeon,’ he said, it is said.’

277. “Yaburhu,” lan tha thumun, rubutwa to oniabo rako wâya morodon ayomunro.
   yabiri 1–a=n=t'â
   bird.sp 3MA=E.V–NMLZ=RPRT 3FA=DAT
   rbitwa to oniabo rako wa:ya
   pull.REFL DEM:F water inside[liquid] SRC:TL
   morodon–ŋ ayo–mîŋ–ro
   fly–NMLZ high–LOC.WHR–ATL
   ‘‘Scaled pigeon,” he said to her, it is said, and (she) pulled herself out of the water, flying towards the sky.’

278. Alonro thôsun, kia kho leitha.
   alô–n–ro tî–o–sî–ŋ kia=k'ho 1–i=t'â
   where–LOC.WHR–ATL 3FA–go=NMLZ DSC=NEG 3MA–know
   ‘Where she went, that he doesn’t know.’

279. Ludukha kho theinabo kiba.
   li–dikb̊a=k'ho t'ba–cinabo kiba
   3MA–see=NEG 3FA–behind too
   ‘He didn’t follow her either.’

280. Toda ludukha farafaradunbo kiba.
   to=da li–dikb̊a fara–fara–dî–m–bo kiba
   DEM:F=DIRCT 3MA–see ITR–fight–VBZ–NMLZ–PRG too
   ‘He saw this one fighting and fighting too.’
281. “Danshikabo.”

d–ánfi–ka=bo
1SG.A–love–PFV=2SGB
‘I love you.’

282. Ki latha dukhun kendra litha lusanbia thiri want madukhati lana to hiyaro
lushibon mayarodononha.

ki 1–a=tʰa dikʰi–ŋ kʰen=da 1–i:tʰa
SPEC 3MA–E.V=RPRT see–NMLZ and=DIRECT 3MA–know
li–sā–m–bia tf–i:ri
3MACall–NMLZ–TRNSF=RPRT 3F,A–name
wânt ma–dikʰa–tʰi 1–a–na to hiyaro
because PRV–see–DES 3MA–E.V–EXPC DEM.F woman
li–fibó–ŋ mayarodo–nwâŋ–ha
3MA–face–LOC.WHR sink,REFL–NMLZ,REFL–FUT
‘So he sees it and he knows to finally call her name because of course he does
not want to see the woman sink in front of him.’

283. “Bi hiyaro, danshisha bi.

bi: hiyaro d–ánfi–ja bi:
2SG woman 1SG.A–love–OBJ.REL 2SG
‘You woman, you are the one I love.’


d–eitʰa dei dikʰi–j–i–ma bo–kʰona
1SG.A know 1SG see–NMLZ–EP–ABIL.1 2SG.A–about
‘I know that I can take care of you.’


d–eitʰa bi–dikʰi–j–i–ma dei kʰona kiba
1SG.A–know 2SG.A–see–NMLZ–EP–ABIL.1 1SG about too
‘I know that you can take care of me too.’

286. “Ma tano ho doma kia kho kakuhu wâmunsabokoma,” la tha.

ma tano–ho b–oyo doma kia=kʰo
but now–ABST.NMLZ 2SGA–mother reason DSC=NEG
kaki–hi w–a:mîŋ–sabo–koma 1–a=tʰa
life–ABST.NMLZ 1PLA–have–CMPR–ABIL.2 3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘But today because of your mother we can no longer have this life,’ he said,
it is said.’
2SG 1SGA–love–PFV but 1SGA–hear–DES–PFV
complete–NMLZ–VIA–REST2–NMLZ 1SGA–resemble–NMLZ too=2SGb
‘I love you and I want to hear you everywhere like me too.’

bi: to=da wi:ro d–a bi–mîŋ
2SG DEMF=DIRECT bird.sp 2SG–E.V 2SG–DAT
“You are a white-tipped dove,” I say to you.”

wi:ro b–o:sa l–a=b a t–o–morodâ–m–bia ba rêŋ
bird.sp 2SG–go 3MA–E.V=RPRT 3F–fly–NMLZ–TRNSF at.once
‘White-tipped dove, go,’ he said, it is said, and she flew away at once.’

290. Alonro thosun kia kō lîtha.
alô–n–ro t–b–o:sî–ŋ kia=k b l–it:h a
where–LOC.WHR–ATL 3F–go–NMLZ DSC=NEG 3MA–know
‘Where she went, that he does not know.’

291. Lirabo wadîli, ludukha, lîtha, lidukha, kāmunthi lonwa kida.
li–ra–b o wad’lîi=t’h a li–dik’ a l–it’h a li–dik’ a
DEM:M–MED–CNTR man=RPRT 3MA–see 3MA–know 3MA–see
k–a:min–tje lôn–wa kida
EXPL–have–SBJ.REL:M 3MDAT–REFL too
‘The other man, he looks, he knows, he looks, he is the one who has
(knowledge) too.’

292. Kia don kho lobadona lirabo boran.
kia dôn=k b l–obada–n a li–ra–b o borâ–ŋ
‘Therefore he will of course not wait for the other one.’

da–dik’ a=bo l–a=t’h a
1SGA–see=2SGb 3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘I see you,’” he said, it is said.’

da–dik’ a=bo bi: wad’lîi
1SGA–see=2SGb 2SG man
“I see you, man.”
295. Tora batika, tora bakhana,” lanbia tha.

to–ra  b–a=tʰi–ka to–ra  b–a=kʰana

l–ā–m–bia=tʰa
3MA–E.V–NMLZ–TRNSF=RPRT
‘You want to be this, then be this,” he concluded, it is said.’

bī: to hikuːtʰa
2SG DEM:F turtle.sp 3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘You are a yellow-footed turtle,” he said, it is said.’

297. “Ma bî oniabo rakhodi, a longdiron buyâdâma bî kiba.”
     ma bī: oniabo rakʰɔ–dʰi  alō–n–dʰi–rō–n
     but 2SG water inside[liquid]–VIA where–LOC.WHR–VIA–REST2–NMLZ

     bī–yaːdaː–ma bī: kiba
     2SGA–walk–ABIL1 2SG too
‘But you through water, through wherever, you can walk too!”’

b–oːsa  l–a=tʰa
2SGA–go 3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘Go!” he said, it is said.’

299. “Ken dei, bîtha ama dan dei?”
kʰɛn dei b–iːtʰa ama d–ā–ŋ dei
and 1SG 2SGA–know what 1SGA–E.V–NMLZ 1SG
‘And I, you know what I am?’”

300. “Dei to korhashiri,” la tha.
     dei to korʃiːrī l–a=tʰa
     1SG DEM:F bird.sp 3MA–E.V=RPRT
‘I am a white-necked thrush,” he said, it is said.’

301. “Dei to korhashiri,” la tha morodonbia, morobon lokoban diakhodi, shifodâbon wadun.
     dei to korʃiːrī l–a=tʰa morodō–m–bia morodō–ŋ

     3MA–field.POSS top–VIA turn–INTS–NMLZ search–NMLZ
‘I am a white-necked thrush,” he said, it is said, flying away, flying above his field, turning like crazy, searching.’
302. Ludukha lumukutubia, lanshishabia lumukutu, ludukha thôsun.
li–dikʰa li–mikʰi–bia
3Mₐ–see 3Mₐ–mother.in.law–TRNSF
l–ânʃi–fa–bia li–mikʰi
3Mₐ–love–OBJ.REL–TRNSF 3Mₐ–mother.in.law
li–dikʰa tʰ–oːsi–ŋ
3Mₐ–see 3Fₐ–go–NMLZ
‘He sees his mother-in-law, the mother-in-law that he wanted, he sees her go away.’

303. Ludukha yontho to hiyaro lanshinimasha koba ôsun.
li–dikʰa yô–n–tʰo to hiyaro
3Mₐ–see LOC.ANPH–LOC.WHR–SBJ.REL:F DEM:F woman
l–ânʃi–n–i–ma–fa=koba kiba oːsi–ŋ
‘He sees where the woman who he could have loved before went too.’

304. Ludukha li hikorhi.
li–dikʰa li hikuʃi
3Mₐ–see DEM:M turtle.sp
‘He sees the yellow-footed turtle.’

305. “Hikorhi khan,” la tha.
hikuʃi=kʰâŋ l–a=tʰa
turtle.sp=DIM 3Mₐ–E.V=RPRT
‘Little yellow-footed turtle,” he says, it is said.’

dei to kɔɾʃʰiri l–a=tʰa
1SG DEM:F bird 3Mₐ–E.V=RPRT
‘I am a white-necked thrush,” he says, it is said.’

kia dôn dei bi–kanaba hâɾ–n–dʰi–rô–n=de
disc reason 1SG 2SGₐ–hear complete–NMLZ–VIA–REST2–NMLZ=1SGₐ
‘Therefore I, you hear me everywhere.’

308. Harhandiron nashikwadi bukanabâha de.
bi–kanaba=ha=de
2SGₐ–hear.INTRV–FUT=1SGₐ
‘Wherever their houses are, you will hear me.’
309. Dei kho tāthiha dayono ōya, dei...,” la tha.
   dei=kho ta=–ʃi–ha d–o–yo–no o=ya dei l–a=tʰa
   1SG=NEG far–SBJ,REL–M–FUT 1SG=mother–PL SRC:ATL 1SG 3MA=E,V=RPRT
   ‘I will not be far from my family, I...,” he said, it is said.’

   2SG=hear–DES–PFV what 1SG=E,V melody–VRB,INTRV,REFL–NMLZ
   l–a=tʰa
   3MA=E,V=RPRT
   ‘Do you want to hear what I sing?’ he said, it is said.’

311. Meithika damorhidahadahu ma dakishidwatika.
   PRV–know–PFV 1SG=lie–FUT=DIRCT=2PL,E but 1SG=try,REFL–DES–PFV
   ‘I don’t know, maybe I will lie to you but I want to try.’

   kɔɾʃiri wadili=kʰ̩n dei hιyro=kʰ̩n doma
   bird.sp man=DIM 1SG woman=DIM reason
   l–a=tʰa yen–twā–ŋ lɔn–wa
   3MA=E,V=RPRT melody–VRB,INTRV,REFL–NMLZ 3M,DAT–REFL
   ‘White-necked thrush, I am a little man, because of a young lady,’” he said
   singing to himself it is said.’

313. So to ludukha to yabirì.
   so to lì–dikʰa to yabirì
   so DEM:F 3MA=see DEM:F bird.sp
   ‘So he sees the scaled pigeon’

314. “Yabiru bi, bi doma ki to tha ibonon to kakahu.
   yabirì bi: bi: doma ki to tʰ–a i:bo–nwāŋ
   bird.sp 2SG 2SG reason SPEC DEM:F 3F=E,V finish,REFL–NMLZ,REFL
   to kaki–hi
   DEMCF alive–ABST,NMLZ
   ‘You scaled pigeon, because of you life has finished like this.” ’

315. “Satho kakahu dashikathifà bi mun kiba, ken to boto mun.
   sa=tʰo kaki–hi da–ʃika–tʰi–ʃa bi: mĩŋ kiba
   good–SBJ,REL,F alive–ABST,NMLZ 1SG=give–DES–OBJ,REL 2SG DAT too
   kɺn to b–oto mĩŋ
   and DEM:F 2SG=daughter DAT
   ‘Good life is what I wanted to give to you too and to your daughter.’ ’
316. "Ma buwâdali boto bithiro barhin alondi.
   but  2SGA–search–VOL  2SGA–daughter  LOC.WHT–ATL
   baɾʃ–ŋ  alɔ–n–di
   though–NMLZ  where–LOC.WHR–VIA
   ‘‘But you have to look for your daughter everywhere.’’

   kia  to  dei  korʃiri  m–a  bɔŋ
   This is what I, a white-necked thrush say to you.’’

318. “Kia doma ayondi, ada shî diakhodi buyeyedwaha “dato khan, dato khan”.
   kia  doma  ayõ–n–di
   ‘‘Therefore in the sky, above the tops of the trees, you will keep on singing
   “my little daughter, my little daughter”.’’

320. “Dato khan, dato khan”, kia to bi, dei korhashiri ma bumun.
   da–to=kɔŋ  da–to=kɔŋ  kia  to  bi:
   1SGA–daughter=DIM  1SGA–daughter=DIM  1SG  bird.sp  EXPL–E.V  2SGA–DAT
   ‘‘My little daughter, my little daughter’, that is you, I, a white-necked thrush,
   say this to you.’’
321. “Danshisha koba hiyaro, manshin dan doma thödon of iniabo rako madukhati
dada no, kia doma ki wei yontho wayono kobantwandihada no.”
d–ânʃi–fa=koba hiyaro
1SGA=love-OBJ.REL=REM.PST woman
m–ânʃi–n d–a–n doma ṭ–o:dô–ŋ of
PRV=love–NMLZ 1SGA=E.V.–NMLZ reason 3FA=die–NMLZ or
iniabo rako ma–dik’a–t’i d–a=da=no
water inside[liquid] PRV=see–DES 1SGA=E.V=DIRECT=3FB
kia doma ki wei yô–n–t’o
DSC reason SPEC 1PL LOC.ANPH–LOC.WHR–SBJ.REL=F
wa–yo–no kobân–twâ–n–d’i–ha=da=no
1PLA–mother–PL field.POSS–ViBZ,INTRV,REFL–NMLZ–VIA–FUT=DIRECT=3FB
“The woman that I loved before, because I did not want her death or I did not
want to see her in the water, therefore, where our people make fields she will
be.”

322. Kia to dashikifa diaha tora din bumun.
kia to da–fiki–fa d’a–ha
DSC DEM:F 1SGA=give–OBJ.REL talk–ABST,NMLZ
to–ra d’i–n bi–mĩŋ
DEM:F=MED SMLR–NMLZ 2SGA–DAT
‘This is the story that I tell like this to you.’

wī. ro bi: to=da da–yo da–yo da–yo
bird.sp 2SG DEM:F=DIRECT 1SGA=mother 1SGA=mother 1SGA=mother
b–a wa:di–n b–oyo biṭʃi–ro
2SGA=E.V search–NMLZ 2SGA=mother LOC.WHT–ATL
ma dei ya-ra–d’i–ka
but 1SG LOC:DEM=MED–VIA–PFV
‘White-tipped dove, you say “mother, mother, mother” searching for your
daughter, but I am there too.’

dei to=da koroʃiri
1SG DEM:F=DIRECT bird.sp
‘I am a white-necked thrush.’
325. "Korhashiri to dei."
koɾʃiri to dei
bird.sp DEM:F 1SG
‘I am a white-necked thrush.’ 

326. Abakwan “korhashiri, wadili khan dei, hiyaro khan doma ni.”
abakwãŋ koɾʃiri wadili=kʰãŋ dei hîyro=kʰãŋ doma ni
once.again bird man=DIM 1SG woman=DIM reason do
‘One more time: “White-necked thrush, I am a little man, because of a woman.”’

327. Ki da diadiadun.
ki d–a d'a–d'a–dī–ŋ
SPEC 1SG–E,V ITR=speak–VBZ–NMLZ
‘That’s how I tell it.’

328. Meithika dia damorhidaka hu.
m–eitʃi–ka d'a da–muɾidá–ka=hi
PRV–know–PFV maybe 1SG–deceive.INTRV–PFV=2PL,B
‘I don’t know maybe I lied to you.’

329. Sare hali.
sa–re h–a–li
good–REST1 2PLA–E,V–VOL
‘All the best to you.’

330. Dôsathe.
d–o:sa=tʰe
1SG–GO=VEN
‘Goodbye!’