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The Dhivehi Language

A Descriptive and Historical Grammar

of Maldivian and Its Dialects

II. Material

by

Sonja Fritz

Heidelberg

2001

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Abbreviations and symbols*

A . . . . . Aḍḍū (version)
ABL . . . . . ablative
ABS . . . . . absolutive
ADJ . . . . . adjektive
ADV . . . . . adverb
AFF . . . . . affirmative
ATTR . . . . . attribute (form)
CARD . . . . . cardinal
CAUS . . . . . causal
COMP . . . . . comparational
CONC . . . . . concessive
COND . . . . . conditional
CONJ . . . . . conjunction
COOR . . . . . co-ordinating
DAT . . . . . dative
DEF . . . . . definite
DIM . . . . . dimiminutive (suffix)
DISTR . . . . . distributional
DPRON . . . . . demonstrative pronoun
EXT . . . . . external quotation
F . . . . . Fuaʾ Mulaku (version)
FOC . . . . . focus (marker)
FUT . . . . . future
GEN . . . . . genitive
GRND . . . . . gerund
H . . . . . Huvadū (version)
HON . . . . . honorific (suffix)
IMPV . . . . . imperative
INDEF . . . . . indefinite
INF . . . . . infinitive
INT . . . . . internal quotation
INTJ . . . . . interjection
IPARTC . . . . . interrogative particle
IPRON . . . . . interrogative pronoun
LOC . . . . . locative
M . . . . . Māle (version)
MOD . . . . . modal
NEG . . . . . negated
NOM . . . . . nominative
NOUN . . . . . noun
OBL . . . . . oblique case
ORD . . . . . ordinal
PART . . . . . participle
PARTC . . . . . particle
PASS . . . . . passive
PL . . . . . plural
PN . . . . . personal name
POSTP . . . . . postposition
POT . . . . . potential
PPRON . . . . . personal pronoun
PRED . . . . . predicative
PRON . . . . . pronoun
PRS . . . . . present tense
PT . . . . . preterite
QPARTC . . . . . quotation particle
RABS . . . . . reduplicated absolutive
RGRND . . . . . reduplicated gerund
SG . . . . . singular
SOC . . . . . sociative
TEMP . . . . . temporal
TOP . . . . . toponym
VB.NOUN . . . . . verbal noun
VERB . . . . . verb(al form)
VOC . . . . . vocative

⟨*xxx*⟩ . . . . . Standard language (transcribed)
/*xxx*\ . . . . . id., phonologically
▸*xxx*◂ . . . . . Aḍḍū-Dialect
▴*xxx*▾ . . . . . id., phonologically
▷*xxx*◁ . . . . . Dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku
▷*xxx*◁* . . . . . Quotation in standard language
△*xxx*▽ . . . . . id., phonologically
>*xxx*< . . . . . Huvadū dialect
xxx . . . . . Rearranged text passages

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* The present list contains the abbreviations and symbols used in the interlinear analysis of texts. For other abbreviations cf. vol I, p. XII.

Texts
with interlinear analysis

T1: Fiňdanā boňḍanā

The fiňdanā bird and the boňḍanā bird

Aḍḍū: ʿAlī Maṇikufānu; Fuaʾ Mulaku: N.N.; Māle: Ibrāhīm Mansūr*

* For a reproduction of the Māle version as printed in a newspaper, cf. fig. 1, p. 130.

1

M ⟨ˀeba ˀuḷē ˀeba ˀuḷē fidanfuḷakā boḍanfuḷeˀ.⟩

	uḷē	***eba***	***uḷē***	***fiňdanfuḷak***	***ā***	***boňḍanfuḷek***
there	lives	there	lives	a f.-bird	and	a b.-bird
ADV	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN
LOC.		LOC.	PRS.3SG.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	NOM.SG.

Somewhere, there live(d) a *fiňdanu*(-bird) and a *boňḍanu*(-bird).

A ▸**ed duvahi ed duvahi fiňdanāi boňḍanāi de verin mašvarā koffei gē eḍāˀ nimmalie.**◂

ek	***duvahi***	***ek***	***duvahi***	***fiňdanā***	***āi***	***boňḍanā***	***āi***	***de***	***verin***	***mašvarā***	***koffei***	***gē***	***eḍāś***	***nimmalie***
one	at day	one	at day	the f.-bird	with	the b.-bird	with	two	people	consultation	making	house	to build	they finished
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.(DEF.)	SOC.	NOM.(DEF.)	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	INF.	PT.IL3PL.

Once upon a time, both the f.-bird and the b.-bird, having consulted each other, finished building their houses.

F ▹**ed duvaheki ed duvaheki fiňdanu-ā boňḍanu-ā de verin ebage-ai dāňḍi kaňḍannaha.**◃

ek	***duvaheki***	***ek***	***duvaheki***	***fiňdanu***	***ā***	***boňḍanu***	***ā***	***de***	***verin***	***ebage***	***ai***	***dāňḍi***	***kaňḍannaha***
one	day	one	day	f.-bird	with	b.-bird	and	two	people	they went off	they say	woodstick	to cut
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	NOM.	SOC.	NOM.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	INT.	NOM.	INF.

One day, one day, the f.-bird and the b.-bird, two people, went away in order to cut wood.

2

M ⟨ˀuḷemun gos fidanfuḷu ˀaḷaˀifiyē fī ˀilośin geˀeˀ, boḍanfuḷu ˀaḷaˀifiyē haˀi vakarun geˀeˀ.⟩

uḷemun	***gos***	***fiňdanfuḷu***	***aḷaifī***	***ē***	***fī***	***ilośin***	***geek***	***boňḍanfuḷu***	***aḷaifī***	***ē***	***hai***	***vakarun***	***geek***
living	going	f.-bird	what built was	they say	rotten	from brushwood	a house	b.-bird	what built was	they say	all	from wood	a house
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN
GRND.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	PART.PT.	ABL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	ABL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.

As time went by, the f.-bird built a house from rotten brushwood, the b.-bird built a house all from timber.

A ▸**gē eḍāˀ vakara kaňḍāˀ gossei, boňḍanā keňḍī hai vakara, fiňdanā keňḍī fī lieśi.**◂

gē	***eḍāś***	***vakara***	***kaňḍāś***	***gosfei***	***boňḍanā***	***keňḍī***	***hai***	***vakara***	***fiňdanā***	***keňḍī***	***fī***	***lieśi***
house	to build	wood	to cut	having gone	the b.-bird	what it cut was	teak	wood	the f.-bird	what it cut was	rotten	brushwood
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN
NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.

Having gone to cut wood for building the house, the b.-bird cut teak wood (while) the f.-bird cut rotten brushwood.

F ▹**gohofē, fiňdanu keňḍī fī lieśi-ai, boňḍanu keňḍī hai vakar-ai.**◃

gohofē	***fiňdanu***	***keňḍī***	***fī***	***lieśi***	***ai***	***boňḍanu***	***keňḍī***	***hai***	***vakaro***	***ai***
having gone	f.-bird	what he cut was	rotten	brushwood	they say	b.-bird	what he cut was	all	timber	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.	EXT.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	EXT.

Having gone, the f.-bird cut rotten brushwood (while) the b.-bird cut all timber.

3

A ▸**kaňḍagen ās de verie de gē eḍafie.**◂

kaňḍagen	*ās*	*de*	*verie*	*de*	*gē*	*eḍafie*
cutting	coming	two	people	two	house	they built
VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.I.3PL.

Having come back from cutting (wood), they built their two houses.

F ▹**fiňdanu gē eḍī raḷo jahā faśi-ai.**◃

fiňdanu	*gē*	*eḍī*	*raḷo*	*jahā*	*faśi*	*ai*
f.-bird	house	where he built was	wave	hitting	beginning (place)	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	EXT.

The f.-bird built his house at the place just where the waves reach.

3a

F ▹**boňdaṇu gē eḍī eggami-ai.**◃

boňdaṇu	*gē*	*eḍī*	*eggami*	*ai*
b.-bird	house	where he built was	within the populated area	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	PART.PT.+FOC.	LOC.	EXT.

The b.-bird built his house inside the land.

4

M **⟨ˀaḷaˀigen ˀuḷeni koś ˀeˀ reˀaku ˀaˀi vilāgaḍeˀgaˀi fidanfuḷu ge veˀṭiˀje ˀeve.⟩**

aḷaigen	*uḷeni*	*koś*	*ek*	*reaku*	*ai*	*vilāgaḍeggai*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*ge*	*vettijje*	*eve*
Having built	living	making	one	in night	having come	in a rain cloud	f.-bird	house	collapsed	they say
VERB	VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	PART.PRS.	ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	LOC.SG.INDEF.	NOUN	NOM.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

After having built (the houses) and having lived on (like this), in a rain shower which had come one night, the f.-bird's house collapsed.

A ▸**ed reaki, gada vissāra āsei, fiňdanā fī lieśin eḍi gē uduhige.**◂

ek	*reaki*	*gada*	*vissāra*	*āsei*	*fiňdanā*	*fī*	*liieśin*	*eḍi*	*gē*	*uduhige*
one	at a night	strong	rain	coming	the f.-bird	rotten	from brushwood	built	house	it flew up
CARD	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	ABL.	PART.PT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.

One night, when a heavy rain came, the house the f.-bird had built with rotten brushwood flew away.

F ▹**fiňdanu gē eḍāgen, nidanna ov vēlai, raḷo jahā miu bolaha gē vettīge-ai.**◃

fiňdanu	*gē*	*eḍāgen*	*nidanna*	*ot*	*vēlai*	*raḷo*	*jahā*	*miu*	*bolaha*	*gē*	*vettīge*	*ai*
f.-bird	house	having built	to sleep	being	at time	wave	hitting	this one's	to head	house	fell	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When the f.-bird was about to sleep after having built his house, a wave struck and so the house fell on his head.

5

M **⟨fidanfuḷu duvamun duvamun gos govāli ʾeve.⟩**

fiňdanfuḷu	***duvamun***	***duvamun***	***gos***	***govāli***	***eve.***
f.-bird	going	going	going	cried	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	GRND.	GRND.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Running around and around, the f.-bird cried:

A **▸fiňdanā bō hialaʾ netigen, e rei boňḍanā ge ebege.◂**

fiňdanā	***bō***	***hialak***	***netigen***	***e***	***rei***	***boňḍanā***	***ge***	***ebege***
the f.-bird	head	shelter	not existing	that	night	the b.-bird	house	he went
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
NOM.DEF.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	PT.IV.3SG.

The f.-bird, having no shelter for (his) head (anymore), went to the b.-bird's house that night.

F **▹vettunum mā fiňdanu ebage-ai.◃**

vettunun	***mā***	***fiňdanu***	***ebage***	***ai***
falling	when	f.-bird	he went off	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (the house) had fallen, the f.-bird went away.

6

M **⟨ʾē! bēbē! bēbē!! timange gegaḍu veʾtiʾje ʾeve.⟩**

ē!	***bēbē!***	***bēbē!!***	***timange***	***gegaḍu***	***vettijje***	***eve***
oh!	(elder) brother!	(elder) brother!	own's	house	collapsed	saying
INTJ	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
=	NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	GEN.SG.	NOM.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

'Oh, (elder) brother, (elder) brother, my house has collapsed!'

A **▸haudahai derai_ē, rahumatteriā, rei ma eḍi gē uduhige.◂**

haudahai	***derai***	***ē***	***rahumatteri***	***āi***	***rei***	***ma***	***eḍi***	***gē***	***uduhige***
totally	pitiful	saying	friend	saying	(to)night	I	built	house	flew up
ADV	ADJ	QPARTC (M!)	NOUN	QPARTC	NOUN	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB
MOD.	PRED.	INT.	NOM.VOC.	INT.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.

'How very pitiful, (my) friend, (to)night the house I built has flown away.

F **▹goho beṇi-ai, boňdam bēbē, nidanna ov vēlai, bolaha gē vettīge-ai.◃**

goho	***beṇi***	***ai***	***boňdan***	***bēbē***	***nidanna***	***ot***	***vēlai***	***bolaha***	***gē***	***vettīge***	***ai***
going	he said	they say	b.-bird	brother	to sleep	being	at time	to head	house	fell	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	DAT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	

Going he said, 'b.-bird, (elder) brother, just when I was about to sleep, (my) house fell upon (my) head.

7

M ⟨**nidālāne tankoḷeˀ dī balāś_ eve.**⟩

nidālāne	*tankoḷek*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
Going to sleep	a place	giving	to look	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.FUT.II	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.	INF.	EXT.

‘Please give me a place for sleeping.’

A ▸**maˀ nidāṇe tān libiēśī?**◂

maś	*nidāṇe*	*tān*	*libiēśī?*
to me	going to sleep	place	will be receivable
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB
DAT.	PART.FUT.	NOM.	FUT.3SG.

Can I receive a place for sleeping?’

F ▹**timā nidanna tan keḍaˀ denna kē.**◃

timā	*nidanna*	*tan*	*keḍak*	*denna*	*kē*
self	to sleep	place	piece	to give	saying
PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
OBL.	INF.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

You (should) give me a (piece of) place for sleeping.’

8

M(1) ⟨**boḍanfuḷu bunefi ˀeve. boḍu ˀaśīgā ˀonnāś_ eve.**⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*boḍu*	*aśīgā*	*onnāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	big	on table	to lie down	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	INF.	

The b.-bird told him to sleep on the big table.

A(2) ▸**boňḍanā beṇafi, boňḍa āśe veśionnaˀ kei.**◂

boňḍanā	*beṇafi*	*boňḍa*	*āśe*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
the b.-bird	he said	big	on table	to lie	telling
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB
OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I	ATTR.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

The b.-bird said, ‘sleep on the big table.’

F(1) ▹**beṇā beṇi-ai, boňḍo aśi matte veśiōnnaha kē.**◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*boňḍo*	*aśi*	*matte*	*veśiōnnaha*	*kē.*
saying	he said	they say	big	table	upon	to lie	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

(At his) saying (so, the b.-bird) told him to lie down on the big table.

8a

F(1) **▹beṇā boňdo aśie veśiot-ai.◃**

beṇā	*boňdo*	*aśie*	*veśiot*	*ai*
saying	big	on table	lay	they say
VERB	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so, the f.-bird) lay down on the table.

9

M(1) **⟨fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. boḍukamun nu kerēnei_ ē.⟩**

fiňdanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*boḍukamun*	*nu*	*kerēnei*	*ē*
f.-bird	said	they say	from size	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, ‘I dare not (sleep there) because of the size (of the table).’

A(2) **▸e tani ōfei, fiňdanā beṇi, madiri kāì kāì ni ovēśi-au.◂**

e	*tani*	*ōfei*	*fiňdanā*	*beṇi*	*madiri*	*kāì*	*kāì*	*ni*	*ovēśi*	*au*
that	in place	having laid	the f.-bird	what it said was	mosquitos	eating	eating	not	will be lyable	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	NOM.	RABS.	RABS.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

Having laid down there, the f.-bird said, ‘I cannot lie (here) being eaten by mosquitos again and again.’

F(1) **▹veśifē ovefē, beṇi-ai, madiri ma kan tam, faṇi kan *tan*, mi tanaku nu ovēne.◃**

veśifē	*ovefē*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*madiri*	*ma*	*kan*	*tan*	*faṇi*	*kan*	*tan*	*mi*	*tanaku*	*nu*	*ovēne*
lying	having been	he said	they say	mosquito	me	eating	place	worm	eating	(place)	this	a place	not	is possible to lie down
VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB
ABS.I	ABS.I	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ATTR.	OBL.INDEF.	NEG.	PART.PT.POT.

Having laid down, he said, ‘(this is) a place, where I am eaten by mosquitos, (a place), where I am eaten by worms, on such a place (I) cannot lie.

9a

F(1) **▹matigeaʾ *aranna tai*.◃**

matigeaś	*aranna*	*tai*
to uphouse	to climb up	whether
NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
DAT.	INF.	INT.

(Should I) go to the uphouse?’

10

M(2) **⟨boḍanfuḷu bunefi_ē. tia hen viʾyā dimā ʾeduga'i ʾonnāś_ eve.⟩**

boňḍanfuḷu	*bunefī*	*ē*	*tia*	*hen*	*vi*	*ā*	*dimā*	*eňdugai*	*onnāš*	*eve*
b.-bird	what said was	they say	this	way	it be	if	direction	on bed	to lie down	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.SG.	PART.PT.IV+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	COND.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INT.

The b.-bird said, ‘if it is like this, sleep on the guests’ bed (lit. "direction bed", i.e. "bed standing in yonder direction")’.

A(1) **▸me hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇī mi gē dimā hiśi eňde e hiśi-au.◂**

me	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇī*	*mi*	*gē*	*dimā*	*hiśi*	*eňde*	*e*	*hiśi*	*au*
this	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	what it said was	this	house	direction	being	bed	there	is	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

As he said so, the b.-bird answered, ‘the guests’ bed (lit. "bed standing in the direction") of this house is over there.’

11

M(2) **⟨fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. dimākamun nu kerēne ʾeve.⟩**

fiňdanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*dimākamun*	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	from directedness	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, ‘because of its being the guests’ bed (lit. "of the direction it stands in") I dare not (sleep in it).’

A(1) **▸fiňdanā gos eňdau arai veśiove vēla keḍakun beṇafi, makuṇu dāi dāi ni ovēši-au.◂**

fiňdanā	*gos*	*eňdaś*	*arai*	*veśiove*	*vēla*	*keḍakun*	*beṇafi*	*makuṇu*	*dāi*	*dāi*	*ni*	*ovēši*	*au*
the f.-bird	going	to bed	climbing	lying	while	with a piece	what he said was	bugs	biting	biting	not	will be lyable	saying
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.DEF.	ABS.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	OBL.	RABS.	RABS.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

After the f.-bird had gone there and climbed into the bed and lain down, he said after a while, ‘I cannot not lie (here) being bitten and bitten by bugs.’

12

M(3) **⟨boḍanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. kuḍa ʾaśīga'i ʾonnāš_ eve.⟩**

boňḍanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*kuḍa*	*aśīgai*	*ʾonnāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	small	on table	to lie down	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INT.

The b.-bird told him to sleep on the small table.

A(3) **▸me hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇafi, eḷagēňḍe veśionnaʾ kei.◂**

me	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇafi*	*eḷagēňḍe*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
this	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	what it said was	on threshold	to sleep	telling
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

After (his) saying so, the b.-bird said, ‘lie down on the threshold.’

13

M(3) ⟨**fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. kuḍakamun nu kerēne ʾeve.**⟩

fiňdanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*kuḍakamun*	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	from smallness	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, ‘because of its small size, (I) dare not (sleep on it).

A(3) **▸beṇi mei, eḷagēňḍe veśiōfei beṇanī, madiri-ai makuṇāi kāi kāi ni ovēśi-au.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*eḷagēňḍe*	*veśiōfei*	*beṇanī*	*madiri*	*ai*	*makuṇu*	*āi*	*kāi*	*kāi*	*ni*	*ovēśi*	*au*
said	when	on threshold	having laid	what he says is	mosquitos	with	bugs	with	eating	eating	not	can lie down	saying
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	LOC.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	SOC.	OBL.	SOC.	RABS.	RABS.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

Having said so, (the f.-bird), having lain down on the threshold, said, ‘I cannot lie (here) being eaten by mosquitos and bugs again and again.’

14

M(4) ⟨**tia hen viʾyā, ʾuturu ʾeduga ʾi ʾonnāś_ ē boḍanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve.**⟩

tia	*hen*	*vi*	*ā*	*ʾuturu*	*eňdugaʾi*	*onnāś*	*ē*	*boňḍanfuḷu*	*bunefi*	*eve*
this	way	having become	if	upper	on bed	to sleep	saying	b.-bird	said	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	COND.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INT.	NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

‘If it is like this, sleep on the upper bed’, the b.-bird said.

F(2) **▹beṇum mā, beṇi-ai, matigeśa arā veśionnaha kē.◃**

beṇum	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*matigeśa*	*arā*	*veśionnaha*	*kē*
saying	when	he said	they say	to uphouse	climbing	to lie down	saying
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	ABS.	INF.	ABS.

After (his) saying so, (the b.-bird) said, ‘lie down on the grill in the kitchen.’

15

M(4) ⟨**ʾuturukamun nu kerēne ʾeve.**⟩

uturukamun	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
from upperness	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

(The f.-bird answered,) ‘because of its being located upstairs, (I) dare not (sleep on it).’

F(2) **▹beṇum mā, eu matigeśa arā veśiot-ai◃**

beṇum	*mā*	*eu*	*matigeśa*	*arā*	*veśiot*	*ai*
saying	when	that one’s	to uphouse	climbing	he lay down	they say
NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) lay down climbing up to (the b.-bird’s) uphouse.

16

M(5) **⟨boḍanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. badi gē dumaśi matīgaʾi ʾonnan dāś_ eve.⟩**

boňḍanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*badi*	*gē*	*dum*	*aśi*	*matīgai*	*onnaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	kitchen	house	smoke	table	upon	to sleep	to go	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INF.	INT.

The b.-bird told him to go to sleep on the hearth (lit. "smoke table") of the kitchen.

A(4) **▸e hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇafi, badigē aśimāte veśionnaʾ kei.◂**

e	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇafi*	*badigē*	*aśimāte*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
that	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	what it said was	kitchen	grill	to lie	telling
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

After having said so, the b.-bird told (him) to lie down on the grill of the kitchen.

17

M(5) **⟨fidanfuḷu bunñ_ eve. dumaśikamun nu kerēne ʾeve.⟩**

fiňdanfuḷu	*buni*	*eve*	*dumaśikamun*	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	from being hearth	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, ‘because of its being a hearth (lit. "smoke-table"), (I) dare not (sleep on it).’

A(4) **▸e tani veśiōfei fiňdanā beṇafi, duṁbuḷiei makuṇāi kāi kāi ni ovēši-au.◂**

e	*tani*	*veśiōfei*	*fiňdanā*	*beṇafi*	*duṁbuḷi*	*āi*	*makuṇu*	*āi*	*kāi*	*kāi*	*ni*	*ovēši*	*au*
that	in place	having laid	the f.-bird	what it said was	soot	with	bugs	with	eating	eating	not	will be lyable	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	OBL.	SOC.	OBL.	SOC.	RABS.	RABS.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

Having laid down there, the f.-bird said, ‘I cannot lie (here) being eaten by soot and bugs again and again.’

18

M(6) **⟨boḍanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. tia hen viʾyā bat tavā fian matīgaʾi ʾonnan dāš_ eve.⟩**

boňḍanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*tia*	*hen*	*vi*	*ā*	*bat*	*tavā*	*fian*	*matīgai*	*onnaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	this	way	having become	if	rice	cooking pan	lid	upon	to lie down	to go	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	COND.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INF.	INT.

The b.-bird said, ‘if it is like this, go (and) lie down on the lid of the rice cooking pan.’

A(5) **▸e hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇafi, bat tavā fati matte veśionnaʾ kei.◂**

e	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇafi*	*bat*	*tavā*	*fati*	*matte*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
that	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	said	rice	cooking pan	of lid	on top	to lie down	telling
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

After (his) saying so, ‘the b.-bird said, lie down on the lid of the rice cooking pan’.

19

M ⟨mi hen hama bunumun hēvaʾlā, taʾyār_ ē kiāfaʾi, fidana duvefaʾi gos, bat tavā fian matīgaʾi, ʾośōveʾje ʾeve.⟩

mi	***hen***	***hama***	***bunumun***	***hēvallā***	***tayyāru***	***ē***	***kiāfai***	***fiňdana***	***duvefai***	***gos***	***bat***	***tavā***	***fian***	***matīgai***	***ośōvejje***	***eve***
this	way	just	speaking	having been awake	ready	saying	having said	f.-bird	having run	going	rice	pan	cover	upon	lay down	they say
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	VERB	ADJ	QPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	MOD.	GRND.	ABS.II	PRED.	INT.	ABS.I	NOM.SG.	ABS.I	ABS.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

After they had finished speaking like this, the f.-bird, having said ‘(I am) ready’, lay down upon the lid of the rice cooking pan.

20

M ⟨boḍanfuḷaś ves, nidifā ʾiru koḷakun hēlevunu tanā fidanfuḷu, bat fukeʾ kālāfaʾi, guʾi fukeʾ jahāli ʾaḍu boḍanfuḷaś ʾivigen govālaʾifi ʾeve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷaś	***ves***	***nidifā***	***iru***	***koḷakun***	***hēlevunu***	***tan***	***ā***	***fiňdanfuḷu***	***bat***	***fukek***	***kālāfai***	***gui***	***fukek***	***jahāli***	***aḍu***	***boňḍanfuḷaś***	***ivigen***	***govālaifi***	***ʾeve***
to b.-bird	also	slept	time	for piece	awakened	place	with	f.-bird	rice	a piece	having eaten	dropping	a piece	laid	noise	to b.-bird	hearing	shouted	they say
NOUN	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
DAT.SG.	MOD.	ABS.I	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.PASS.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.III	PT.II+I.3SG.	EXT.

When the b.-bird awoke after having slept for a while, he heard the noise the f.-bird (produced by) laying a (piece of) dropping after having eaten a piece of rice, and (he) shouted:

A ▸veśiovefei vēla keḍakun, bat tavā fati mati nagafei, kā̄ feṭṭi aḍa ivei boňḍanā ahafi:◂

veśiovefei	***vēla***	***keḍakun***	***bat***	***tavā***	***fati***	***mati***	***nagafei***	***kāś***	***feṭṭi***	***aḍa***	***ivei***	***boňḍanā***	***ahafi:***
lying	while	with a piece	rice	cooking pan	of lid	top	having lifted	to eat	begun	noise	hearing	the b.-bird	asked
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	NOM.	ABS.I	INF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PART.PT.I

Having spent some time lying there, having lifted the lid of the cooking pan, the b.-bird heard the sound of (someone) starting to eat and asked:

F ▹ovefē, boňḍanu nidunum mā hedi vaḍāmakī, tel eḷi ala ruňbayye mati muhālā aňgāśa lāgen hafāgat-ai.◃

ovefē	***boňḍanu***	***nidunum***	***mā***	***hedi***	***vaḍāmakī***	***tel***	***eḷi***	***ala***	***ruňbayye***	***mati***	***muhālā***	***aňgāśa***	***lāgen***	***hafāgat***	***ai***
having laid	b.-bird	sleeping	when	done	a manner is	oil	fried	yams	pot	top	removing	to mouth	laying	he got chewed	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PT.	NOM.	GEN.	OBL.	ABS.II	DAT.	ABS.III	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

After having lain down and after the b.-bird had fallen asleep, (the f.-bird started) chewing oil fried yam roots (tāro) by putting them into his mouth taking them (from) the pan.

20a

M ⟨**koʾkō kon ʾaḍeʾ heʾy_ eve.**⟩

kokkō	*kon*	*aḍek*	*heyo*	*eve*
(younger) brother	what	a noise	well	saying
NOUN	IPRON	NOUN	ADV	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	INT.

‘(Younger) brother, what a noise might (this be)?’)

A ▸**fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?**◂

fiňdanu	*fiňdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa*
f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

‘F.-bird, f.-bird, what a sound is this?’

F ▹**hafāgat tā, boňḍanu beṇi-ai, fiňdan, fiňdan, kon aḍeʾ?**◃

hafāgat	*tā*	*boňḍanu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiňdan*	*fiňdan*	*kon*	*aḍek*
chewing	at moment	b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	what	a noise
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	IPRON	NOUN
PART.PT.III	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

Just when he was chewing, the b.-bird said, ‘f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?’

21

M ⟨**fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. ʾeʾī magu matin dia mīhaku, din fō foʾceʾ hafāli ʾaḍ_ eve.**⟩

fiňdanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*eī*	*magu*	*matin*	*dia*	*mīhaku*	*din*	*fōk*	*foccek*	*hafāli*	*aḍu*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	this-is	road	upon	walking	a man	given	betelnut	a piece	chewing	noise	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.1.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	PART.PRS.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, ‘this is the noise (which (I) am producing by) chewing a piece of betelnut which (I) was given by a man walking on the street.’

A ▸**fiňdanā beṇi, eī magun gē mīhakā fuaʾ keḍaʾ din aḍa.**◂

fiňdanā	*beṇi*	*eī*	*magun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*fuak*	*keḍak*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	this is	on street	going	a man	with	arecanut	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	NOM.+FOC.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, ‘this is the sound produced (lit. given) by a piece of arecanut and a person walking on the road.’

F ▹**beṇā beṇi-ai, e magē ef faivān-fuḷu damāli aḍ-ai.**◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*magē*	*ek*	*faivān-fuḷu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai*
saying	he said	they say	that	my	one	foot-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	CARD	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, ‘that is the sound of my one foot stretched.’

21a

F **▹kēfē, mi ōtī-ai vago jahān.◃**

kēfē	*mi*	*ōtī*	*ai*	*vago*	*jahān*
Having said	now	what he was is	they say	thief	hitting
VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III

Having said (so), he now was (again) doing something secret (lit "acting like a thief").

22

M **⟨ˀaneˀkā bat fukeˀ kālāfaˀi guˀi fukeˀ jahāli ˀaḍu ˀiviˀje ˀeve.⟩**

anekkā	*bat*	*fukek*	*kālāfai*	*gui*	*fukek*	*jahāli*	*aḍu*	*iviję*	*eve*
again	rice	a piece	having eaten	dropping	a piece	having laid	noise	was heard	they say
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Again, the noise (produced by) laying a (piece of) dropping after having eaten a piece of rice was heard.

A **▸vēla keḍakun, eneˀ kalāi aḍaˀ kēfi.◂**

vēla	*keḍakun*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*aḍak*	*kēfi*
while	with a piece	another	time	with	a noise	uttered
NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

After some time, another time a noise (was) uttered.

F **▹eneˀ kalaha boňḍanu nidunum mā hafāgat-ai.◃**

enek	*kalaha*	*boňḍanu*	*nidunun*	*mā*	*hafāgat*	*ai*
another	to time	b.-bird	sleeping	when	he chewed	they say
PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	DAT.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(And) another time he started chewing after the b.-bird had fallen asleep.

23

M **⟨boḍanfuḷu govāli ʾeve. koʾkō kon ʾaḍeʾ heʾy_ eve.⟩**

boňḍanfuḷu	*govāli*	*eve*	*kokkō*	*kon*	*aḍek*	*heyo*	*eve*
b.-bird	shouted	they say	brother	what	a noise	well	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	INT.

The b.-bird shouted, ‘(younger) brother, what a noise might (this be)?’

A **▸boňḍanā ahafi, fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?◂**

boňḍanā	*ahafi*	*fiňdanu*	*fiňdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa?*
the b.-bird	asked	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.DEF	PT.3SG.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

The b.-bird asked , ‘f.-bird, f.-bird, what a sound is this?’

F **▹boňḍanu beṇi-ai, fiňdān, fiňdān, e kon aḍeʾ?◃**

boňḍanu	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiňdān*	*fiňdān*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍek?*
b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what	a noise
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

The b.-bird said, ‘f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?’

24

M **⟨ʾeī raʾṭeʾsaku din karanfuleʾ hafāli ʾaḍ_ eve.⟩**

eī	*raṭṭessaku*	*din*	*karanfulek*	*hafāli*	*aḍu*	*eve*
this is	a compatriot	given	a clove	chewing	noise	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.+FOC.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	INT.

‘This is the noise (which I am producing by) chewing a clove (I) was given by a compatriot.’

A **▸fiňdanā beṇafi e bērun gē mīhakā bilaʾ keḍaʾ din aḍa.◂**

fiňdanā	*beṇafi*	*e*	*bērun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*bilat*	*keḍak*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	that	outside	going	a man	with	betel	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, ‘this is the sound produced by a man with a betel leaf walking outside.’

F **▹beṇā beṇi-ai, e magē eneʾ faivānfuḷu damāli aḍ-ai!◃**

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*magē*	*enek*	*faivānfuḷu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai!*
saying	he said	they say	that	my	another	foot-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	PRON	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, ‘that is the sound of my other foot stretched.’

24a

F **▹kēfē, mi ōtī-ai, vago jahān.◃**

kēfē	*mi*	*ōtī*	*ai*	*vago*	*jahān*
Having said	now	what he was is	they say	thief	hitting
VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III

Having said (this), (the f.-bird) again started doing something secret (lit. "(was) acting like a thief").

25

M **⟨ˀaneˀkā ˀiru koḷakun ves, bat fukeˀ kālāfaˀi guˀi fukeˀ jahāli ˀaḍu ˀivun_ eve.⟩**

anekkā	*iru*	*koḷakun*	*ves*	*bat*	*fukek*	*kālāfai*	*gui*	*fukek*	*jahāli*	*aḍu*	*ivunu*	*eve*
again	time	with a piece	also	rice	a piece	having eaten	dropping	a piece	having laid	noise	was heard	they say
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	MOD.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.PASS.	EXT.

After some more time again, the noise (produced by) laying a dropping after having eaten a piece of rice was heard.

A **▸vēla gaňḍakun, eneˀ kalāi aḍa kēfi.◂**

vēla	*gaňḍakun*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*aḍa*	*kēfi*
while	with a piece	another	time	with	a noise	uttered
NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

After a little while, once again a noise (was) uttered.

F **▹ovefē eneˀ kalah-as boňḍanu nidunum mā hafāgat-ai.◂**

ovefē	*enek*	*kalaha*	*as*	*boňḍanu*	*nidunun*	*mā*	*hafāgat*	*ai*
being	another	to time	yet	b.-bird	sleeping	when	he chewed	they say
VERB	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	ATTR.	DAT.	MOD.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Staying (so), after the b.-bird had fallen asleep, yet another time he started chewing.

26

M **⟨mi faharu ʾehī mā,⟩**

mi	*faharu*	*ehī*	*mā*
this	time	asked	when
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.

This time, when (the b.-bird) asked,

A **▸boňḍanā ahafi, fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?◂**

boňḍanā	*ahafi*	*fiňdanu*	*fiňdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa?*
the b.-bird	asked	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

The b.-bird asked, ‘f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?’

F **▹hafāgat tā, boňḍanu beṇi-ai, fiňdan fiňdan, e kon aḍeʾ?◃**

hafāgat	*tā*	*boňḍanu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiňdan*	*fiňdan*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍek*
having chewed	at moment	b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what	a noise
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
PART.PT.III	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

Just when he started chewing, the b.-bird said, ‘f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?’

27

M **⟨bunī ʾeī ʾove ʾove varubali vegen, mōliʾakaś damāli ʾaḍ_ eve.⟩**

bunī	*eī*	*ove*	*ove*	*varubali*	*vegen*	*hōliakaś*	*damāli*	*aḍu*	*eve*
what he said was	this is	lying	lying	tired	having become	to a wing	pulled	noise	saying
VERB	DPRON	VERB	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	DAT.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	INT.

(the f.-bird) answered, ‘this is the noise (produced by) pulling a wing after having become tired by lying and lying.’

A **▸fiňdanā beṇafi, magun gē mīhakā dun faʾ keḍaʾ din aḍa.◂**

fiňdanā	*beṇafi*	*magun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*dum*	*fat*	*keḍak*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	on street	going	a man	with	smoke	leaf	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, ‘(this is) the sound produced by a piece of tobacco and a man walking on the street.’

F **▹beṇā beṇi-ai, e timāge ef fiafuḷu damāli aḍai.◃**

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*timāge*	*ek*	*fiafuḷu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai*
saying	he said	they say	that	self’s	one	wing-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	CARD	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, ‘that is the sound of one of my wings stretched.’

27a

F ▹beṇum mā̄, den eneʾ kalas vago jahā̄gen mi ōtī-ai.◃

beṇum	*mā̄*	*den*	*enek*	*kal*	*as*	*vago*	*jahā̄gen*	*mi*	*ōtī*	*ai.*
saying	when	then	another	to time	yet	thief	hitting	now	what he was	they say
VERB	NOUN	ADV	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	LOC.	TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.	MOD.	NOM.	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

When he said (so), yet another time he started doing something secret (lit. "acting like a thief").

28

A ▸eneʾ kal-ā̄i-as aḍa kēfi.◂

enek	*kal*	*ā̄i*	*as*	*aḍa*	*kēfi*
another	time	with	yet	a noise	uttered
PRON	NOUN	CONJ	CONJ	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	MOD.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

Yet another time a noise (was) uttered.

F ▹ovefē, boňḍanu nidunum mā̄ eneʾ kalas hafā̄gat-ai◃

ovefē	*boňḍanu*	*nidunum*	*mā̄*	*eneʾ*	*kal*	*as*	*hafā̄gat*	*ai*
being	b.-bird	sleeping	when	another	time	yet	he chewed	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	MOD.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After having lain down (again), when the b.-bird was sleeping, he (started) chewing (again).

29

A ▸boňḍanā̄ ahafi, fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?◂

boňḍanā̄	*ahafi*	*fiňdanu*	*fiňdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa*
the b.-bird	asked	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

The b.-bird asked , ‘f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?’

F ▹hafā̄gat tā̄, boňḍanu beṇi-ai, fiňdan, fiňdan, e kon aḍeʾ?◂

hafā̄gat	*tā̄*	*boňḍanu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiňdan*	*fiňdan*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍek*
having chewed	at moment	b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what	a noise
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
PART.PT.III	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

Just when he had started chewing, the b.-bird said, ‘f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?’

30

A ▸**fiňdanā beṇafi, eī bērun gē mīhakā huni keḍa din aḍa.**◂

fiňdanā	*beṇafi*	*eī*	*bērun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*huni*	*keḍa*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	that	outside	going	a man	with	lime	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, ‘this is the sound produced by a piece of lime and a man walking outside.’

F ▹**beṇā beṇi-ai, e timāge enef fiafuḷu damāli aḍ-ai.**◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*timāge*	*enek*	*fiafuḷu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai*
saying	he said	they say	that	self’s	anonther	wing-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	PRON	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, ‘that is the sound of my other wing stretched.’

31

A ▸**me hen beṇafei, fiňdanā hedi lehekī, bat tarā faʾ kāfei niki hiśi ēne eteraʾ gū lāfei, divi ebege.**◂

me	*hen*	*beṇafei*	*fiňdanā*	*hedi*	*lehekī*	*bat*	*tarā*	*fat*	*kāfei*	*niki*	*hiśi*	*ēne*	*eteraś*	*gū*	*lāfei*	*divi*	*ebege*
this	sort	saying	the f.-bird	done	a manner was	rice	cooking	pan	eating	rest	being	remainder	into	dropping	laying	running	went
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ABS.I	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.I	ABS.	PT.3SG.

After saying so, the f.-bird (finally) ran away after laying a piece of dropping into what was left in the cooking pan after eating.

F ▹**kēfē hedī vaḍāmakī, mīge tibi hai ala kā hus kōllā ruňbai furā gū lāfē.**◃

kēfē	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*mīge*	*tibi*	*hai*	*ala*	*kā*	*hus*	*kōllā*	*ruňbai*	*furā*	*gū*	*lāfē*
saying	done	a manner was	this one’s	being	all	yam	eating	empty	making	pot	filling	dropping	laying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	GEN. (M!)	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.II	OBL.	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.I

After saying (so), he (finally) laid a dropping (and) filled the pot (with it) after having made it empty by eating all the yam it had contained (before).

32

M ⟨den mi hen ˀoˀvā fatis vī mā, fidanfuḷu teduvegen gos, ˀudunu fuˀdanugaˀi ˀoˀ fūnāˀṭeˀge daśaś vadeˀje ˀeve.⟩

den	*mi*	*hen*	*ovvā*	*fatis*	*vī*	*mā*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*teduvegen*	*gos*	*udunu*	*fuḍḍanugai*	*ot*	*fūnāṭṭekge*	*daśaś*	*vadejje*	*eve*
then	this	way	letting be	dawn	was	when	f.-bird	having got up	going	stove	flour chest	being	of a bottom shell	under	entered	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PRS.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	PART.PT.	GEN.SG.INDEF.	DAT.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Then, when dawn had come, the f.-bird, after having got up, went off and concealed himself under a bottom shell which was in the flour chest of the kitchen.

A ▸den fiňdanā gos otī, Mēliage Dī Kālō kaiśi gāˀ in tanun emme aḍie oˀ naiśā daśaˀ vedefei.◂

den	*fiňdanā*	*gos*	*otī*	*Mēliage*	*Dī*	*Kālō*	*kaiśi*	*gāś*	*in*	*tanun*	*emme*	*aḍie*	*ot*	*naiśā*	*daśaś*	*vedefei*
then	the f.-bird	going	where it was	of M.	daughter	Mrs	coconut	to prepare	sitting	of place	utmost	at bottom	being	the shell	under	entering
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.DEF.	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	ABL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	OBL.DEF.	DAT.	ABS.I

Then the f.-bird hid under the coconut shell which was at the utmost bottom of the place where M.D.K. used to sit (when she was about) to prepare coconuts.

F ▹goho, badige fiśidune oˀ naiśeki daśaha veňḍefē-ai mi ōtī.◃

goho	*badige*	*fiśidune*	*ot*	*naiśeki*	*daśaha*	*veňḍefē*	*ai*	*mi*	*ōtī*
going	kitchen	in chimney	being	of a shell	under	moving	they say	now	what he was is
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	DAT.	ABS.I	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Going (away), he hid under a shell which was in the chimney of the kitchen.

33

M ⟨boḍanfuḷu hedunu teduve kudīnnaś kān dēn vegen, badigeˀaś vade bat tavā balālī ˀiru, kamaku dākaś net_ eve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*heňdunu*	*teduve*	*kudīnnaś*	*kāš*	*dēš*	*vegen*	*badigeaś*	*vade*	*bat*	*tavā*	*balālī*	*iru*	*kamaku*	*dākaś*	*net*	*eve*
b.-bird	morning	getting up	to children	to eat	to give	in order	to kitchen	enter	rice	pan	looking	time	a thing	to give	there is not	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	DAT.PL.	INF.	INF.	ABS.III	DAT.SG.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	INF.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.

When the b.-bird, having got up in the morning, entered the kitchen in order to give food to the children and looked into the rice cooking pan, there was nothing to give (to them).

A ▸den boňḍanā hennāi teduvigen, beli kō mi hiśī bat tarā faˀ kāfei niki hiśi ēne eteraˀ gū lāfei.◂

den	*boňḍanā*	*hennāi*	*teduvigen*	*beli*	*kō*	*mi*	*hiśī*	*bat*	*tarā*	*fat*	*kāfei*	*niki*	*hiśi*	*ēne*	*eteraś*	*gū*	*lāfei*
then	the b.-bird	at morning	getting up	looked	when	now	the way it was was	rice	cooking	pan	eating	rest	being	remainder	into	dropping	laying
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.SG.DEF.	LOC.SG.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.?	ABS.I	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.I

Then when the b.-bird had got up in the morning and looked around, he realised that a dropping had been laid into what was left in the cooking pan after eating.

F ▹ov vēlai, heňdune tedēgat-ai boňḍanu.◃

ot	*vēlai*	*heňdune*	*tedēgat*	*ai*	*boňḍanu*
being	at time	in morning	he got up	they say	b.-bird
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
PART.PRS.	LOC.	LOC.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.

After remaining (so), the b.-bird got up in the morning.

33a

M ⟨bat tavāgaʾi hurī, muḷīn gui_ eve.⟩

bat	*tavāgai*	*hurī*	*muḷīn*	*gui*	*eve*
rice	in pan	what is	totally	excrements	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ABL.	NOM.SG.	EXT.

In the rice pan there were only excrements.

F ▹tedē matigeśa arā, belī kal, mi e tibi hai ala kāfē, rubāyyē furā gū lāfē hīši.◃

tedē	*matigeśa*	*arā*	*belī*	*kal*	*mi*	*e*	*tibi*	*hai*	*ala*	*kāfē*	*rubāyyē*	*furā*	*gū*	*lāfē*	*hīši*
getting up	to uphouse	climbing	looked	time	this one	that one(’s)	being	all	yam	eating	pot	filling	dropping	laying	it was
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	DPRON	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	DAT.	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.I	PT.3SG.

When he got up, climbed upon the uphouse and looked around, he realised that all the yam he had (possessed) had been eaten, and the pot had been refilled with a dropping.

34

M ⟨den ruḷi ʾaʾisgen fidanfuḷu hōdamun ʾekaʾceʾ hiʾlā nu fenigen, ʾaneʾkaceʾ hiʾlamun gos, fidanfuḷu vade ʾot nāši hiʾlā leviʾje ʾeve.⟩

den	*ruḷi*	*aisgen*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*hōdamun*	*ekaccek*	*hillā*	*nu*	*fenigen*	*anekkacek*	*hillamun*	*gos*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*vade*	*ot*	*nāši*	*hillā*	*levijje*	*eve*
then	angry	having (be)come	f.-bird	seeking	one thing	lifting	not	appearing	another thing	lifting	going	f.-bird	entering	being	shell	lifting	shouted	they say
ADV	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.	GRND.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.	NEG.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.INDEF.	GRND.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	PART.PT.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Then, having become angry, he went (around) in search for the f.-bird, lifting one thing – he does not show up, lifting another thing and going (on like this). (Finally) when he lifted the shell under which the f.-bird had hid, he shouted:

A ▸den boňḍanā riḍi aragen fiňdanā hōdāmun hōdāmun mi enī gos Mēliage Dī Kālō kaiśi gāʾ in tān.◂

den	*boňḍanā*	*riḍi*	*aragen*	*fiňdanā*	*hōdāmun*	*hōdāmun*	*mi*	*enī*	*gos*	*Mēliage*	*Dī*	*Kālō*	*kaiśi*	*gāś*	*in*	*tāś*
then	the b.-bird	angry	arising	the f.-bird	searching	searching	now	where he comes is	going	of M.	D.	K.	coconut	to prepare	sitting	place
ADV	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	VERB	PN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN
TEMP.	OBL.SG.DEF.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.DEF.	GRND.	GRND.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABS.	GEN.SG.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	DAT.

Then the b.-bird, having become angry, went around searching and searching for the f.-bird, and (finally he arrived) at the place where M.D.K. was sitting preparing coconuts.

F ▹den, huvamun gē kal badige fiśidune oʾ naiśa daśaha veňḍefē-ai mi ōtī.◃

den	*huvamun*	*gē*	*kal*	*badige*	*fiśidune*	*ot*	*naiśa*	*daśaha*	*veňḍefē*	*ai*	*mi*	*ōtī*
then	searching	gone	at time	kitchen	in chimney	being	shell	under	moving	they say	now	what he was is
ADV	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	GRND.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.I	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Then, when he went searching him, he (found him) hidden under the coconut shell in the chimney of the kitchen.

34a

A ▸**boňḍanā gos naiśi feredamun gē kō, emme vati oʾ naiśā daśun ea nāgaʾ.**◂

boňḍanā	*gos*	*naiśi*	*feredamun*	*gē*	*kō*	*emme*	*vati*	*ot*	*naiśā*	*daśun*	*ea*	*nāgat*
the b.-bird	going	shells	shuffling	went	when	utmost	at bottom	being	shell	from under	that one	it finally lifted
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADV	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB
OBL.SG.DEF.	ABS.	NOM.	GRND.	PART.PT.	OBL.	MOD.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.SG.DEF.	ABL.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

By going on shuffling the coconut shells, he finally lifted (the f.-bird up from) under the shell at the utmost bottom (of the heap).

F ▹**ov vēlai, damān eregen,**◃

ov	*vēlai*	*damān*	*eregen*
being	at time	pulling	being lifted
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PRS.	LOC.	ABS.III	ABS.III

When he (found him), (the f.-bird), after being lifted up by being pulled,

35

A ▸**den taḷamun taḷamun gos, nagafei, hūruvafei, elli mei jeheṇei raʾ bēre hiśi kaśi kuňburu hālaki etere.**◂

den	*taḷamun*	*taḷamun*	*gos*	*nagafei*	*hūruvafei*	*elli*	*mei*	*jeheṇei*	*raś*	*bēre*	*hiśi*	*kaśi*	*kuňburu*	*hālaki*	*etere*
then	striking	striking	going	lifting	swaying	hurled	when	where it hit was	land	outside	being	thorn	bushes	of a thicket	inside
ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
TEMP.	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	ABS.I	ABS.I	PART.PT.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.

Then (the f.-bird), after being struck on and on, lifted, swayed around and hurled away, hit in the thicket of thorny trees outside of the land.

F ▹**taḷā taḷāfē, kudu ge matten, boňḍo ge matten nagāfē, ellum mā jehūnī kaśi kumburu bāleki.**◃

taḷā	*taḷāfē*	*kudu*	*ge*	*matten*	*boňḍo*	*ge*	*matten*	*nagāfē*	*ellum*	*mā*	*jehūnī*	*kaśi*	*kumburu*	*bāleki*
beating	beating	small	house	from above	big	house	from above	raising	throwing	when	where he hit was	thorn	bush	in a thicket
VERB	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	ABL.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABL.	ABS.I	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.INDEF.

being thrown and being beaten and beaten, being lifted above the small house and above the big house, hit in a thicket of thorny bush(es).

M ⟨**den ruḷi ʾaʾisgen ʾatugaʾi hifāfaʾi damā nere ʾilośi faʾceʾ hus vā den taḷāfaʾi**⟩

den	*ruḷi*	*aisgen*	*atugai*	*hifāfai*	*damā*	*nere*	*ilośi*	*faccek*	*hus*	*vā*	*den*	*taḷāfai*
then	angry	having (be)come	in hand	grasping	pulling	bringing out	brushwood	a broom	empty	being	then	striking
ADV	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	PRED.	ABS.III	LOC.SG.	ABS.I	ABS.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRED.	PART.PRS.NOM.	TEMP.	ABS.I

Then, having become (more) angry, he grasped (the f.-bird) with his hand, pulled him, took him outside, struck him (with) a brushwood broom when he was free again,

35a

M ⟨**ʾatugaʾi hifā hūrā hūrāfaʾi ʾeʾlālī mā, boḍu ge matin kuḍa ge matin gos veʾṭenī kaśi kuburu valakaś_ eve.**⟩

atugai	*hifā*	*hūrā*	*hūrāfai*	*ellālī*	*mā*	*boḍu*	*ge*	*matin*	*kuḍa*	*ge*	*matin*	*gos*	*veṭṭenī*	*kaśi*	*kuňburu*	*valakaś*	*eve*
in hand	grasping	swaying	swaying	hurled	when	big	house	over	small	house	over	going	where it falls is	thorn	bush	to thicket	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
LOC.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	ABS.I	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ABS.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.INDEF.	EXT.

grasping him (again) with his hand, swaying and swaying him, he hurled him over the big house and over the small house, and he fell down in a thicket of thorny bushes.

36

M ⟨**den fidanfuḷu ʾe tāgaʾi ʾove varubali filuvaʾigen nukut ʾiru hurī ʾe tan mi tanaś kaśi heri furifa ʾeve.**⟩

den	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*e*	*tāgai*	*ove*	*varubali*	*filuvaigen*	*nukut*	*iru*	*hurī*	*e*	*tan*	*mi*	*tanaś*	*kaśi*	*heri*	*furifa*	*eve*
then	f.-bird	that	in place	being	tired	having hidden	came out	time	where he was is	that	place	this	to place	thorn	pierced	filled up	they say
ADV	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	DAT.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.I	EXT.

Then when the f.-bird, having become tired by hiding himself lying in that place, came out, he was filled up, pierced by thorns here and there.

A ▸**jehifei, fai uḍumaʾ kāśaʾ vedege.**◂

jehifei	*fai*	*uḍumaś*	*kāśak*	*vedege*
hitting	foot	to heel	a thorn	entered
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

When he hit (there), a thorn pierced his heel.

F ▹**mi tani ove heluvigat tav vannaī kāśi-ai.**◃

mi	*tani*	*ove*	*heluvigat*	*tan*	*vannaī*	*kāśi*	*ai*
this	at place	being	got to shake	at moment	what pierced was	thorn	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.	ABS.	PART.PT.III	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	EXT.

When he was there, just when he (was able to) shake (his body again), his body was pierced by thorn(s).

36a

F ▹**fereḍīgat-as, vannaī kāśi ai.**◃

fereḍīgat	*as*	*vannaī*	*kāśi*	*ai*
got to roll	even if	what pierced was	thorn	they say
VERB	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.III	CONC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	EXT.

(When he was able) to roll again, he was pierced by thorn(s).

37

F ▹**mi hāleki miū telifu kurī lūdīgen.**◃

mi	*hāleki*	*miū*	*telifu*	*kurī*	*lūdīgen*
this	in a state	this one's	ruin	the way it made	being torn
DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.PT.+FOC. (M!)	ABS.III

In this state, he was (practically) destroyed by being torn.

37a

F **▹nukumegat-ai.◃**

nukumegat	*ai*
got out	they say
VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.III	EXT.

Finally he got out.

38

M **⟨den higani koś devunī vaḍān kurā baʾeʾge kaʾiriʾaś_ eve.⟩**

den	*hiňgani*	*koś*	*devunī*	*vaḍān*	*kurā*	*baekge*	*kairiaś*	*eve*
then	walking	doing	where he ended up was	handicraft	making	of a share	to near	they say
ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	PART.PRS.	ABS.	PART.PT.POT.+FOC.	NOM.SG.	PART.PRS.	GEN.SG.INDEF.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

Then he walked around, and he ended up near a share of craft(smen).

F **▹nukumegen, goho atire ruk kana matte nukumevūni, veḍi bannaha hīśi haregi doraha ve-ai.◃**

nukumegen	*goho*	*atire*	*ruk kana*	*matte*	*nukumevūni*	*veḍi*	*bannaha*	*hīśi*	*haregi*	*doraha*	*ve*	*ai*
getting out	going	of shore	tree trunk	upon	where he was able to get out was	oḍi	to build	being	wharf	near	they say	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC (M?)	QPARTC
ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.II.POT.+FOC.	OBL.	INF.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	DAT.	EXT.	EXT.

Coming out and going on along the trunk of a coconut tree on the beach, he finally got out near the wharf where oḍi(s) were being built.

39

M **⟨gosfaʾi, fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve. bēbē bēbē ʾē, timange faʾigaʾi mihira kaśi nagaʾi dī balāś_ eve.⟩**

gosfai	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbē*	*bēbē*	*ē*	*timange*	*faigai*	*mihira*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
Having gone	f.-bird	said	they say	(elder) brother	brother	saying	own's	in foot	this here	thorn	taking out	giving	to look	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	INT.	GEN.SG.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

Having gone (there), the f.-bird said, '(elder) brother, brother, please pull these thorns out of my foot.'

F **▹nukume beṇi-ai, bēbē-ai, timā fāi mi hīśi kāśi naganna vāḷi denna kē.◃**

nukume	*beṇi*	*ai*	*bēbē*	*ai*	*timā*	*fāi*	*mi*	*hīśi*	*kāśi*	*naganna*	*vāḷi*	*denna*	*kē*
coming out	he said	they say	brother	saying	self	in foot	here	being	thorn	to tear off	knife	to give	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	INT.	ATTR.	LOC.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

Having come out, he said, '(elder) brother, could you please give me a knife for cutting out the thorn(s) from my foot.'

40

M ⟨**bunī mā māvaḍi kalēge bunefi ʾeve. bēbe valiʾaku tuḍeʾ net_ eve. ʾehara bēbe kaʾiriʾaś dāś_ eve.**⟩

bunī	***mā***	***māvaḍi***	***kalēge***	***bunefi***	***eve***	***bēbe***	***valiaku***	***tuṅḍek***	***net***	***eve***	***ehara***	***bēbe***	***kairiaś***	***dāś***	***eve***
said	when	main craftsman	sir	said	they say	brother	a knife	a point	there is not	saying	that there	brother	to near	to go	saying
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	PT.L3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	INF.	INT.

When he said (so), the main craftsman said, ‘(elder) brother, (my) knife has no point. Go to that brother.’

F **▹beṇā beṇi-ai, bēbē, vāḷe tuṅḍaʾ net-ai, e hiśi bēbē ekahi beṇanna kē.◃**

beṇā	***beṇi***	***ai***	***bēbē***	***vāḷe***	***tuṅḍak***	***net***	***ai***	***e***	***hiśi***	***bēbē***	***ekahi***	***beṇanna***	***kē***
saying	he said	they say	brother	at knife	point	there is not	saying	there	being	brother	together with	to talk	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	LOC.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

(At his) saying (so), (that one) said, ‘(elder) brother, there is no point on (my) knife, talk to that brother over there.’

41

M ⟨**bunī mā ʾēnā kaʾiriʾaś gos fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve.**⟩

bunī	***mā***	***ēnā***	***kairiaś***	***gos***	***fiṅdanfuḷu***	***bunefi***	***eve***
said	when	him	to near	going	f.-bird	said	they say
VERB	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	OBL.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.I	EXT.

When he said (so), the f.-bird, going near to (that man), said:

F **▹beṇā e bēbē ekaha ebage-ai.◃**

beṇā	***e***	***bēbē***	***ekaha***	***ebage***	***ai***
saying	that	brother	near	he went	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so), he went near that (elder) brother.

42

M ⟨**bēbē magē faʾigā mihira kaśi nagā dī balāś_ eve.**⟩

bēbē	***magē***	***faigā***	***mihira***	***kaśi***	***nagā***	***dī***	***balāś***	***eve***
brother	my	in foot	this here	thorn	taking off	giving	to look	saying
NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	GEN.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

‘(Elder) brother, please pull this thorn out of my foot.’

F **▹goho beṇi-ai bēbē-ai, timā fai mi hīśi kāśi naganna vāḷi denna kē.◃**

goho	***beṇi***	***ai***	***bēbē***	***ai***	***timā***	***fai***	***mi***	***hīśi***	***kāśi***	***naganna***	***vāḷi***	***denna***	***kē***
going	he said	they say	brother	saying	self	in foot	here	being	thorn	to tear off	knife	to give	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	INT.	ATTR.	LOC.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

Having gone (there), he said, ‘brother, could you please give me a knife for cutting out the thorn(s) from my foot.’

43

M ⟨**bunī mā, ʾēnā bunefi ʾeve bēbe valiʾaku tuḍeʾ net_ eve ʾe hen bēbe kaʾiraś dāś_ eve.**⟩

bunī	*mā*	*ēnā*	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbe*	*valiaku*	*tuňḍek*	*net*	*eve*	*e*	*hen*	*bēbe*	*kairaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
said	when	he	said	they say	brother	a knife	a point	there is not	saying	that	way	brother	to near	to go	saying
VERB	NOUN	PPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.	PT.1.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	INF.	INT.

When he said (so), he (the craftsman) said: ‘(Elder) brother, (my) knife has no point, go to another brother (lit. "of that way").

F **▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timā vāḷeki-as, tuňḍaʾ net--ai, e bēbē ekahi beṇanna kē.◃**

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*vāḷeki*	*as*	*tuňḍak*	*net*	*ai*	*e*	*bēbē*	*ekahi*	*beṇanna*	*kē*
saying	he said	they say	self	at knife	yet	point	there is not	saying	that	brother	together with	to talk	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	MOD.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

(At his) saying (so), (that one) said, ‘brother, my knife has no point, talk to that brother.’

44

F **▹beṇā ebage-ai.◃**

beṇā	*ebage*	*ai*
saying	he went	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying so, (the f.-bird) went away (again).

45

M ⟨**mi hen higaʾi ʾekaku ves kaśi nagaʾi nu dinī mā varaś dera vegen kurānē kameʾ netigen**⟩

mi	*hen*	*hiňgai*	*ekaku*	*ves*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*nu*	*dinī*	*mā*	*varaś*	*dera*	*vegen*	*kurānē*	*kamek*	*netigen*
this	way	walking	one	even	thorn	taking off	not	given	when	very	weak	becoming	going to do	a thing	not being present
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CARD	PARTC	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	NEG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.FUT.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.III

Walking around like this and having become very weak after no one could help him to get off the thorns, there was nothing he could do,

45a

M ⟨**rōmun rōmun gos nukumevunīʾatiri maʾcaś_ eve.**⟩

rōmun	*rōmun*	*gos*	*nukumevunī*	*atiri*	*maccaś*	*eve*
crying	crying	going	where he arrived at was	beach	upon	they say
VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	PART.PT.POT.+FOC.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

and after running around crying and crying, he finally arrived upon the beach.

46

M ⟨ʾe tāgaʾi rōnu vaśan de tin ʾanhenun tiʾb_ eve.⟩

e	*tāgai*	*rōnu*	*vaśan*	*de*	*tin*	*anhenun*	*tibi*	*eve*
that	in place	rope	twisting	two	three	women	were	they say
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	CARD	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.SG.	NOM.SG.	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.

At that place, there were two or three women twisting ropes.

46a

M ⟨den ʾe tanaś gos fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve.⟩

den	*e*	*tanaś*	*gos*	*fiñdanfuḷu*	*bunefi*	*eve*
then	that	to place	going	f.-bird	said	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

Having gone to that place, the f.-bird said:

46b

M ⟨daʾita daʾitā ʾē, timange faʾigā mihira kaśi nagaʾi dī balāś_ eve.⟩

daita	*daitā*	*ē*	*timange*	*faigā*	*mihira*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
lady	lady	saying	own's	in foot	this here	thorn	taking off	giving	to look	saying
NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	INT.	GEN.SG.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

'Lady, lady, please pull this thorn out off my foot.'

46c

M ⟨bunī mā bunefi ʾeve daʾita vaḷiʾaku, tuḍeʾ net_ eve ʾēda daʾita kaʾiriʾaś dāś_ eve.⟩

bunī	*mā*	*bunefi*	*eve*	*daita*	*vaḷiaku*	*tuṅḍek*	*net*	*eve*	*ēda*	*daita*	*kairiaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
said	when	said	they say	lady	a knife	a point	there is not	saying	that	sister	to near	to go	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	INF.	INT.

When he said so, she said, 'my knife has no point, go to that lady.'

47

M ⟨**bunī mā gos bunefi_ ē daʾitā ʾē magē faʾigaʾi mihira kaśi nagaʾi dī balāś_ eve.**⟩

bunī	*mā*	*gos*	*bunefī*	*ē*	*daitā*	*ē*	*magē*	*faigai*	*mihira*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
said	when	going	what he said was	they say	sister	saying	my	in foot	this	thorn	taking off	giving	to look	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	INT.	GEN.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

When she said so, going (there) he said, ‘(elder) sister, please pull this thorn out of my foot.’

F **▹goho, e bēbē ekahi beṇi-ai, timā fai mi hīši kāśi naganna vāḷi denna kē.◃**

goho	*e*	*bēbē*	*ekahi*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*fāi*	*mi*	*hīši*	*kāśi*	*naganna*	*vāḷi*	*denna*	*kē*
going	that	brother	to	he said	they say	self	in foot	here	being	thorn	to tear off	knife	to give	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

Having gone (there), he said to that brother, ‘could you please give me a knife for cutting out the thorn(s) from my foot.’

48

M ⟨**bunumun mi daʾita, fidanfuḷu faʾin kaśi nagaʾi dīfi ʾeve.**⟩

bunumun	*mi*	*daita*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*fain*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dīfi*	*eve*
saying	this	lady	f.-bird	from foot	thorn	taking off	gave	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
GRND.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

At his saying so, this lady took off the thorn from the f.-bird’s foot for him.

F **▹beṇā derefi-ai.◃**

beṇā	*derefi*	*ai*
saying	he gave	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so), (that one) gave (it to him).

49

M ⟨**den fidanfuḷu vī ʾufalun gos ʾatiri matīgaʾi huri rukeʾge daśugaʾi ʾidegen mi hen ʾeba kiya ʾeve.**⟩

den	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*vī*	*ufalun*	*gos*	*atiri*	*matīgai*	*huri*	*rukegge*	*daśugai*	*iňdegen*	*mi*	*hen*	*eba*	*kia*	*eve*
then	f.-bird	what he became was	by luck	going	beach	upon	being	of a palm tree	under	sitting	this	way	there	speaking	they say
ADV	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ABL.SG.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	PART.PT.	GEN.SG.	LOC.SG.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	LOC.	ABS.	EXT.

Then, the f.-bird, after happily going away and sitting down under a palm tree which stood on the beach, spoke the following (words):

A ▸**den gōvamun dememun fēru kalēge ekahaʾ gos, kaśie naguvagen kināra assēriaʾ gos, iňde mi kēnī:**◂

den	*gōvamun*	*dememun*	*fēru*	*kalēge*	*ekahaś*	*gos*	*kaśie*	*naguvagen*	*kināra*	*assēriaś*	*gos*	*iňde*	*mi*	*kēnī*
then	crying	pulling himself	weaver	person's	near to	going	the thorn	having torn out	edge	to shore	going	sitting	now	it says
ADV	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	GRND.	GRND.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Then (again), by crying and crawling he moved himself to the weaver's, (and) having got him to tear the thorn out, he went to the shore, sat down and said,

F ▹**dinum mā, vāḷi hifān goho, rukkaṇo matte iňde kāśi negege.**◃

dinum	*mā*	*vāḷi*	*hifān*	*goho*	*rukkaṇo*	*matte*	*iňde*	*kāśi*	*negege*
giving	when	knife	grasping	going	tree trunk	upon	sitting	thorn	it was pulled out
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.

After having been given the knife and having taken (it), he went off and finally he was able to pull out the thorn (while) sitting on the (coconut) tree trunk.

50

M ⟨**"ran fośṭeʾ laʾgaḷē, ma in magaś laʾgaḷē ran fośṭeʾ laʾgalē."**⟩

ran	*fottek*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*fottek*	*laggā-uḷē*
gold	a box	let float ashore	I	sitting	to road	let float ashore	gold	a box	let float ashore
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.

'Let a golden box float ashore, let it float ashore to the place (lit. "road") where I am sitting, let a golden box float ashore.'

A ▸**'e gē faṇṇaʾ laʾ ni vēňḍe, afagē faṇṇaʾ lav vēňḍe.'**◂

e	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*ni*	*vēňḍe*	*afagē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*vēňḍe*
that	house	to beach	floating ashore	not	be	our	to beach	floating ashore	be
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	??	PARTC	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	??	VERB
ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.	??	NEG.	IMPV.2SG.	GEN.	DAT.	??	IMPV.2SG.

'(Whatever there is,) may it not float ashore to the beach of that house but may it float ashore to the beach of our house!'

F ▹**'mi kēnī, ta gē faṇṇaʾ tō, ma gē faṇṇaʾ tō, lak-keranī kāka gē faṇṇaʾ tō?'**◃

mi	*kēnī*	*ta*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*tō*	*ma*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*tō*	*lak-keranī*	*kāka*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*tō*
now	what he says is	your	of house	to beach way	whether	my	house	to beach way	whether	where it floats is	whose	of house	to beach way	asking
ADV	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	VERB	IPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC
TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.	CONJ.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.		PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.	

Then he said, '(will it float) to the beach of your house, (will it float) to the beach of my house, to the beach of whose house will it float?'

50a

F **▹ma im magaʾ laggaḷē̄, ran foṭṭeʾ laggaḷē̄!◃***

ma	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē̄*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē̄*
I	sitting	to road	it may float ashore (?)	gold	a box	it may float ashore (?)
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)

‘May it float ashore to the place (lit. "road") where I am sitting, may a gold box float ashore (here).’

50b

F **▹‘e im magaʾ nu laggaḷē̄ ran foṭṭeʾ laggaḷē̄!’◃***

e	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē̄*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē̄*
that one	sitting	to street	not	it may float ashore	gold	a box	it may float ashore
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	NEG. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)

‘May it not float ashore to the place (lit. "road") where that one is sitting, may a gold box float ashore.’

51

M **⟨mi hen kiya kiyā ʾindā foṡṭeʾ ʾoyā ʾanna tan feniʾje ʾeve.⟩**

mi	*hen*	*kia*	*kiā*	*indā*	*foṭṭek*	*oi*	*ā*	*anna*	*tan*	*fenijje*	*eve*
this	way	speaking	speaking	sitting	a box	current	with	coming	place	appeared	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	RABS.	RABS.	ABS.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When he was sitting there, talking and talking like this, a box appeared at the place, coming with the current.

A **▸kē vēlei laʾ vī feśigaňḍaʾ.◂**

kē	*vēlei*	*lak*	*vī*	*feśigaňḍak*
said	while	floating ashore	what became	a box
VERB	NOUN	??	VERB	NOUN
PART.PRS.	LOC.	??	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.

When he said (so), a box came floating ashore.

F **▹kēnna gatun mā fēśaʾ lak-kōlli-ai.◃**

kēnna	*gatun*	*mā*	*fēśak*	*lak-kōlli*	*ai*
to speak	getting	when	a box	floated ashore	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
INF.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

After he had finished saying so, a box came floating ashore (to him).

52

M ⟨varaś ʾufalun ʾindā ʾaʾis leʾgī mā fośi balāli ʾiru taḷudaḍi ves hurī jahāfa ʾeve.⟩

varaś	*ufalun*	*indā*	*ais*	*leggī*	*mā*	*fośi*	*balāli*	*iru*	*taḷudaṅḍi*	*ves*	*hurī*	*jahāfa*	*eve*
very	happily	sitting	coming	floated	when	box	looked	time	key	even	being	hitting	they say
NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
DAT.SG.	ABL.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	MOD.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ABS.	EXT.

When he looked at the box after it had come floating ashore while he was sitting (there) very happily, (he realised that) even the key was fixed (to it.)

53

M ⟨fośi huḷuvāli ʾiru, boḍu ran foʾṭek_ eve. hurīʾeki vaʾtaru vaʾtaruge ran_ eve.⟩

fośi	*huḷuvāli*	*iru*	*boḍu*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*eve*	*hurī*	*eki*	*vattaru*	*vattaruge*	*ran*	*eve*
box	opened	time	big	gold	a box	they say	what was is	together	form	of form	gold	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	VERB	ADV	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	EXT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	MOD.	OBL.SG.	GEN.SG.	NOM.SG.	EXT.

When he shook the box, it was a big golden box. There was gold all about.

A ▸huḷuvai beli kō, feśigaṅḍi tibī hus ran veli.◂

huḷuvai	*beli*	*kō*	*feśigaṅḍi*	*tibī*	*hus*	*ram*	*veli*
opening	looked	when	in box	what was is	empty	gold	sand
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.

When he opened it and looked inside, pure (lit. "empty") golden sand was in the box.

54

M ⟨den rantaʾ minan vegen nāḷiʾeʾ balā diyaʾī, fidanfuḷuge bēbe boḍanfuḷuge geyaś_ eve.⟩

den	*rantak*	*minan*	*vegen*	*nāḷiek*	*balā*	*diaī*	*fiṅdanfuḷuge*	*bēbe*	*boṅḍanfuḷuge*	*geaś*	*eve*
then	gold	measuring	in order	a vessel	looking	where he went was	f.-bird's	brother	b.-bird's	to house	they say
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.PL. (!)	INF.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.SG.	OBL.SG.	GEN.SG.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

Then, looking for a vessel to measure the gold, he went to the house of the b.-bird, the f.-bird's (elder) brother.

A ▸vī ufalun, nagai, koṅḍaʾ lāgen gos, gē bāhiśuvai, mināʾ gei boṅḍanā gēʾ nāḷi hōdāʾ.◂

vī	*ufalun*	*nagai*	*koṅḍaś*	*lāgen*	*gos*	*gē*	*bāhiśuvai*	*mināś*	*gei*	*boṅḍanā*	*gēś /geaś/*	*nāḷi*	*hōdāś*
become	by luck	lifting	to shoulder	laying	going	in house	storing	to measure	where he went was	the b.-bird	to house	n.-measure	to look for
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	ABL.	ABS.	DAT.	ABS.III	ABS.	LOC.	ABS.	INF.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.DEF.	DAT.	NOM.	INF.

Having been lucky that (this) had happened, he lifted it and laid it on (his) shoulder, and having stored it at home, he went to the b.-bird's house in order to search for a *nāḷi* (measure) to weigh it.

F ▹lak-keram mā fiṅdanu hedī vaḍāmakī fēśi nagā koṅḍe lān geśa ebage-ai.◃

lak-keran	*mā*	*fiṅdanu*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*fēśi*	*nagā*	*koṅḍe*	*lāgen*	*geśa*	*ebage*	*ai*
floated ashore	when	f.-bird	done	a manner was	box	taking up	on shoulder	laying	to house	he went	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.	LOC.	ABS.III	DAT.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When it came floating ashore, the f.-bird lifted the box, laid it on his shoulder and went to his house.

54a

F **▹geśa goho, mati helī kal mī ran fēšak-ai.◃**

geśa	*goho*	*mati*	*helī*	*kal*	*mī*	*ran*	*fēšak*	*ai*
to house	going	cover	turning	time	what this was is	gold	a box	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
DAT.	ABS.	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	EXT.

When he had gone home and lifted its lid, it turned out to be a box of gold (lit. "gold box").

F **▹mīe furā mi hīšī ran-ai.◃**

mīe	*furā*	*mi*	*hīšī*	*ran*	*ai*
in this	filling	here	what was being was	gold	they say
DPRON	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
LOC.	ABS.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	EXT.

It turned out to be filled with gold.

54b

F **▹hiśu vēlai boňḍanuśa feṇuvāli-ai nāḷi huvanna.◃**

hiśu	*vēlai*	*boňḍanuśa*	*feṇuvāli*	*ai*	*nāḷi*	*huvanna*
being	at time	to b.-bird	he sent	they say	n.-vessel	to search for
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
PART.PRS.	LOC.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	INF.

At that time, he sent (someone) to the b.-bird in order to ask for a *nāḷi*-vessel.

55

A **▸gē kō, boňḍanā geaki neʾ.◂**

gē	*kō*	*boňḍanā*	*geaki*	*net*
went	when	the b.-bird	at home	is not
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.

When he went there, the b.-bird was not at home.

56

A **▸boňḍanāge anhenun inī.◂**

boňḍanāge	*anhenun*	*inī*
of the b.-bird	wife	is sitting
NOUN	NOUN	VERB
GEN.DEF.	NOM.PL.(HON.)	PART.PT.

(But) the b.-bird’s wife was sitting (there).

57

A **▸fiňdanā beṇī, mi aī naḷi hōdaʾ.◂**

fiňdanā	*beṇī*	*mi*	*aī*	*naḷi*	*hōdāś*
the f.-bird	said	here	what I have come for is	n.-measure	to look for
NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	INF.

The f.-bird said, ‘I have come to look for a *naḷi* measure.’

F **▹fenum mā, miūśa naḷi derefi-ai.◃**

fenum	*mā*	*miūśa*	*naḷi*	*derefi*	*ai*
appearing	when	to this one	n.-vessel	he gave	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	DAT.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When (the one he had sent) appeared (there), (the b.-bird) gave him the *naḷi*.

M **⟨gosfaʾi bunefi ʾeve. bēbē naḷi dī balāś_ eve.⟩**

gosfai	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbē*	*naḷi*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
Having gone	said	they say	brother	vessel	giving	to look	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

Having gone there, he said, ‘brother, please give me a measuring vessel.

57a

M **⟨ʾeʾī kī kuran tō ʾehumun, ʾeʾceʾ minelāś_ ē bune naḷi ʾatulaʾigen higaʾje ʾeve.⟩**

eī	*kīk*	*kuran*	*tō*	*ehumun*	*eccek*	*minelāś*	*ē*	*bune*	*naḷi*	*atulaigen*	*hiňgajje*	*eve*
this is	what	to do	whether	asking	a thing	to measure	saying	saying	vessel	taking	went off	they say
DPRON	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.	GRND.	NOM.SG.	INF.II	INT.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When (the b.-bird) asked, ‘what do (you need it) for?’, he said, ‘for measuring something’ and went off, taking the vessel.

58

A **▸beṇi mei, naḷi din kō, mi dinī miāi etere tallā kahalei ettaʾ lāfei.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*naḷi*	*din*	*kō*	*mi*	*dinī*	*miāi*	*etere*	*tallā*	*kahalei*	*ettak*	*lāfei*
said	when	n.-measure	given	when	now	the way she gave was	of this	inside	to stick	of sort	something	laying
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.I

At his saying (so), when she gave him the *naḷi*, she gave it to him after sticking something inside of it.

59

M ⟨ran mine ʾavadi vegen nāḷi gendiyaʾī nāḷīgaʾi huri lōvaḷakaś ran koḷeʾ jahāfa ʾeve.⟩

ran	*mine*	*avadi*	*vegen*	*nāḷi*	*gendiaī*	*nāḷīgai*	*huri*	*lōvaḷakaś*	*ran*	*koḷek*	*jahāfa*	*eve*
gold	measuring	finished	becoming	vessel	how he took away was	in vessel	being	to a hole	gold	a piece	having left	they say
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	LOC.SG.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.INDEF.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.I	EXT.

After he had finished measuring the gold, he took it back, (with) a piece of gold having been left in a hole which was in the vessel.

A ▸fiňdanā gos, ram veli minagen aṁbarai nāḷi derefi.◂

fiňdanā	*gos*	*ran*	*veli*	*minagen*	*aṁbarai*	*nāḷi*	*derefi*
the f.-bird	going	gold	sand	measuring	turning	n.-measure	he gave
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
NOM.DEF.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

The f.-bird went (off and), after measuring the gold sand, he returned the *nāḷi*-measure.

F ▹nāḷi dinum mā, goho, ran minegen nāḷie fuḷe hīši baleki etere ran keḍaʾ jahāgen ebage-ai.◃

nāḷi	*dinum*	*mā*	*goho*	*ran*	*minegen*	*nāḷie*	*fuḷe*	*hīši*	*baleki*	*etere*	*ran*	*keḍak*	*jahāgen*	*ebage*	*ai*
n.-vessel	giving	when	going	gold	measuring	of n-vessel	in bottom	being	in a hole	within	gold	a piece	hitting	he went	they say
NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.III	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	LOC.INDEF.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After being given the *nāḷi*, he went (back); and leaving a piece of gold in a hole which was at the bottom of the *nāḷi* when measuring the gold, (the f.-bird) went back.

60

M ⟨gengos nāḷi dinī mā nāḷi balālāfaʾi ran koḷu fenigen, bunefi ʾeve.⟩

gengos	*nāḷi*	*dinī*	*mā*	*nāḷi*	*balālāfai*	*ran*	*koḷu*	*fenigen*	*bunefi*	*eve*
having brought	n.-vessel	gave	when	vessel	having inspected	gold	piece	appearing	said	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When he returned the vessel after having brought (it back), (the b.-bird) said when he inspected it and the piece of gold appeared:

A ▸boňḍanā anhenun nāḷi beli kō, eai etere tibī ram veli tallāfei.◂

boňḍanā	*anhenun*	*nāḷi*	*beli*	*kō*	*eai*	*etere*	*tibī*	*ran*	*veli*	*tallāfei*
the b.-bird	wife	n.-measure	looked	when	of that	inside	what was was	gold	sand	sticking
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.DEF.	OBL.PL.(HON.)	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.

When the b.-bird's wife inspected the *nāḷi*-measure, she found gold sand sticking (inside).

61

A ▸boňḍanā geu ā mei, eage anhenun kēfi, tage rahumatteri fiňdanā ada mi geʾ nāḷi hōdagen gos, minī ram veli-au.◂

boňḍanā	*geaś*	*ā*	*mei*	*eage*	*anhenun*	*kēfi*	*tage*	*rahumatteri*	*fiňdanā*	*ada*	*mi*	*geʾš*	*nāḷi*	*hōdagen*	*gos*	*minī*	*ran*	*veli-*	*au*
the b.-bird	to house	come	when	that one's	wife	said	your	friend	the f.-bird	today	this	to house	n.	seeking	going	what he measured was	gold	sand	saying
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.DEF.	DAT.	PART.PT.	LOC.	GEN.	OBL.PL.(HON.)	PART.PT.	GEN.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	EXT.

When the b.-bird came home, his wife said, 'your friend, the f.-bird, having come to this house today to look for a *nāḷi*-measure, measured gold sand with it.'

61a

A **▸ta gosselāʾ kei, mī ke henakaʾ vī kamaʾ tō balāʾ.◂**

ta	*gosselāś*	*kei*	*mī*	*ke*	*henakaś*	*vī*	*kamak*	*tō*	*balāś*
you	please to go	saying	this	which	to a way	come about	a fact	asking	to look
PPRON	VERB	VERB	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	VERB
OBL.	INF.II	ABS.	NOM.+FOC.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.		INF.

She told him, ‘Would you (please) go to look how this has come about.’

62

A **▸beṇi mei, boňḍanā ebege.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*ebege*
said	when	the b.-bird	went off
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

At her saying so, the b.-bird went off.

62a

M **⟨ʾaʾde! ʾaʾdē! nāḷīgaʾi mihirī kon ran koḷeʾ heʾy_ eve.⟩**

adde!	*addē!*	*nāḷīgai*	*mihirī*	*kon*	*ran*	*koḷek*	*heyo*	*eve*
ah!	ah!	in vessel	what this is	what	gold	a piece	well	saying
INTJ	INTJ	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	QPARTC
=	=	LOC.SG.	NOM.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	INT.

‘Ah, ah! What a piece of gold may this be, in this vessel?’

A **▸den gos ehi rahumatteri miturā, mī ke henakaʾ libeṇe ram vēlaʾ, ta minagen mi hiňganī?◂**

den	*gos*	*ehi*	*rahumatteri*	*miturā*	*mī*	*ke*	*henakaś*	*libeṇe*	*ram*	*vēlak*	*ta*	*minagen*	*mi*	*hiňganī?*
then	going	asked	friend	friend	this	which	to a way	received	gold	sand	you	measuring	here	going around
ADV	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	VERB	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	ABS.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.(+FOC.)	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	ABS.III	LOC.	PART.PRS.

Then, going (there), he asked, ‘my friend, how did you come across the gold sand which you have just been measuring?’

F **▹goho dinum mā, miu beṇanī kontākun huī ranat tai?◃**

goho	*dinun*	*mā*	*miu*	*beṇanī*	*kontākun*	*huī*	*ranak*	*tai?*
going	giving	when	this one	what he says is	from where	where was found is	a gold	asking
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	IPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	

After having gone (there) and given it (back), he asked, ‘where did you find (this) gold?’

63

M ⟨fidanfuḷu bunefi ʾeve bēbē, timannā ʾeʾlālī mā⟩

fiňdanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbē*	*timan*	*ā*	*ellālī*	*mā*
f.-bird	said	they say	brother	self	with	threw	when
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PRON	CONJ	VERB	NOUN
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.

The f.-bird said, ‘(elder) brother, when (you) hurled me (away),

A ▸fiňdanā kēfi, ta timā taḷai taḷafei elli mei gos jeheṇei raʾ bēre kaśi kuňburu hāle etere◂

fiňdanā	*kēfi*	*ta*	*timā*	*taḷai*	*taḷafei*	*elli*	*mei*	*gos*	*jeheṇei*	*raś*	*bēre*	*kaśi*	*kuňburu*	*hāle*	*etere*
the f.-bird	said	you	self	beating	beating	hurled	when	going	where I hit was	land	outside	thorn	bushes	of thicket	inside
NOUN	VERB	PPRON	PRON	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	OBL.	NOM.	RABS.	RABS.I	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.

The f.-bird said, ‘when you hurled me away after beating and beating me, I hit in a thicket of thorny bushes outside the land.’

F ▹beṇā beṇi-ai, e duvahi, bēbē, timā taḷāfē ellum mā kaśi kuňburu bāleki-ai jehūni.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*duvahi*	*bēbē*	*timā*	*taḷāfē*	*ellun*	*mā*	*kaśi*	*kuňburu*	*bāleki*	*ai*	*jehūni.*
saying	he said	they say	that	at day	brother	self	striking	throwing	when	thorn	bush	in a thicket	saying	where I hit was
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.I	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.INDEF.	INT.	PART.PT.+FOC.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, ‘(elder) brother, that day when you struck me and threw me (away), I hit in a thicket of thorny bushes.

63a

A ▸jehifei timā fai uḍumaʾ kāśaʾ van mei, timā dememun dememun gos◂

jehifei	*timā*	*fai*	*uḍumaś*	*kāśak*	*van*	*mei*	*timā*	*dememun*	*dememun*	*gos*
hitting	self	foot	to heel	a thorn	entered	when	self	being pulled	being pulled	going
VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PRON	VERB	VERB	VERB
ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.

‘When I hit (there), a thorn pierced my heel, (and when I) moved off crawling and crawling,

63b

M ⟨ʾatiri matīgaʾi rōn ʾidegen⟩

atiri	*matīgai*	*rōn*	*iňdegen*
beach	upon	to cry	sitting
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	INF.	ABS.III

when I was crying, sitting on the beach,

A ▸**fēru kalēge ekuhun kaśie naguvagen timā kināra assēriaʾ gos iňde mi kēnī:**◂

fēru	*kalēge*	*ekuhun*	*kaśie*	*naguvagen*	*timā*	*kināra*	*assēriaś*	*gos*	*iňde*	*mi*	*kēnī:*
weaver	person's	by	the thorn	having torn out	self	edge	to shore	going	sitting	now	what I am saying is
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	GEN.	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.(+FOC.)

after having the thorn torn out by a weaver's person, I went to the shore, and sitting (there), I said:

F ▹**jehīgen, e tanen nukumegen goho atire rukkanna matte iňdei timā kēnī-ai:**◃

jehīgen	*e*	*tanen*	*nukumegen*	*goho*	*atire*	*rukkanna*	*matte*	*iňdei*	*timā*	*kēnī*	*ai:*
hitting	that	from place	getting out	going	of beach	tree trunk	upon	sitting	self	what said was	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	ATTR.	ABL.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

After having hit there, having got out (again) from this place and having gone (away), I said to myself, sitting on the trunk of a coconut tree:

63c

M ⟨"ran foṯṭeʾ laʾgaḷē. ma ʾin magaś laʾgaḷē."⟩

ran	*foṯṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*
gold	a box	let float ashore	I	sitting	to road	let float ashore
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.

'Let a gold box float ashore, let it float ashore to the beach (lit. "road") where I am sitting, let a gold box float ashore',

A ▸**"afagē faṇṇaʾ laʾ veňḍē e gē faṇṇaʾ laʾ ni veňḍē!"**◂

afagē	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*veňḍē*	*e*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*ni*	*veňḍē*
our	to beach	floating ashore	be	that	of house	to beach	floating	not	be
PPRON	NOUN	??	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	??	PARTC	VERB
GEN.	DAT.	??	IMPV.2SG.	ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.	??	NEG.	IMPV.2SG.

'(Whatever may come floating ashore), may it float ashore to the beach of our house, may it not float ashore to the beach of that house.'

F ▹**e im magaʾ nu laggaḷē ma im magaʾ laggaḷē ran foṯṭaʾ laggaḷē!"**◃*

e	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*foṯṭak*	*laggā-uḷē*
that one	sitting	to road	not	it may float ashore	I	sitting	to road	it may float ashore	gold	a box	it may float ashore
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL. (M!)	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	NEG. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)

'May it not float ashore to the beach (lit. "road") where that one is sitting, may it float ashore where I am sitting, may a gold box float (here).'

64

M ⟨mi hen kī mā ʾaʾi ran foṣṭek_ eve.⟩

mi	*hen*	*kī*	*mā*	*ai*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*eve*
this	way	spoke	when	what came was	gold	a box	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	INT.

'when I was talking like this, a gold box came (floating ashore).'

A ▸me hen kē vēlei, laʾ vegei-au feśigaňḍaʾ.◂

me	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*lak*	*vegeī*	*au*	*feśigaňḍak*
this	way	saying	while	floating	what became was	saying	a box
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	??	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	??	PART.PT.IV+FOC.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.

When (I had) said so, a box came floating ashore.

F ▹mi hen kē vēlai lak-keḷa fēšak-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*lak-keḷa*	*fēšak*	*ai*
this	way	saying	at time	what came floating ashore was	a box	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (I had) said so, a box came floating ashore.

65

M ⟨balāli ʾiru hurī ran_ eve.⟩

balāli	*iru*	*hurī*	*ran*	*eve*
looked	time	what was is	gold	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.SG.	INT.

When I looked (inside), there was (pure) gold (in it).

A ▸huḷuvai beli kō, tibī ram veli-au.◂

huḷuvai	*beli*	*kō*	*tibī*	*ran*	*veli*	*au*
opening	looked	when	what was there was	gold	sand	saying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INT.

When (I) opened (it) and looked (inside), there was gold sand (in it).

F ▹mati helī kal ēye tibī ran-ai.◃

mati	*helī*	*kal*	*ēye*	*tibī*	*ran*	*ai*
cover	turned	time	in that	being	gold	saying
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	INT.

When (I) lifted the cover up, there was gold (in it).

66
A **▸den ta gen nāḷi hōdagen ās, mini-au.◂**

den	*ta*	*gen*	*nāḷi*	*hōdagen*	*ās*	*mini*	*au*
then	your	from house	n.-measure	looking for	coming	measured	saying
ADV	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	ABL.	OBL.	ABS.III	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Then, having come to your house to look for a *nāḷi*-measure, (I) measured it', he said.

67
F **▹e-ai mī.◃**

e	*ai*	*mī*
that	saying	what this is is
DPRON	QPARTC	DPRON
NOM.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.

This is (all).

68
M **⟨mi hen bunefaʾi, fidanfuḷu diyaʾī, geʾaś_ eve.⟩**

mi	*hen*	*bunefai*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*diaī*	*geaś*	*eve*
this	way	having spoken	f.-bird	where he went was	to house	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABS.I	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

Having spoken like this, the f.-bird went home.

69

M ⟨**den boḍanfuḷu ʾamiʾlaʾaś teḷigen boḍu ge matin kuḍa ge matin, ʾeʾligen gos kaśi kuburu vaḷaś jehi kaśi herigen,**⟩

den	***boňḍanfuḷu***	***amillaaś***	***teḷigen***	***boḍu***	***ge***	***matin***	***kuḍa***	***ge***	***matin***	***elligen***	***gos***	***kaśi***	***kuňburu***	***vaḷaś***	***jehi***	***kaśi***	***herigen***
then	b.-bird	to himself	striking	big	house	over	small	house	over	hurling	going	thorn	bush	to thicket	hit	thorn	piercing
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	NOM.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III

Then the b.-bird, striking himself, hurling himself over the big house and over the small house, falling down in a thicket of thorny bushes, being pierced by thorns,

A ▸**beṇi mei, boňḍanā amellā gos, raʾ bēre kaśi kuňburu hālaʾ vede, uḍumaʾ kāśaʾ vaduvagen gos,**◂

beṇi	***mei***	***boňḍanā***	***amellā***	***gos***	***raś***	***bēre***	***kaśi***	***kuňburu***	***hālaś***	***vede***	***uḍumaś***	***kāśak***	***vaduvagen***	***gos***
said	when	the b.-bird	himself	going	land	outside	thorn	bushes	a thicket	entering	to heel	a thorn	causing to enter	going
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PRED.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.

After (his) saying (so), the b.-bird went off himself, entered into a thicket of thorny bushes outside the land, had his heel pierced (by) a thorn, went on

F ▹**beṇā miu hitaha eri-ai timā-s mi hen ennēnī-ai.**◃

beṇā	***miu***	***hitaha***	***eri***	***ai***	***timā***	***as***	***mi***	***hen***	***ennēnī***	***ai***
saying	this one's	to mind	what arose is	they say	self	too	this	way	shall go	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	CONJ	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	MOD.	ATTR.	NOM.	PART.FUT.	EXT.

After (his) saying so, (the b.-bird) made up his mind, 'I shall go like this myself.'

69a

F ▹**hik koggen amillaen teḷīgen ellīgen goho,**◃

hit	***koggen***	***amillaen***	***teḷīgen***	***ellīgen***	***goho***
mind	making	by himself	struck	thrown	going
NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	VERB	VERB
NOM.	ABS.III	ABL.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.

After making (up his) mind (like this), striking himself, hurling himself, going (like this),

69b

M ⟨ˀatiri maˀcaś nukume ˀidegen, mi hen gova ˀeve:⟩

atiri	*maccaś*	*nukume*	*iňdegen*	*mi*	*hen*	*govā*	*eve*
beach	upon	going out	sitting	this	way	cries	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.

getting out again to the beach and sitting (there), he cried:

A ▸**fēru kalēge ekuhun kaśie uhuruvagen, uhuruvagen kināra assēriaˀ nukume iňde, mi kēnī:**◂

fēru	*kalēge*	*ekuhun*	*kaśie*	*uhuruvagen*	*uhuruvagen*	*kināra*	*assēriaś*	*nukume*	*iňde*	*mi*	*kēnī*
weaver	person's	by	the thorn	having pulled out	having pulled out	edge	to shore	going out	sitting	now	he is saying
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	GEN.	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	RABS.III	RABS.III	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

and had it pulled out by a weaver; he went on the beach, and sitting (there), he said:

F ▹**kaśi kuňburu bālakaha vettūgen, damāgen nukumegen goho, atire rukkaṇṇa matte iňde mi kēnī:**◃

kaśi	*kuňburu*	*bālakaha*	*vettūgen*	*damāgen*	*nukumegen*	*goho*	*atire*	*rukkaṇṇa*	*matte*	*iňde*	*mi*	*kēnī:*
thorn	bush	a thicket	falling	pulling	getting out	going	of beach	tree trunk	upon	sitting	now	what he says is:
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

he fell into a thicket of thorny bushes, pulled himself out, got out and went off, and sitting upon a coconut trunk, he said:

69c

M ⟨"ran fośṭeˀ laˀgaḷē. ma ˀin magaś laˀgaḷē. ˀe ˀin magaś nu laˀgaḷē!"⟩

ran	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*e*	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē*
gold	a box	let float ashore	I	sitting	to road	let float ashore	that	sitting	to road	not	let float ashore
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB
OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.SG.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	NEG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.

'Let a gold box float ashore, let it float ashore to the beach where I am sitting, let it not float ashore where that (one) is sitting.

A ▸**"afagē faṇṇaˀ laˀ veňḍē, e gē faṇṇaˀ laˀ ni veňḍē!"**◂

afagē	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*veňḍē*	*e*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*ni*	*veňḍē*
our	to beach	floating ashore	be	that	of house	to beach	floating ashore	not	be
PPRON	NOUN	??	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	??	PARTC	VERB
GEN.	DAT.	??	IMPV.2SG. ??	ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.	??	NEG.	IMPV.2SG. ??

"(Whatever may come floating ashore), may it float to the beach of our house, may it not float to the beach of that house."

F ▹**"e im magaˀ nu laggaḷē, ma im magaˀ laggaḷē, ran foṭṭeˀ laggaḷē!"**◃*

e	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*
that one	sitting	to road	not	it may float ashore	I	sitting	to road	it may float	gold	a box	it may float ashore
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL. (M!)	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	NEG. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT. (!M)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)

May it not float ashore to the beach where that one is sitting, may it float to the beach where I am sitting, may a gold box float (here).

70

M ⟨mi hen govan ʾindā foṡṭeʾ ʾannāti feni varaś ʾufalun ʾindā ʾaʾis laʾgaʾifi ʾeve.⟩

mi	*hen*	*govan*	*indā*	*fottek*	*anna*	*eti*	*feni*	*varaś*	*ufalun*	*indā*	*ais*	*lak-gaifi*	*eve*
this	way	to cry	sitting	a box	coming	thing	appeared	very	happy	sitting	coming	came floating ashore	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	INF.	ABS.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PRS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	DAT.SG.	ABL.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When he was sitting (there and) crying like this, a box appeared and while he was sitting (there) very happily, it came floating ashore.

A ▸kē vēlei, feśigaňḍaʾ laʾ vege.◂

kē	*vēlei*	*feśigaňḍak*	*lak*	*vege*
saying	while	a box	floating	became
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	??	VERB
PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	??	PT.IV.3SG.

(At his) saying (so), a box came floating ashore.

F ▹mi hen kē vēlai, feśaʾ lak-kolli-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*feśak*	*lak-kolli*	*ai*
this	way	saying	at time	a box	floated ashore	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying so, a box came floating ashore.

70a

F ▹lak-keḷām mā, nagā koňḍe lāgen geśa hifāgen ebage-ai.◃

lak-keḷān	*mā*	*nagā*	*koňḍe*	*lāgen*	*geśa*	*hifāgen*	*ebage*	*ai*
floated ashore	when	lifting	on shoulder	laying	to house	taking	he went	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.	LOC.	ABS.III	DAT.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When it had come floating ashore, he lifted (it), laid (it) upon his shoulder, and he went away taking (it) to his house.

71

M ⟨mi foś̄īgaʾi ves, taḷuḍaḍi hurī jahāfa ʾeve.⟩

mi	*foś̄īgai*	*ves*	*taḷuḍaňḍi*	*hurī*	*jahāfa*	*eve*
this	in box	also	key	what was is	fixed	they say
DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.SG.	MOD.	OBL.SG.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABS.I	EXT.

On this box too, the key was fixed.

F ▹geśa goho, hedī vaḍāmakī, mati halāli-ai.◃

geśa	*goho*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*mati*	*halāli*	*ai*
to house	going	done	a manner was	cover	he turned	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
DAT.	ABS.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Having gone home, he lifted the cover.

72

M ⟨ˀavahaś rantaˀ nagā̃n vegen matigaḍu huḷuvā̃li ˀiraś, furatama bolaś ˀaraˀigatī fī kukuḷek_ eve.⟩

avahaś	*rantak*	*nagā̃gen*	*vegen*	*matigaňḍu*	*huḷuvā̃li*	*iraś*	*furatama*	*bolaś*	*araigatī*	*fī*	*kukuḷek*	*eve*
quickly	gold	to take off	in order	cover	shook	at time	first	to head	what he received climbing	sitting	a hen	they say
ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
DAT.SG.	NOM.PL.	INF.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.II	DAT.SG.	TEMP.	DAT.SG.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	EXT.

When he shook the cover in order to take off the gold quickly, the first (thing) that jumped up to him was a sitting hen.

A ▸huḷuvai beli kō ea etere otī fila beḷelak-ā̃i fila kurafatak-ā̃i.◂

huḷuvai	*beli*	*kō*	*ea*	*etere*	*otī*	*fila*	*beḷelak*	*ā̃i*	*fila*	*kurafatak*	*ā̃i*
opening	looked	when	that	inside	what was is	kids	a cat	with	chicks	a jack knife	with
VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ
ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

When it opened (it) and looked (inside), there was a cat with kittens in it and a jack knife with chicks.

F ▹helī kal, mie etere mi ōtī beňdefē oˀ kukuḷu filā̃kk-ā̃, kurafatakk-ā̃.◃

helī	*kal*	*mie*	*etere*	*mi*	*ōtī*	*beňdefē*	*ot*	*kukuḷu*	*filā̃k*	*ā̃*	*kurafatak*	*ā̃*
turned	time	in this	within	now	what was is	tied up	being	hen	a chicken	with	a jack knife	with
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PT.	OBL.	LOC.	LOC.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	NOM.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

When he opened it, there was tied up a hen with a chicken (in it) and a jack knife.

73

M ⟨den ˀaraˀigatī nagulandā̃śitakā̃ˀi, bicūtak_ eve. nannugatitakā̃ˀi harufatak_ eve.⟩

den	*araigatī*	*nagulandā̃śitak*	*ā̃i*	*bicūtak*	*eve*	*nannugatitak*	*ā̃i*	*harufatak*	*eve*
then	what he received climbing was	tail fleas	with	centipedes	they say	snakes	with	serpents	they say
ADV	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	QPARTC	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	NOM.PL.	SOC.	NOM.PL.	EXT.	NOM.PL.	SOC.	NOM.PL.	EXT.

Then, tail fleas and centipedes, snakes and serpents jumped up to him.

74

A ▸fila beḷelā dimā keḍeī mia gā̃u arā̃ˀ.◂

fila	*beḷelā*	*dimā*	*keḍeī*	*mia*	*gā̃ś*	*arā̃ś*
kids	the cat	direction	what they made was	this one	to body	to climb
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	DAT.	INF.

The cat and her kittens started to climb upon his body.

74a

A ▸kurafaˀ dimā keḍeī mia kara buri kollā̃ˀ.◂

kurafat	*dimā*	*keḍeī*	*mia*	*kara*	*buri*	*kollā̃ś.*
knife	direction	what it made was	this one	throat	cutting	to make
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	(OBL.)	INF.II

The knife aimed at cutting his throat.

74b
A **▸den mide divi ebege.◂**

den	*mide*	*divi*	*ebege*
then	this one	running	went off
ADV	DPRON	VERB	VERB
TEMP.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3SG.

He, however, started running away.

75
M **⟨gayaś ʾaraʾigen⟩**

gayaś	*araigen*
to body	climbing
NOUN	VERB
DAT.SG.	ABS.III

When (they) climbed up (his) body,

75a
M **⟨kaśi jahaʾi, dat ʾaḷaʾi hadaʾigatgatun boḏanfuḷu hē̄ netigen veʾṭi maruveʾje ʾeve.⟩**

kaśi	*jahai*	*dat*	*aḷai*	*hadaigatgatun*	*boṅḏanfuḷu*	*hē̄*	*netigen*	*veṭṭi*	*maruvejje*	*eve*
thorn	hitting	tooth	ramming in	from all what they did to him	b.-bird	consciousness	not being present	falling	died	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	PART.PT.III ABL.DISTR.PL.	NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III	ABS.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

hitting him (with) thorns, ramming their teeth into (him), the b.-bird, having lost consciousness from all what they did to him, fell and died.

F **▹ov vēlai, filau teḷīgatum mā, kurafaʾ huḷuvīgen, ellān goho jehīfē boṅḏanu vā neḷi buri vege-ai.◃**

ot	*vēlai*	*filak*	*teḷīgatun*	*mā*	*kurafat*	*huḷuvīgen*	*ellān*	*goho*	*jehīfē*	*boṅḏanu*	*vā*	*neḷi*	*buri*	*vege*	*ai*
being	at time	a chicken	getting struck	when	knife	opening	throwing	going	hitting	b.-bird	air	pipe	cut	became	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

At the same moment, when one chick was struck, the knife opened (by) itself, jumped out, and having been hit (by it), the b.-bird's air pipe was cut.

76
M **⟨vāhaka huʾṭenī ʾeve.⟩**

vāhaka	*huṭṭenī*	*eve*
story	is finished	they say
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PART.PRS.	EXT.

This is the end of the story.

T2: **Mākanā**

The crane

Aḍḍū: ᶜAlī Maṇikufānu; Fuaʾ Mulaku: N.N.; Huvadū (Fares): Muḥammad Ḥassan

1

A **▸ed duvahi ed duvahi mākanā uduhigen gos kaňḍi gala matte jassali.◂**

ek	*duvahi*	*ek*	*duvahi*	*mākanā*	*uduhigen*	*gos*	*kaňḍi*	*gala*	*matte*	*jassali*
one	day	one	day	the crane	flying	having gone	of sea	rock	upon	hit
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.II.3SG.

One day, one day, the crane flew up and hit upon a rock in the sea.

F **▹ed duvaheki ed duvaheki mākana galakaha guaʾ lāfi-ai.◃**

ek	*duvaheki*	*ek*	*duvaheki*	*mākana*	*galakaha*	*guak*	*lāfi*	*ai*
one	day	one	day	crane	to a rock	a dropping	he laid	they say
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	NOM.	DAT.INDEF.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

One day, one day, people say, the crane laid a dropping on a rock.

H **>eke dovahaku, mākanayā goho gala koḍa laifi-au guaka.<**

eke	*dovahaku*	*mākanayā*	*goho*	*gala*	*koḍa*	*laifi*	*au*	*guaka*
one	a day	the crane	going	rock	piece	he laid	they say	a dropping
CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	OBL.	OBL.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.

One day, the crane went (and) laid a dropping on a piece of rock.

2

A **▸aga dea lāgen ā vagute galāʾ guaʾ lāfei mākanā uduhigen ebege.◂**

aga	*dea*	*lāgen*	*ā*	*vagute*	*galāš*	*guak*	*lāfei*	*mākanā*	*uduhigen*	*ebege*
high	tide	laying	come	at time	to the rock	a dropping	having laid	the crane	flying	went off
ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	LOC.	DAT.DEF.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.I	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.

At the time when the high tide came, the crane, having laid a dropping on the rock, flew off (again).

F **▹guaʾ lāfē eba gēm mā, raḷo āho dovvāli-ai.◃**

guak	*lāfē*	*eba*	*gēn*	*mā*	*raḷo*	*āho*	*dovvāli*	*ai*
a dropping	having laid	there	going	at time	wave	coming	it washed away	they say
NOUN	VERB	ADV	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	ABS.I	LOC.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

When he went away after having laid the dropping, (the) wave came and washed it (away)

H **>guā raḷā āho, doveḍi āi.<**

guā	*raḷā*	*āho*	*doveḍi*	*āi*
the dropping	the wave	coming	it washed	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

The wave came and washed the dropping away.

3

A **▸gossei vēla gaňḍakun bāi.◂**

gosfei	*vēla*	*gaňḍakun*	*bā*	*ai*
having gone	time	with a piece	he came	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After having gone, he came back after a short while.

F **▹dovvālāi hiśu vēlai bā ve.◃**

dovvālāi	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*eve*
having washed away	it being	at time	he came	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M!)
ABS.II	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Just when (it) had washed (it away), (the crane) came back.

4

A **▸ās (ek kalaʾ) raḷāi suāla koffi kobā tau timā mi tān lī guaʾ?◂**

ās	*ek*	*kalaś*	*raḷā*	*āi*	*suāla*	*kośfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*lī*	*guak?*
having come	(one	to time)	the wave	with	question	he made	where	asking	self	this	place	laid	dropping
VERB	(CARD	NOUN)	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	(ATTR.	DAT.SG.)	OBL.DEF.	SOC.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.DEF.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.

Having come, he asked the (aforesaid) wave, ‘where is the dropping I have laid here?’

F **▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalo galakaʾ lī guimaṇa kobā hei_e?◃**

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalo*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	little dropping	where	well-asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming back, he said asking, ‘where is the (little) dropping I (myself) have laid here on a rock?’

H **>den, mākanayā āho, boṇi āi, tim mīhā galu koḍā lī guā kobai he?<**

den	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*āi*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*galu*	*koḍā*	*lī*	*guā*	*kobai*	*he?*
then	the crane	coming	he said	they say	self	the man	rock	piece	laid	the dropping	where	asking?
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT

Then the crane came and said, ‘where is the dropping I (myself) have laid upon (this) piece of rock?’

5

A ▸**beṇi mei, raḷā kēfi, ta guaʾ kan ma guaʾ kan dēneti timā dovvalim-āu.**◂

beṇi	*mei*	*raḷā*	*kēfi*	*ta*	*guak*	*kam*	*ma*	*guak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*dovvalim*	*āu*
said	time	the wave	said	your	a dropping	whether	my	a dropping	whether	not knowing	self	washed away	saying
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	ABS.	NOM.DEF.	PT.II.1SG.	INT.

When he had said (so), the wave said, ‘not knowing whether it is your dropping or my dropping, I (myself) washed it away.’

F ▹**beṇum mā beṇi-ai, timā kalo guimaṇa kan dēneti, dovvālim-ai.**◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*kalo*	*guimaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*dovvālim*	*ai*
saying	at time	it said	they say	self	lord	little dropping	that	not knowing	I washed away	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.I.1SG.	INT.

When (he) said (so), (the wave) said, ‘not knowing that it was your (own) dropping, I (myself) washed it away.’

H **>boṇim mai, raḷā boṇi-ai, ta guaʾ kan ma guaʾ kan nu eňgi, tim mīhā guā dōvelīm-ai.<**

boṇin	*mai*	*raḷā*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*guak*	*kam*	*ma*	*guak*	*kam*	*nu*	*eňgi*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*guā*	*dōvelīm*	*ai*
saying	at time	the wave	it said	they say	your	a dropping	whether	my	a dropping	whether	not	understanding	self	the man	the dropping	I washed	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	PT.II.1SG.	

When (he) said (so), the wave said, ‘not knowing that it was your (own) dropping, I (myself) washed it away.’

6

A ▸**taʾ dēṇei raḷaʾ tau, taʾ dēṇei guaʾ tau?**◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*raḷak*	*tau*	*taś*	*dēṇeī*	*guak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given	a wave	asking	to you	what shall be given	a dropping	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

‘Shall (I) give you a wave or a dropping?’

F ▹**kalōša dennēnī raḷomaṇaʾ tai guimaṇaʾ tai?**◃

kalōša	*dennēnī*	*raḷomaṇak*	*tai*	*guimaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	a wave	either	a dropping	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.

‘Shall (I) give you a wave or a dropping?’

H **>guake demā he, raḷake demā he?<**

guake	*demā*	*he*	*raḷake*	*demā*	*he?*
a dropping	we (?) give	asking	a wave	we (?) give	asking
NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL. (?)	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL. (?)	INT.

‘Shall I (lit. "we") give (you) a dropping or shall I (lit. "we") give (you) a wave?’

7

A **▸beṇi mei, kēfi timāʾ dēṇei raḷak-āu.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfi*	*timāś*	*dēṇeī*	*raḷak*	*āu*
said	time	said	to self	what shall be given	a wave	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.I.3SG.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (it) said (so), (the crane) said, ‘give me a wave.’

F **▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī raḷomaṇāk-āi.◃**

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*raḷomaṇāk*	*āi*
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a wave	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (it) said (so), (the crane) said, ‘give me a wave.’

H **>boṇīm mai, mākanayā boṇi-ai, guake denne kāeke neňge, raḷeke denn-āi.<**

boṇīn	*mai*	*mākanayā*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*guake*	*denne*	*kāeke*	*nu*	*eňge*	*raḷeke*	*denne*	*ai*
saying	at time	the crane	he said	they say	a dropping	to be given	whether	not	understanding	a wave	to be given	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.FUT.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.FUT.	INT.

As it said (so), the crane said, ‘(do) not consider (to give) a dropping, give (me) a wave.’

8

A **▸beṇi mei, raḷā tuňbelāgen gos magigē muhummā bē dea telakamun en ni demigen oʾ vēlei, raḷā e tān vaṭṭali.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*raḷā*	*tuňbelāgen*	*gos*	*magigē*	*muhumm|ā*	*bē*	*dea*	*telakamun*	*em*	*ni*	*demige|n*	*ot*	*vēlei*	*raḷā*	*e*	*tān*	*vaṭṭali*
said	time	the wave	lifting	going	of Magi House	M.	B.	tide	by lowness	bait	not	catchin|g	being	at time	the wave	that	place	dropped
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	PN	PN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
PART.P|T.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	NOM.	OBL.	ABL.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ATTR.	LOC.	PT.II.3SG.

When he had said (so), he took up the wave (and) went off, (and) at the time when M.B. from Magi house was sitting (there), failing to catch bait fish because of the low tide, he dropped the wave (there).

F **▹beṇum mā raḷomaṇa tuňbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho baiken raḷeʾ nētī en ni demigen tibi tākaha vaṭṭāli-ai.◃**

beṇu|n	*mā*	*raḷomaṇ|a*	*tuňbelāgen*	*udihemu|n*	*udihemu|n*	*goho*	*baiken*	*raḷek*	*nētī*	*em*	*ni*	*demigen*	*tibi*	*tākaha*	*vaṭṭāli*	*ai*
saying	at time	wave	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some people	a wave	not being	bait fish	not	being catchable	being	to a place	he dropped	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

After saying (so), (the crane) lifted up the wave and went on flying and flying, and he dropped (it) at a place where there were some people who failed to catch bait fish because they had no wave.

H **>raḷā hifaigen, gē likahaṭa goho, vaṭṭaili āi dōṇieke nu hingaigen voṇṇā tāka.<**

raḷā	*hifaigen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*vaṭṭaili*	*āi*	*dōṇieke*	*nu*	*hingaigen*	*voṇṇā*	*tāka*
the wave	grasping	gone	to a manner	going	he dropped	saying	a dōṇi	not	moving	living	to a place
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.(?)	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF. (?)

After grasping the wave, and going (on) the way he was going (before), he dropped it on a place where there were (some people who) did not get their *dōṇi* going (because of low tide).

9

A **▸veṭṭi mei, muhummā bē en damagaʾ.◂**

veṭṭi	*mei*	*muhummā*	*bē*	*em*	*damagat*
dropped	when	M	B	bait	he caught
VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

When (he) dropped (it), M.B. (finally) caught bait fish.

F **▹vaṭṭālā ebegēm mā, mi mīhun en damāgat-ai.◃**

vaṭṭālā	*ebegēn*	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*em*	*damāgat*	*ai*
having dropped	going away	at time	these	people	bait fish	they got catching	saying
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.II	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

After (he) dropped (it) and went away, these people (finally) succeeded in catching bait fish.

H **>e dōṇie mīhun dōṇia hiňguvai gatai, raḷā voḍuva.<**

e	*dōṇie*	*mīhun*	*dōṇiā*	*hiňguvai*	*gatai*	*raḷā*	*voḍuva*
those	of *dōṇi*	people	the *dōṇi*	going	they got	the wave	causing to mount
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.PL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3PL.	OBL.DEF. (?)	ABS.

The people of that *dōṇi* got the *dōṇi* going, mounting it upon the wave.

10

A **▸en damagaʾ fahun mākanā bāi.◂**

em	*damagat*	*fahun*	*mākanā*	*bā*	*ai*
bait	caught	after	the crane	came	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	PART.PT.III	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After they had caught bait fish, the crane came (back).

F **▹en damāgen tibi vēlai, bāi-ai.◃**

em	*damāgen*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*	*ai*
bait fish	catching	they being	at time	he came	they say	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	EXT.

Just when they had caught (the) bait fish, (the crane) came (back).

11

A ▸**ās, suāla koffi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi raḷā?**◂

ās	*suāla*	*kośfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*raḷā?*
coming	question	he made	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the wave
VERB	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Coming, he asked, ‘where is the wave I have dropped here (myself)?’

F ▹**āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa kobā hei-e?**◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei-e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	where	asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming, he said asking, ‘where is the wave I (myself) received by giving the dropping I had laid upon a rock?’

H **>den, mākanayā āho, boṇi āi, e tim mīhā galu koḍaʾ lī guā dīfai gaʾ raḷā kobai he?<**

den	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*āi*	*e*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*galu*	*koḍaś*	*lī*	*guā*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷā*	*kobai*	*he?*
then	the crane	coming	he said	they say	that	self	the man	rock	to piece	laid	the dropping	giving	received	the wave	where	asking
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.	OBL.DEF.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	EXT.

Then the crane came back and said asking, ‘where is that wave I (myself) received by giving the dropping I had laid on (a) piece of rock?’

12

A ▸**beṇi mei, muhummā bē beṇafi, ta raḷaʾ kan, ma raḷaʾ kan dēneti, timā en damagamm-āu.**◂

beṇi	*mei*	*muhummā*	*bē*	*beṇafi*	*ta*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*ma*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*em*	*damagammā*	*āu*
said	when	M.	B.	said	your	a wave	whether	my	a wave	whether	not knowing	self	bait	we caught	saying
VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

When he had said (so), M.B. said, ‘not knowing whether it is your wave or whether it is our wave, we (ourself) caught bait fish.’

F ▹**beṇā beṇi-ai, kalō raḷomaṇa kan dēneti, en damāgamm-āi.**◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*raḷomaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*em*	*damāgammā*	*āi*
saying	(they) said	they say	lord	wave	that	not knowing	bait fish	we finally caught	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (they) said, ‘not knowing that (it was) your wave, we finally caught (some) bait fish.’

H **>boṇīm mai, e dōṇie mīhun boṇi-ai, ta raḷaʾ kan ma raḷaʾ kan nu eňgi, tim felā dōṇi hiňguvai gatīm-āi.<**

boṇīm	*mai*	*e*	*dōṇie*	*mīhun*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*ma*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*nu*	*eňgi*	*tim*	*felā*	*dōṇi*	*hiňguvai*	*gatīm*	*āi*
saying	at time	that	of dōṇi	people	said	they say	your	a wave	whether	my	a wave	whether	not	knowing	self	people	dōṇi	moving	we got	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.PL.	PT.3SG.(!)	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.1PL.	INT.

At the time (of his) saying (so), the people of that *dōṇi* said, ‘not knowing whether (it is) your wave or our wave, we (ourselves) got the *dōṇi* going.’

13

A ▸**taʾ dēṇei raḷaʾ tau, taʾ dēṇei emaʾ tau?**◂

taś	***dēṇeī***	***raḷak***	***tau***	***taś***	***dēṇeī***	***emak***	***tau?***
to you	what shall be given	a wave	asking	to you	what shall be given	a bait fish	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

‘Shall we give you a wave or bait fish?’

F ▹**kalōśa dennēnī raḷomaṇaʾ tai, emmaṇaʾ tai?**◃

kalōśa	***dennēnī***	***raḷomaṇak***	***tai***	***emmaṇak***	***tai?***
to lord	what is to be given is	a wave	either	a bait fish	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.

‘Shall we give you a wave or bait fish?’

H **>raḷeke demā he, emeke demā he?<**

raḷeke	***demā***	***he***	***emeke***	***demā***	***he***
a wave	we give	asking	a bait fish	we give	asking
NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.

‘Shall we give (you) a wave (or) bait fish?’

14

A ▸**beṇi mei kēfi, emme raňgaḷ-āu emaʾ dē̃ʾ kei.**◂

beṇi	***mei***	***kēfi***	***emme***	***raňgaḷa***	***au***	***emak***	***dēś***	***kei***
said	when	said	most of all	beautiful	saying	a bait fish	to give	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	ADJ	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.I.3SG.	MOD.	PRED.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

When they had said (so, the crane) said, ‘the best (would be) to give me bait fish’.

F ▹**beṇum mā beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī emmaṇākāì.**◃

beṇun	***mā***	***beṇi***	***ai***	***timāśa***	***dennēnī***	***emmaṇāk***	***āì***
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a bait fish-	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, ‘give me bait fish.’

H **>boṇīn mai, mākanayā boṇi-āì, emeke denn-āì.<**

boṇīn	***mai***	***mākanayā***	***boṇi***	***āì***	***emeke***	***denna***	***ai***
saying	at time	the crane	he said	they say	a bait fish	is to be given	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

When they said (so), the crane said, ‘give (me) bait fish.’

15

A **▸emā dim mei, tuṁbelāgen gos dondiegē ali dīdi en netigen, mas ni bēvigen im vēlei dōṇe malamātaʾ vaṭṭali-au.◂**

emā	*din*	*mei*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*dondiegē*	*ali*	*dīdi*	*em*	*netigen*	*mas*	*ni*	*bēvigen*	*in*	*vēlei*	*dōṇe*	*malamātaś*	*vaṭṭali*	*au*
the bait	given	time	lifting	going	of D.-house	A.	D.	bait	not-being	fish	not	catching	sitting	at time	ship's	steering place	he dropped	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.

When he was given the bait fish, he took (it up and) went off, (and) he dropped it on the steering place of the *dōṇi* just when Ali Dīdi from Dondie-house was sitting (there) failing to catch fish (because of) there being no bait fish.

F **▹beṇum mā emmaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho baiken en nētī maha ni bēvvigen tibi tākaha vaṭṭālā ebage-ai.◃**

beṇun	*mā*	*emmaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*baiken*	*em*	*nētī*	*maha*	*ni*	*bēvvigen*	*tibi*	*tākaha*	*vaṭṭālā*	*ebage*	*ai*
saying	at time	bait fish	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some people	bait fish	not being	fish	not	being catchable	being	to a place	dropping	he went off	they say
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

After saying so, (the crane) took up the bait fish and went on flying and flying, and he dropped (it) on a place where there were some people who failed to catch fish because they had no bait fish.

H **>boṇīm mai, emā tuṁbuḷaigen, mākanayā gē likahaṭa goho, dōṇieke baiken emā nu libegen voṇṇā tanaka emā vaṭṭaili-ai.<**

boṇīn	*mai*	*emā*	*tuṁbuḷaigen*	*mākanayā*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*dōṇieke*	*baiken*	*emā*	*nu*	*libegen*	*voṇṇā*	*tanaka*	*emā*	*vaṭṭaili*	*ai*
saying	at time	the bait	lifting	the crane	gone	to a manner	going	a dōṇi	some people	bait fish	not	getting	being	to a place	the bait	he dropped	saying
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.	NOM.DEF.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PR|S.	DAT.INDEF.	NOM.DEF|.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.

When he said (so), after taking the bait fish, the crane went on in the way he went (before) and dropped it on a place where there were some *dōṇi* (driving) people who failed finding bait fish.

16

A **▸veṭṭi mei, ali dīdi hedi lekakī, emā biḷie eḍafei mas bāgaʾ.◂**

veṭṭi	*mei*	*ali*	*dīdi*	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*emā*	*biḷie*	*eḍafei*	*mas*	*bāgat*
dropped	when	A.	D.	done	what a way is	the bait fish	on hook	having put	fish	he caught
VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	ABS.I	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

When he dropped (it), A.D. (finally) caught fish putting the bait fish on a hook.

F **▹ebagēm mā, mi mīhun maha damāgat-ai.◃**

ebagēn	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*maha*	*damāgat*	*ai*
gone away	at time	these	people	fish	they got catching	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

When (he) had gone away, these people (finally) succeeded in catching fish.

H **>mi dōṇie mīhune eme laigen goho, maha bai gat-ai.<**

mi	*dōṇie*	*mīhune*	*eme*	*laigen*	*goho*	*maha*	*bai*	*gat*	*ai*
these	of dōṇi	people	bait fish	laying	going	fish	catching	they got	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3PL.	INT.

When these *dōṇi* people used (the) bait fish, they finally caught some fish.

17

A **▸teduvi beṇī, amā-u, ma enī dara kośā̄ś-āu.◂**

teduvi	*beṇī*	*amā*	*au*	*ma*	*enī*	*dara*	*kośā̄ś*	*āu*
getting up	what he said was	mother	saying	I	where am going is	firewood	to cut	saying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

After getting up he said, ‘mother, I am going to cut firewood.’

18

F **▹maha damāgen tibi vēlai bāi.◃**

maha	*damāgen*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*
fish	catching	they being	at time	he came	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Just when they caught (the) fish, (the crane) came back.

19

A **▸mas bāgaʾ fahun ās, kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi emā?◂**

mas	*bāgat*	*fahun*	*ās*	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*emā?*
fish	caught	after	coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the bait
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.	PART.PT.	ABL.	ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

After (A.D.) had caught fish (and) come (back, the crane) said, ‘where,’ he asked, ‘is the bait fish I dropped here?’

F **▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaʾ emmaṇa kobā hei_e?◃**

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	where	well-asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming (back) he said asking, ‘where is the bait fish I received giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?’

H **>maha bai gannā tā, mākanayā āho boṇi-ai, tim mīhā galu koḍaʾ lī guā dīfai gaʾ raḷā dīfai gate emā kobai he?<**

maha	*bai*	*gannā*	*tā*	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*galu*	*koḍaś*	*lī*	*guā*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*emā*	*kobai*	*he?*
fish	catching	getting	at moment	the crane	coming	said	they say	self	the man	rock	to piece	laid	the dropping	giving	got	the wave	giving	got	the bait	where	asking
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL..DEF.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.

Just at the moment when they caught (the) fish, the crane came (back) and said, ‘where is the bait fish I received by giving the wave I (myself) received by giving the dropping I had laid upon a piece of rock?

20

A **▸ta emaʾ kan, ma emaʾ kan dēneti, timā mas ni bēvigen hiňgā vēlei feṇene emā mei-āu, timā mas bāgamm-āu.◂**

ta	***emak***	***kam***	***ma***	***emak***	***kam***	***dēneti***	***timā***	***mas***	***ni***	***bēvigen***	***hiňgā***	***vēlei***	***feṇene***	***emā***	***mei***	***āu***	***timā***	***mas***	***bāgammā***	***āu***
your	a bait	whether	my	a bait	whether	not knowing	self	fish	not	catching	going	when	appeared	the bait	because of	saying	self	fish	I caught	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

Not knowing whether (it is) your bait fish or our bait fish, we finally caught fish because of the bait which appeared when we were going around failing to catch fish.

F **▹beṇum mā mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō emmaṇa kan dēneti, maha bāgamm-āi.◃**

beṇun	***mā***	***mīhun***	***beṇi***	***ai***	***kalō***	***emmaṇa***	***kam***	***dēneti***	***maha***	***bāgammā***	***āi***
saying	at time	people	(they) said	they say	lord	bait fish	that	not knowing	fish	we received	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.III 1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (they) said, ‘not knowing that (it was) your bait fish, we finally caught (some) fish.

H **>boṇīm mai, e dōṇie mīhune boṇi-ai, ta emaʾ kan tim felāne emaʾ kan nu eňge, tim felā emā laigen goho, maha bā gatim āi.<**

boṇīn	***mai***	***e***	***dōṇie***	***mīhune***	***boṇi***	***ai***	***ta***	***emak***	***kam***	***tim***	***felāne***	***emak***	***kam***	***nu***	***eňge***	***tim***	***felā***	***emā***	***laigen***	***goho***	***maha***	***bā***	***gatim***	***āi***
saying	when	those	of dōṇi	people	said	they say	your	a bait	whether	self	people	a bait	whether	not	knowing	self	people	the bait	laying	going	fish	catching	we got	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	OBL.PL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.1PL.	INT.

When he said (so), those *dōṇi* people said, ‘not knowing whether (it is) your bait fish or our (own) bait fish, we (finally) caught some fish.

21

A **▸taʾ dēṇei mahaʾ tau, emaʾ tau?◂**

taś	***dēṇei***	***mahak***	***tau***	***emak***	***tau?***
to you	what shall be given is	a fish	asking	a bait	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

Shall we give you a fish or bait fish?’

F **▹kalōśa dennēni masmaṇaʾ tai emmaṇaʾ tai?◃**

kalōśa	***dennēni***	***masmaṇak***	***tai***	***emmaṇak***	***tai?***
to lord	what is to be given is	a fish	either	a bait fish	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

Shall we give you a fish or bait fish?’

H **>emake demā hē, maheke demā he?<**

emake	***demā***	***hē***	***maheke***	***demā***	***he?***
a bait fish	we give	asking	a fish	we give	asking
NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.

Shall we give (you) bait fish, (or) shall we give (you) a fish?

22

A **▸emme raṅgaḷ-āu, maha' dē̃ kei.◂**

emme	*raṅgaḷa*	*āu*	*mahak*	*dēs̃*	*kei*
most of all	beautiful	saying	a fish	to give	saying
PARTC	ADJ	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB
MOD.	PRED.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

'The best (would be),' he said, 'to give (me) a fish'.

F **▹beṇum mā̄ beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī masmaṇāk-āì.◃**

beṇun	*mā̄*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*masmaṇāk*	*āì*
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a fish	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me a fish.'

H **>boṇīm mai, mākanayā̄ boṇi-ai, maheke denn-āì.<**

boṇīn	*mai*	*mākanayā̄*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*maheke*	*denne*	*ai*
saying	at time	the crane	he said	they say	a fish	is to be given	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.FUT.	INT.

When (they) said (so), the crane said, 'give (me) a fish.'

23

F **▹beṇum mā̄ derefi-ai.◃**

beṇum	*mā̄*	*derefi*	*ai*
saying	at time	gave	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.I.3PL.	EXT.

When (he) had said (so), (they) gave (it to him).

24

A **▸mahā dim mei, mahā tuṁbelāgen gos, eʾ bākin dara hōdāʾ tibi vēlei everin kurimattaʾ mahā vaṭṭalāi mide ebege.◂**

mahā	*din*	*mei*	*mahā*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*ek*	*bākin*	*dara*	*hōdāś*	*tibi*	*vēlei*	*everin*	*kurimattaś*	*mahā*	*vaṭṭalāi*	*mide*	*ebege*
the fish	given	when	the fish	lifting	going	one	some people	firewood	to seek	being	when	they	in front of	the fish	having dropped	this one	went
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB
NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.PL.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.II	NOM.	PT.3SG.

When (they) had given (him) the fish, (the crane) took (it) up (and) went (on and), just when (there were) some people (who) were seeking firewood, he dropped the fish in front of these people (and) went off (again).

F **▹mi masmaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho, Mēliage Dia daro huvanna hīśi vēlai e tanaha vaṭṭalāfai ebage-ai.◃**

mi	*masmaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*Mēliage*	*Dia*	*daro*	*huvanna*	*hīśi*	*vēlai*	*e*	*tanaha*	*vaṭṭalāfai*	*ebage*	*ai*
this	fish	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	of M.	daughter	firewood	looking for	being	at time	that	to place	having dropped he	went off	they say
DPRON	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	ABS.I+II	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Taking this fish and going on flying and flying, he dropped (it) just when M.D. was there in order to look for firewood, at that place (he dropped it).

H **>mahā tuṁbulaigen, iṅdihegen e gē likahaṭa goho, bāvvi-ai dara hoegen ā mīhakun dara boṅḍaku matte.<**

mahā	*tuṁbulaigen*	*iṅdihegen*	*e*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*bāvvī*	*ai*	*dara*	*hoegen*	*ā*	*mīhakun*	*dara*	*boṅḍaku*	*matte*
the fish	lifting	flying up	that	gone	to a manner	going	where he put was	they say	firewood	looking for	come	from a man	firewood	a bundle	upon
NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ATTR.	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	ABL.INDEF.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	LOC.

Taking the fish, (the crane) went on in the way he had gone (before), and (he) put it on a bundle of firewood of a man who had come (there) looking for firewood.

25

F **▹ebagēm mā, mia hedī vaḍāmakī, mi maha nagāgen meluvagen kāfi-ai.◃**

ebagēn	*mā*	*mia*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*mi*	*maha*	*nagāgen*	*meluvagen*	*kāfi*	*ai*
going away	at time	this one	done	what a manner is	this	fish	taking	cooking	she ate	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When (he) had gone away (again), she took the fish and after cooking it, she ate (it).

H **>bāvīm mai, mi mīhā hedī lihaku, mahā nagai gat-ai.<**

bāvīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhā*	*hedī*	*lihaku*	*mahā*	*nagai*	*gat*	*ai*
putting	when	this	the man	done	a manner	the fish	lifting	he got	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.

When he had left (the fish there), this man took the fish off.

26

A ▸kāfi fahun, mākanā bāì.◂

kāfi	*fahun*	*mākanā*	*bā*	*ai*
eaten	after	the crane	he came	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After (they) had eaten (the fish), the crane came (back).

F ▹kāfē hiśi vēlai bāi-ai.◃

kāfē	*hiśi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*	*ai*
having eaten	she being	at time	he came	they say	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	QPARTC
ABS.I	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.	INT.

Just when (she) had eaten (it), (the crane) came back.

27

A ▸ās kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi mahā?◂

ās	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*mahā?*
coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the fish
VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Coming, he said, ‘where,’ he asked, ‘is the fish I dropped here?’

F ▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaʾ emmaṇa dīfā gaʾ masmaṇā kobā hei_e?◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*masmaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received	fish	where	well asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming (back), he said asking, ‘where is the fish I received giving the bait fish I had received giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?’

H >nagai gatum mai, mākanayā āho boṇi-ai, tim mīhā guā dīfai gate raḷā dīfai gate emā dīfai gate mahā kobai he?<

nagai	*gatun*	*mai*	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*guā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*raḷā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*emā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*mahā*	*kobai*	*he?*
lifting	getting	when	the crane	coming	he said	they say	self	the man	the dropping	giving	got	the wave	giving	got	the bait	giving	got	the fish	where	asking
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.

When he took (the fish) off, the crane came and said, ‘where is the fish I received by giving the bait fish I had received by giving the wave I had received by giving my own dropping?’

28

A **▸ta mahaʾ kan, timāmen mahaʾ kan dēneti, kāfim-āu.◂**

ta	*mahak*	*kam*	*timāmen*	*mahak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*kāfimā*	*āu*
your	a fish	whether	selves	a fish	whether	not knowing	we ate	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.PL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.I.1PL.	INT.

‘Not knowing whether (it) is your fish or our (own) fish, we ate it.’

F **▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, kalō masmaṇa kan dēneti kāfim-ai.◃**

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*masmaṇa*	*kan*	*dēneti*	*kāfim*	*ai*
saying	at time	she said	they say	lord	fish	that	not knowing	I ate	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.I.1SG.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (she) said, ‘not knowing that (it was) your fish, I ate it.’

H **>boṇīm mai, mi mīhā boṇi-ai, tim mīhā mahā kaifīm-ai.<**

boṇīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhā*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*mahā*	*kaifīm*	*ai*
saying	at time	this	the man	he said	they say	self	the man	the fish	I ate	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	PT.I.1SG.	INT.

When he said (so), the man said, ‘I (myself) have eaten the fish.’

29

A **▸taʾ dēṇei darabēňḍaʾ tau, mahaʾ tau?◂**

taś	*dēṇeī*	*darabēňḍak*	*tau*	*mahak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	a firewood bundle	asking	a fish	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

‘Shall (we) give you a bundle of firewood or a fish?’

F **▹kalōśa dennēnī masmaṇaʾ tai daromaṇaʾ tai?◃**

kalōśa	*dennēnī*	*masmaṇak*	*tai*	*daromaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	a fish	either	some firewood	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

‘Shall we give you a fish or a (bundle of) firewood?’

H **>dara boňḍeke demā he?maheke demā he?<**

dara	*boňḍeke*	*demā*	*he*	*maheke*	*demā*	*he?*
firewood	a bundle	we give	asking	a fish	we give	asking
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1SG.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1SG.	INT.

‘Shall I give (you) a bundle of firewood or shall I give (you) a fish?’

30

F ▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai timāśa dennēnī daromaṇ-āi.◃

beṇun	***mā***	***beṇi***	***ai***	***timāśa***	***dennēnī***	***daromaṇa***	***āi***
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	the firewood	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (she) said so, (the crane) said, ‘give me the firewood (bundle).’

31

F ▹beṇum mā derefi-ai.◃

beṇun	***mā***	***derefi***	***ai***
saying	at time	she gave	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When (he) had said (so), (she) gave (it to him).

32

A ▸beṇi mei, darabĕṇḍaʾ dim mei, darabĕṇḍie tuṁbelāgen gos Mēliagē Dī Kālō fan alāi rā hiāʾ in tākaʾ vaṭṭali.◂

beṇi	***mei***	***darabĕṇḍak***	***din***	***mei***	***darabĕṇḍiā***	***tuṁbelāgen***	***gos***	***Mēliagē***	***Dī***	***Kālō***	***fan***	***alāi***	***rā***	***hiāś***	***in***	***tākaś***	***vaṭṭali***
said	when	a firewood bundle	given	when	the firewood bundle	lifting	going	of M.-house	Dī	Kālō	leaves	laying	toddy	to boil	sitting	to a place	dropped
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.

When (they) had said (so) (and) when (they) had given (him) a bundle of firewood, he took it, went (off) (and) dropped (it) at a place where M.D.K. was sitting laying out coconut leaves in order to boil toddy.

F ▹dinum mā, daromaṇa tumbelāgen udihemun udihemun goho, baiken daro nētī fan vallāfē rā hienna tibi tākaha vaṭṭālāi ebage-ai.◃

dinun	***mā***	***daromaṇa***	***tumbelāgen***	***udihemun***	***udihemun***	***goho***	***baiken***	***daro***	***nētī***	***fan***	***vallāfē***	***rā***	***hienna***	***tibi***	***tākaha***	***vaṭṭālāi***	***ebage***	***ai***
giving	when	firewood	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some	firewood	not being	leaves	laying	toddy	to cook	being	to a place	having dropped	went off	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (she) gave it (to him), (he), taking up the firewood bundle and going on flying and flying, dropped (it) at a place where there were some people (who were) laying out leaves (on the) ground to boil toddy because they had no firewood.

H >boṇīn mai, dara boṅḍā tuṁbulaigen, iṅdihegen gē likahaṭa goho, <

boṇīn	***mai***	***dara***	***boṅḍā***	***tuṁbulaigen***	***iṅdihegen***	***gē***	***likahaṭa***	***goho***
saying	at time	firewood	the bundle	lifting	flying up	gone	to the manner	going
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.

When he said (so), (the crane) flew off taking the firewood (and) went on in the way he had gone (before).

32a

H >dara boṅḍā bāvī-ai fan jahaigen rā hinduvanne baikenge gē doro.<

dara	***boṅḍā***	***bāvī***	***ai***	***fan***	***jahaigen***	***rā***	***hinduvanne***	***baikenge***	***gē***	***doro***
firewood	the bundle	he put	they say	leaves	pushing	toddy	cooking	of some people	of house	to (door)
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	GEN.	OBL.

and laid down the firewood bundle at (the house of) some people who were boiling toddy by putting coconut leaves (in the fire).

33

A **▸ea hedi lekakī, darabeňḍie lāfei, rā hiagaʾ.◂**

ea	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*darabeňḍiā*	*lāfei*	*rā*	*hiagat*
she	done	what a way is	the firewood bundle	having laid	toddy	she boiled
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

Laying out the firewood bundle, she (finally managed to) boil toddy.

F **▹ebagēm mā, mi mīhun hedī vaḍāmakī, rā hiāgatt-ai.◃**

ebagēn	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*rā*	*hiāgattā*	*ai*
going away	at time	these	people	done	what a manner is	toddy	got cooked	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

When (he) had gone away, she got the toddy boiled.

H

bāhai	*ovvai*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*dara*	*boňḍā*	*jahaifai*	*rā*	*hiňduvai*	*gattā*	*ai*
putting	having laid	these	people	firewood	the bundle	hitting	toddy	cooking	they got	they say
VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After putting it there, they succeeded in boiling the toddy by putting the firewood (in the fire).

34

A **▸hiagaʾ fahun, ās kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi darabeňḍie?◂**

hiagat	*fahun*	*ās*	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*darabeňḍiā?*
cooked	after	coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the firewood bundle
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
PART.PT.	ABL.	ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

After (she) had cooked (it), the crane said coming (back), ‘where,’ he asked, ‘is the firewood bundle I dropped here?’

H **>rā hiňduvai gat tai mākanayā āho boṇi-ai, kobā he tim mīhā dara boňḍā?<**

rā	*hiňduvai*	*gat*	*tai*	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*kobā*	*he*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*dara*	*boňḍā?*
toddy	cooking	got	at moment	the crane	coming	he said	they say	where	asking	self	the man	firewood	the bundle
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.	ABS.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.

Just when they had got (the) toddy boiling, the crane came (back) and said asking, ‘where is my firewood bundle?’

F **▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaʾ emmaṇa dīfā gaʾ.◃**

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, ‘where is the firewood (bundle) I received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received giving the wave I had receive

34a

F ▹masmaṇa difā gaʾ daromaṇa kobā hei-e?◃

masmaṇa	difai	gat	daromaṇa	kobā	hei_e?
fish	giving	received	firewood	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

giving the bait fish I had received giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?'

35

A ▸beṇi mei, dī kālō kēfi, ta darabĕňḍaʾ kan, timā darabĕňḍaʾ kan dēneti, timā rā hiagamm-āu.◂

beṇi	mei	dī	kālō	kēfi	ta	darabĕňḍak	kam	timā	darabĕňḍak	kam	dēneti	timā	rā	hiagatim	āu
said	when	Dī	Kālō	she said	your	a firewood bundle	whether	self	a firewood bundle	whether	not knowing	self	toddy	I boiled	saying
VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

When he had said (so), D.K. said, 'not knowing whether (it is) your firewood bundle or my (own) firewood bundle, I (finally) got (the) toddy boiled.'

F ▹beṇā mi mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō daromaṇa kan dēneti, timāmen rā hiāgamm-āi.◃

beṇā	mi	mīhun	beṇi	ai	kalō	daromaṇa	kam	dēneti	timāmen	rā	hiāgammā	ai
saying	these	people	they said	they say	lord	firewood	that	not knowing	selves	toddy	we got cooking	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people said, 'not knowing that (it was) your firewood we (ourselves) got (our) toddy boiled.'

H >boṇīm mai, mi mīhun boṇi āi, tim mīhun rā hinduvai gatum māi, dara boňḍake demā hē, rāike demā he?<

boṇīn	mai	mi	mīhun	boṇi	āi	tim	mīhun	rā	hinduvai	gatun	māi	dara	boňḍake	demā	hē	rāike	demā	he?
saying	at time	these	people	said	they say	self	people	toddy	cooking	getting	at time	firewood	a bundle	we give	asking	a toddy	we give	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.

After (his) saying (so), these people said asking, 'after we got (our) toddy boiling, shall we give (you) a firewood bundle (or) shall we give (you) some toddy?'

36

A ▸taʾ dēṇei darabĕňḍaʾ tau, fani tuḷelaʾ tau?◂

taś	dēṇeī	darabĕňḍak	tau	fani	tuḷelak	tau?
to you	what shall be given is	a firewood bundle	asking	treacle	a measure	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'Shall (I) give you a firewood bundle or some (lit. "a measure of") treacle?'

F ▹kalōśa dēnī fanimaṇaʾ tai, daromaṇaʾ tai?◃

kalōśa	dēnī	fanimaṇak	tai	daromaṇak	tai?
to lord	what is to be given is	treacle	either	firewood	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

'Shall we give you some treacle or some firewood?'

37

A **▸beṇi mei, kēfi, emme raňgaḷ-āu, fani tuḷelaʾ dēʾ kei.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfi*	*emme*	*raňgaḷa*	*āu*	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*dēś*	*kei*
said	when	he said	most of all	beautiful	saying	treacle	a measure	to give	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	ADJ	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.I.3SG.	MOD.	PRED.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

When she said (so), he said, ‘(it) would be best to give (me) some (lit. "a measure of") treacle.’

F **▹beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī fanimaṇak-āi.◃**

beṇi	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*fanimaṇak*	*āi*
he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a treacle	saying
VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, ‘give me (some) treacle.’

H **>boṇim mai boṇī-ai, raike denna.<**

boṇim	*mai*	*boṇī*	*ai*	*raike*	*denna*
saying	at time	he said	they say	a toddy	to give
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.

After (their) saying (so), he said, ‘give (me) some toddy’.

38

F **▹beṇā mi mīhun derefi-āi.◃**

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhun*	*derefi*	*āi*
saying	these	people	(they) gave	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people gave it (to him).

39

A **▸beṇi mei, fani tuḷelā dim mei, tuňbelāgen udussagaʾ.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*fani*	*tuḷelā*	*din*	*mei*	*tuňbelāgen*	*udussagat*
said	when	treacle	the measure	given	when	lifting	he flew away (intentionally)
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.III	PT.III.3SG.

When he had said (so), when he was given the measure of treacle, he started flying taking (it) up.

40

A **▸uduhigen gē lekaʾ gos, eb bākin fani netigen kubus ni fihigen tibi tākaʾ vaṭṭali.◂**

uduhigen	*gē*	*lekaś*	*gos*	*ek*	*bākin*	*fani*	*netigen*	*kubus*	*ni*	*fihigen*	*tibi*	*tākaś*	*vaṭṭali*
flying	gone	to way	going	one	some people	treacle	not being	pancake	not	baking	being	to a place	he dropped
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.

As he went on, flying in the way he had been (before), he dropped (it) on a place where there were some people who failed baking pancakes because of not having treacle.

F **▹dinum mā fanimaṇa tumbelāgen udihemun udihemun goho, baiken fani nētī fen eḍāgen kubus fihenna tibi tanakaha vaṭṭālāfē ebage-ai.◃**

dinun	*mā*	*fanimaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*baiken*	*fani*	*nētī*	*fen*	*eḍāgen*	*kubus*	*fihenna*	*tibi*	*tanakaha*	*vaṭṭālāfē*	*ebage*	*ai*
giving	at time	treacle	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some	treacle	not being	water	pouring	pancake	to bake	being	to a place	having dropped	he went	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	ABS.III	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (they) gave it (to him), (he), lifting up the treacle and going on flying and flying, dropped (it) at a place where there were some people (who tried) to bake pancake by pouring water (upon it) because of not having treacle.

H **>rāyā hifaigen gē likahaṭa goho, vaṭṭaili āi ottī appana oḍana geaku doraṭa.<**

rāyā	*hifaigen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*vaṭṭaili*	*āi*	*ottī*	*appana*	*oḍana*	*geaku*	*doraṭa*
the toddy	grasping	gone	to a manner	going	he dropped	they say	where it was	pancake	preparing	a house	to door
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.INDEF.	DAT.

Taking the toddy (and) going on in the way (he) had gone (before), he dropped it near a house where there was (somebody) preparing (a) pancake.

41

A **▸everin hedi lekakī, fani tuḷelā eḍagen, fiśi garagen, kubus fihagattā.◂**

everin	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*fani*	*tuḷelā*	*eḍagen*	*fiśi*	*garagen*	*kubus*	*fihagattā*
those ones	done	what a way is	treacle	the measure	putting	flour	stirring	pancake	they baked
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.PL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.

Taking the measure of treacle (and) stirring in (some) flour, these people (finally) got the pancake baked.

F **▹ebagēm mā, mi mīhun fanimaṇa eḍāgen kubus fihāgat-ai.◃**

ebagēn	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*fanimaṇa*	*eḍāgen*	*kubus*	*fihāgat*	*ai*
going away	at time	these	people	treacle	pouring	pancake	they got cooked	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

When (he) had gone away, these people got the pancake baked by pouring treacle (upon it).

H **>mi mīhun ek kala rāyā oḍāfai, appana fihai gat-ai.<**

mi	*mīhun*	*ek*	*kala*	*rāyā*	*oḍāfai*	*appana*	*fihai*	*gat*	*ai*
these	people	one	time	the toddy	pouring	pancake	baking	they got	they say
DPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3PL.	INT.

These people, pouring the (aforesaid) toddy in it, (finally) got the pancake baked.

42

F **▹kubus fihegen tibi vēlai bāi.◃**

kubus	*fihegen*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*
pancake	baking	they being	at time	he came back	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Just when they were baking the pancake, (the crane) came back.

43

A **▸vēla keḍakun, mākanā ās ahafi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi fani tuḷelā?◂**

vēla	*keḍakun*	*mākanā*	*ās*	*ahafi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*fani*	*tuḷelā?*
time	with a piece	the crane	coming	he asked	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	treacle	the measure
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.L3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.

After a short while, the crane came (back and) asked, ‘where is the measure of treacle I dropped here?’

H **>fihai gatum mai, āho boṇi-ai, kobai hē tim mīhā rāyā?<**

fihai	*gatun*	*mai*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*kobai*	*hē*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*rāyā?*
baking	getting	at time	coming	he said	they say	where	asking	self	the man	the toddy
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.

Just when (they) got (it) baked, (the crane) came (back and) said, ‘where is my toddy?’

F **▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa difā gaʾ raḷomaṇa difā gaʾ emmaṇa difā gaʾ.◃**

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*difai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*difai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*difai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, ‘where is the treacle I received giving the firewood I had received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received

43a

F **▹masmaṇa difā gaʾ daromaṇa difā gaʾ fanimaṇa kobā hei-e?◃**

masmaṇa	*difai*	*gat*	*daromaṇa*	*difai*	*gat*	*fanimaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
fish	giving	received	firewood	giving	received	treacle	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?’

44

A ▸**ta fani tuḷelaʾ kan, timāmen fani tuḷelaʾ kan dēneti, kubus fihagamm-āu.**◂

ta	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*kam*	*timāmen*	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*kubus*	*fihagammā*	*āu*
your	treacle	a measure	whether	selves	treacle	a measure	whether	not knowing	pancake	we baked	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.PL.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

‘Not knowing whether (it is) your measure of treacle or our (own) measure of treacle, we (finally) baked pancake (with it)’, (they) said.

F ▹**beṇum mā mi mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō fanimaṇa kan dēneti, kubus fihāgammāi.**◃

beṇun	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*fanimaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*kubus*	*fihāgammā*	*ai*
saying	at time	these	people	they said	they say	lord	treacle	that	not knowing	pancake	we got baking	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.+DIM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people said, ‘not knowing that (it was) your treacle, we (finally) got (our) pancake baked.

H **>boṇīm mai boṇi-ai, tim felā ta rāyā nagai gatum mai, appanake demā he, raike demā he?<**

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*felā*	*ta*	*rāyā*	*nagai*	*gatun*	*mai*	*appanake*	*demā*	*he*	*raeke*	*demā*	*he?*
saying	at time	they said	they say	self	people	your	toddy	lifting	getting	at time	a pancake	we give	asking	a toddy	we give	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.

After (his) saying (so), (they) said asking, ‘after we have acquired your toddy (by) taking (it) up, shall we give (you) a pancake (or) shall we give (you) some toddy?’

45

A ▸**taʾ dēṇei fani tuḷelaʾ tau, kubuhaʾ tau?**◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*tau*	*kubuhak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	treacle	a measure	asking	a pancake	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

‘Shall (we) give you a measure of treacle or a pancake?’

F ▹**kalōśa dennēnī kubusmaṇaʾ tai fanimaṇaʾ tai?**◃

kalōśa	*dennēnī*	*kubusmaṇak*	*tai*	*fanimaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	pancake	either	treacle	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

‘Shall we give you a pancake or some treacle?’

46

A **▸beṇi mei, kēfi, kubuha' dē' kei.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfi*	*kubuhak*	*dēš*	*kei*
said	when	he said	a pancake	to give	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.L3SG.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

After (their) saying (so), (the crane) said, 'give (me) a pancake.'

F **▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timāša dennēnī kubusmaṇakk-āi.◃**

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timāša*	*dennēnī*	*kubusmaṇak*	*āi*
saying	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a pancake	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me a pancake.'

H **>boṇīm mai boṇi-ai, appanake denn-āì.<**

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*appanake*	*denna*	*ai*
saying	at time	he said	they say	a pancake	to give	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me a pancake.'

47

F **▹beṇā mi mīhun derefi-ai.◃**

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhun*	*derefi*	*ai*
saying	these	people	(they) gave	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	

After he had said (so), these people gave (it to him).

48

A **▸kubuhā̄ dim mei, kubuhā̄ tum̆belā̄gen gē̄ lekaʾ gos, fē̄ru kalē̄ge fē̄ran kerā̄ tatune keḍe bā̄vvai ebege.◂**

kubuhā̄	*din*	*mei*	*kubuhā̄*	*tum̆belā̄gen*	*gē̄*	*lekaś*	*gos*	*fē̄ru*	*kalē̄ge*	*fē̄ran*	*kerā̄*	*tatune*	*keḍe*	*bā̄vvai*	*ebege*
the pancake	given	when	the pancake	lifting	gone	to way	going	weaver	mister	weaving	making	of chair	at end	putting	he went off
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.	ABS.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	LOC.	ABS.	PT.3SG.

When he had been given the pancake (and) taken (it), he went on in the way he had gone (before), (and) after putting it on the end of a weaver's weaving chair, he went off (again).

F **▹dinum mā̄, kubusmaṇa tumbelā̄gen, udihemun udihemun goho, fē̄ru kalē̄ge fē̄rā̄n oḷom̆bo dā̄n̆ḍe bā̄vvā̄ ebage-ai.◃**

dinun	*mā̄*	*kubusmaṇa*	*tumbelā̄gen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*fē̄ru*	*kalē̄ge*	*fē̄rā̄n*	*oḷom̆bo*	*dā̄n̆ḍe*	*bā̄vvā̄*	*ebage*	*ai*
giving	at time	pancake	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	weaver	lord's	weaving	(?)	stick	putting	he went off	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	GEN.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (they) gave it (to him), (he), taking up the treacle and going on flying and flying, put (it) on (a) weaver's weaving (?) stick.

H **>appana hifaigen gē̄ likahaṭa goho, vaṭṭaili ā̄i bere oḍana baikenge gā̄ṭa.<**

appana	*hifaigen*	*gē̄*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*vaṭṭaili*	*ā̄i*	*bere*	*oḍana*	*baikenge*	*gā̄ṭa*
the pancake	grasping	gone	to a manner	going	he dropped	they say	drum	preparing	some people's	to house
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	DAT.

Taking the pancake (and) going on in the way (he) had gone (before), he dropped (it) near some people who were fixing (the skin of) a drum.

49

F **▹ebagē̄m mā̄, miu dati jehā̄ komme kalaki veṭṭenī̄-ai.◃**

ebagē̄n	*mā̄*	*miu*	*dati*	*jehā̄*	*komme*	*kalaki*	*veṭṭenī̄*	*ai*
going away	at time	this one	in tooth	hitting	every	in time	it falls	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	PRS.3SG. (M!)	EXT.

After (he) had gone away, it fell down all the way (lit. "time") hitting into the teeth of this one (i.e., the weaver's).

A **▸ebegē̄ mei, fē̄ru kalē̄ge iñdefei kalaki davvaḍa jahafei kudu koʾ mativaḍa nagamun kamun mā̄kanā̄ ē̄ tō̄ balafei,◂**

ebegē̄	*mei*	*fē̄ru*	*kalē̄ge*	*iñdefei*	*kalaki*	*davvaḍa*	*jahafei*	*kudu*	*koś*	*mativaḍa*	*nagamun*	*kamun*	*mā̄kanā̄*	*ē̄*	*tō̄*	*balafei*
come	when	weaver	mister	sitting	(each) at a time	in-mouth	striking	little	making	off-mouth	raising	eating	the crane	coming	if	looking
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.I	LOC.INDEF.	OBL.	ABS.I	PRED.	ABS.	OBL.	GRND.	GRND.	NOM.DEF.	PART.PRS.		ABS.I

When he went off, the weaver was sitting there, biting off (pieces) from it by putting it in his mouth and taking a little bit off again and again, (each) at a time while looking whether the crane (might) come (back)

49a

A **▸davvaḍa jahamun ē vēlei, kubuhā hus vege.◂**

davvaḍa	*jahamun*	*ē*	*vēlei*	*kubuhā*	*hus*	*vege*
in-mouth	striking	going on	while	the pancake	empty	it became
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB
OBL.	GRND.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.

and while he was going on putting it in his mouth (like this), the pancake became empty.

50

F **▹vettʾ enā hedī, rīḍi arāgen, kāfī-ai.◃**

vettʾ	*enā*	*hedī*	*rīḍi*	*arāgen*	*kāfī*	*ai*
(it) falling	he	what he did was	angry	climbing up	he ate	they say
VERB	PRON	VERB	ADJ.	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	NOM. (M!)	PART.PT.+FOC.	PRED.	ABS.III	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When it fell (between his teeth), he became angry and swallowed (it).

H **>vaṭṭailīm mai, mi mīhune hedi lihaku appanā kaigen bera oḍai gat-ai.<**

vaṭṭailīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhune*	*hedi*	*lihaku*	*appanā*	*kaigen*	*bera*	*oḍai*	*gat*	*ai*
dropping	at time	these	people	done	the way (was)	the pancake	eating	the drum	fixing	they got	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3PL.	INT.

After (his) dropping (it), these people got the drum fixed by eating the pancake.

51

A **▸kubuhā hus vi tani keḍaʾ mākanā bāi.◂**

kubuhā	*hus*	*vi*	*tani*	*keḍaś*	*mākanā*	*bā*	*ai*
the pancake	empty	become	of place	to end	the crane	he came	they say
NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.DEF.	PRED.	PART.PT.	GEN.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

The crane came (back) just at the moment when the pancake had become empty.

F **▹kāfē hiʾ vēlai bāi.◃**

kāfē	*hiśi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*
having eaten	he being	at time	he came	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Just when he had eaten it, (the crane) came back.

52

A **▸ās kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tani bēvvi kubuhā?◂**

ās	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tani*	*bēvvi*	*kubuhā?*
coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	in place	put	the pancake
VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.I3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Coming (back), he said, ‘where,’ he asked, ‘is the pancake I dropped in this place?’

H **>āho boṇi-ai, kobā he tim mīhā mi tā voṭṭi appanā?<**

āho	*boṇi*	*ai*	*kobā*	*he*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*mi*	*tā*	*voṭṭi*	*appanā?*
coming	he said	they say	where	asking	self	the man	this	at place	dropped	the pancake
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Having come (back), he said asking, ‘where is the pancake I dropped in this place?’

F **▹āho beṇi-ai, galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaʾ emmaṇa dīfā gaʾ.◃**

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, ‘where is the pancake I had received giving the *treacle I received giving* (the) firewood I had received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received

52a

F **▹masmaṇa dīfā gaʾ daromaṇa *dīfā gaʾ fanimaṇa* dīfā gaʾ kubusmaṇa kobā heie?◃**

masmaṇa	*dīfai*	*gat*	*daromaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*fanimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*kubusmaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
fish	giving	received	firewood	giving	received	treacle	giving	received	pancake	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?’

53

A **▸beṇi mei, kēfi, ta kubuhaʾ kan, timā kubuhaʾ kan dēneti, davvaḍa jahafei mativaḍa nagamun kamun ē vēlei, hus vege.◂**

beṇi	***mei***	***kēfi***	***ta***	***kubuhak***	***kan***	***timā***	***kubuhaʾ***	***kan***	***dēneti***	***davvaḍa***	***jahafei***	***mativaḍa***	***nagamun***	***kamun***	***ē***	***vēlei***	***hus***	***vege***
said	when	he said	your	a pancake	whether	self	a pancake	whether	not knowing	in-mouth	striking	off-mouth	raising	eating	going on	while	empty	it became
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	ABS.I	OBL.	GRND.	GRND.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.

When he had said (so), (the weaver) said, ‘while (I was) going on eating (it) by biting (bits) off (and) putting (them) in the mouth on and on, not knowing whether (it is) your pancake or my pancake, it became empty.

F **▹miu beṇi-ai, kalō kubusmaṇaʾ kan dēneti, kāfīm-ai.◃**

miu	***beṇi***	***ai***	***kalō***	***kubusmaṇak***	***kam***	***dēneti***	***kāfīm***	***ai***
this one	he said	they say	lord	pancake	that	not knowing	I ate	saying
DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the weaver) said, ‘not knowing that (it was) your pancake, I ate it.’

H **>boṇīm mai, mi mīhun boṇi-ai, tim fela appanā kaifīm-ai.<**

boṇīn	***mai***	***mi***	***mīhun***	***boṇi***	***ai***	***tim***	***fela***	***appanā***	***kaifīm***	***ai***
saying	at time	these	people	they said	they say	self	people	the pancake	we ate	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.I.1PL.	INT.

At (his) saying (so), these people said, ‘we ate the pancake.’

54

A **▸taʾ dēṇei kubuhaʾ tau, ūtērāʾ tau?◂**

taś	***dēṇeī***	***kubuhak***	***tau***	***ūtērāk***	***tau?***
to you	what shall be given is	a pancake	asking	a yarn reel	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

‘Shall (I) give you a pancake or a yarn reel?’

F **▹den miu beṇi-ai, kalōśa dennēnī, ūtērimaṇaʾ tai, kubusmaṇaʾ tai?◃**

den	***miu***	***beṇi***	***ai***	***kalōśa***	***dennēnī***	***ūtērimaṇak***	***tai***	***kubusmaṇak***	***tai?***
then	this one	he said	they say	to lord	what is to be given is	yarn reel	either	pancake	or
ADV	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

Then this one said, ‘shall we give you (a) yarn reel or a pancake?’

55

A ▸**beṇi mei, beṇafi, ūtērāʾ dēʾ kei.**◂

beṇi	*mei*	*beṇafi*	*ūtērāk*	*dēš*	*kei*
said	when	he said	a yarn reel	to give	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

When he had said (so), (the crane) said, ‘give (me) a yarn reel.’

F ▹**beṇi-ai, timāša dennēnī, ūtērimaṇakk-āi.**◃

beṇi	*ai*	*timāša*	*dennēnī*	*ūtērimaṇak*	*āi*
he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a yarn reel	saying
VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

(When they said so, the crane) said, ‘give me a yarn reel.’

56

A ▸**beṇi mei, dinī ūtērāʾ.**◂

beṇi	*mei*	*dinī*	*ūtērāk.*
said	when	what was given is	a yarn reel
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
PART.PT.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.

When he had said (so), (he) was given a yarn reel.

F ▹**beṇā derefi-ai.**◃

beṇā	*derefi*	*ai*
saying	he gave	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3PL.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so), (the weaver) gave (it to him).

56a

A ▸**dim mei, hifagen uduhigen gos, kaḷāge beyyā ū mada vegen, naṇa ni eḍigen in tākaʾ vaṭṭalāi ebege-au.**◂

din	*mei*	*hifagen*	*uduhigen*	*gos*	*kaḷāge*	*beyyā*	*ū*	*mada*	*vegen*	*naṇa*	*ni*	*eḍigen*	*in*	*tākaś*	*vaṭṭalāi*	*ebege*	*au*
given	when	grasping	flying	going	Kalāge	the Bey	yarn	few	having become	fishing line	not	fixing	sitting	to a place	having dropped	he went	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	PN	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.DEF.	OBL.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II	PT.3SG.	INT.

When he was given (it), he went (off) grasping (it), and flying (away), he dropped it at a place where K.B. was sitting, failing to fix (his) fishing line, because of yarn having run short.

56b

A ▸**veṭṭi mei, beyyā hedi lekakī, ūtērā lāfei naṇa eḍagaʾ.**◂

veṭṭi	*mei*	*beyyā*	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*ūtērā*	*lāfei*	*naṇa*	*eḍagat*
dropped	when	the bey	done	what the way is	the yarn reel	using	fishing line	he fixed
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

When (he) dropped it, (K.) Bey was finally able to fix (his) fishing line using the yarn reel.

56c

A ▸**naṇa eḍai, avidi vege fahun, bāi.**◂

naṇa	*eḍai*	*avidi*	*vege*	*fahun*	*bā*	*ai*
fishing line	fixing	finished	become	after	he came	they say
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.	PRED.	PART.PT.IV	ABL.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After he had finished fixing the fishing line, (the crane) came back.

56d

A ▸**ās kēfi, timā mi tān veṭṭi ūtērā kobā tau?**◂

ās	*kēfi*	*timā*	*mi*	*tani*	*veṭṭi*	*ūtērā*	*kobā*	*tau?*
coming	he said	self	this	place	dropped	the yarn reel	where	asking
VERB	VERB	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.

Coming (back), he said, ‘where,’ he asked, ‘is the yarn reel I dropped in this place?’

56e

A ▸**beyyā kēfi, ta ūtērāʾ kan, ma ūtērāʾ kan ni eňgi naṇa eḍagamm-āu.**◂

beyyā	*kēfi*	*ta*	*ūtērak*	*kam*	*ma*	*ūtērak*	*kam*	*ni*	*eňgi*	*naṇa*	*eḍagatim*	*āu*
the bey	he said	your	a yarn reel	whether	my	a yarn reel	whether	not	being known	fishing line	I fixed	saying
NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

(K.) Bey said, ‘not knowing whether (it is) your yarn reel or my yarn reel, I (finally) fixed (my) fishing line (using it).’

56f

A ▸**taʾ dēṇei ūtērāʾ tau nuvata naṇaʾ tau?**◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*ūtērak*	*tau*	*nuvata*	*naṇak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	a yarn reel	asking	or	a fishing line	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	CONJ	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	COOR.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

‘Shall (I) give you a yarn reel or a fishing line?’

57

A ▸naṇa tuṁbelāgen, e gē lekaʾ gos, Kōgaňḍi Fuccelō naṇa mada vegen beraʾ ni emeṇigen hiśi tākaʾ vaṭṭalāi ebege.◂

naṇa	*tuṁbelāgen*	*e*	*gē*	*lekaś*	*gos*	*Kōgaňḍi*	*Fuccelō*	*naṇa*	*mada*	*vegen*	*berak*	*ni*	*emeṇigen*	*hiśi*	*tākaś*	*vaṭṭalāi*	*ebege*
fishing line	lifting	that	gone	to way	going	of Kōgaňḍa	Fuccelō	fishing line	few	having become	a drum	not	tying	being	to a place	having dropped	he went
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PN	PN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.	ABS.III	ATTR.	PART.PT.	DAT.	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.	ABS.II	PT.3SG.

Having taken (the) fishing line (and) going (on) in the way he had gone (before), he went and dropped (it) at a place where F. from K. stood, failing to tie (his) drum because of (his) fishing line having run short.

F ▹dinum mā, utērimaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho, baiken ū nētū naṇain bera eḍannaha tibi tanakaha vaṭṭalāi ebage-ai.◃

dinun	*mā*	*utērimaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*baiken*	*ū*	*nētū*	*naṇain*	*bera*	*eḍannaha*	*tibi*	*tanakaha*	*vaṭṭalāi*	*ebage*	*ai*
giving	at time	yarn reel	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some	yarn	not being	from line	drum	to fix	being	to a place	having dropped	he went off	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	ABL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (they) gave it (to him), (he), lifting up the treacle and going on flying and flying, dropped (it) at a place where there were some people (who were) trying to fix (a) drum with a fishing line because they had no yarn.

58

F ▹ebagēm mā, mi mīhun bera eḍāgat-ai.◃

ebagēn	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*bera*	*eḍāgat*	*ai*
going away	at time	these	people	drum	they got fixed	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

When (he) had gone away, these people managed to fix the drum.

59

A ▸beraʾ amaṇagaʾ fahun, mide bāi.◂

berak	*amaṇagat*	*fahun*	*mide*	*bā*	*ai*
a drum	tied	after	this one	he came	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	PART.PT.III	ABL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After (K.F.) had tied (his) drum, the crane came (back).

F ▹beraʾ eḍāgen tibi vēlai, bāi.◃

beraʾ	*eḍāgen*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*
drum	fixing	they being	at time	he came back	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Just when they had fixed the drum, (the crane) came back.

60

A **▸ās kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi naṇa?◂**

ās	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tani*	*veṭṭi*	*naṇa?*
coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	fishing line
VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.

Coming (back), he said, ‘where,’ he asked, ‘is the fishing line I dropped at this place?’

F **▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaʾ emmaṇa dīfā gaʾ.◃**

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, ‘where is the yarn reel I received giving the pancake I had received giving the *treacle I had received giving* (the) firewood I had received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received

60a

F **▹masmaṇa dīfā gaʾ daromaṇa dīfā gaʾ *fanimaṇa dīfā gaʾ* kubusmaṇa dīfā gaʾ utērimaṇa kobā hei-e?◃**

masmaṇa	*dīfai*	*gat*	*daromaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*fanimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*kubusmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*utērimaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
fish	giving	received	firewood	giving	received	treacle	giving	received	pancake	giving	received	yarn reel	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.+DIM.	LOC.	INT.

giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?’

61

A **▸ta naṇaʾ kan, ma naṇaʾ kan dēneti, timā beraʾ amaṇagamm-āu.◂**

ta	*naṇak*	*kam*	*ma*	*naṇak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*berak*	*amaṇagatim*	*āu*
your	a fishing line	whether	my	a fishing line	whether	not knowing	self	a drum	I tied	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

‘Not knowing, whether (it is) your fishing line or my fishing line, I (used it for) tying.’

F **▹beṇā mi mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō ūtērimaṇaʾ kan dēneti, beraʾ eḍāgamm-āi.◃**

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*ūtērimaṇak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*berak*	*eḍāgammā*	*āi*
saying	these	people	they said	they say	lord	yarn reel	that	not knowing	a drum	we got fixed	saying
NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people said, ‘not knowing that (it was) your yarn reel, we finally got (our) drum fixed (with it).’

62

A **▸taʾ dēṇei naṇaʾ tau nuvata berā tau?◂**

taś	***dēṇeī***	***naṇak***	***tau***	***nuvata***	***berā***	***tau?***
to you	what shall be given is	a fishing line	asking	or	the drum	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	CONJ	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	COOR.	NOM.DEF.	INT.

‘Shall (I) give you a fishing line or the drum?’

F **▹kalōśa dennēnī, beramaṇaʾ tai ūtērimaṇaʾ tai?◃**

kalōśa	***dennēnī***	***beramaṇak***	***tai***	***ūtērimaṇak***	***tai?***
to lord	what is to be given is	drum	either	yarn reel	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.

‘Shall we give you a drum or a yarn reel?’

H **>bereke demā he, appanake demā he?<**

bereke	***demā***	***he***	***appanake***	***demā***	***he?***
a drum	we give	asking	a pancake	we give	asking
NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.

‘Shall we give (you) a drum (or) shall we give (you) a pancake?’

63

A **▸beṇi mei kēfi, timāʾ dēṇei bera koloāk-āu.◂**

beṇi	***mei***	***kēfi***	***timāś***	***dēṇeī***	***bera***	***koloāk***	***āu***
said	when	he said	self	what shall be given is	drum	a bunch	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.L3SG.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When he had said (so), (the crane) said, ‘give me a bunch of drum(s).’

F **▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī beramaṇākāi.◃**

beṇā	***beṇi***	***ai***	***timāśa***	***dennēnī***	***beramaṇāk***	***āi***
saying	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a drum	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, ‘give me a drum.’

H **>boṇi-ai, bereke denn-ai.<**

boṇi	***ai***	***bereke***	***denna***	***ai***
he said	they say	a drum	to give	saying
VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

He said, ‘give (me) a drum.’

63a

A ▸**beṇi mei, bera koloā derefi.**◂

beṇi	*mei*	*bera*	*koloā*	*derefi*
said	when	drum	the bunch	he gave
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.

When he had said (so), (K.F.) gave (him) a bunch of drum(s).

64

H **>berā tuṁbulaigen, iṅdihegen gē likahaṭa goho, jahaifi āi oʾ galahuṭṭe koḷu huṭi kēo gehaka.<**

berā	*tuṁbulaigen*	*iṅdihegen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*jahaifi*	*āi*	*ot*	*galahuṭṭe*	*koḷu*	*huṭi*	*kēo*	*gehaka*
the drum	lifting	flying up	gone	to a manner	going	he hit	they say	it was (?)	of Galafuśi	end	being	screwpine	to a tree
NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.I 3SG.	EXT.	PART.PT.	GEN.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.

Taking the drum, (the crane) went on in the way he had gone (before) and landed on a screwpine tree which was at the end of Galafuśi.

F ▹**beṇum mā, beramaṇa tumbelāgen udihemun udihemun goho Mēliage faṇṇei hīśi kē geheki iṅde mi kēnī:**◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beramaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*Mēliage*	*faṇṇei*	*hīśi*	*kē*	*geheki*	*iṅde*	*mi*	*kēnī:*
saying	at time	pancake	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	of M	in beach way	being	screwpine	on a tree	sitting down	this	what he says is:
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When (he) had said (so), taking up the drum, going on flying and flying and sitting down on a screwpine tree which stood on Mēlia's beach, he said:

64a

F ▹**ta bere nu nun, ma bere nu nun, rasge futtilā bere kē, kēgaṅḍi bere, ravā ravā.**◃

ta	*bere*	*nu*	*nun*	*ma*	*bere*	*nu*	*nun*	*rasge*	*futtilā*	*bere*	*kē*	*kēgaṅḍi*	*bere*	*ravā*	*ravā*
your	drum	not	is not	my	drum	not	is not	king's	prince-lord (?)	drum	saying	of K	drum	=	=
PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PARTC	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PN (?)	NOUN	INTJ	INTJ
OBL.	NOM.	NEG. (M)	NEG.	OBL.	NOM.	NEG. (M)	NEG.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	=	=

'It is not your drum, it is not my drum, it is the king's prince's drum,' he said, 'it is Kēgaṅḍi's drum, craw craw'.

65

A ▸**dim mei, bera koloā hifagen, tuṁbelāgen gos, boṅḍa mā singā hiʾ biā nikavilissa gehaki jehifei iṅde kēnī,**◂

din	*mei*	*bera*	*koloā*	*hifagen*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*boṅḍa*	*mā*	*singā*	*hit*	*biā*	*nikavilissa*	*gehaki*	*jehifei*	*iṅde*	*kēnī*
given	when	drum	the bunch	grasping	lifting	going	big	huge	lion	heart	beating	flamboyant	on a tree	landing	sitting	what he says is
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	ADJ	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	LOC.INDEF.	ABS.I	ABS.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When (he) was given (it), grasping the bunch of drums, taking (it), going on and landing upon an amazing huge flamboyant tree and sitting there, he said,

65a

A ▸gua’ dī, raḷe’ gatin; raḷe’ dī, eme’ gatin; ema’ dī, maha’ gatin; maha’ dī, dara beṅḍi gatin;◂

gua’	***dī***	***raḷe’***	***gatin;***	***raḷe’***	***dī***	***eme’***	***gatin***	***ema’***	***dī***	***maha’***	***gatin***	***maha’***	***dī***	***dara***	***beṅḍi***	***gatin***
a dropping	giving	a wave	I received	a wave	giving	a bait fish	I received	a bait fish	giving	a fish	I received	a fish	giving	firewood	bundle	I received
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.	PT.1SG.

‘Having given a dropping, I received a wave; having given a wave, I received (a) bait fish; having given (a) bait fish, I received a fish; having given a fish, I received (a) bundle of firewood;

65b

A ▸dara beṅḍi dī, fani tuḷela’ gatin; fani tuḷela’ dī, kubuha’ gatin; kubuhe’ dī, tēra’ gatin; tēra’ dī, naṇe’ gatin;◂

dara	***beṅḍi***	***dī***	***fani***	***tuḷela’***	***gatin***	***fani***	***tuḷela’***	***dī***	***kubuha’***	***gatin***	***kubuhe’***	***dī***	***tēra’***	***gatin***	***tēra’***	***dī***	***naṇe’***	***gatin***
firewood	bundle	giving	treacle	a measure	I received	treacle	a measure	giving	a pancake	I received	a pancake	giving	a reel	I received	a reel	giving	a fishing line	I received
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.M!	PT.1SG.

Having given (a) bundle of firewood, I received a measure of treacle; having given a measure of treacle, I received a pancake; having given a reel, I received a fishing line;

65c

A ▸naṇe’ dī, bere’ gatin: ta bera’ nun, ma bera’ nun, Kōgaṅḍi Fuccalō berā ravā ravā.◂

naṇe’	***dī***	***bere’***	***gatin***	***ta***	***bera’***	***nun***	***ma***	***bera’***	***nun***	***Kōgaṅḍi***	***Fuccalō***	***berā***	***ravā***	***ravā***
a fishing line	giving	a drum	I received	your	drum	it is not	my	drum	it is not	of Kōgaṅḍa	Fuccalō	the drum	=	=
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PN	PN	NOUN	INTJ	INTJ
NOM.INDEF.(M!)	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	PT.1SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	=	=

Having given a fishing line, I received a drum; it is not your drum, it is not my drum, (it is) K. F.’s drum, ravā, ravā.’

66

F ▹mehen kē kē hiśu vēlai, Mēliage dia ebage loṇo furanna.◃

mehen	***kē***	***kē***	***hiśu***	***vēlai***	***Mēliage***	***dia***	***ebage***	***loṇo***	***furanna***
this way	saying	saying	he being	at time	of M.	daughter	she went off	salt	to fill
ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
MOD.	ABS.	ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	NOM.	INF.

While he was talking and talking like this, M.D. went off to fill up (her) salt.

H >jahai huṭṭai, bere jahan iṅḍuvai, mā mellēge dia bāi āi mi tan loṇo huvanna.<

jahai	***huṭṭai***	***bere***	***jahan***	***iṅḍuvai***	***mā***	***mellēge***	***dia***	***bā***	***āi***	***mi***	***tan***	***loṇo***	***huvanna***
hitting	being	drum	to beat	setting	M.	of M.-house	D	she came	they say	this	place	salt	to look for
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADJ	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.

When he had landed there and had started to beat (the) drum, M.M.D. came to his place to look for some salt.

67

F ▹**erīfē hiśu vēlai, mia beṇi-ai, tī kalō beramaṇa nūn-ai, tī denna kē.**◃

erīfē	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*mia*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*tī*	*kalō*	*beramaṇa*	*nūn*	*ai*	*tī*	*denna*	*kē*
getting out	it being	at time	this one	he said	they say	this (your)	lord	drum	is not	saying	this (your) one	to give	saying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	VERB	VERB
ABS.I	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL. (!)	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

Just when she went out, she said, ‘this is not your drum, give (it back to me).’

H **>āho, mia mākanayā bere jahān iṅduvai, boṇi-ai, ta hitun taʾ tī bere jahanun he?<**

āho	*mia*	*mākanayā*	*bere*	*jahān*	*iṅduvai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*hitun*	*taś*	*tī*	*bere*	*jahanun*	*he?*
coming	this one	the crane	drum	to beat	setting	she said	they say	your	from heart	to you	this	drum	is beatable	asking
VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	PPRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
ABS.	NOM.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	ABL.	DAT.	ATTR.	NOM.	PART.PT.POT.	EXT.

Coming (there) when the crane was about to beat the drum, she said, ‘do you really think you are able to beat the drum?’

68

H **>boṇīm mai, boṇi-ai, āi, tim mīhā bere jahanna gō.<**

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*āi*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*bere*	*jahanna*	*gō*
saying	at time	he said	they say	yes	self	to the man	drum	to beat	indeed (?)
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	AFF.	OBL.	DAT.DEF.	NOM.	INF. (?)	MOD.

At (her) saying (so), (the crane) said, ‘yes, I am indeed able (?) to beat the drum.’

69

H **>boṇīm mai boṇi-ai, mā mellēge dia, <**

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*mā*	*mellēge*	*dia*
saying	at time	he said	they say	M	M	D
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	PN	NOUN
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.DEF.

At (her) saying (so), he said, ‘M.M.D.,

69a

H **>ta angayā ma angayā, de angayā kere rate angayake balan ta angayā hā kollai lanna ke.<**

ta	*angayā*	*ma*	*angayā*	*de*	*angayā*	*kere*	*rate*	*angayake*	*balan*	*ta*	*angayā*	*hā*	*kollai*	*lanna*	*ke*
your	the mouth	my	the mouth	two	the mouth	comparing	red	a mouth	to see	your	mouth	open	making	to lay	saying
PPRON	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	POSTP	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB
OBL.	NOM.DEF.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	PRED.	ABS.II	INF.	ABS.

open your mouth,’ he said, ‘(so that we can) see which mouth, your mouth or my mouth, is (the more) red (one).

70
H **>mā mellēge dia angayā hā keran tā cis kiā guake laifi-ai.<**

mā	*mellēge*	*dia*	*angayā*	*hā*	*keran*	*tā*	*cis*	*kiā*	*guake*	*laifi*	*ai*
M.	M.	D.	the mouth	open	making	at moment	chiss	saying	a dropping	he laid	they say
ADJ	PN	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	INTJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	GEN.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	PRED.	PART.PRS.	OBL.		ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.I.3SG.	INT.

Just when M.M.D. had opened her mouth, *cis*, he laid a dropping into it.

71
H **>mā mellēge dia boṇi-ai, mākanayā vataṭ, berā ēge mattaṭ, kēā gehā ēge mattaṭ ingen fehe nadire'.<**

mā	*mellēge*	*dia*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*mākanayā*	*vataṭ*	*berā*	*ēge*	*mattaṭ*	*kēā*	*gehā*	*ēge*	*mattaṭ*	*ingen*	*fehe*	*nadirek*
M.	M.	D.	she said	they say	the crane	down	the drum	of that	upon	the screwpine	the tree	of that	upon	fell	if	a votive gift
ADJ	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	NOUN
ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.DEF.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	GEN.	DAT.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.	COND.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)

M.M.D. said, '(I should give) a votive gift if the crane fell down, the drum (fell) upon him (and) the screwpine tree (fell) upon that.'

72
F **▹den mia mi tan balāgen hiśei erenī-ai loṇo furanna.◃**

den	*mia*	*mi*	*tan*	*balāgen*	*hiśei*	*erenī*	*ai*	*loṇo*	*furanna*
then	this one	this	place	looking	being	what she got out for was	they say	salt	to fill
ADV	DPRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	INF.

Then, looking (around) this place, she got out to fill up (her) salt.

73
F **▹goho goho hiśu velai vettīgen goho jehīfē hataru kakul hambāgen baḍiā gaňḍo mugurāgen ebage-ai.◃**

goho	*goho*	*hiśu*	*velai*	*vettīgen*	*goho*	*jehīfē*	*hataru*	*kakul*	*hambāgen*	*baḍiā*	*gaňḍo*	*mugurāgen*	*ebage*	*ai*
going	going	being	at time	falling	going	hitting	four	knee	breaking (?)	belly (?)	piece	cracking	he went off	they say
VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When she was going around (like this), (the crane ?) went off (again), hit (the ground) by falling down, broke (his) knee in four (parts ?) and cracked (his) belly (?).

T3: **Moḷōgaňḍa**

The axe

Aḍḍū: ʿAlī Maṇikufānu

1

▸mi tibī varaʾ fakīri fakīri de mafiriakāmen-āu.◂

mi	*tibī*	*varaś*	*fakīri*	*fakīri*	*de*	*mafiriakāmen*	*āu*
there	who were	very	poor	poor	two	woman-(with)-a-man-together	they say
ADV	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	ADJ	CARD	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	EXT.

There (once) was a very poor couple.

2

▸kommiak-as mi gē de mafiringe duvas digi vegen gei duvas vari.◂

kommiak	*as*	*mi*	*gē*	*de*	*mafiringe*	*duvas*	*digi*	*vegen*	*geī*	*duvas*	*vari*
how	ever	this	of house	two	of woman-man	day	long	becoming	the way they passed was	time	in a period
ADV	PARTC	DPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
MOD.	MOD.	ATTR.	GEN.	ATTR.	GEN.PL.	OBL.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	LOC.

In some way or another, these two people lived together for long enough a period of time.

3

▸e gotakaʾ beṇā fehē, bali ve iňdige.◂

e	*gotakaś*	*beṇā*	*fehē*	*bali*	*ve*	*iňdige*
that	to way	calling	if	ill	becoming	she became
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	ADJ	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	COND.	PRED.	ABS.	PT.IV.3SG.

In other words, she (finally) became pregnant.

4

▸nuva mas diha furuvai kūdaʾ vehafi.◂

nuva	*mas*	*diha*	*furuvai*	*kūdak*	*vehafi*
nine	month	ten	filling	a child	was born
CARD	NOUN	CARD	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	NOM.	ATTR.	ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.I.3SG.

After completion of nine months (and) ten (days), a child was born.

5

▸den e kuddā firi ferā varaʾ aramun gē kō bappā mara vege.◂

den	*e*	*kuddā*	*firi*	*ferā*	*varaś*	*aramun*	*gē*	*kō*	*bappā*	*mara*	*vege*
then	that	the child	husband	fulfilling	to age	climbing	gone	when	father	dead	became
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.	GRND.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.

Just when this child was about to become mature for marrying, his father died.

6

▸den mi veňḍenī amāì de verin ekaṇi.◂

den	*mi*	*veňḍenī*	*amā*	*āì*	*de*	*verin*	*ekaṇi*
then	now	the way he was living is	mother	with	two	people	alone
ADV	ADV	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	ADV
TEMP.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	MOD.

Then he had to live alone with (his) mother.

7

▸e hen veňḍemun gos duvas keḍaʾ vegē fahun mi kuddā amā ekuhun ehī-au,◂

e	*hen*	*veňḍemun*	*gos*	*duvas*	*keḍak*	*vegē*	*fahun*	*mi*	*kuddā*	*amā*	*ekuhun*	*ehī*	*au*
that	way	living	going	time	a piece	become	after	this	the child	mother	from	he asked	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	GRND.	ABS.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.IV	ABL.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.DEF.	ABL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.

After a piece of time had passed (during which) they lived like that, the boy asked his mother,

7a

▸bappāge duvas vari bappā duṇie veňḍēʾ keḍeī kon masakkataʾ tau?◂

bappāge	*duvas*	*vari*	*bappā*	*duṇie*	*veňḍēś*	*keḍeī*	*kon*	*masakkatak*	*tau?*
of father	time	in period	father	on earth	to live	what he did was	what	a work	asking
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
GEN.DEF.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

‘What work did (my) father do in order to live on earth during his lifetime?’

8

▸beṇi mei kēfi, bappā kuňburan kośai vikkī-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfi*	*bappā*	*kuňburan*	*kośai*	*vikkī*	*au*
said	when	said	father	firewood	cutting	sold	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.

At (his) saying (so, she) said, ‘father sold firewood after cutting (it).’

9

▸beṇi mei, mi koyyā ahafi, bappā kuňburan kośi ev-vi-as hatiāra tetibi tau?◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mi*	*koyyā*	*ahafi*	*bappā*	*kuňburan*	*kośi*	*ev-vi-as*	*hatiāra*	*tetibi*	*tau?*
said	when	this	child	asked	father	firewood	cut	one-become-even	tools	are there	asking
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.	PART.PT.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.3PL.	INT.

At (her) saying (so), the child asked, ‘are there any tools whatsoever which (my) father used for cutting?’

10

▸beṇi mei, amā beṇī, balāʾ balafelāʾ kēi kudu āśe enteśaʾ.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*amā*	*beṇī*	*balāś*	*balafelāś*	*kēi*	*kudu*	*āśe*	*enteśaś*
said	when	mother	said	to look	please to look	saying	small	of table	below
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INF.	INF.	ABS.	ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.

At (his) saying so, (his) mother told him ‘please (to) look underneath the table.’

11

▸mi kuddā beli kō, e tani otī moḷōgaňḍaʾ.◂

mi	*kuddā*	*beli*	*kō*	*e*	*tani*	*otī*	*moḷōgaňḍak*
this	the child	looked	when	that	in place	what was was	an axe
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.

When the child looked, there was an axe at this place.

12

▸mi kuddā kēfi, amā-u, timā ēṇei dara hōdāś-āu.◂

mi	*kuddā*	*kēfi*	*amā*	*-au*	*timā*	*ēṇei*	*dara*	*hōdāś*	*āu*
this	child	said	mother	saying	self	where shall go is	firewood	to look for	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	NOM.	INT.	OBL.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

The child said, ‘mother, I shall go to look for (some) wood.’

13

▸beṇi mei, mi kuddāge amā libeṇe kā eti keḍaʾ tayyāra kolli.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mi*	*kuddāge*	*amā*	*libeṇe*	*kā*	*eti*	*keḍak*	*tayyāra*	*kolli*
said	when	this	the child’s	mother	received	eating	thing	a piece	ready	made
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	GEN.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	PRED.	PT.II.3SG.

At (his) saying (so), this child’s mother prepared something to eat which she could find.

14

▸mī kāgen, mi kuddā den dara koś-āu ebege.◂

mī	*kāgen*	*mi*	*kuddā*	*den*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*ebege*
this	eating	this	the child	then	firewood	to cut	went off
DPRON	VERB	DPRON	VERB	ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.	ABS.III	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	TEMP.	NOM.	INF.	PT.IV.3SG.

After eating this, the child went off to cut firewood.

15

▸gos mi kuddā e duvahi kośi dara vikki mei libeṇei eʾ kami bai rufiā.◂

gos	*mi*	*kuddā*	*e*	*duvahi*	*kośi*	*dara*	*vikki*	*meiṇ*	*libeṇeī*	*ek*	*kami*	*bai*	*rufiā*
going	this	the child	that	on day	cut	firewood	sold	when	what was received was	one	in fact	half	rupee
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.	PART.PT.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.

When he sold the firewood he had cut that day going out, he received but half a rupee.

16

▸libeṇe mei, e duvahi hama jassagen hiśefei, e rei rei koffei fahi duvahi mi kuddā teduvigaʾ.◂

libeṇe	*mei*	*e*	*duvahi*	*hama*	*jassagen*	*hiśefei*	*e*	*rei*	*rei*	*koffei*	*fahi*	*duvahi*	*mi*	*kuddā*	*teduvigat*
received	when	that	on day	in agreement	striking	being	that	on night	night	making	after	on day	this	the child	got up
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	LOC.	MOD.	ABS.III	ABS.I	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	GEN.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PT.III.3SG.

After receiving (this) and thus having been contented for that day, and after spending that night, he got up the day after.

17

▸teduvi beṇī, amā-u, ma enī dara kośā̄ś-āu.◂

teduvi	*beṇī*	*amā*	*au*	*ma*	*enī*	*dara*	*kośā̄ś*	*āu*
getting up	what he said was	mother	saying	I	where am going is	firewood	to cut	saying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

After getting up he said, ‘mother, I am going to cut firewood.’

18

▸kēfei, e duvahi geī kurie duvahaʾ vanī biʾdaraʾ.◂

kēfei	*e*	*duvahi*	*geī*	*kurie*	*duvahaś*	*vanī*	*biddaraś*
saying	that	on day	where he went was	before	to day	than	behind
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN
ABS.I	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.	DAT.	COMP.	DAT.

Having said (so), he went further behind that day than (he had gone) the day before.

19

▸dara kośāgen ās, dara bāzāraʾ vikkafi.◂

dara	*kośāgen*	*ās*	*dara*	*bāzāraś*	*vikkafi*
firewood	cutting	coming	firewood	to market	he sold
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	DAT.	PT.I.3SG.

Coming back from cutting firewood, he sold the firewood on the market.

20

▸e duvahi libeṇei eʾ kami rufiā.◂

e	*duvahi*	*libeṇeī*	*ek*	*kami*	*rufiā*
that	on day	what he received was	one	in fact	rupee
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN
ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.

On that day, he gained just one rupee.

21

▸e duvahi den hitau erī māduma ēṇei ēge duraś-āu.◂

e	*duvahi*	*den*	*hitaś*	*erī*	*māduma*	*ēṇeī*	*eage*	*duraś*	*āu*
that	on day	then	to mind	what arose was	tomorrow	where shall go is	of that	further	saying
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.	TEMP.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	TEMP.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	GEN.	DAT.	INT.

That day, it came to his mind, ‘tomorrow, (I shall) go even further than that.’

22

▸kēfei, e rei rei koffei, teduvigen, beṇafi, amā-u, mi enī dara kośāś-āu.◂

kēfei	*e*	*rei*	*rei*	*koffei*	*teduvigen*	*beṇafi*	*amā*	*au*	*mi*	*enī*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*āu*
saying	that	on night	night	making	getting up	he said	mother	saying	now	where I am going is	firewood	to cut	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	ABS.III	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.	INT.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

After saying (so) and spending the night, he got up and said, ‘mother, I am now going to cut firewood.’

23

▸den hiňgamun hiňgamun hiňgamun gos, balalī kō, tebi hiʾ hikifei hiśi varaʾ boňḍa gehaʾ.◂

den	*hiňgamun*	*hiňgamun*	*hiňgamun*	*gos*	*balalī*	*kō*	*tebi*	*hiśī*	*hikifei*	*hiśi*	*varaś*	*boňḍa*	*gehak*
then	going	going	going	going	looked	when	here	was	dried	being	very	big	a tree
ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN
TEMP.	RGRND.	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	PART.PT.II	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	ABS.I	PART.PT.	DAT.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

Then, when he finally looked (around) after going on and on, there was a very big tree that had got dry.

24

▸mi gehā hiśī kōraki kaverie.◂

mi	*gehā*	*hiśī*	*kōraki*	*kaverie*
this	the tree	where it stood was	of a pond	near
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.

This tree stood near a pond.

25

▸den, gehāu arai, ek kalaʾ moḷōgaňḍun e tifāraʾ jahafi.◂

den	*gehāš*	*arai*	*ek*	*kalaś*	*moḷōgaňḍun*	*etifāraś*	*jahafi*
then	to the tree	climbing	one	to time	with axe	blow	he struck
ADV	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	DAT.DEF.	ABS.	ATTR.	DAT.	ABL.	DAT.	PT.I.3SG.

Then, having climbed upon the tree, he struck it with his axe one time.

26

jehi mei vī lekakī koyyāge atun moḷōgaňḍa iňge.◂

jehi	*mei*	*vī*	*lekakī*	*koyyāge*	*atun*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*iňge*
struck	when	become	a matter was	of the boy	from hand	axe	fell down
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	GEN.DEF.	ABL.	NOM.(DEF.)	PT.IV.3SG.

When he struck it, the axe fell down from the boy's hand.

27

▸mi gaňḍa iňgen gos, jeheṇei kōre etere.◂

mi	*gaňḍa*	*iňgen*	*gos*	*jeheṇeī*	*kōre*	*etere*
this	thing	falling	going	where it hit was	of pond	inside
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.III	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.	LOC.

When it fell down, it hit into the pond.

28

▸den, mi kuddā dere velāfei, eri.◂

den	*mi*	*kuddā*	*dere*	*velāfei*	*eri*
then	this	the child	disappointed	having become	climbed down
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PRED.	ABS.II+I	PT.3SG.

Then the boy became disappointed and climbed down.

29

▸mi kuddā hiśī gōvāʾ aḍi keḍaʾ hara koʾ bārāʾ.◂

mi	*kuddā*	*hiśī*	*gōvāš*	*aḍi*	*keḍak*	*hara*	*koś*	*bārāš*
this	the child	the way he was was	to cry	of voice	a piece	hard	making	aloud
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	ADV
ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INF.	GEN.	NOM.INDEF.	PRED.	ABS.	MOD.

The boy started crying aloud as strong as possible (lit. "making a strong piece of voice").

30

▸e hen hiśi vēlei, kōrun arage mīhaʾ.◂

e	*hen*	*hiśi*	*vēlei*	*kōrun*	*arage*	*mīhak*
that	sort	being	while	from pond	climbed up	a man
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABL.	PART.PT.IV(+FOC.)	NOM.INDEF.

While he was (standing there), a man climbed up from the pond.

31

▸ede ahafi, koyyā-u, koyyā gōvanī kian vegen tau?◂

ede	*ahafi*	*koyyā*	*au*	*koyyā*	*gōvanī*	*kian*	*vegen*	*tau?*
he	asked	boy	saying	boy	that you are crying is	how	becoming	asking
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.	INT.	NOM.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABL.	ABS.III	INT.

He asked, ‘boy, why are you (lit. "the boy") crying like this?’

32

▸timā mi gōvanī timā dara kośāʾ ginā moḷōgaňḍa mi kōre eteraʾ iňgen-āu, ede beṇafi.◂

timā	*mi*	*gōvanī*	*timā*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*ginā*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*mi*	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*iňgen*	*āu*	*ede*	*beṇafi*
self	now	why I am crying is	self	firewood	to cut	taken	**axe**	this	of pond	into	fallen	saying	he	said
PRON	ADV	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	VERB
OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.III	INT.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

‘(The reason why) I am crying so is that the axe I took in order to cut firewood fell into this pond,’ he said.

33

▸den, ek kalaʾ kalēge kōraʾ fummali.◂

den	*ek*	*kalaś*	*kalēge*	*kōraś*	*fummali*
then	one	to time	lord	to pond	jumped
ADV	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.	NOM.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.

Then the man at once jumped into the pond.

34

▸vēla gaňḍakun, moḷōgaňḍak-āi arage.◂

vēla	*gaňḍakun*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*āi*	*arage*
time	with a piece	an axe	with	he came up
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	PT.IV.3SG.

After a little while, he came up with an axe.

35

▸eri kō, mī ranun oʾ moḷōgaňḍaʾ.◂

eri	*kō*	*mī*	*ranun*	*ot*	*moḷōgaňḍak*
climbed	when	this was	from gold	being	an axe
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.+FOC.	ABL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.

When he came up, it was a golden axe (lit. "from gold").

36

▸arai, kēfi, koyyā, mī tau kalōge moḷōgaňḍakī?◂

arai	*kēfi*	*koyyā*	*mī*	*tau*	*kalōge*	*moḷōgaňḍakī?*
climbing	he said	boy	this	asking	lord’s	what an axe is
VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	IPARTC	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.VOC.	PRED.	INT.	GEN.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Climbing up he said, ‘boy, is this your (lit. "the lord’s") axe?’

37

▸mi kuddā beṇafi, teakī timāgē moḷōgaňḍa nun-āu.◂

mi	*kuddā*	*beṇafi*	*teakī*	*timāgē*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*nun*	*āu*
this	the child	he said	what this is	self’s	axe	is not	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	GEN.	NOM.	NEG.	INT.

The child said, ‘this one is not my axe’.

38

▸beṇi mei, mi gaňḍa kōre eteraʾ ellalāi e mīhā kōre eteraʾ eneʾ kalāi fummali.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mi*	*gaňḍa*	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*ellalāi*	*e*	*mīhā*	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*fummali*
said	when	this	piece	of pond	into	throwing	that	the man	of pond	into	another	time	with	jumped
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	CONJ	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.II	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	GEN.	DAT.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	PT.II.3SG.

At (his) saying so the man threw the thing into the pond (again) and jumped into the pond another time.

39

▸vēla gaňḍakun, arage.◂

vēla	*gaňḍakun*	*arage*
while	with a piece	he climbed
NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

After a short while, he came up (again).

40

▸arai kēfi, rihi moḷōgaňḍaʾ dakkafei, mī tau koyyāge moḷōgaňḍakī?◂

arai	*kēfi*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*dakkafei*	*mī*	*tau*	*koyyāge*	*moḷōgaňḍakī?*
climbing	he said	silver	an axe	showing	this	asking	of the boy	what the axe is
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	IPARTC	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.I	PRED.	INT.	GEN.DEF.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Coming up he showed a silver axe and said, ‘is this the boy’s axe?’

41

▸den, mi kuddā beṇafi, nun-āu, tē ma moḷōgaňḍa nun.◂

den	*mi*	*kuddā*	*beṇafi*	*nun*	*au*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*nun*
then	this	the child	said	is not	saying	this is	my	axe	is not
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	VERBAL PARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	NEG.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.

Then the child said, ‘no, this is not my axe’.

42

▸beṇi mei, e kalēge kōraʾ moḷōgaňḍa ellalāì, eneʾ kalāì kōraʾ fummali.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*e*	*kalēge*	*kōraś*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*ellalāì*	*enek*	*kal*	*āì*	*kōraś*	*fummali*
said	when	that	lord	to pond	the axe	throwing	another	time	with	to pond	jumped
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.II	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.

At (his) saying so, that man, after throwing the axe into the pond (again), jumped into the pond another time.

43

▸vēla keḍakun, aragen bāì, dagaňdun oʾ moḷōgaňḍaʾ hifagen.◂

vēla	*keḍakun*	*aragen*	*bāì*	*dagaňdun*	*ot*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*hifagen*
while	with a piece	climbing	how he came back was	from iron	being	an axe	holding
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.+FOC.	ABL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III

After a short while, he came (back) climbing up (again), holding an iron axe.

44

▸ās, ahanī mī tau ta moḷōgaňḍakī?◂

ās	*ahanī*	*mī*	*tau*	*ta*	*moḷōgaňḍakī?*
coming	what he asks is	this	asking	your	what an axe is
VERB	VERB	DPRON	IPARTC	PPRON	NOUN
ABS.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	PRED.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Coming (forth), he asks: ‘Is this your axe?’

45

▸beṇi mei, mide beṇafi, hāu, tē-au ma moḷōgaňḍakī.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mide*	*beṇafi*	*hā*	*au*	*tē*	*au*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍakī*
said	when	this one	said	yes	saying	this	saying	my	what an axe is
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	PARTC	QPARTC	DPRON	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	AFF.	INT.	PRED.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

At (his) saying (so), (the boy) said, ‘yes, this indeed is my axe’.

46

▸den, mi koyyā tede beṇi kamaʾ ṭakai ran moḷōgaňḍāì rihi moḷōgaňḍāì dagaňḍa moḷōgaňḍāì tin gaňḍati derefi.◂

den	*mi*	*koyyā*	*tede*	*beṇi*	*kamaś*	*ṭakai*	*ran*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*āì*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*āì*	*dagaňḍa*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*āì*	*tin*	*gaňḍati*	*derefi*
then	this	the boy	true	spoke	to fact	for	gold	axe	with	silver	axe	with	iron	axe	with	three	piece-thing	he gave
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	POSTP	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	MOD.	PART.PT.	DAT.	CAUS.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

Then, as the boy spoke truly, he gave him the golden axe and the silver axe and the iron axe, all the three things.

47

▸den, e hisābakaʾ, e mīhāge vāhaka nimeṇei.◂

den	*e*	*hisābakaś*	*e*	*mīhāge*	*vāhaka*	*nimeṇei*
then	that	to amount	that	the man’s	story	is finished
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.	PT.3SG.

At this point, the story of that man is finished.

48

▸den, ek kalaʾ ran moḷōgaňḍāì rihi moḷōgaňḍāì bāzāraʾ gos vikkafei varaʾ baivara lāri libigen,◂

den	*ek*	*kalaś*	*ran*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*āì*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*āì*	*bāzāraś*	*gos*	*vikkafei*	*varaś*	*baivara*	*lāri*	*libigen*
then	one	to time	gold	axe	with	silver	axe	with	to market	going	having sold	very	lots	lāriṣ	receiving
ADV	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.I	MOD.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III

Then, once having gone to the market, having sold the golden axe and the silver axe and having gained a great lot of *lāriṣ*,

48a

▸koyyāge amāì koyyāì de verin vēňḍenī varaʾ tanavas koʾ mussanti koś-āu.◂

koyyāge	*amā*	*āì*	*koyyā*	*āì*	*de*	*verin*	*vēňḍenī*	*varaś*	*tanavas*	*koś*	*mussanti*	*koś*	*āu*
the boy’s	mother	with	the boy	with	two	people	how they lived was	very	rich	making	rich	making	they say
NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB	ADV	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
GEN.	OBL.DEF.	SOC.	OBL.DEF.	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	MOD.	PRED.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.	EXT.

the boy’s mother and the boy lived together, as (people) say, being very very rich.

49

▸eʾ duvahaki, e gē kaverie hiśi e hen geaki mīhāʾ e geu ebege.◂

ed	*duvahaki*	*e*	*gē*	*kaverie*	*hiśi*	*e*	*hen*	*geaki*	*mīhāk*	*e*	*geaś*	*ebege*
one	in a day	that	of house	near	being	that	sort	of a house	a man	that	to house	went
CARD	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PT.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.INDEF.	ATTR.	DAT.	PT.3SG.

One day, a man from another house which was near by their house, came to their house.

50

▸gos, ahafi, daitā-u, tafinnaʾ te varaʾ lāri libeṇei ke henakaʾ tau?◂

gos	*ahafi*	*daitā*	*au*	*tafinnaś*	*te*	*varaś*	*lāri*	*libeṇeī*	*ke*	*henakaś*	*tau?*
going	he asked	lady	saying	to you	this	many	lārīs	that were received is	which	to a way	asking
VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	PPRON	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
ABS.	PT.I.3SG.	NOM.	INT.	DAT.PL.	ATTR.	DAT.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.

Coming there, he asked, ‘dear old lady in which way did you (manage to) receive so many *lārīs*?’

51

▸koyyā beṇā, tede bahuge mattaʾ, ◂

koyyā	*beṇā*	*tede*	*bahuge*	*mattaś*
the boy	saying	true	of speech	upon
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.DEF.	ABS.	ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.

The boy, speaking truly (again) —

51a

▸— koyyākī tede hadā kūdakaʾ vē hedī —◂

koyyākī	*tede*	*hadā*	*kūdakaś*	*vē*	*hedī*
what the boy is	honestly	making	to a boy	becoming	made
NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.SG.DEF.+INDEF.FOC.	PRED.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PART.PT.

— the boy was such that he was an honest boy indeed —,

51b

▸koyyā beṇafi, timā ed duvahi dara kośāʾ vegen, kōre assēriaʾ gos, dara kośāʾ gehāu aragen hiňgā vēlei,◂

koyyā	*beṇafi*	*timā*	*ek*	*duvahi*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*vegen*	*kōre*	*assēriaś*	*gos*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*gehāś*	*aragen*	*hiňgā*	*vēlei*
the boy	said	self	one	on day	firewood	to cut	becoming	of pond	to shore	going	firewood	to cut	to tree	climbing	going	while
NOUN	VERB	PRON	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.I.3SG.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.III	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	DAT.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.

the boy said, ‘one day I went off in order to cut firewood; I arrived near by the shore of a pond, and when I had climbed up a tree to cut firewood,

51c

▸moḷōgaňḍa kōre eteraʾ iňge-au.◂

moḷōgaňḍa	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*iňge*	*au*
axe	of pond	into	fell	saying
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	GEN.	DAT.	PT.IV.3SG.	INT.

(my) axe fell into the pond.

52

▸den, timā e kamāì dere vegen hiśi vēlei, kōre eterun eri mīhak ās suāla koffi-āu,◂

den	*timā*	*e*	*kam*	*āì*	*dere*	*vegen*	*hiśi*	*vēlei*	*kōre*	*eterun*	*eri*	*mīhaku*	*ās*	*suāla*	*kośfi*	*āu*
then	self	that	fact	with	sad	becoming	being	while	of pond	from inside	climbed	a man	coming	question	made	saying
ADV	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	CONJ	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	INT.

Then when I was standing there being sad about this, a man came up from inside the pond and asked me,

52a

▸koi gōvanī kian vegen tau?◂

koi	*gōvanī*	*kian*	*vegen*	*tau?*
boy	that you are crying is	why	becoming	asking
NOUN	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABL.	ABS.III	INT.

'Boy, why are you crying?'

53

▸koi beṇi-au, timā gōvanī, moḷōgaňḍa kōraʾ iňgen-āu.◂

koi	*beṇi*	*au*	*timā*	*gōvanī*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*kōraś*	*iňgen*	*āu*
boy	said	saying	self	that I am crying is	axe	to pond	having fallen	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	PT.3SG.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.III	INT.

I (lit. "the boy") said, 'I am crying because my axe has fallen into the pond.'

54

▸gossei, beṇi mei, mia kōre aḍiaʾ gossei, aī ran moḷōgaňḍakāì gen-āu.◂

gosfei	*beṇi*	*mei*	*mia*	*kōre*	*aḍiaś*	*gosfei*	*aī*	*ran*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*āì*	*gen*	*-āu*
having gone	said	when	this one	of pond	to bottom	having gone	how he came was	gold	an axe	with	bringing	saying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.I	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	ABS.	INT.

'Having gone away after (my having) spoken (like this), this man, having dived (lit. "gone") to the bottom of the pond, came back carrying a golden axe,' he said.

55

▸ās mia ehīau, mī ta moḷōgaňḍa tau?◂

ās	*mia*	*ehī*	*-au*	*mī*	*ta*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*tau?*
coming	this one	what he asked was	saying	what this is	your	axe	asking
VERB	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INT.

‘Coming back, (the man) asked, "is this your axe?"’

56

▸timā tede bahun beṇafim-āu, nun-āu, mī ma moḷōgaňḍa nun-āu.◂

timā	*tede*	*bahun*	*beṇafim*	*āu*	*nun*	*āu*	*mī*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*nun*	*āu*
self	honest	with speech	I said	saying	no	saying	what this is	my	axe	is not	saying
PRON	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	QPARTC
NOM.	ATTR.	ABL.	PT.I.1SG.	INT.	NEG.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	NEG.	INT.

‘Myself, I said with honest speech, "no, this is not my axe".’

57

▸beṇi mei, eneʾ kalāi kōraʾ fummali-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*kōraś*	*fummali*	*au*
said	when	another	time	with	to pond	he jumped	saying
VERB	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.

‘At (my) saying so, he jumped into the pond another time’, he said.

58

▸gossei, nāgen bāi-au rihi moḷōgaňḍaʾ.◂

gosfei	*nāgen*	*bāī*	*au*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaňḍak*
having gone	lifting	how he came back was	saying	silver	axe
VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	ABS.III	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.

‘Having gone (there), he came back carrying a silver axe.’

59

▸ās ehī-au, mī ta moḷōgaňḍa tau?◂

ās	*ehī*	*au*	*mī*	*ta*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*tau?*
coming	he asked	saying	what this is	your	axe	asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INT.

‘Coming back he asked, "is this your axe?"’

60

▸timā beṇim-āu, nun-āu, tē ma moḷōgaňḍa nun-āu.◂

timā	*beṇim*	*āu*	*nun*	*āu*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*nun*	*āu*
self	I said	saying	is not	saying	what this is	my	axe	is not	saying
PRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC.	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	QPARTC
NOM.	PT.1SG.	INT.	NEG.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	NEG.	INT.

'I said, "no, this is not my axe".'

61

▸den, eneʾ kal-āi-as, e kōraʾ fummali-au.◂

den	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*as*	*e*	*kōraś*	*fummali*	*au*
then	another	time	with	yet	that	to pond	he jumped	saying
ADV	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	CONJ	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	MOD.	ATTR.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.

'Then, he jumped into that pond yet another time,' he said.

62

▸fummalāi, nāgen aī dagaňḍa moḷōgaňḍak-āu.◂

fummalāi	*nāgen*	*aī*	*dagaňḍa*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*āu*
jumping	lifting	how he came was	iron	an axe	saying
VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.II	ABS.III	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'Having jumped (there), he came back carrying an iron axe,' he said.

63

▸den ea ehī-au, mī ta moḷōgaňḍa tau?◂

den	*ea*	*ehī*	*au*	*mī*	*ta*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*tau?*
then	that one	what he asked was	saying	what this is	your	axe	asking
ADV	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INT.

'Then he asked, "is this your axe?"'

64

▸timā beṇim-āu, hāu, tē ma moḷōgaňḍa.◂

timā	*beṇim*	*āu*	*hā*	*-au*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍa*
self	I said	saying	yes	saying	what this is	my	axe
PRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN
NOM.	PT.1SG.	INT.	AFF.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.

'I said, "yes, this is my axe".'

65

▸beṇi mei, timā tede hadā mīhakā vegos ran moḷōgaňḍ-āì rihi moḷōgaňḍ-āì timāʾ derefi-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*timā*	*tede*	*hadā*	*mīhakā*	*vegos*	*ran*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*āì*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*āì*	*timāś*	*derefi*	*au*
said	when	self	honest	acting	a man	having become	gold	axe	and	silver	axe	and	to self	he gave	saying
VERB	NOUN	PRON	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	PRED.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.IV	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	DAT.	PT.I.3SG.	INT.

‘After (my) saying (so), he gave me the golden axe and the silver axe because I had (proved) to be an honest man,’ he said.

66

▸e tin gaňḍa din mei, ginās ea bāzāraʾ vikkafei-au, mi mussanti vegen mi vēňḍenī.◂

e	*tin*	*gaňḍa*	*din*	*mei*	*ginās*	*ea*	*bāzāraś*	*vikkafei*	*au*	*mi*	*mussanti*	*vegen*	*mi*	*vēňḍenī*
those	three	piece	given	when	taking	those	to market	selling	saying	now	rich	having become	now	are living
DPRON	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	ADJ	VERB	ADV	VERB
ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.I	INT.	TEMP.	PRED.	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

‘After he had given (me) those three things, I took them to the market and sold them, (and this is why) we are living (so) rich now,’ he said.

67

▸den, mi mīhā geg gos eage hiśi ev varaʾ kūdakāʾ ekehe beṇi-au,◂

den	*mi*	*mīhā*	*geaś*	*gos*	*eage*	*hiśi*	*ek*	*varaś*	*kūdakāś*	*ekehe*	*beṇi*	*au*
then	this	the man	to home	going	this one’s	being	one	to size	to a child	with	he said	saying
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	DAT.	ABS.	GEN.	PART.PT.	ATTR.	DAT.	DAT.INDEF.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Then this man, having gone home (again), told (the story) to a child of his (which was) of the same size:

67a

▸koyyā-u, mi verin mussanti vegen hiňganī mi lekaś-āu.◂

koyyā	*au*	*mi*	*verin*	*mussanti*	*vegen*	*hiňganī*	*mi*	*lekaś*	*āu*
boy	saying	these	people	rich	becoming	that they are going is	this	to way	saying
NOUN	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	INT.

‘Boy, this is the way how these people have become rich.’

68

▸beṇagen, mi koyyā fahi duvahi moḷōgaňḍaʾ hifagen gos e gehāu arage.◂

beṇagen	*mi*	*koyyā*	*fahi*	*duvahi*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*hifagen*	*gos*	*e*	*gehāś*	*arage*
saying	this	the boy	next	on day	an axe	grasping	going	that	to the tree	he climbed up
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	GEN.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	DAT.DEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

After (his) having said (so), this boy grasped an axe the next day, went off and climbed up that tree.

69

▸arai, mi hedi lekakī, kaňḍāʾ jehumakāi ni lāi moḷōgaňḍa kōraʾ vaṭṭali.◂

arai	*mi*	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*kaňḍāś*	*jehumak*	*āi*	*ni*	*lāi*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*kōraś*	*vaṭṭali*
climbing	now	done	a manner was	to cut	a stroke	with	not	using	axe	to pond	he dropped
VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	INF.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	NEG.	ABS.	NOM.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.

Having climbed up, he dropped the axe into the pond without doing one stroke for cutting even.

70

▸den, gehāin eri, mia hiśī gōvāś-āu.◂

den	*gehāin*	*eri*	*mia*	*hiśī*	*gōvāś*	*āu*
then	from the tree	climbing	this one	how he stood was	to cry	saying
ADV	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ABL.DEF.	ABS.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INF.	INT.

Then, having climbed down (from) the tree (again), he stood (there) crying.

71

▸hiśi vēlei, ek kalaʾ mīhā kōrun arage-au.◂

hiśi	*vēlei*	*ek*	*kalaś*	*mīhā*	*kōrun*	*arage*	*au*
standing	while	one	to time	the man	from pond	he climbed	they say
VERB	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	ABL.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

While he was standing (there like this), the man came up from the pond once (again).

72

▸arai suāla keḍ-āu, ta gōvanī kian vegen tau?◂

arai	*suāla*	*keḍe*	*āu*	*ta*	*gōvanī*	*kian*	*vegen*	*tau?*
climbing	question	he made	saying	you	why are crying is	why	becoming	asking
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
ABS.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABL.	ABS.III	INT.

Coming up he asked, ‘why are you crying?’

73

▸ma gōvanī, ma dara kośāʾ ginā moḷōgaňḍa mi kōre aḍie iňgen.◂

ma	*gōvanī*	*ma*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*ginā*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*mi*	*kōre*	*aḍie*	*iňgen;*
I	why am crying is	I	firewood	to cut	taken	axe	this	of pond	on bottom	falling
PPRON	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	ATTR.	GEN.	LOC.	ABS.III

‘I am crying because the axe I had taken for cutting firewood fell on the bottom of this pond.’

74

▸e hen vegen-au, timā gōvanī.◂

e	*hen*	*vegen*	*au*	*timā*	*gōvanī*
that	sort	becoming	saying	self	why I am crying is
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.III	INT.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

'This is why I am crying', he said.

75

▸den, e mīhā fummalāi gos, bāi-au, ran moḷōgaňḍa hifagen.◂

den	*e*	*mīhā*	*fummalāi*	*gos*	*bāi*	*au*	*ran*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*hifagen*
then	that	the man	jumping	going	how he came back was	saying	gold	axe	holding
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	ABS.II	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III

Then that man, having jumped (into the pond), came back holding a golden axe.

76

▸ās, ehi-au, mī tau ta moḷōgaňḍakī?◂

ās	*ehi*	*au*	*mī*	*tau*	*ta*	*moḷōgaňḍakī?*
coming	he asked	saying	this	asking	your	an axe is
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	IPARTC	PPRON	NOUN
ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.	NOM.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Coming back he asked, 'is this your axe?'

77

▸den, mi kuddā beṇi-au, hāu, tē ma moḷōgaňḍa.◂

den	*mi*	*kuddā*	*beṇi*	*au*	*hā*	*au*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍa*
then	this	the child	said	saying	yes	saying	this is	my	axe
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	INT.	AFF.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.

Then the child said: 'Yes, this is my axe.'

78

▸beṇi mei, mia riḍi aragen, moḷōgaňḍa kōraʾ ellalāi mi kōraʾ fummali-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mia*	*riḍi*	*aragen*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*kōraś*	*ellalāi*	*mi*	*kōraś*	*fummali*	*au*
said	when	this one	angry	climbing	axe	to pond	throwing	this	to pond	jumped	they say
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.II	ATTR.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.

At (his) saying so, the (man), getting angry, hurled the axe into the pond and jumped into the pond (again).

79

▸mī dogo hadā mīhunnaʾ libē natijā-u.◂

mī	*dogo*	*hadā*	*mīhunnaś*	*libē*	*natijā*	*au*
this is	lie	making	to people	being received	result	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	DAT.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	EXT.

This is the result that people get from telling lies.

T4: **Beḷal**

The cat

Fuaʾ Mulaku: Adnān Ibrahīm

1

▹ed duvaheki, ed duvaheki, Mēliage Dia gē iňdōle iňdu vēlai dombaụmkēleʾ vetṭīge.◃

ek	*duvaheki*	*ek*	*duvaheki*	*Mēliage*	*Dia*	*gē*	*iňdōle*	*iňdu*	*vēlai*	*dombaụmkēlek*	*vetṭīge*
one	on a day	one	on a day	of M.(-house)	daughter	of house	on swing bed	sitting	at time	a bread fruit	fell
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	PN	PN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	GEN.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

One day, one day, when M.D. was sitting on the swing bed of (her) house, a ripe breadfruit fell (upon it).

2

▹den, mia goho, mi baụmkēl nagāgen goho, maśāgen gaśāli-ai.◃

den	*mia*	*goho*	*mi*	*baụmkēl*	*nagāgen*	*goho*	*maśāgen*	*gaśāli*	*ai*
then	this one	going	this	bread fruit	lifting	going	peeling	she cooked	they say
ADV	DPRON	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.III	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Then she went, took up the bread fruit, peeled it and cooked it (in syrup).

3

▹gaśāfē bā hiśuvā, kommiaki-s mia bēraha nukumegen ebage-ai.◃

gaśāfē	*bā*	*hiśuvā*	*kommiaki*	*as*	*mia*	*bēraha*	*nukumegen*	*ebage*	*ai*
having cooked	hither	placing	in which way	ever	this one	to outside	leaving	she went	they say
VERB	ADV	VERB	IPRON	PARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	LOC.	ABS.	LOC.INDEF.	MOD.	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After cooking it and putting it aside, she for some reason or another went outside.

4

▹gohofē āho, belī kal, ebagēm mā, beḷalaku mi hedī likī goho, mi kāfi.◃

gohofē	*āho*	*belī*	*kal*	*ebagēn*	*mā*	*beḷalaku*	*mi*	*hedī*	*likī*	*goho*	*mi*	*kāfi*
having gone	coming	looked	time	going away	when	a cat	now	done	manner was	going	this	it ate
VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB
ABS.I	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.INDEF.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

Coming (back) after going out, she looked around (and realised:) when she had gone, a cat had come and eaten it.

5

▹kāfē, veňdefē, mi onnaī fiśidune.◃

kāfē	*veňdefē*	*mi*	*onnaī*	*fiśidune*
having eaten	having entered	now	where she was was	chimney
VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN
ABS.I	ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	LOC.

After eating (it), she had entered the chimney where she still was.

6

▹mi hen oʾ vēlai, Mēliage Dia geśa gīge-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*ot*	*vēlai*	*Mēliage*	*Dia*	*geśa*	*gīge*	*ai*
this	way	being	at time	of M.	daughter	to house	she happened to go	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	NOM.	DAT.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Just when she was there, M.D. happened to get (back) into (her) house.

7

▹geśa gīgen, balāli kal, mi baụmkēl ē kāfē-ai mi hīši.◃

geśa	*gīgen*	*balāli*	*kal*	*mi*	*baụmkēl*	*ea*	*kāfē*	*ai*	*mi*	*hīši*
to house	having happened to go	looked around	time	this	bread fruit	that one	eaten	they say	now	was what it was
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
DAT.	ABS.III	PART.PT.II	OBL.	ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	ABS.I	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.

Having happened to get to (her) house, she looked around to see where this breadfruit which had been eaten by that (cat) was.

8

▹den mia huvamun huvamun ę̄ vēlai, beḷalu fiśidune oʾ vēlai fenīge-ai.◃

den	*mia*	*huvamun*	*huvamun*	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*beḷalu*	*fiśidune*	*ot*	*vēlai*	*fenīge*	*ai*
then	this one	searching	searching	going	at time	cat	in chimney	being	at time	it appeared	they say
ADV	DPRON	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	DGRND.	DGRND.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When she went around searching and searching, the cat appeared in the chimney where it was.

9

▹fenunum mā mi hedī likī, baụmkēl gaśāfē hīši hado (nuvata tavā) e nagāfē.◃

fenunun	*mā*	*mi*	*hedī*	*likī*	*baụmkēl*	*gaśāfē*	*hīši*	*hado*	*nuvata*	*tavā*	*e*	*nagāfē*
appearing	when	now	done	way was	bread fruit	cooking	being	clay pot	or	pan	that	she lifted
VB.NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	DPRON	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	NOM.	MOD.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.I

When (the cat) appeared, (M.D.) grasped the clay pot or the frying pan she had used for cooking the breadfruit.

10

▹ellum mā goho, beḷalu bole jehīfē, ēge ful veṭṭīgen goho, beḷalu kari deraṇegge gote e gaňḍo eḍīge-ai.◃

ellun	*mā*	*goho*	*beḷalu*	*bole*	*jehīfē*	*ēge*	*ful*	*veṭṭīgen*	*goho*	*beḷalu*	*kari*	*deraṇegge*	*gote*	*e*	*gaňḍo*	*eḍīge*	*ai*
hurling	when	going	cat	at head	hitting	that one's	bottom	falling	going	cat	neck	of a ring	in way	that	piece	got fixed	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.I	GEN.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	GEN.INDEF. (M!)	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

She hurled it (at the cat), and when it hit the cat's head, its bottom fell off, and like a ring that part got fixed to the neck of the cat.

11

▹eḍunum mā̄, beḷalu duvā̄gat-ai.◃

eḍunun	*mā̄*	*beḷalu*	*duvā̄gat*	*ai*
fixing	when	cat	started running	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

Just when it got fixed like this, the cat started running away.

12

▹duve ę̄ vē̄lai, lāigāti, emme feratamāśa haulakk-ā.◃

duve	*ę̄*	*vē̄lai*	*lāigāti*	*emme*	*feratamāśa*	*haulak*	*ā*
running	going	at time	the one she met was	of all	at first	a cock	with
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ
ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

While she was running around, the first one she met with was a cock.

13

▹laiginīfē, haulu ekahi beṇi-ai, haul-āu, timāi ekī hajjaha ni ennen tai?◃

laiginīfē	*haulu*	*ekahi*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*haul*	*āu*	*timāi*	*ekī*	*hajjaha*	*ni*	*ennen*	*tai?*
having met	cock	together with	it said	they say	cock	saying	self	with	to ḥağğ	not	will go	asking
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC (A!)	PRON	CARD	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC
ABS.III+I	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.VOC.	INT.	OBL.	LOC.	DAT.	NEG.	FUT.2SG.	INT.

Meeting him, she asked the cock, ‘cock, will you not go on a hajj together with me?’

14

▹beṇā haulu beṇi-ai, lā-ilā-illa-llāh ta timā kāfennēn-ai.◃

beṇā	*haulu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*lā-ilā-illa-llāh*	*ta*	*timā*	*kāfennēn*	*ai*
saying	cock	he said	they say	=	you	self	will definitely eat	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	INTJ	PPRON	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.		NOM.	NOM.	FUT.I.2SG.	INT.

(At her) saying (so), the cock said, ‘there is no God but God, you will definitely eat me (at the end).’

15

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, heu ni vennēn-āi, ti hen beṇanna.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*heu*	*ni*	*vennēn*	*āi*	*ti*	*hen*	*beṇanna*
saying	she said	they say	good	not	it will be	saying	this	way	to say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	PRED.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.	INF.

(At his) saying (so), (the cat) said, ‘it will not be right to speak in this way.’

16

▹taśa ni fenen tai, timā kari oʾ tasbīha.◃

taśa	*ni*	*fenen*	*tai*	*timā*	*kari*	*ot*	*tasbīha*
to you	not	is visible	asking	self	on neck	being	rosary
PPRON	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
DAT.	NEG.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.

‘Can’t you see it, the rosary that is on my neck?’

17

▹timā ni kannā-ve, hiňganna kē timā ekī.◃

timā	*ni*	*kanna*	*eve*	*hiňganna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*
self	not	to eat	saying	to go	saying	self	with
PRON	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC (M!)	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD
NOM.	NEG.	INF.	INT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.

(With the words,) ‘I shall not eat you,’ (the cat) told (the cock) to go together with her.

18

▹beṇā haulu beṇi-ai, e hen kamaha venī fahe, timā ebaennā-ve.◃

beṇā	*haulu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*hen*	*kamaha*	*venī*	*fahe*	*timā*	*ebaenna*	*eve*
saying	cock	he said	they say	that	way	to fact	becoming	if	self	to go there	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PRON	VERB	QPARTC (M!)
ABS.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

(At her) saying (so), (the cock) said, ‘if it is like this, let’s go there (together).’

19

▹den ę̄ vēlai, laigātī, mīdelakk-ā.◃

den	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*laigātī*	*mīdelak*	*ā*
then	going	at time	what they met was	a rat	with
ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ
TEMP.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

While they were going (on), they met (with) a rat.

20

▹mīdelakk-ā laiginīfē, mīdelu ekah-as mi beṇanī, hiňganna kē timā ekī hajjaha enna.◃

mīdelak	*ā*	*laiginīfē*	*mīdelu*	*ekahi*	*as*	*mi*	*beṇanī*	*hiňganna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*	*hajjaha*	*enna*
a rat	with	having met	rat	together with	too	now	what it says is	to walk	saying	self	with	to ḥaǧǧ	to go
NOUN	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD	NOUN	VERB
NOM.INDEF.	SOC.	ABS.III+I	OBL.	LOC.	MOD.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	DAT.	INF.

When they met with (the) rat, (the cat) told the rat, too, to go on a hajj together with her.

21

▹beṇā mīdelu-as mi beṇanī, āda vegenn-as taī mīdel ką̄ ettak-ai.◃

beṇā	*mīdelu*	*as*	*mi*	*beṇanī*	*āda*	*vegen*	*as*	*taī*	*mīdel*	*ką̄*	*ettak*	*ai*
saying	rat	too	now	what it says is	custom	becoming	too	what you are is	rat	eating	a thing	saying
VERB	NOUN	CONJ	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	MOD.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	SOC.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

(At her) saying (so), the rat answered, ‘normally, you are an animal (lit. "something") that eats rats’.

22

▹e hem mā timāśa ni kerennēnē enna.◃

e	*hen*	*mā*	*timāśa*	*ni*	*kerennēnē*	*enna*
that	sort	after	to self	not	it will be able to be done	to go
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	PARTC	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	DAT.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INF.

‘As it is like this, it is not possible for me to go (together with you).’

23

▹beṇā mi beṇī, taśa ni fenen tai, timā kari oʾ tasbīha gaňḍo.◃

beṇā	*mi*	*beṇī*	*taśa*	*ni*	*fenen*	*tai*	*timā*	*kari*	*ot*	*tasbīha*	*gaňḍo*
saying	now	what she said was	to you	not	is visible	asking	self	on neck	being	rosary	piece
VERB	ADV	VERB	PPRON	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.	NEG.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	NOM.

(At her) saying (so), (the cat) asked ‘don’t you see it, the rosary which is on my neck?’

24

▹timā ni kannā-u hiňganna kē timā ekī.◃

timā	*ni*	*kannā*	*au*	*hiňganna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*
self	not	to eat	saying	to go	saying	self	with
PRON	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD
NOM.	NEG.	INF.	INT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.

(With the words) ‘I shall not eat you’, (the cat) told her to go with herself.

25

▹den mi gote mīdalu-as hallāgen, beṇoāgen mi enī-ai◃

den	*mi*	*gote*	*mīdalu*	*as*	*hallāgen*	*beṇoāgen*	*mi*	*enī*	*ai*
then	this	in way	rat	too	convincing	persuading	now	how she goes is	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.	SOC.	ABS.III	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

Thus convincing (and) persuading the rat, too, (they) went on.

26

▹ę̄ vēlai laigātī, kukuḷakk-ā.◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laigātī*	*kukuḷak*	*ā*
going	at time	what it met was	a hen	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

When (they) went on (together), (they) met with a hen.

27

▹laiginīfē, kukuḷu ekah-as ama mi hen beṇafē beṇoāgen, mi ge hataroverin enī-ai◃

laiginīfē	*kukuḷu*	*ekahi*	*as*	*ama*	*mi*	*hen*	*beṇafē*	*beṇoāgen*	*mi*	*ge*	*hataroverin*	*enī*	*ai*
having met	hen	together with	too	again (?)	this	way	saying	persuading	these	having gone	four people	how they go is	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III+I	OBL.	LOC.	SOC.	MOD.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	ABS.III	ATTR.	PART.PT.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

Having met (the hen and) having persuaded her by talking in the same way, these four people were walking along.

28

▹goho, atire hīši bokkorā bāgen mi mīhun arāgen, fāli jahāfe] beḷalu-ai de aten de fāli jahanī◃

goho	*atire*	*hīši*	*bokkorā*	*bāgen*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*arāgen*	*fāli*	*jahāfe*	*beḷalu*	*ai*	*de*	*aten*	*de*	*fāli*	*jahanī*
going	on shore	being	boat	taking	these	people	climbing	oar	rowing	cat	they say	two	by hand	two	oar	who rows is
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	EXT.	ATTR.	ABL.	ATTR.	NOM.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Walking on, (they) took a boat which was on the shore, climbed (upon it), (and) grasping the oars it was the cat who started rowing with both hands on both oars.

29

▹beṇoāgen goho, vaki hisābakaha giūnī◃

beṇoāgen	*goho*	*vaki*	*hisābakaha*	*giūnī*
persuading	going	real	to an amount	was what they reached (unintentionally)
VERB	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.

(Together with the ones) she had persuaded, she (finally) reached a certain distance.

30

▹den yagīnun-as, mīge evvias ettakaha fatāfē eggamaha ni erę̄ hisābaha giunum mā,◃

den	*yagīnun*	*as*	*mīge*	*ek*	*vi*	*as*	*ettakaha*	*fatāfē*	*ek-gamaha*	*ni*	*erę̄*	*hisābaha*	*giunum*	*mā*
then	with certainty	even	these one's	one	becoming	even	to a thing	swimming	to land	not	being climbable	to distance	reaching	after
ADV	NOUN	CONJ	DPRON	CARD	VERB	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
TEMP.	ABL.	MOD.	GEN.	ATTR.	ABS.	MOD.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.I	DAT.	NEG.	PART.PRS.	DAT.	OBL.	LOC.

When the distance they had reached seemed to be such indeed that not even one of them was able to get (back) to the land by swimming,

30a

▹beḷalu hedī likī fummāgen goho jehīfē haulu gai hifanna mi veṉ̌ḍigātī.◃

beḷalu	*hedī*	*likī*	*fummāgen*	*goho*	*jehīfē*	*haulu*	*gai*	*hifanna*	*mi*	*veṉ̌ḍigātī*
cat	done	manner was	jumping	going	hitting	cock	body	to grasp	now	what it got to be was
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	TEMP.	PART.PT.III+FOC.

the cat jumped on the cock and when she hit him, she tried to grasp the body of the cock.

31

▹veṉ̌ḍigannā tan haulu-ā, kukuḷu-ā, mīdalu-ā tin-eti ekī deāśa fummāli-ai.◃

veṉ̌ḍigannā	*tan*	*haulu*	*ā*	*kukuḷu*	*ā*	*mīdalu*	*ā*	*tin*	*eti*	*ekī*	*deāśa*	*fummāli*	*ai*
getting to be	moment	cock	with	hen	with	rat	with	three	thing	together	to water	they jumped	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PRS.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	NOM.	SOC.	NOM.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	LOC.	DAT.	PT.II.3PL.	EXT.

Just when she started trying this, the cock, the hen, and the rat, all three together jumped into the water.

32

▹haulu udihīfē ge-ai.◃

haulu	*udihīfē*	*ge*	*ai*
cock	flying	went	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I	PT.3SG.	EXT.

The cock went away flying.

33

▹haulu udihīfē goho eggamaha jehī.◃

haulu	*udihīfē*	*goho*	*eggamaha*	*jehī*
cock	flying	going	to land	hit
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
NOM.	ABS.I	ABS.	DAT.	PT.3SG.

The cock reached the land by flying.

34

▹kukuḷu-ā mīdalu-ā dē-ti fatāfē eggamaha-ai mi erī.◃

kukuḷu	*ā*	*mīdalu*	*ā*	*de*	*eti*	*fatāfē*	*ek-gamaha*	*ai*	*mi*	*erī*
hen	with	rat	with	two	things	swimming	to land	they say	now	what they climbed up to was
NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
OBL.	SOC.	OBL.	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	DAT.	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.

The hen and the rat got upon the land by swimming.

35

▹aranna gat tā beḷalu-as fatāfē erun(u) kalaha mīdal mi hedī likī, goho rukakaha mi erī.◃

aranna	*gat*	*tā*	*beḷalu*	*as*	*fatāfē*	*erun(u)*	*kalaha*	*mīdal*	*mi*	*hedī*	*likī*	*goho*	*rukakaha*	*mi*	*erī*
to climb up	got	at moment	the cat	too	swimming	able to climb	to time	rat	now	done	manner was	going	to a tree	now	where she climbed up was
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB
INF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	MOD.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	DAT.	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.	DAT.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.

Just when they managed to climb up, the cat climbed up there (from) swimming, too, and the rat climbed up a coconut tree.

36

▹kukuḷu filāge-ai.◃

kukuḷu	*filāge*	*ai*
hen	hid away	they say
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

The hen hid (somewhere).

37

▹mīdal erī rukaha fahi keḍen beḷalu-as arāge-ai.◃

mīdal	*erī*	*rukaha*	*fahi*	*keḍen*	*beḷalu*	*as*	*arāge*	*ai*
rat	climbed up	to tree	back	from piece	cat	too	climbed up	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	PART.PT.	DAT.	GEN.	ABL.	NOM.	MOD.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

From the back side, the cat climbed up the tree the rat had climbed up too.

38

▹beḷalu arā, mīdal gai hifannen hen hīvīm mā, mīdal hedī likī fummāgen goho den hīsí ruka(h)a ebage-ai◃

beḷalu	*arā*	*mīdal*	*gai*	*hifannen*	*hen*	*hit*	*vīm*	*mā*	*mīdal*	*hedī*	*likī*	*fummāgen*	*goho*	*den*	*hīsí*	*ruka(h)a*	*ebage*	*ai*
cat	climbing	mouse	body	being to grasp	way	mind	becoming	when	rat	done	manner was	jumping	going	next	being	to tree	it went	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.FUT.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.	DAT.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When the cat was climbing up and was thinking about the way how she could catch the body of the rat, the rat jumped off to the next tree.

39

▹gēm mā, beḷalu ove ovefē mi ahanī, mīdelā, kihinne tai ta ti rukaha gei?◃

gēn	*mā*	*beḷalu*	*ove*	*ovefē*	*mi*	*ahanī*	*mīdel*	*ā*	*kihinne*	*tai*	*ta*	*ti*	*rukaha*	*gei?*
going	when	cat	staying	staying	now	what it says is	rat	saying	how	asking	you	that	to tree	(the way) you went was
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PPRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	ABS.	ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	INT.	MOD.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.

When she went there, the cat, remaining (where and the way) she was, asked, ‘rat, how did you get to that tree?’

40

▷timā ta ni kannā-ve, gē likaʾ beṇanna kē.◁

timā	*ta*	*ni*	*kanna*	*eve*	*gē*	*likak*	*beṇanna*	*kē*
self	you	not	to eat	saying	gone	a manner	to tell	saying
PRON	PPRON	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC (M!)	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.	NOM.	NEG.	INF.	INT.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

Saying, ‘I will not eat you,’ she told her to tell her the way she (had managed to) get (there).

41

▷beṇum mā, mīdal mi beṇanī, vai jehīfē, de ruʾ duru vę̄ kal-ē, timā fummāgātī.◁

beṇun	*mā*	*mīdal*	*mi*	*beṇanī*	*vai*	*jehīfē*	*de*	*ruk*	*duru*	*vę̄*	*kal*	*eve*	*timā*	*fummāgātī*
saying	when	rat	now	what it says is	wind	hitting	two	tree	apart	becoming	at time	saying	self	when I jumped was
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC (M!)	PRON	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	PRED.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PT.III+FOC.

(When she) said (so), the rat answered, ‘The moment I jumped was, when, struck by the wind, the two trees went apart.’

42

▷e hen mā, tā-s e likaha fumanna kē.◁

e	*hen*	*mā*	*ta*	*as*	*e*	*likaha*	*fumanna*	*kē*
that	way	after	you	too	that	to way	to jump	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	CONJ	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	NOM.	LOC.	NOM.	MOD.	ATTR.	DAT.	INF.	ABS.

She told (the cat), ‘you too should jump in the same way.’

43

▷beṇum mā, beḷalu mi hedī likī, vai jehīfē, de ruʾ duru vegen gē tam vaḷi fummāgat-ai◁

beṇun	*mā*	*beḷalu*	*mi*	*hedī*	*likī*	*vai*	*jehīfē*	*de*	*ruk*	*duru*	*vegen*	*gē*	*tan*	*vaḷi*	*fummāgat*	*ai*
saying	when	cat	now	done	a manner was	wind	hitting	two	tree	apart	becoming	gone	place	at moment	it jumped	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	PRED.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

After her saying so, the cat jumped just when the wind struck and the two trees went apart.

44

▷fummāgatum mā, vī likī, beḷaluśa ened rukaha ni gī, vettūgen goho jehīfē,◁

fummāgatun	*mā*	*vī*	*likī*	*beḷaluśa*	*enek*	*rukaha*	*ni*	*gī*	*vettūgen*	*goho*	*jehīfē*
jumping	when	become	manner was	to cat	another	to tree	not	being reachable	falling	going	hitting
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	DAT.	ATTR.	DAT.	NEG.	ABS.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I

When she jumped, it happened that the cat did not reach the tree, but falling down she hit (the ground),

44a

▷de rud dētere hīši kaśagaňḍakaha emeṇīgen beḷal mara vege-ai.◁

de	*ruk*	*de*	*etere*	*hīši*	*kaśagaňḍakaha*	*emeṇīgen*	*beḷal*	*mara*	*vege*	*ai*
two	tree	two	between	being	to a thorn	being pierced	cat	dead	became	they say
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.III	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

and pierced by a spike which was between the two trees, the cat died.

T5: **[Rakkoḷu Māmeli Daita]**[*]

Fuaʾ Mulaku: Gōḷḍan-Gēṭu Kaddādi (Ḫadīğa)

[*] An English version (collected and translated by AHMED SHAKEEB) of this story appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, vol. 5, Māle 1990, 6 ff.

1

▹eba vēn̆ḍi-ai fakīri kūdaku.◃

eba	*vēn̆ḍi*	*ai*	*fakīri*	*kūdaku*
there	lives	they say	poor	a child
ADV	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ (A!)	NOUN
LOC.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.INDEF.

(Once) there lived a poor child (girl).

2

▹mi kuddą̄ hitaha eri-ai gaśāi bat tavā kakkānēne.◃

mi	*kuddą̄*	*hitaha*	*erī*	*ai*	*gaśāi*	*bat*	*tavā*	*kakkānēne*
this	child	to mind	what arose was	saying	=	rice	pan	(she) will cook
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	FUT.3SG.

It came to this girl's mind to cook a pan of *gaśāi* rice.

3

▹hik koʾ gaśāi bat tavā kakkāli-ai.◃

hit	*koś*	*gaśāi*	*bat*	*tavā*	*kakkāli*	*ai*
mind	making	=	rice	pan	(she) cooked	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Having made (up her) mind (like this), she cooked a pan (of) *gaśāi* rice.

4

▹kakkāfē, baʾ hiśuvā, lāgen kannen ettaʾ huvannaʾ vegen ebage-ai.◃

kakkāfē	*bat*	*hiśuvā*	*lāgen*	*kannen*	*ettak*	*huvannaś*	*vegen*	*ebage*	*ai*
having cooked	rice	placing	adding	to be eaten	a thing	to look for	by (it) becoming	she went away	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	ABS.III	PART.FUT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Having cooked (it and) having put the rice aside, she went away in order to look for something that she (could) eat it with.

5

▹emun ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai fiaiakk-ā.◃

emun	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*fiaiak*	*ā*
by going	going	while	what she happened to meet with was	they say	an onion	with
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	CONJ
GRND.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

While going and going (like this), she met with an onion.

6

▹laiginifē, beṇi-ai, kon tākaha tai ti enī.◃

laiginifē	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*tākaha*	*tai*	*ti*	*enī.*
having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking	there	where you are going is
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC	ADV	VERB
ABS.III+I	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Having met it, she asked, ‘where are you there going?’

7

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timā bime vati ove, fī venna tayyāro vegen nukumegen eni-ai.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*bime*	*vati*	*ove*	*fī*	*venna*	*tayyāro*	*vegen*	*nukumegen*	*enī*	*ai.*
saying	it said	they say	self	of ground	on bottom	lying	rotten	to become	ready	becoming	getting out	what I am going for is	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.	ABS.	PRED.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

When she said (so), it replied, ‘lying on the ground, I have nearly started getting rotten, (that’s why) I got out and am going (around here now).’

8

▹kēfē, beṇum mā beṇi-ai enna kē timā ekī.◃

kēfē	*beṇun*	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*
having said	saying	when	she said	they say	to go	saying	self	with
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD
ABS.I	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.

After it spoke (in the way) it had spoken, she answered telling (it) to ‘come with me.’

9

▹beṇum mā kēfē de verin eni-ai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*kēfē*	*de*	*verin*	*enī*	*ai*
saying	when	having said	two	people	how they are going is	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

After (her) saying so, the two (of them) went (on together).

10

▹ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai mirihakk-ā.◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*mirihak*	*ā*
going	while	what they happened to meet with was	they say	a chili	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

While going (on like this), they met with a chili.

11

▹dom mirihakk-ā laiginifē beṇi-ai, kon tākaha tai ti enī.◃

don	*mirihak*	*ā*	*laiginifē*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*tākaha*	*tai*	*ti*	*enī*
fair	a chili	with	having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking	there	where you are going is
ADJ	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC	ADV	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	ABS.III+I	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Having met with (the) red chili, (the girl) asked, ‘where are you there going?’

12

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timā mi enī:◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*mi*	*enī*
saying	it said	they say	self	here	what I am going for is
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	ADV	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When (she) said (so), (the chili) answered, ‘this is what I am going around for:

12a

▹gehei hiśe dom vegen, fī venna tayyāro vegen, nukumegen veṭṭīgen eni-ai.◃

gehei	*hiśe*	*don*	*vegen*	*fī*	*venna*	*tayyāro*	*vegen*	*nukumegen*	*veṭṭīgen*	*enī*	*ai*
on tree	being	fair	becoming	rotten	to become	ready	becoming	getting off	falling	why I am going is	saying
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
LOC.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	PRED.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

having become fair (while) being on the tree (and) having started to get rotten, (that’s why) I’m going (around now) after getting off and falling down.’

13

▹beṇi-ai enna kē timāi-ā ekī.◃

beṇi	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timāi*	*ā*	*ekī*
she said	they say	to go	telling	self	with	together
VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CONJ	CARD
PT.3SG.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	SOC.	LOC.

She said, ‘come on together with me.’

14

▹kēfē eni-ai.◃

kēfē	*enī*	*ai*
having said	going	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	PART.PRS.	EXT.

(At) her saying (so), they went (on together).

15

▹ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai garade maha geḷakk-ā.◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*garade*	*maha*	*geḷak*	*ā*
going	while	what they happened to meet with was	they say	tuna	fish	a ball	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

While going (on like this), they met with a hard ball of tuna fish.

16

▹laiginifē beṇi-ai kon tākaha tai ti enī?◃

laiginifē	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*tākaha*	*tai*	*ti*	*enī?*
having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking	there	where you are going is
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC	ADV	VERB
ABS.III+I	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Having met it, she asked, ‘where are you there going?’

17

▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, gulie vati ove, māfā venna tayyāro vegen, enī-ai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*gulie*	*vati*	*ove*	*māfā*	*venna*	*tayyāro*	*vegen*	*enī*	*ai*
saying	when	she said	they say	of pot	on bottom	lying	grandfather	to become	ready	becoming	why I am going is	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	GEN.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

(At her) saying so, (it) answered, ‘having been lying on the ground of a clay pot and having started to become a "grandfather", (that’s why) I am going.’

18

▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, enna kē timāi-ā eki.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timāi*	*ā*	*eki*
saying	when	she said	they say	to go	telling	self	with	together
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CONJ	CARD
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	SOC.	LOC.

(At it’s) saying (so), she said, ‘come on together with me.’

19

▹kēfē ę̄ vēlai, laiginige-ai liṁboyakk-ā.◃

kēfē	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*liṁboyak*	*ā*
having said	going	while	what they happened to meet with was	they say	a lime fruit	with
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	CONJ
ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

At her saying (so), while going (on in this way), they met with a lime (fruit).

20

▹laiginifē, beṇi-ai, kon tākaha tai?◃

laiginifē	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*tākaha*	*tai?*
having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
ABS.III+I	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.

Having met it, she asked, ‘where (are you going)?’

21

▹beṇā beṇi-ai gehei ove fal venna tayyāra vegen enī-ai.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*gehei*	*ove*	*fal*	*venna*	*tayyāra*	*vegen*	*enī*	*ai*
saying	it said	they say	on tree	being	rotten	to become	ready	becoming	why I am going is	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	ABS.	PRED.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

When (she) said (so), (the chili) answered, ‘(because of) having started to get rotten (while) being on the tree, (that’s why) I’m going (now).’

22

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, enna kē timāì-ā ekī.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timāì*	*ā*	*ekī*
saying	what she said was	they say	to go	telling	self	with	together
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CONJ	CARD
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	SOC.	LOC.

(At its) saying (so), (the girl) said, ‘come (on) together with me.’

23

▹kēfē faha verin gē kal - fas mā mule faha vagun - kāì kāfē rakkal vegat-ai.◃

kēfē	*fahą*	*verin*	*gē*	*kal*	*fas*	*mā*	*mule*	*fahą*	*vagun*	*kāì*	*kāfē*	*rakkal*	*vegat*	*ai*
having said	five	people	gone	time	five	big	root	five	thieves	eating	eating	saving	became	they say
VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CARD (M!)	ADJ	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.	OBL.	ATTR.	ATTR.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.	ABS.I	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

At her saying so, the five ("people") went on - five thieves in five big roots - (although) eating and eating, (always something) was saved.

T6: **Āḷikeḍeā dērikeḍeā**

The piece of ash and the piece of coal

Fuaʾ Mulaku: Diggāmāge Muḥammad Maṇikufānu

1

▹ạ̄li keḍeā dēri keḍeā de verin ed duvahaki ebage-ai atiraha.◃

ạ̄li	*keḍe*	*ā*	*dēri*	*keḍe*	*ā*	*de*	*verin*	*ek*	*duvahaki*	*ebagē*	*ai*	*atiraha*
ash	piece	with	coal	piece	with	two	people	one	at day	where they went was	they say	to beach
NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.

One day, (the) piece of ash and (the) piece of coal went to the beach.

2

▹goho, dēri keḍe kēfi-ai, ạ̄li keḍe, ekahi fummanna kē.◃

goho	*dēri*	*keḍe*	*kēfi*	*ai*	*ạ̄li*	*keḍe*	*ekahi*	*fummanna*	*kē*
going	coal	piece	what it said was	they say	ash	piece	together	to jump	telling
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	CARD	VERB	VERB
ABS.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	LOC.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

Going (there), the piece of coal said, ‘piece of ash, (let’s) jump in!’

3

▹beṇum mā ạ̄li keḍe beṇi-ai, ta fummanna kē.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*ạ̄li*	*keḍe*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*fummanna*	*kē*
saying	when	ash	piece	it said	they say	you	to jump	telling
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	VERB	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	INF.	ABS.

When (it) said so, the piece of ash answered, ‘you jump in’.

4

▹beṇegen, dēri keḍe hedi vaḍāmakī fummāli-ai.◃

beṇegen	*dēri*	*keḍe*	*hedi*	*vaḍāmakī*	*fummāli*	*ai*
saying	coal	piece	done	a way was	it jumped	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

(At its) saying (so), the piece of coal jumped (into the sea).

5

▹fummum mā, dēri keḍe uhullāli-ai.◃

fummun	*mā*	*dēri*	*keḍe*	*uhullāli*	*ai*
jumping	when	coal	piece	it floated	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

After (it) jumped (in), the piece of coal floated.

6

▹uhullum mā, āḷi keḍe erige-ai.◃

uhullun	*mā*	*āḷi*	*keḍe*	*erige*	*ai*
floating	when	ash	piece	went upon	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When (it) floated (like this), the piece of ash went onto (the water too).

7

▹eruṇum mā, āḷi keḍe gerīge-ai.◃

eruṇun	*mā*	*āḷi*	*keḍe*	*gerīge*	*ai*
going upon	when	ash	piece	dissolved	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When (it) got in, the piece of ash dissolved.

8

▹dēri keḍe e hen ove, oaha damamun raḷaha taḷamun goho Mēliage faṇṇaha lakkōli-ai.◃

dēri	*keḍe*	*e*	*hen*	*ove*	*oaha*	*damamun*	*raḷaha*	*taḷamun*	*goho*	*Mēliage*	*faṇṇaha*	*lak-kōli*	*ai*
coal	piece	that	sort	being	to current	pulling	to wave	beating	going	of M.	to beach way	it floated	they say
NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.	DAT.	GRND.	DAT.	GRND.	ABS.	GEN.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

At the same time, the piece of coal, pulled by the current and beaten by the wave(s), floated upon the Mēlia's beach.

9

▹lakkōgen oʾ vēlai, Mēliage dia erīge-ai atiraha.◃

lak-kōgen	*ot*	*vēlai*	*Mēliage*	*dia*	*erīgē*	*ai*	*atiraha*
floating	being	at time	of M.	daughter	where she went up was	they say	to shore
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	OBL.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.

Just when (it came) floating, M.D. (lit. "M.'s daughter") happened to go ashore.

10

▹erī mia mi keḍe nagān goho gee dore vaḍi lāvi-ai.◃

erī	*mia*	*mi*	*keḍe*	*nagāgen*	*goho*	*gee*	*dore*	*vaḍi*	*lāvi*	*ai*
going upon	this one	this	piece	lifting	going	in house	of door	in well	she buried	they say
VERB	DPRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	LOC.	LOC.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Having gone (ashore), she grasped the piece, went off and buried it in (her) house-and-garden.

11

▹vaḍi lāgen mi kēnī, haliaha faḍā, haliaha faḍā.◃

vaḍi	*lāgen*	*mi*	*kēnī*	*haliaha*	*faḍa*	*haliaha*	*faḍa*
in well	burying	now	what she says is	quickly	grow	quickly	grow
NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB
LOC.	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	DAT.	IMPV.2SG.	DAT.	IMPV.2SG.

Burying it, she said, ‘grow up quickly, grow up quickly’.

12

▹e hen kē vēlai faḍage-ai.◃

e	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*faḍage*	*ai*
that	sort	speaking	while	it grew	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When she said so, it grew up.

13

▹feḍi kal, māḷoskēlak-ai.◃

feḍi	*kal*	*māḷoskēlak*	*ai*
grown	time	a cooking banana (tree)	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	EXT.

When it had grown up, (it had become) a cooking banana tree.

14

▹den feḍum mā kēnna hedīgat-ai, haliaha boṅḍo vē-ai.◃

den	*feḍun*	*mā*	*kēnna*	*hedīgat*	*ai*	*haliaha*	*boṅḍo*	*vē*	*ai*
then	growing	when	to speak	she got made	they say	quickly	big	become	saying
ADV	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	PRED.	IMPV.2SG.	INT.

Then when it had grown up, she started saying, ‘become tall quickly’.

15

▹boṅḍo vīm mā, kēnna hedīgat-ai, haliaha fōvā.◃

boṅḍo	*vīn*	*mā*	*kēnna*	*hedīgat*	*ai*	*haliaha*	*fōva*
big	becoming	when	to speak	she got made	they say	quickly	blossom
ADJ	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	VERB
PRED.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	IMPV.2SG.

When it had become tall, she started saying, ‘blossom fast’!

16

▹kēmun goho, fōvum mā kēnna hedīgat-ai, haliaha haro ve-ai.◃

kēmun	*goho*	*fōvun*	*mā*	*kēnna*	*hedīgat*	*ai*	*haliaha*	*haro*	*ve*	*ai*
speaking	going	blossoming	when	to speak	she got made	they say	quickly	mature	become	saying
VERB	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
GRND.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	NOM.	IMPV.2SG.	INT.

When it blossomed, at her going (on) speaking (like this), she started saying, ‘become mature quickly’.

17

▹kę̄ vēlai, haro vī kal, miage tibi-ai haʾ firihen kūdun.◃

kę̄	*vēlai*	*haro*	*vī*	*kal*	*miage*	*tibī*	*ai*	*hat*	*firi*	*hen*	*kūdun*
saying	while	mature	become	time	this one’s	what were were	they say	seven	male	sort	children
VERB	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	CARD	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PRED.	PART.PT.	OBL.	GEN.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.PL.

When it became mature, at her saying (so), she received seven boys (lit. "male children").

18

▹firihen kūdun tibe, mi mīhun kiavanna ebēmun beṇi-ai,◃

firi	*hen*	*kūdun*	*tibe*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*kiavanna*	*ebēmun*	*beṇi*	*ai*
male	sort	children	being	these	people	to learn	going away	what they said was	they say
ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.PL.	ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	INF.	GRND.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.

When they went to learn, while they were (still) boys, they said:

18a

▹ammā-ve, timāmen kiavān ę̄ kalaha reha kakkanna kē.◃

ammā	*eve*	*timāmen*	*kiavāgen*	*ę̄*	*kalaha*	*reha*	*kakkanna*	*kē*
mother	saying	selves	learning	coming	to time	curry	to cook	saying
NOUN	QPARTC (M!)	PRON	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.	INT.	OBL.PL.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

‘Mother,’ they said, telling her to ‘cook some curry for ourselves when we come back from learning.’

19

▹kēfē, reha kakkāgen mia mi hadą̄ likī, kūdun en tō balanna mago balāfē reha balani-ai.◃

kēfē	*reha*	*kakkāgen*	*mia*	*mi*	*hadą̄*	*likī*	*kūdun*	*en*	*tō*	*balanna*	*mago*	*balāfē*	*reha*	*balanī*	*ai*
having said	curry	cooking	this one	now	doing	the way was	children	coming	whether	to look	street	looking	curry	looking	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.III	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.PL.	PART.PRS.	CONJ.	INF.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	PART.PRS.	EXT.

(At their) saying (so), she cooked the curry, looking around the street to see whether the children came back and (at the same time) tasting (lit. "looking") the curry.

20

▹hadamun goho, mī hus vege-ai.◃

hadamun	*goho*	*mī*	*hus*	*vege*	*ai*
doing	going	this	empty	became	they say
VERB	VERB	DPRON	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
GRND.	ABS.	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Doing (so) repeatedly, (the curry) became empty.

21

▹hus ve goho hiśu vēlai, kūdun bā ve kiavāgen.◃

hus	*ve*	*goho*	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*kūdun*	*bā*	*eve*	*kiavāgen*
empty	becoming	going	being	while	children	came	they say	having learned
ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M!)	VERB
PRED.	ABS.	ABS.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.PL.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ABS.III

Just when it was becoming empty, the children came back from learning.

22

▹āhogen kabaro ehum mā, kēfi-ai, mā galo matte boňḍo dīṃi ā-ve.◃

āhogen	*kabaro*	*ehun*	*mā*	*kēfi*	*ai*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boňḍo*	*dīṃi*	*ā*	*eve*
coming	news	asking	when	what she said was	they say	big	rock	of upon	big	bird	came	saying
VERB	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ABS.III	NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	INT.

When (they) came and asked (their mother) about news, (their mother) said, ‘the big bird came from upon the big rock’.

23

▹mi hen matten emun amma reha kakkāfē hiśu vēlai, reha eteraha guaʾ lāfi-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*matten*	*emun*	*ammā*	*reha*	*kakkāfē*	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*reha*	*eteraha*	*guak*	*lāfi*	*ai*
this	sort	from upon	coming	mother	curry	having cooked	being	while	curry	into	a dropping	it laid	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	ABL.	GRND.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.I.3SG.	INT.

Coming from upon (there) this way, it laid a dropping into the curry (just when your) mother had finished cooking the curry.

24

▹guaʾ lāgen mī baňḍun jahālī mā-ve-ai.◃

guak	*lāgen*	*mī*	*baňḍun*	*jahālī*	*ma*	*eve*	*ai*
a dropping	laying	this	from belly	beat	I	saying	they say
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	QPARTC (M)	QPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABL.	PART.PT.II+FOC.	NOM.	INT.	EXT.

After it had laid the dropping, I turned this (vessel) upside down.’

25

▹beṇā mi gẽ haʾ beun vege-ai mī hifanna dunidaňḍi hadāgen enna.◃

beṇā	*mi*	*gẽ*	*hat*	*beun*	*vegẽ*	*ai*	*mī*	*hifanna*	*dunidaňḍi*	*hadāgen*	*enna*
saying	this	of house	seven	brothers	what they became was	they say	this	to catch	bow	making	to go
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	ATTR.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.IV(+FOC.)	EXT.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	ABS.III	INF.

At (her) saying so, the seven brothers of this house decided (lit. "became") to go to catch (the bird) by making bows.

26

▹goho emme feretamāśa laigātī ruʾ labān kurubā eḍāgen bonna tib baikennā-ve.◃

goho	*emme*	*feretamāśa*	*laigātī*	*ruk*	*labāgen*	*kurubā*	*eḍāgen*	*bonna*	*tibi*	*baiken*	*ā*	*eve*
going	of all	at first	who they met with was	tree	bending	coconut	picking	to drink	being	some people	with	they say
VERB	ADV	ORD	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	QPARTC (M)
ABS.		DAT.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.III	INF.	PART.PT.	OBL.PL.	SOC.	EXT.

On their way, they first of all met with some (people) who tried (lit. "were") to drink treacle by bending down the trees and picking the coconuts.

27

▹laiginifẽ, ahāfi-ai, Mẽliage haʾ beun enī kontākaha tai?◃

laiginifẽ	*ahāfi*	*ai*	*Mẽliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*enī*	*kontākaha*	*tai?*
having met	what they asked was	they say	of M	seven	brothers	where they are going is	to what a place	asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC
ABS.I+III	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	DAT.	INT.

When they met (them), they asked ‘where are M.’s seven boys going?’

28

▹ehum mā, e mīhun kẽfi-ai, timāmen ę̃ tanaʾ ti mīhun balanī kumaʾ kerāʾ tai?◃

ehun	*mā*	*e*	*mīhun*	*kẽfi*	*ai*	*timāmen*	*ę̃*	*tanak*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*balanī*	*kumak*	*kerāś*	*tai?*
asking	when	those	people	what they said was	they say	(our)selves	going	a place	these	people	that you are looking	what	to do	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

When they (were) asked, they said, ‘why are you interested in the place (where) were we are going?’

29

▹beṇum mā beṇā kẽfi-ai, timāmen ekahi ni beṇi-as, timāmennaʾ engẽ-ai ti mīhun ti ę̃ tanaʾ.◃

beṇum	*mā*	*beṇā*	*kẽfi*	*ai*	*timāmen*	*ekahi*	*ni*	*beṇi*	*as*	*timāmennaʾ*	*engẽ*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ti*	*ę̃*	*tanaʾ*
saying	when	saying	what they said was	they say	(our)selves	together	not	told	even if	to (our)selves	is known	saying	these	people	there	going	a place
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	CARD	PARTC	VERB	CONJ	PRON	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN
OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	OBL.PL.	LOC.INDEF.	NEG.	PART.PT.	MOD.	DAT.PL.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.

At (their) saying (so), they answered, ‘even if (you) do not tell (it) to us, we will know where you are going:

30

▹ti mīhun ti enī, mā galo matte boṅḍo dīṇi hifannā-ve-ai.◃

ti	*mīhun*	*ti*	*enī*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boṅḍo*	*dīṇi*	*hifannā*	*eve*	*ai*
these	people	there	where you are going is	big	a rock	of upon	big	bird	to catch	saying	they said
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	INT.	INT.

You men are going to catch the big bird from the top of the big rock.

31

▹boṅḍo dīṇi hifennēnī, mi tanen ruʾ labāṅ kurubā eḍāgen bōgen gē kalaki-ai.◃

boṅḍo	*dīṇi*	*hifennēnī*	*mi*	*tanen*	*ruk*	*labāgen*	*kurubā*	*eḍāgen*	*bōgen*	*gē*	*kalaki*	*ai*
big	bird	when it will be catchable is	this	from place	tree	bending	coconut	picking	drinking	gone	in a time	they said
ADJ	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	ATTR.	ABL.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PT.	LOC.INDEF.	INT.

(The only way) the big bird will be catchable (for you), is when (lit. "in a time") you go (there after) drinking treacle by bending down the trees and picking coconuts at this place.'

32

▹beṇā mi mīhunnaʾ veṅḍi veṅḍi mi kamaʾ ni vi-ai.◃

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhunnaś*	*veṅḍi*	*veṅḍi*	*mi*	*kamaś*	*ni*	*vi*	*ai*
saying	these	to people	moving	moving	this	a fact	not	became	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	DAT.PL.	RABS.	RABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

At (their) saying (so), they, although trying and trying did not succeed (lit. "this did not become a fact to these people").

33

▹ni vi-as, den kuriáha ge-ai.◃

ni	*vi*	*as*	*den*	*kuriaha*	*ge*	*ai*
not	became	even if	then	further	they went	they say
PARTC	VERB	CONJ	ADV	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NEG.	PART.PT.	MOD.	TEMP.	DAT.	PT.3PL.	EXT.

Even though they did not succeed, they went on forth.

34

▹e vēlai, laigātī, ū faśuvālī lāgen ellā bilaʾ kaṅḍāgen dohanna tibʾ baikennā ve.◃

e	*vēlai*	*laigātī*	*ū*	*faśuvālī*	*lāgen*	*ellā*	*bilat*	*kaṅḍāgen*	*dohanna*	*tibi*	*baiken*	*ā*	*eve*
going	while	who they met with was	string	??	laying	throwing	betel	cutting	to chew	being	some people	with	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	QPARTC (M)
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.III	INF.	PART.PT.	OBL.PL.	SOC.	EXT.

When they went (on) they met with some (people) who were trying to chew betel leaves they had cut by throwing a string.

35

▹mi mīhunn-as ehī, Mēliage haʾ beun-as enī kontākaha tai?◃

mi	*mīhun*	*as*	*ehī*	*Mēliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*as*	*enī*	*kontākaha*	*tai?*
these	people	too	what they asked was	of M	seven	brothers	too	where they are going is	to what place	asking
DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PN	CARD	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	MOD.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	MOD.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	DAT.	INT.

These men too asked, ‘where are M.s seven boys going?’

36

▹ehum mā, mi beṇī, timāmen ę̄ tanaʾ ti mīhun balanī kumaʾ keranna tai.◃

ehun	*mā*	*mi*	*beṇī*	*timāmen*	*ę̄*	*tanak*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*balanī*	*kumak*	*keranna*	*tai*
asking	when	these	what they said was	(our)selves	going	a place	these	people	that you are looking is	why	to do	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	PRON	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

When they (were) asked, they said, ‘why are you people interested in where we are going?’

37

▹beṇā kēfi-ai, ti mīhun ni beṇi-as, timāmennaʾ tia engē-ai ti mīhun ę̄ tanaʾ.◃

beṇā	*kēfi*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ni*	*beṇi*	*as*	*timāmenna*	*tia*	*engē*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ę̄*	*tanak*
saying	what they said was	they say	these	people	not	said	even if	to (our)selves	this	is known	saying	these	people	going	a place
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	CONJ	PRON	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	NEG.	PART.PT.	CONC.	DAT.PL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.

At (their) saying (so), they said, ‘even if you do not tell it to us, we will know the place you are going to.

38

▹ti mīhun ti enī mā galo matte boňḍo dīṇi hifannā-ve.◃

ti	*mīhun*	*ti*	*enī*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boňḍo*	*dīṇi*	*hifanna*	*eve*
these	people	there	where you are going is	big	a rock	of upon	big	bird	to catch	they said
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

You men are going to catch the big bird from the top of the big rock.

39

▹ti mīhunnaʾ dīṇi hifennenī, ū faśavāli lāgen bilaʾ kaňḍāgen dohāgen gēm mā-ve.◃

ti	*mīhunnaś*	*dīṇi*	*hifennenī*	*ū*	*faśavāli*	*lāgen*	*bilat*	*kaňḍāgen*	*dohāgen*	*gēn*	*mā*	*eve*
these	to people	bird	when it will be catchable is	string	??	using	betel	cutting	chewing	going	when	they said
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	DAT.PL.	OBL.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	OBL.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	OBL.	LOC.	INT.

(The only way) you will be able to catch the big bird, is when you go (there after) chewing betel (leaves) you have cut by using a string.’

40

▹e mīhun beṇi-ai, ti kamaʾ ni vennēhe.◃

e	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*ti*	*kamak*	*ni*	*vennēhe*
those	people	what they said was	they say	this	a fact	not	will become
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.

Those men (i.e., the brothers) said, ‘this will not be possible (lit. "will not become a fact").’

41

▹kēfe-as gēi kurihā-ve.◃

kēfe	*as*	*gēi*	*ay*	*kurihā*	*eve*
saying	even	where they went was	they say	further	they say
VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC (M)
ABS.I	MOD.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	EXT.

Even saying so, they went ahead.

42

▹ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai rābaḍo kāgen kąs̃i duvvā baikenn-ā.◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*rābaḍo*	*kāgen*	*kąs̃i*	*duvvā*	*baiken*	*ā*
going	while	who they met with was	they say	r.-fish	eating	bone(s)	causing to run	some people	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.PL.	SOC.

While going (on), they met with some (people) who were eating *rābaḍo*-fish and throwing the bones (away).

43

▹mi mīhun ahafi-ai, Mēliage haʾ beun enī kontanakaha tai?◃

mi	*mīhun*	*ahafi*	*ai*	*Mēliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*enī*	*kontanakaha*	*tai?*
these	people	what they asked was	they say	of M.	seven	brothers	where they are going is	to what place	asking
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	DAT.	INT.

These people asked, ‘where are M.’s seven boys going?’

44

▹beṇum mā kēfi-ai, timāmen ę̄ tanaʾ balanī kumaʾ keranna tai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*kēfi*	*ai*	*timāmen*	*ę̄*	*tanak*	*balanī*	*kumak*	*keranna*	*tai*
saying	when	what they said was	they say	(our)selves	going	a place	that you are looking is	why	to do	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

At their saying so, they said, ‘why are you interested in where we are going?’

45

▹beṇum mā kēfi-ai, ti mīhun ni beṇi-as, ę̄ tanaʾ timāmenna tia engē-ai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*kēfi*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ni*	*beṇi*	*as*	*ę̄*	*tanak*	*timāmenna*	*tia*	*engē*	*ai*
saying	when	what they said was	they say	these	people	not	said	even if	going	a place	to (our)selves	this	is known	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	PRON	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	NEG.	PART.PT.	CONC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	DAT.PL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.	INT.

At (their) saying (so), they said, ‘even if you do not tell it to us, we will know the place you are going to.

46

▹ti mīhun ti enī, mā galo matte boňḍo dīṇi hifannā-ve.◃

ti	*mīhun*	*ti*	*enī*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boňḍo*	*dīṇi*	*hifanna*	*eve*
these	people	there	where you are going is	big	rock	of upon	big	bird	to catch	they said
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

You men are going to catch the big bird from the top of the big rock.

47

▹ti hen gohogen, ti mīhunnaʾ dīṇi ni hifennēn-ai, mi tanen, rābaḍo kāfē, kąśi duvvālā gēm mā nun fahen.◃

ti	*hen*	*gohogen*	*ti*	*mīhunnaś*	*dīṇi*	*ni*	*hifennēn*	*ai*	*mi*	*tanen*	*rābaḍo*	*kāfē*	*kąśi*	*duvvālā*	*gēn*	*mā*	*nun*	*fahen*
this	sort	by going	these	to people	bird	not	will be catchable	they said	this	from place	r-fish	eating	bones	letting go	going	when	is not	after
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.III	ATTR.	DAT.PL.	OBL.	NEG.	PART.FUT.	INT.	ATTR.	ABL.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.II	OBL.	LOC.	NEG.	ABL.

(If) this is where you are going, this bird will not be catchable to you (people), except when (lit. "after it not being if") you go there from this place after eating a *rābaḍo*-fish and throwing away the bones.’

48

▹beṇegen, ebage-ai.◃

beṇegen	*ebage*	*ai*
saying	they went off	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	PT.3PL.	EXT.

(At their) saying (so), (the seven brothers) went off.

49

▹gē kal, kuriaha gohogen, fenun kal dīṇi īnī nikavilissa gehe dei faʾ vī tani-ai.◃

gē	*kal*	*kuriaha*	*gohogen*	*fenun*	*kal*	*dīṇi*	*īnī*	*nikavilissa*	*gehe*	*de*	*fat*	*vī*	*tani*	*ai*
gone	time	forward	going	appearing	time	bird	where it sat was	flamboyant	tree	two	branch	become	at place	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.III	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	OBL.	ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	EXT.

When they were going on further, the bird appeared (to them), sitting at the place where a flamboyant tree formed two branches.

50

▹iňdu vēlai, dunidaňḍi jehum mā, dunidāňḍen rekīgen udihī-ve.◃

iňdu	*vēlai*	*dunidaňḍi*	*jehun*	*mā*	*dunidāňḍen*	*rekīgen*	*udihi*	*eve*
sitting	while	bow	hitting	when	from bow	escaping	it flew off	-they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC (M)
PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	ABL.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When it was shot at with the bow while it was sitting there, it flew away, (thus) escaping the bow (shot).

51

▹uduhīgen goho, e gē haʾ beun bōfi-ai.◃

uduhīgen	*goho*	*e*	*gē*	*hat*	*beun*	*bōfi*	*ai*
flying	going	that	of house	seven	brothers	it swallowed	they say
VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

Flying away, it swallowed (lit. "drank") the seven brothers of that house.

52

▹mi vāhaka Mēliaśa ivīgen gōamun gōamun goho lolen vetṭīge-ai karuṇu fodaʾ.◃

mi	*vāhaka*	*Mēliaśa*	*ivīgen*	*gōamun*	*gōamun*	*goho*	*lolen*	*vetṭīge*	*ai*	*karuṇu*	*fodak*
this	story	to M.	being heard	crying	crying	going	from eye	what fell was	they say	tear	a drop
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN
ATTR.	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.III	GRND.	GRND.	ABS.	ABL.	PART.PT.IV(+FOC.)	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.

When M.(’s daughter) heard about this story, she went around crying and crying, and a tear drop fell from her eyes.

53

▹den e karuṇu fodo nagāgen, faʾ keḍakaha eḍāge-ai.◃

den	*e*	*karuṇu*	*fodo*	*nagāgen*	*fat*	*keḍakaha*	*eḍāge*	*ai*
then	that	tear	drop	lifting	leaf	to a piece	she fixed	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Then, having taken up the drop, she put it on a peace of leaf.

54

▹eḍāfē, mi faʾ keḍe hifāgen goho, eḍāfi-ai gulieki eteraha.◃

eḍāfē	*mi*	*fat*	*keḍe*	*hifāgen*	*goho*	*eḍāfi*	*ai*	*gulieki*	*eteraha*
having fixed	this	leaf	piece	grasping	going	where she put it was	they say	of a clay pot	into
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	GEN.INDEF.	DAT.

Having fixed it there, she grasped the piece of leaf (and) put it inside a clay pot.

55

▹fa' keḍakaha karuṇu fodo eḍāgen goho iňdōle kenal daśi lavāli-ai.◃

fat	*keḍakaha*	*karuṇu*	*fodo*	*eḍāgen*	*goho*	*iňdōle*	*kenal*	*daśi*	*lavāli*	*ai*
leaf	to a piece	tear	drop	fixing	going	of swing	mat	below	she put	they say
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.IL3SG.	EXT.

Having thus fixed the tear drop to a piece of leaf, she put it under the mat of the swing bed.

56

▹den, guli teḷīgat-ai.◃

den	*guli*	*teḷīgat*	*ai*
then	pot	started shaking	they say
ADV	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

Then the pot started shaking.

57

▹kenal mattaha arāgat-ai.◃

kenal	*mattaha*	*arāgat*	*ai*
mat	upwards	it arose	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	DAT.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

The mat arose upward.

58

▹guli gaňḍo heluvīgat-ai.◃

guli	*gaňḍo*	*heluvīgat*	*ai*
pot	piece	started shaking	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

The pot started shaking (even more).

59

▹den duvas keḍakun goho, belī kal mi gulie etere iňḍōle kenal daśi ōtī kudu kūdaku-ai.◃

den	*duvas*	*keḍakun*	*goho*	*belī*	*kal*	*mi*	*gulie*	*etere*	*iňḍōle*	*kenal*	*daśi*	*ōtī*	*kudu*	*kūdaku*	*ai*
then	time	from a piece	going	looked	time	this	pot	inside	of swing	mat	under	what was is	little	a child	they say
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.	LOC.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.INDEF. (!)	EXT.

After some while, when she looked inside, there was a little child in this pot under the mat of the swing.

60

▹den mi kuddą̄ nagā̄gen, dagonaī-ai.◃

den	*mi*	*kuddą̄*	*nagā̄gen*	*dagonaī*	*ai*
then	this	child	lifting up	she cared for	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Then she took the child out and fostered it.

61

▹mi hen goho, mi kuddą̄ boṅḍo vege-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*goho*	*mi*	*kuddą̄*	*boṅḍo*	*vege*	*ai*
this	sort	going	this	child	big	became	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

As time passed by (lit. "going on like this"), this child grew up (lit. "became tall").

62

▹miu ahā̄fi-ai, ammā-ve, ammā̄śa timā nun fahę, kū̄daku ni libunʾ tai?◃

miu	*ahā̄fi*	*ai*	*ammā*	*eve*	*ammā̄śa*	*timā*	*nun*	*fahę*	*kū̄daku*	*ni*	*libun*	*tai?*
this one	what he asked was	they say	mother	-saying	to mother	self	not being	after	a child	not	was received	asking
DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC (M)	NOUN	PRON	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	NOM.	INT.	DAT.	OBL.	NEG.	ABL.	OBL.INDEF.	NEG.	PART.PT.	INT.

He asked, ‘mother, did (my) mother not receive a child except for myself (lit. "after it not being myself")?’

63

▹beṇum mā, mia kē̄fi-ai, nun-ai, timā̄śa libun-ai haʾ firi hen kū̄dun.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*mia*	*kē̄fi*	*ai*	*nun*	*ai*	*timā̄śa*	*libunu*	*ai*	*hat*	*firi*	*hen*	*kū̄dun*
saying	when	this one	what she said was	they say	no	saying	to self	what was received is	saying	seven	male	sort	children
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	QPARTC	CARD	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	NEG.	INT.	DAT.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	INT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.PL.

At his saying (so), she said, ‘yes (lit. "no"), I did receive seven boys (before).

64

▹e haʾ beun mā galo matte boṅḍo dīṇi hifanna gohogen vēṇṇā vēlai mā galo matte boṅḍo dīṇi e haʾ beun bō̄fi-ai.◃

e	*hat*	*beun*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boṅḍo*	*dīṇi*	*hifanna*	*gohogen*	*vēṇṇā*	*vēlai*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boṅḍo*	*dīṇi*	*e*	*hat*	*beun*	*bō̄fi*	*ai*
those	seven	brothers	big	a rock	on top	big	bird	to catch	going	living	while	big	a rock	on top	big	bird	those	seven	brothers	swallowed	they say
DPRON	CARD	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	DPRON	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When those seven brothers were going to catch the big bird on the big rock, the big bird on the big rock swallowed those seven brothers alive.’

65

▹e mīhunge vāhakaʾ net-ai.◃

e	*mīhunge*	*vāhakak*	*net*	*ai*
those	of people	news	there is not	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	GEN.PL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.	INT.

There is no (further) news about them (lit. "those people").

66

▹vīm mā, dari-fuḷu, dīṇi hifannaʾ gohogen ni vennēn-ai.◃

vīn	*mā*	*dari-fuḷu*	*dīṇi*	*hifanna*	*gohogen*	*ni*	*vennēn*	*ai*
being	when	child	bird	to catch	going	not	it will become	she said
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+HON (M.)	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.III	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

This being (so), my child, it will not be possible (lit. "will not become") that you (too) might go to catch the bird.’

67

▹mi hen beṇum mā, miu beṇi āi, nun-ai, timā ennā-ve.◃

mi	*hen*	*beṇum*	*mā*	*miu*	*beṇi*	*āi*	*nun*	*ai*	*timā*	*ennā*	*ve*
this	sort	saying	when	this one	what he said was	they say	no	saying	self	is to go	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	EXT.	NEG.	INT.	OBL.	INF.	INT.

After (her) saying so, (the boy) said, ‘no, I have to go myself.’

68

▹kēfē, ebage-ai.◃

kēfē	*ebage*	*ai*
having said	he went away	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After saying so, he went away.

69

▹goho, boňḍo dīṇi karaha dunidāňḍi jahā miu vaṭṭāgen marāgen kari val gaňḍaʾ jahāgen damāfē geśa ebaginage-ai.◃

goho	*boňḍo*	*dīṇi*	*karaha*	*dunidāňḍi*	*jahā*	*miu*	*vaṭṭāgen*	*marāgen*	*kari*	*val*	*gaňḍak*	*jahāgen*	*damāfē*	*geśa*	*ebaginage*	*ai*
							causing to									
going	big	bird	to neck	bow	hitting	this one	fall	killing	on neck	rope	a piece	beating	pulling	home	he took	they say
VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	ABS.III	ABS.III	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.I	DAT.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

He went (there), shot with the bow at the throat of the bird, caused it to fall down, killed it, tied a rope around its neck and took it home by pulling it.

70

▹geśa gine gohogen, dīṇi baṅḍo kaṅḍālā, belī kal Mēliage haʾ beun tībī keḷenaha ve.◃

geśa	*gine*	*gohogen*	*dīṇi*	*baṅḍo*	*kaṅḍālā*	*belī*	*kal*	*Mēliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*tībī*	*keḷenaha*	*eve*
home	taking	going	bird	belly	cutting	looked	when	of M.	seven	brothers	how they were was	playing	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	VB.NOUN	QPARTC (M)
DAT.	ABS.	ABS.III	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.II	PART.PT.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.	EXT.

Having taken it home, he cut the (bird's) belly and looked inside — (and) M.'s (daughter's) seven boys were playing (there).

71

▹den e mīhun beṇoān goho, dīṇen nukutta-ai.◃

den	*e*	*mīhun*	*beṇoān*	*goho*	*dīṇen*	*nukutta*	*ai*
then	those	people	admonishing	going	from bird	escaped	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.

Then, those people, admonished (by him), escaped from the bird.

72

▹dīṇi kaṭṭilāgen reha kakkāgen emme maun kannaʾ tiv vēlai Mēliage dia nukume.◃

dīṇi	*kaṭṭilāgen*	*reha*	*kakkāgen*	*emme*	*maun*	*kanna*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*Mēliage*	*dia*	*nukume*
bird	cutting	curry	cooking	all	mother-and-child	to eat	being	while	of M	daughter	goes out
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PN	NOUN	VERB
NOM.	ABS.II+III	NOM.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	INF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	GEN.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.

He (then) cut the bird, cooked a curry, and just when mother-and-children were about to eat, Mēliage's daughter went out.

73

▹hedī vaḍāmakī, fem bōn vaḍi dāṇi foroāfi-ai.◃

hedī	*vaḍāmakī*	*fen*	*bōn*	*vaḍi*	*dāṇi*	*foroāfi*	*ai*
done	a manner was	water	drinking	well	bucket	she hid	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	NOM.	PART.PT.I	EXT.

She hid the bucket of the well (from) where (they used to) drink water.

74

▹den, mi mīhun kāgen nukume, dāṇi nētīgen, e vāhakā dekkum mā mia beṇi-ai,◃

den	*mi*	*mīhun*	*kāgen*	*nukume*	*dāṇi*	*nētīgen*	*e*	*vāhakā*	*dekkun*	*mā*	*mia*	*beṇi*	*ai*
then	these	people	eating	going out	bucket	not being there	that	story	telling	when	this one	what she said was	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.III	ATTR.	NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	EXT.

Then, after eating, her sons (lit. "these people") came out and the bucket was not there; and when they talked about it, she (lit. "this one") said,

74a

▹mi hiňde timāmen ti vaḍen fem bonī leňbīgen goho fen gaňḍi aňga jahā-ve.◃

mi	*hiňde*	*timāmen*	*ti*	*vaḍen*	*fen*	*bonī*	*leňbīgen*	*goho*	*fen*	*gaňḍi*	*aňga*	*jahā*	*eve*
this	at time	selves	there	from well	water	how we drink is	bending	going	water	in piece	mouth	hitting	she said
DPRON	NOUN	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	LOC.	OBL.PL.	ATTR.	ABL.	NOM.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.	INT.

'now we have to drink water from this well by bending down and putting (lit. "beating") the mouth in the water.'

75

▹den, mi mīhun emmen ekī vaḍaha leňbīgatum mā mia hedī vaḍāmakī emmen fule au eḍā kullā vaḍaha vaṭṭāli-ai.◃

den	*mi*	*mīhun*	*emmen*	*ekī*	*vaḍaha*	*leňbīgatun*	*mā*	*mia*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*emmen*	*fule*	*at*	*eḍā*	*kullā*	*vaḍaha*	*vaṭṭāli*	*ai*
then	these	people	all	together	to well	bending down	when	this one	done	a manner was	all	back	hand	putting	pushing	to well	she dropped	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	DAT.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.	ABS.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Then, when they all together finally bent down to the well, she put the hand on each one's back, pushed them and caused them to fall into the well.

76

▹haʾ gal mati matten jahāli-ai.◃

hat	*gal*	*mati*	*matten*	*jahāli*	*ai*
seven	rocks	top	from top	she hit	they say
CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.	OBL.	ABL.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

She put seven stones on top (of them) from above.

77

▹jahālā hiśu vēlai, duvas keḍakun e tanen nukūtī boňḍo haulak-ai.◃

jahālā	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*duvas*	*keḍakun*	*e*	*tanen*	*nukūtī*	*boňḍo*	*haulak*	*ai*
having hit	being	while	time	with a piece	that	from place	what came out was	big	a cock	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.II	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ATTR.	ABL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	EXT.

After she had put (the stones on them), a big cock came out of that place some days after.

78

▹nukume, hedi vaḍamakī, mia kari jahāgen duvvāgat-ai.◃

nukume	*hedi*	*vaḍamakī*	*mia*	*kari*	*jahāgen*	*duvvāgat*	*ai*
coming out	done	a manner was	this one	on neck	hitting	let run away	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.III	PART.PT.III	EXT.

When he came out, she grasped (lit. "hit") his throat and ran away.

Fig. 1: *Fiňdanā boňḍanā* (Ibrahīm Mansūr)

T7: **Kaiśaki naiśaʾ**

The coconut shell

Fuaʾ Mulaku: Muḥammad Saʿīd

1

▹tan keḍaʾ kurie duvasvaraki hīs̄i rādde hīs̄ī raskalaku-ai.◃

tan	*keḍak*	*kurie*	*duvasvaraki*	*hīs̄i*	*rādde*	*hīs̄ī*	*raskalaku*	*ai*
place	a piece	before	in a period	being	kingdom	what there was was	a king-lord	they say
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	GEN.	LOC.INDEF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.INDEF.	EXT.

In a kingdom existing in a period a long time ago, there was a king.

2

▹e rasgefān e rāddē-ge e tani mi tani-ge vāhakai-ge bahu-ge tafātu ballavanna vegen,◃

e	*rasgefān*	*e*	*rāddē-ge*	*e*	*tani*	*mi*	*tani-ge*	*vāhakai-ge*	*bahu-ge*	*tafātu*	*ballavanna*	*vegen*
that	king’s	that	of kingdom	that	of place	this	of place	of speaking	of language	difference	to cause to look	becoming
DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	GEN.	ATTR.	GEN. (+M!)	GEN. (M!)	GEN. (M!)	NOM.	INF.	ABS.III

This king, in order to find out the difference between the languages spoken here and there (lit. "in this place (and) that place") in his kingdom,

2a

▹mi heddevī vaḍāmakī, eśa kudu rukaki kudu kudu kaiśaʾ hifāgen goho, mīhaku lavvā maśovāfē, bāvā.◃

mi	*heddevī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*eśa*	*kudu*	*rukaki*	*kudu*	*kudu*	*kaiśak*	*hifāgen*	*goho*	*mīhaku*	*lavvā*	*maśovāfē*	*bāvā*
now	caused to be done	the way was	seed	small	of a tree	small	small	a coconut	grasping	going	a man	causing to be used	causing to polish	placing
ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	ADJ	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.INDEF.	ABS.	ABS.I	ABS.

took a very small coconut from a small-seed coconut tree and, after having a man polish it from outside, he placed it (before himself).

3

▹e kaiśi gine goho, mi eḍī vaśiakaha.◃

e	*kaiśi*	*gine*	*goho*	*mi*	*eḍī*	*vaśiakaha*
that	coconut	taking	going	now	where he put was	to a basket
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN
ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.INDEF.

After taking this coconut, he put it in a basket.

4

▹eḍāfē, e vaśi gine goho, mi bēvī aśiaʾ matte.◃

eḍāfē	*e*	*vaśi*	*gine*	*goho*	*mi*	*bēvī*	*aśiak*	*matte*
after putting	that	basket	taking	going	now	where he placed was	a table	upon
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.I	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.INDEF.	LOC.

After putting it (there), he took this basket and put it on a table.

5

▹bā hiśuvā, eki tan-tanen mīhun gine gohogen, e mīhunn-ā suālu mi kuravvanī, mī kōntaʾ tai?◃

bā	*hiśuvā*	*eki*	*tan-tanen*	*mīhun*	*gine*	*gohogen*	*e*	*mīhun*	*ā*	*suālu*	*mi*	*kuravvanī*	*mī*	*kōn*	*(et)tak*	*tai?*
hither	causing to stand	together	from place to place	people	taking	by going	those	people	with	question	now	what he caused to be made was	what this is	what	a thing	asking
ADV	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	ADV	VERB	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
LOC.	ABS.	LOC.	ABL.DISTR.PL.	NOM.PL.	ABS.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	SOC.	NOM.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

After putting it there, he collected people from various places and asked to those people the question, ‘what (a thing) is this?’

6
F

▹suālu kurevvum mā, aḍḍu-ateḷe mīhun mi beṇanī,◃

suālu	*kurevvun*	*mā*	*aḍḍū*	*ateḷe*	*mīhun*	*mi*	*beṇanī*
question	causing to make	after	Aḍḍū	atoll	people	now	what they say is
NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	TOP	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB
NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.PL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When he asked (this) question, the people from Aḍḍū atoll said:

6a
A

▸āśaki matte hiśi vāšaki etere oʾ eśa kudu rukaki maśafei oʾ kudu kaiśaki naiśaʾ.◂

āśaki	*matte*	*hiśi*	*vāšaki*	*etere*	*ot*	*eśa*	*kudu*	*rukaki*	*maśafei*	*ot*	*kudu*	*kaiśaki*	*naiśak*
of a table	upon	being	of a basket	inside	being	seed	small	of a tree	polished	being	small	of a coconut	a shell
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.INDEF.

‘(It is) a shell of a small polished coconut from a small-seed coconut tree, lying in a basket which stands upon a table.’

7
F

▹huvadū-ateḷe mīhun mi beṇanī,◃

huvadū	*ateḷe*	*mīhun*	*mi*	*beṇanī*
Huvadū	atoll	people	now	what they say is
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB
OBL.	OBL.	OBL.PL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

The people from Huvadū atoll said (lit. "say"):

7a
H

>aṭṭaku matte huṭṭi vaṭṭaku etere ote oṭā kude rukaku maṭaifai ote kauṭaku noṭṭeke.<

aṭṭaku	*matte*	*huṭṭi*	*vaṭṭaku*	*etere*	*ote*	*oṭā*	*kude*	*rukaku*	*maṭaifai*	*ote*	*kauṭaku*	*noṭṭeke*
of a table	upon	being	of a basket	inside	being	seed	small	of a tree	polished	being	of a coconut	a shell
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.INDEF.

‘(It is) a shell of a small polished coconut from a small-seed coconut tree, lying in a basket which stands upon a table.

8

F ▹den mulaka mīhun mi beṇanī,◃

den	*mulaka*	*mīhun*	*mi*	*beṇanī*
then	(of) Mulaku	people	now	what they say is
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.	OBL.PL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

The people from (Fuaʾ) Mulaku said (lit. "say"):

8a

F ▹aśieki matte hīši vaśieki etere oʾ eśa kudu rukaki maśāfē kaiśaki naiśakāi.◃

aśieki	*matte*	*hīši*	*vaśieki*	*etere*	*ot*	*eśa*	*kudu*	*rukaki*	*maśāfē*	*kaiśaki*	*naiśakāi*
of a table	upon	being	of a basket	inside	being	seed	small	of a tree	polished	of a coconut	a shell
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	ABS.I	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.INDEF.

‘(It is) a shell of a small polished coconut from a small-seed coconut tree, lying in a basket which stands upon a table.’

9

F ▹den rasgefānu mi hisābaha gendavāfē, den natījā ivvevī kal vidāḷu venī,◃

den	*rasgefānu*	*mi*	*hisābaha*	*gendavāfē*	*den*	*natījā*	*ivvevī*	*kal*	*vidāḷu*	*venī*
then	king	this	to amount	causing to be lead	then	result	causing to be heard	time	utterant	what he became was
ADV	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	ADV	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.	ATTR.	DAT.	ABS.I	TEMP.	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

After leading it up to this point, the king let (everybody) hear about the result and uttered,

9a

F ▹ti bahu-ge tafātu-ge terein timā hitaʾ emme rieti mi vī aḍḍū baha.◃

ti	*bahu-ge*	*tafātu-ge*	*terein*	*timā*	*hitaś*	*emme*	*rieti*	*mi*	*vī*	*aḍḍū*	*baha*
this	of language	of diversity	from within	self	to mind	most	beautiful	now	which has become is	Aḍḍū	language
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	ADV	ADJ	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
ATTR.	GEN. (M!)	GEN. (M!)	ABL.	OBL.	DAT.	MOD.	PRED.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.

‘Within the diversity of these language(s), the one which has appeared as the most beautiful one to my mind, is the language of Aḍḍū.’

Short stories

T8: Muḥammad Waḥīd (Maḍulu)

Fini mendamegge maḍu hūnu

"The warmth of a cool midnight"*

* The original was published in the author's collective volume *Wahīduge Kuruvahakata*ʾ, Mālе (Divehi bahāi, tārixaś xidmat kurā qaumī markazu) 1990, 36 ff.; the English translation (by ABDULLAH SAEED KOSHY) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 4, Mālе 1989, 16 ff.

1 **⟨hēlevunī hūnu vegennāʾi madirīge ʾuňdagulā hedi ʾeve.⟩**
/hēlevunī hūnu vegen-āi madirīge uňdagulā hedi eve
Awakened by annoying mosquitoes and a feeling of warmth,

2 **⟨ʾeňdugaʾi ʾiśīňdelāfaʾi fenunu huvafenuge maʾcaś visnālīmeve.⟩**
/eňdugai iśīňdelāfai fenunu huvafenuge maccaś visnālīm eve
I sat up in bed and thought about the dream I had.

3 **⟨ʾeʾves kahala hamajehē huvafenakaś nu ve ʾeve.⟩**
/ek ves kahala hamajehē huvafenakaś nu ve eve
It was nothing meaningful.

4 **⟨fenu ʾaḍīgaʾi huri koṭariʾeʾgaʾi, mīhaku hās vegen - uḷeni koś fenuneve.⟩**
/fenu aḍīgai huri koṭariekgai, mīhaku hās vegen - uḷeni koś fenun eve
A man was suffocating in an underwater room or cabin.

5 **⟨kaňḍugaʾi duvaheʾgaʾi rōlukurā uḷaňdeʾgaʾi ʾiňdevunī tī fenuneve.⟩**
/kaňḍugai duvahekgai rōlukurā uḷaňdekgai iňdevunī tī fenun eve
I too seemed to be on a vessel rolling heavily on a rough sea.

6 **⟨hitaś ʾeri ʾeve. ʾeki raśraśugaʾi jaʾsamun namaves kaňḍu matīgaʾi uḷē tā had duvas vī ʾeve.⟩**
/hitaś eri eve eki raśraśugai jassamun namaves kaňḍu matīgai uḷē tā hat duvas vī eve
It must have been from the travelling I did during the last seven days from one island to another.

7 **⟨nidunī mā ʾēge ʾasarutaʾ huvafenun ves fennanī tā ʾeve.⟩**
/nidunī mā ēge asarutak huvafenun ves fennanī tā eve
When I was sleeping, this appeared (to me again) in a dream.

8 **⟨eňdun teduvegen hus gayā hure bēraś nukumeʾjaʾīmeve.⟩**
/eňdun teduvegen hus gai-āi hure bēraś nukumejjaīm eve
I got up, and went outside. I had no shirt on.

9 **⟨ʾirākoḷu hingāfaʾi huri janarēṭaru niʾvālāfaʾi vumā ʾeku varaś aňdiri ʾeve.⟩**
/irākoḷu hingāfai huri janarēṭaru nivvālāfai vumā eku varaś aňdiri eve
Now, the generator was out. Although it was very dark

10 **⟨ʾalikameʾ net raśugaʾi, taritakun dē ʾalikan, fudē vareʾge ʾaʾyakaś ve ʾeve.⟩**
/alikamek net raśugai, taritakun dē alikan, fudē varekge ayyakaś ve eve
the starlight gave sufficient light.

11 **⟨kurimatīgaʾi huri geʾeʾge uňdōli heʾlē kan, ʾe uňdōlīge vahun kiyā tūli ʾaḍun angaʾi de ʾeve.⟩**
/kurimatīgai huri geekge uňdōli hellē kan, e uňdōlīge vahun kiā tūli aḍun angai de eve
From the opposite house I heard a swing creaking.

12 **⟨hitaś ʾeri ʾeve. mihāru mi ʾuḷenī kihā ʾireʾ vegen bāva ʾeve.⟩**
/hitaś eri eve. mihāru mi uḷenī kihā irek vegen bāva eve
Curious about the time,

13 **⟨gaḍiʾaś balālāfaʾi me, haňdān vī mi gaḍīge akurutaʾ hurī diʾlē gotaś nūn kameve.⟩**
/gaḍiaś balālāfai me, haňdān vī mi gaḍīge akurutak hurī dillē gotaś nūn kam eve
I glanced at my watch and remembered the numbers were not illuminated.

14 **⟨mīhaku gada keʾsunvareʾgaʾi keʾsaʾigenfi ʾeve.⟩**
/mīhaku gada kessunvarekgai kessaigenfi eve
Someone started coughing uncontrollably

15 ⟨**keʾsunvaru nu huʾṭigen gos nēvā hus vān ʾulē kahala ʾeve.**⟩
/kessunvaru nu huṭṭigen gos nēvā hus vān ulē kahala eve
as if he was suffocating.

16 ⟨**ʾe ʾaḍaś kan nēňge ʾeve. kuʾjaku hēlaʾigen roʾigenfi ʾeve.**⟩
/e aḍaś kam nu eňge eve. kujjaku hēlaigen roigenfi eve
Possibly awakened by the sound, a child began crying. Or, maybe the crying had wakened him.

17 ⟨**nidi ʾaḍakun ʾanhenaku, ʾūn! ʾūn! ʾūn! kiyan faśaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/nidi aḍakun anhenaku, ūn! ūn! ūn! kian faśaifi eve
A woman commenced singing softly.

18 ⟨**keʾsai ganegen ʾulunu mīhāge keʾsun huʾṭiʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/kessai ganegen ulunu mīhāge kessun huṭṭijje eve
The crying stopped. And the coughing ceased as well.

19 ⟨**ʾaskanīge daśun kurimatīgaʾi huri fāruburīge matīgaʾi ʾiśīňdelumaś hiňgaʾigenfīmeve.**⟩
/askanīge daśun kurimatīgai huri fāruburīge matīgai iśīňdelumaś hiňgaigenfīm eve
I strolled over to sit on the low wall under the eaves.

20 ⟨**hitaś ʾeri ʾeve.**⟩
/hitaś eri eve
It came to (my) mind:

21 ⟨**hādahā hamahimēneve.**⟩
/hādahā hamahimēn eve
How quiet it was.

22 ⟨**raś nidā, faʾi hilavaḷu ʾobum_ē kiyā vagutakī miʾī tā ʾeve.**⟩
/raś nidā, fai hilavaḷu obum ē kiā vagutakī miī tā eve
This must be the time they say the island sleeps and even footsteps cannot be heard.

23 ⟨**fāruburi matīgaʾi iśinnamun hitaś ʾeri ʾeve. kudinnāʾi ʾanhenun mihāru tibēnī gēgaʾi bāva ʾeve.**⟩
/fāruburi matīgai iśinnamun hitaś eri eve. kudinn-āi anhenun mihāru tibēnī gēgai bāva eve
Relaxing I thought of my wife and children at home.

24 ⟨**nūnī maʾidaʾita geʾaś hiňgaʾi dāne bāva ʾeve.**⟩
/nūnī maidaita geaś hiňgai dāne bāva eve
Or, maybe they have already moved to my mother-in-law's.

25 ⟨**mi daturaś furi ʾiru ʾaharenge diri ʾulumuge tereʾaś ʾaʾisfaʾi vanī, nu visnumāʾi got dūnu kurumuge koḷigaňḍeʾge vaieve.**⟩
/mi daturaś furi iru aharenge diri ulumuge tereaś aisfai vanī, nu visnum-āi got dūnu kurumuge koḷigaňḍekge vai eve
When I embarked on this tour, my thoughtlessness and inflexibility had aroused stormy winds in my life.

26 ⟨**mi kan vān jehunu sabanakī faʾisā ʾeve.**⟩
/mi kan vān jehunu sabanakī faisā eve
Money was the root.

27 **⟨libē ʾeʾcakun de koḷu nu jeʾsumuge sababun maḍumaḍun daranñaś taketi nagan jehumuge maʾsala ʾeve.⟩**
/libē eccakun de koḷu nu jessumuge sababun maḍumaḍun daraññaś taketi nagan jehumuge massala eve
Our income did not cover our expenses and we borrowed.

28 **⟨ʾeʾcetīge ʾagaś ʾaʾisfaʾi vā badalāʾi libē ʾeʾcakun de koḷu jeʾsēne varāʾi nu jeʾsēne varu visnā nu laʾi ʾeʾceti buneven feśumun, den nikut natīj̇āʾakī hit hama-nu-jehumeve.⟩**
/eccetīge agaś aisfai vā badalāi libē eccakun de koḷu jessēne varāi nu jessēne varu visnā-nu-lai ecceti buneven feśumun, den nikut natīj̇āakī hit hama-nu-jehum eve
Without considering higher costs and insufficient money, I reproached my wife. All sorts of nagging and unpleasantness resulted.

29 **⟨ʾeki ʾeki šakuvā ʾeve.⟩**
/eki eki šakuvā eve
[All kinds of complaints.]

30 **⟨kudinnaś aḷālumugaʾi de mīhunnaś ves faru vā kuḍa kurevunī, ʾekaku ʾanekakaś dera kurumuge niyatuga_ʾeve.⟩**
/kudinnaś aḷālumugai de mīhunnaś ves faru vā kuḍa kurevunī, ekaku anekakaś dera kurumuge niyatugai eve
Just to irritate each other, we both developed a negligent attitude towards our children.

31 **⟨ʾēge huri hā ʾuňdagulakāʾi asarutakeʾ ḥaqīqatugaʾi ufulanī kudinneve.⟩**
/ēge huri hā uňdagulak-āi asarutakek ḥaqīqatugai ufulanī kudin eve
Naturally, they faced great difficulties.

32 **⟨mi kan visnā ʾiru ves de mīhun kure ʾekaku ves maʾsala hamajeʾsumaś ʾeʾ tāňgaʾi iśīňdelaʾi vāhaka daʾkālumaś ʾisnagākaś nu keruneve.⟩**
/mi kan visnā iru ves de mīhun kure ekaku ves massala hamajessumaś ek tāňgai iśīňdelai vāhaka dakkālumaś isnagākaś nu kerun eve
Despite our awareness of this neither of us was courageous enough to sit down and come to a compromising solution.

33 **⟨ʾaharenge ʾanhenunge mizāju raňgaḷaś ʾeňge ʾeve.⟩**
/aharenge anhenunge mizāju raňgaḷaś eňge eve
I know how tough my wife can be.

34 **⟨ʾetereʾaś fuňḍufuňḍu viyas bēru fuśun ʾeʾbas vān hit nu ruhē mizājekeve.⟩**
/etereaś fuňḍufuňḍu vi-as bēru fuśun ek bas vān hit nu ruhē mizājek eve
Even if she breaks inside, she will never reveal it.

35 **⟨hitaś ʾara_ʾeve.⟩**
/hitaś arai eve
It was reflected in the affection we had for our children.

36 **⟨ʾaharen ʾaharenge kudin dekevamun ʾaʾi lōtbaś mi ʾaʾī kon badaleʾ bāva ʾeve.⟩**
/aharen aharenge kudin dekevamun ai lōbbaś mi aī kon badalek bāva eve
We were no longer as close as we once were. Their welcoming smiles and shouts decreased.

37 **⟨ʾofīhun ʾaʾis kaʾigen hamajehilā vagutukoḷugaʾi jahā sakarātāʾi kuḷē kuḷivarāʾi nagā majā mihāru vanī ʾehen baiaku kuri kamakaś vefaʾi kahala ʾeve.⟩**
/ofīhun ais kaigen hamajehilā vagutukoḷugai jahā sakarāt-āi kuḷē kuḷivarāi nagā majā mihāru vanī ehen bayaku kuri kamakaś vefai kahala eve
The games and fun we enjoyed playing after my office hours

38 ⟨**kudin ves aharennā medu dekenī mā gāt kośeˀ nūneve.** ⟩
/kudin ves aharen-āi medu dekenī mā gāt kośek nūn eve. \
seemed like someone else's.

39 ⟨**hinitun vumāˀi baˀpā ˀē kiyāfaˀi govālun maduvamun ˀaˀis ˀeˀī gēgaˀi gengulē kudinnaś veˀje ˀeve.**⟩
/hinitun vumāi bappā ē kiāfai govālun maduvamun ais eī gēgai gengulē kudinnaś vejje eve
Now, they seemed like my neighbor's children who come to play at my house.

40 ⟨**ˀaharenge muḷi ḥayātaś mi ˀaˀī kon kahala badaleˀ bāva ˀeve.**⟩
/aharenge muḷi ḥayātaś mi aī kon kahala badalek bāva eve
Why such a change in my whole life?

41 ⟨**ˀaharennaś mi vanī kīˀ bāva ˀeve.**⟩
/aharennaś mi vanī kīk bāva eve
What has happened to me?

42 ⟨**aharen mīhakā ˀinī kīˀve bāva ˀeve.**⟩
/aharen mīhakā inī kīk ve bāva eve
Why did I get married?

43 ⟨**demafiriˀegge bō harukamāˀi maṣlaḥatu netumun ˀe demafiringe kudinnaś mi kahala kekuḷuntakāˀi bē ˀinṣāfu ˀasarutakeˀ kurimati kurun ˀeˀī kon kahala hamanujehē kameˀ heyyeve.**⟩
/de-mafiriekge bō harukam-āi maṣlaḥatu netumun e de-mafiringe kudinnaś mi kahala kekuḷuntak-āi bē inṣāfu asarutakek kurimati kurun eī kon kahala hamanujehē kamek heyo eve
The injustice done to the children and the pain inflicted upon them by two stubborn people is senseless.

44 ⟨**mi hisābun hitaś vannan feśi madarusī daˀurāˀi, ˀeku ˀulunu ˀekuverinnāˀi, nagā majātakāˀi, hiňgi lōbīge mēya silsilātakeve.**⟩
/mi hisābun hitaś vannan feśi madarusī daur-āi, eku uḷunu ekuverin-āi, nagā majātak-āi, hiňgi lōbīge mēya silsilātak eve
Then I recalled my school years, the friends, the good times, and the meaningless love affairs.

45 ⟨**ˀeˀ gotakun hāda fikureˀ net majā duvasvarekeve.**⟩
/ek gotakun hāda fikurek net majā duvasvarek eve
Those were the happy and carefree days.

46 ⟨**ˀaneˀ gotakun, hāda haru danā kameˀ net uḷevunu daˀurekeve.**⟩
/anek gotakun, hāda haru danā kamek net uḷevunu daurek eve
On the other hand, they were the wasted days.

47 ⟨**ˀaharen miˀī mīhunā ˀinna mizājuge mīheˀ nūneve.**⟩
/aharen miī mīhunā inna mizājuge mīhek nūn eve
Maybe I am not the marrying kind.

48 ⟨**zinmāˀāˀi vājibutakāˀi gedoru belehetumāˀi darin boḍu kurumuge masˀūliˀyatu ˀeˀī ˀe daˀurugaˀi ves hitaś ˀerumun, fūhikan libē kantaˀtakekeve.**⟩
/zinmā-āi vājibutak-āi gedoru belehettum-āi darin boḍu kurumuge masūliyyatu eī e daurugai ves hitaś erumun, fūhikan libē kantaktakek eve
I have never liked the responsibilities of maintaining a home and rearing children.

49 ⟨**konme sababakā hedi kurevunu namaves kaʾiveni ʾenme fahun ʾaʾis nākāmiyābu mi vī ʾehen ve kan nēñge ʾeve.**⟩
/konme sababak-āi hedi kurevunu namaves kaiveni ekme fahun ais nākāmiyābu mi vī ehen ve kam nu eñge eve
Maybe that was why my marriage failed.

50 ⟨**durugaʾi huri biya nikagahun vā takeʾ ʾuduhigenfi ʾeve.**⟩
/durugai huri bia nikagahun vā takek uduhigenfi eve
The noise of bats flying out of the big banyon tree some distance away

51 ⟨**ʾe vātaʾ ʾeʾ faharāten govaʾigatumā ʾeku hamahimēn danvaruge ʾomān kan geʾliʾje kahala ʾeve.**⟩
/e vātak ek faharāten govaigatum-āi eku hamahimēn damvaruge omān kan gellijje kahala eve
shattered the midnight silence.

52 ⟨**kuʾliʾakaś berakaśṭaś mīheʾge hūnu nēvā ʾeḷē kahala hūnu kameʾ jehilaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/kulliakaś berakaṭṭaś mīhekge hūnu nēvā eḷē kahala hūnu kamek jehilaifi eve
Suddenly, I felt warmth, like a person's breath.

53 ⟨**kuḍakoś jehilun vefaʾi fahataś eměrilaʾifīmeve.**⟩
/kuḍa-koś jehilun vefai fahataś eměrilaifīm eve
Anxiously, I glanced behind me.

54 ⟨**ʾeʾves mīhaku neteve.**⟩
/ekves mīhaku net eve
Nobody was there,

55 ⟨**kurimaʾcaś mūnu ʾaměburānulā ʾuḷeni koś nubaʾi kunivaheʾge vas nēfatugaʾi jehiʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/kurimaccaś mūnu aměburā-nu-lā uḷeni koś nubai kunivahekge vas nēfatugai jehijje eve
but I smelled a foul stench.

56 ⟨**kurin ʾin gotaś ʾeměburili ʾiru, varaś kaʾirīgaʾi mīhaku huʾṭigen ʾahannā dimāʾaś balan huʾṭeve.**⟩
/kurin in gotaś eměburili iru, varaś kairīgai mīhaku huṭṭigen ahannā dimāaś balan huri eve
Turning around, I faced a man starring at me.

57 ⟨**hurihā ʾistaśitaʾ koḷaś jehiʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/hurihā istaśitak koḷaś jehijje eve
My hair raised

58 ⟨**muḷi gaʾin hībihi nagaʾi finiveʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/muḷi gain hībihi nagai finivejje eve
and goosebumps formed all over my body; I became cold,

59 ⟨**hit ʾavas vegenfi ʾeve.**⟩
/hit avas vegenfi eve
and my heart missed a beat.

60 ⟨**fāruge qāgaňḍeʾgaʾi faʾivānuge funnābu ʾanuvālaʾigen ʾin tanun neʾṭiʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/fāruge qāgaňḍekgai faivānuge funnābu anuvālaigen in tanun neṭṭijje eve
My heels slipped from their supporting stone

61 ⟨**kurimaʾcaś veʾṭen ʾuḷunu kahala ʾeve.**⟩
/kurimaccaś veṭṭen uḷunu kahala eve
and I almost fell.

62 ⟨**de ˀatun fāruburi matīgaˀi ˀat jaˀsālaˀi hamajehilaˀifīmeve.**⟩
/de atun fāruburi matīgai at jassālai hamajehilaifīm eve
I managed to balance myself with my hands.

63 ⟨**kurimatīgaˀi huri mīhā ˀaharenge namun govālaˀifi ˀeve.**⟩
/kurimatīgai huri mīhā aharenge namun govālaifi eve
Smiling the man addressed me by name.

64 ⟨**hīnlāfaˀi hūnu vanī dō ˀē ˀahālaifi ˀeve.**⟩
/hīllāfai hūnu vanī dō ē ahālaifi eve
"It is warm, isn't it?

65 ⟨**nidan tiya ˀot koṭariˀakī kurin ˀeterege huri tan_ē bunñeve.**⟩
/nidan tiya ot koṭariakī kurin eterege huri tan ē buni eve
The room you were sleeping in was the master bedroom.

66 ⟨**feňḍēaś ˀeňdu nereni koś mā fini vāne ˀē ves bunelaˀifi ˀeve.**⟩
/feňḍēaś eňdu nereni koś mā fini vāne ē ves bunelaifi eve
If you bring the bed onto the veranda, it will be cooler."

67 ⟨**kuḷu hikifaˀi vā ˀaňgaˀige terēgaˀi ˀot dū nere tunfatugaˀi kāˀtālaˀi nēvāˀeˀ lāfaˀi, tiyaˀī kāku hē ˀahālaˀifīmeve.**⟩
/kuḷu hikifai vā aňgaige terēgai ot dū nere tunfatugai kāttālai nēvāek lāfai, tiyaī kāku hē ahālaifīm eve
I moistened my lips with my tongue. Taking a deep breath, I asked who he was.

68 ⟨**ˀēnā ˀeˀceˀ bunan ˀaňga huḷuvālumā ˀeku kurīgaˀi duvi kuni vas ˀaˀis nēfatugaˀi jehiˀje ˀeve.**⟩
/ēnā eccek bunan aňga huḷuvālum-āi eku kurīgai duvi kuni vas ais nēfatugai jehijje eve
When he opened his mouth to speak, I caught a whiff of the same rotten smell.

69 ⟨**maḍumaḍu rōḷi ˀannamun diya dimāˀin, ˀe vas ˀaˀī ˀēnāge gaˀin kan nūnī ˀēnāge ˀaňgaˀin kan yaqīnā gātaś hī vi ˀeve.**⟩
/maḍumaḍu rōḷi annamun diya dimāin, e vas aī ēnāge gain kam nūnī ēnāge aňgain kam yaqīn-ā gātaś hī vi eve
From the wind direction, I was almost certain the odor came from either his mouth or his body.

70 ⟨**ˀēnā bunñeve.**⟩
/ēnā buni eve
He replied,

71 ⟨**"tiya geˀakī ˀaharenge ge.**⟩
/"tiya geakī aharenge ge
"This is my house.

72 ⟨**ˀaharenge namakī, nevi kuḍatuˀtu."**⟩
/aharenge namakī, nevi kuḍatuttu."
My name is Nevi Kudathuththu."

73 ⟨**"ˀe kamaku ˀirākoḷaku ˀahanneˀ kaleˀeˀ nu deken.**⟩
/"e kamaku irākoḷaku ahannek kaleek nu deken
"I did not see you earlier this evening.

74 ⟨**ˀaharenge nan ˀeňgunī kihineˀ?"**⟩
/aharenge nam eňgunī kihinek?"
How do you know my name?"

75
⟨**"ʾaharen mihāru mi ʾuḷenī mi geʾaku nūn.**⟩
/"aharen mihāru mi uḷenī mi geaku nūn
"I no longer live here.

76
⟨**mi raśaku ves nūn.**⟩
/mi raśaku ves nūn
Not even on this island.

77
⟨**nan ʾeňgunu gotakī, ʾaharenge gēgaʾi nidā mīhunge nan maśaś ʾeňgen jehēneʾatī."**⟩
/nam eňgunu gotakī, aharenge gēgai nidā mīhunge nam maśaś eňgen jehēneatī."
However, I learned your name because I must know who is sleeping in my house."

78
⟨**"mi raśugaʾi nūḷenñā mihā danvaru mihen ti danī kon tākaś?"**⟩
/"mi raśugai nu uḷeni-ā mihā damvaru mihen ti danī kon tākaś?"
"If you are not living here, why are you strolling around this house?"

79
⟨**"mi danī mūdaś."**⟩
/"mi danī mūdaś."
"I'm going to the sea."

80
⟨**"mihā danvaru!"**⟩
/"mihā damvaru!"
"At this hour?" I asked.

81
⟨**"kaňḍuge darinnaś, mūdaś diʾumaś ʾireʾ ʾireʾ ʾovē ta?"**⟩
/"kaňḍuge darinnaś, mūdaś diumaś irek irek ovē ta?"
"For the sons of the sea, is there any set time to go to sea?"

82
⟨**mihen bunefaʾi ʾēnā hiňgaʾigenfi ʾeve.**⟩
/mihen bunefai ēnā hiňgaigenfi eve
Asking this question, he started moving.

83
⟨**ʾaharenge hit hamajehē goteʾ nu vi ʾeve.**⟩
/aharenge hit hamajehē gotek nu vi eve
It did not please me.

84
⟨**šaʾkutakeʾ vadeʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/šakkutakek vadejje eve
Doubts seized my mind.

85
⟨**ʾēnā ʾe ʾoś danī ʾeve.**⟩
/ēnā e oś danī eve
He glided away,

86
⟨**ʾehen namaves, hiňgāfaʾeʾ nūneve.**⟩
/ehen namaves, hiňgāfaek nūn eve
albeit he was not walking

87
⟨**faʾiguḍu vā hene' hiʾeʾ nu ve ʾeve.**⟩
/faiguḍu vā henek hiek nu ve eve
with his feet on the ground.

88
⟨**ʾaňdirikamun nēňgenī kan nēňge ʾeve.**⟩
/aňdirikamun nu eňgenī kam nu eňge eve
Was it because I could not see clearly in the dark?

89
⟨nūnekeve.⟩
/nūnek eve
No!

90
⟨ʾēnāge ʾateʾ ves faʾeʾ ves ḥarakāteʾ nu kure ʾeve.⟩
/ēnāge atek ves faek ves ḥarakātek nu kure eve
His limbs were not moving!

91
⟨ʾe kamaku ʾaʾis matīgaʾi huregen sohemen dā budeʾ hen ʾe ʾoś danī ʾeve.⟩
/e kamaku ais matīgai huregen sohemen dā budek hen e oś danī eve
He glided away like a statue on ice.

92
⟨miʾī hī vā got bāva ʾeve.⟩
/mii hī vā got bāva eve
It appeared like this.

93
⟨ʾaharenge sēkukamā hedi hama ʾanna got veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/aharenge sēkukam-āi hedi hama anna got vejje eve
This must be just an illusion.

94
⟨furētaʾeʾ ʾerī kamaś hitun hī kośgen biru gannan masaʾkat kurātī ʾeve.⟩
/furētaek erī kamaś hitun hī kośgen biru gannan masakkat kurātī eve
I nearly laughed at my stupidity and the imaginary ghost I feared.

95
⟨kuʾliʾakaś kurin ves vātaʾ ʾuduhigat gahun hērigatumā ʾeku hurihā vātaʾ ʾuduhigenfi ʾeve.⟩
/kulliakaś kurin ves vātak uduhigat gahun hērigatum-āi eku hurihā vātak uduhigenfi eve
Abruptly the bats flew noisily from the banyon tree again.

96
⟨maḍumaḍun ʾivemun diya rāḷutakuge ʾaḍuge tereʾin varaś boḍu rāḷeʾ goňḍudośuge gātakuge maʾcaś muguṛāli ʾaḍu ʾivuneve.⟩
/maḍumaḍun ivemun dia rāḷutakuge aḍuge terein varaś boḍu rāḷek goňḍudośuge gātakuge maccaś muguṛāli aḍu ivun eve
Above the constant sounds of the surf washing the shores, came the boom of a big wave breaking.

97
⟨ʾeʾaś fahu, hurihā ʾaḍeʾ keňḍi hamahimēn veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/eaś fahu, hurihā aḍek keňḍi hamahimēn vejje eve
Then all was still and quiet.

98
⟨ʾeʾves ʾaḍeʾ netī ʾeve.⟩
/ekves aḍek netī eve
There was not one sound even.

99
⟨maḍumaḍun ʾe ʾivenī mīhaku rō ʾaḍeve.⟩
/maḍumaḍun e ivenī mīhaku rō aḍu eve
I heard a man's faint, weak cry,

100
⟨balikaśi gotakaśeve.⟩
/balikaśi gotakaś eve

101
⟨kukurā hen ves hī ve ʾeve.⟩
/kukurā hen ves hī ve eve
sounding more like a whimper.

102 ⟨**raňgaḷaś visnāli ʾiru ʾe ʾaḍu ʾe ʾannanī keʾsā mīhāge ʾaḍu ʾaʾi ge ʾā dimāʾinneve.**⟩
/raňgaḷaś visnāli iru e aḍu e annanī kessā mīhāge aḍu ai ge ā dimāìn eve
Finally, I placed it as coming from the coughing man's house.

103 ⟨**gētereʾaś vanna hit veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/ge-etereaś vanna hit vejje eve
Wanting to go inside the house where I was sleeping

104 ⟨**ʾe kamaku faʾigaʾi vareʾ ves neteve.**⟩
/e kamaku faigai varek ves net eve
I tried standing up, but my legs were too weak to support me.

105 ⟨**teduvan vī ʾeve.**⟩
/teduvan vī eve
I had to get up

106 ⟨**nu ves teduvevuneve.**⟩
/nu ves teduvevunu eve
but I could not get up.

107 ⟨**fahatun ʾateʾ koňḍugaʾi bāʾvalaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/fahatun atek koňḍugai bāvvalaifi eve
A hand tapped my shoulder from behind.

108 ⟨**haḷēʾ lavaʾigenfaʾi fāruburi matin fuʾmālevīʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/haḷēk lavaigenfai fāruburi matin fummālevijje eve
With a shout I sprang off the wall.

109 ⟨**"sābas, ʾe kamaku tiyahā jehilun kuḍa mīhaku ta, ti ʾinnanī mihā ʾaňdiri reʾaku, danvaru nukume bēruga?"**⟩
/"sābas, e kamaku tiyahā jehilun kuḍa mīhaku ta, ti innanī mihā aňdiri reaku, damvaru nukume bērugai?"
"Hah! How courageous a man, to sit outside in such a dark night at such a late hour!"

110 ⟨**hit teḷē leʾ bārukamunnā nēvā ʾavas vefaʾi vā leʾ boḍukamun de faharaku gudu ve haśi furā nēvāʾeʾ lāfaʾi huʾṭamun kahala gotakaś bunīmeve.**⟩
/hit teḷē lek bārukamun-āi nēvā avas vefai vā lek boḍukamun de faharaku gudu ve haśi furā nēvāek lāfai huṭṭamun kahala gotakaś bunīm eve
My racing heart left me almost breathless. I bent over two or three times, and inhaled deeply. After a pause, I protested,

111 ⟨**"ʾe kamaku vā šakībaś sābas. muḷin sihiʾje.**⟩
/e kamaku vā šakībaś sābas. muḷin sihijje
"But, Shakeeb, you really startled me.

112 ⟨**ʾaharen mi ʾinī .."**⟩
/aharen mi inī .
I was here..."

113 ⟨**"tiya ʾinī kon fikureʾgaʾi kan maśaś ʾeňge ʾē.**⟩
/tiya inī kon fikurekgai kam maśaś eňge ē
"I know what you're thinking.

114 ⟨**ʾehen vī mā tā fahatun mīhaku hiňgāfaʾi ʾaʾi kan ves nēňgunī.**⟩
/ehen vī mā tā fahatun mīhaku hiňgāfai ai kam ves nu eňgunī
Wasn't it because you were so deeply absorbed that you didn't realise someone was behind you?

115 ⟨**ʾeʾī boḍu fikuru."**⟩
/eī boḍu fikuru
That indeed is 'deep thought'."

116 ⟨**"nūn_ē. ʾaharenge koňḍugaʾi ʾat li ʾiru ʾaharen ʾinī kī tiya buyā fikuraku nūn."**⟩
/nūn ē. aharenge koňḍugai at li iru aharen inī kī tia buyā fikuraku nūn
"When you tapped me, I was not thinking about 'it'."

117 ⟨**"den kon fikureʾ ta?"**⟩
/den kon fikurek ta?
"Then, what else is there?

118 ⟨**hus haśi baʾi vī mā hadāne goteʾge fikuruga ta?"**⟩
/hus haśi bai vī mā hadāne gotekge fikurugai ta?
Are you planning something since you are single again?"

119 ⟨**"nūn_e!**⟩
/nūn e!
"No!

120 ⟨**ʾeheneʾ ves nūn.**⟩
/ehenek ves nūn
Not even that.

121 ⟨**mihāru haňdān kuran ʾule ʾule haňdāneʾ ves nu vi.**⟩
/mihāru haňdān kuran uḷe uḷe haňdānek ves nu vi
I can't remember, now.

122 ⟨**hiňgā gētereʾaś.**⟩
/hiňgā ge-etereaś
Let's go in.

123 ⟨**kīʾ ta vī, hēlaʾigen diya nukutī?"**⟩
/kīk ta vī, hēlaigen dia nukutī?
What woke you up and brought you out?"

124 ⟨**"magu hiňgākaś nūn.**⟩
/magu hiňgākaś nūn
"It was not to go out for walking."

125 ⟨**nidāfaʾi ʾoʾvā nēfatugaʾi jehunu gada kuni vahakun funmaʾigen teduvevunī.**⟩
/nidāfai ovvā nēfatugai jehunu gada kuni vahakun fummaigen teduvevunī
"A rotten smell woke me up.

126 ⟨**hama tedeʾ. kiriyā hoḍu nu levunī.**⟩
/hama tedek. kiriā hoḍu nu levunī
I nearly vomited.

127 ⟨**hī vanī kuni gabureʾge kaʾirīgaʾi nidan ʾovevunu hen.**⟩
/hī vanī kuni gaburekge kairīgai nidan ovevunu hen
It was like I was sleeping beside a decaying body.

128 ⟨**bulaleˀ ge matīgaˀi kuni vanī kan neňge.**⟩
/buḷalek ge matīgai kuni vanī kam nu eňge
Maybe a dead cat is decomposing on top of the ceiling."

129 ⟨**ˀe hisābaś bunevunu ˀiru, gētereˀaś vadeviˀje ˀeve.**⟩
/e hisābaś bunevunu iru, ge-etereaś vadevijje eve
By this time we were inside the house,

130 ⟨**ˀeˀves kahala kuni vaheˀ neteve.**⟩
/ekves kahala kuni vahek net eve
but there was no such smell.

131 ⟨**šakību ves de faharaku nēfat damāli ˀeve.**⟩
/šakību ves de faharaku nēfat damāli eve
Shakeeb even sniffed two or three times.

132 ⟨**ˀiturakaś kuni buḷaluge vāhakaˀeˀ nu dakka ˀeve.**⟩
/iturakaś kuni buḷaluge vāhakaek nu dakkā eve
We didn't talk about the dead cat any more.

133 ⟨**de mīhun de ˀeňdugaˀi ˀośōve mādamāge daturu rēvifaˀi vā gotun masaˀkat buravāne tā ˀē kiyaˀigen daturuge vāhaka feśīmeve.**⟩
/de mīhun de eňdugai ośōve mādamāge daturu rēvifai vā gotun masakkat buravāne tā ē kiaigen daturuge vāhaka feśīm eve
Lying down on the camp cots, we started discussing tomorrow's busy schedule.

134 ⟨**mā gina ˀirutakeˀ nu ve, šakībuge ˁomān guguriige maḍumaḍu ˀaḍu ˀaˀis kanfatugaˀi jehiˀje ˀeve.**⟩
/mā gina irutakek nu ve, šakībuge ˁomān guguriige maḍumaḍu aḍu ais kanfatugai jehijje eve
Soon the sound of Shakeeb's soft snoring came to my ears.

135 ⟨**ˀaharen ves nidā tō ˀeˀ farātakaś ˀeňburilaˀifīmeve.**⟩
/aharen ves nidā tō ek farātakaś eňburilaifīm eve
Rolling from one side to the other, I tried to sleep too.

136 ⟨**ˀe kamaku vakikameˀ kan kaňḍa ˀaḷā neňgē konme ves kamakā fikuru kuran feśiˀje ˀeve.**⟩
/e kamaku vakikamek kam kaňḍa aḷā nu eňgē konme ves kamak-āi fikuru kuran feśijje eve
My mind was strangely troubled with disordered thoughts,

137 ⟨**fikuru kurevē tō mi ˀuḷenī kon kamakā kan visnan visnan ˀoˀvā, vī goteˀ neňguneve.**⟩
/fikuru kurevē tō mi uḷenī kon kamak-āi kam visnan visnan ovvā, vī gotek nu eňgunu eve
eluding my grasp until I slowly slipped into sleep.

138 ⟨**heňdunu saˀige mēzu kaˀirī tiˀbā, ˀahannā šakībā dimāˀaś ˀatoḷuverin ˀišārāt koślaˀvāfaˀi mi tiˀbevi de bēfulun rē uḷuˀvi taneˀ hōdan ˀuḷe ˀuḷe ves neňgun_ē bunuˀvi ˀeve.**⟩
/heňdunu saige mēzu kairī tibi-āi, ahann-āi šakīb-āi dimāaś atoḷuverin išārāt koślavvāfai mi tibbevi de bēfulun rē uḷḷuvvi tanek hōdan uḷe uḷe ves nu eňgunu ē bunuvvi eve
While Shakeeb and I were breakfasting with the Atoll Chief, he gestured towards us and said to everyone, "Somebody told me they could not find these two gentlemen last night."

139 ⟨**ehen mīhaku bunñeve.**⟩
/ehen mīhaku buni eve
Another man said,

140 ⟨"ʾe de bēfuḷun muśimahā duru vī."⟩
/e de bēfuḷun muśimah-āī duru vī
"They went mackerel fishing."

141 ⟨**"hus buḷīge ganna ʾatiriʾaś ta?"**⟩
/hus buḷīge ganna atiriaś ta?
"Did they go to the spot where they could catch them without bait?"

142 ⟨**"nūn_ē, buḷiʾaś senṭ jahāfa ʾeʾlīma ganna dimāʾaś."**⟩
/nūn ē, buḷiaś senṭ jahāfa ellīma ganna dimāaś
"No. They went where they can catch it with perfumed hooks."

143 ⟨**ʾenmen hiňgenfi ʾeve.**⟩
/ekmen hiňgenfi eve
Everyone laughed at this.

144 ⟨**ʾaḍu baḍu maḍu valumun ʾatoḷuverinnaś javābu deʾvā gotaś katību bunuʾvi ʾeve.**⟩
/aḍu baḍu maḍu valumun atoḷuverinnaś javābu devvā gotaś katību bunuvvi eve
As the snickering subsided, the island chief remarked,

145 ⟨**"ʾe de bēfuḷun ʾavahāra leʾpevī nevi kuḍatuʾtu gē ga." ʾehen mīhaku bunñeve.**⟩
/e de bēfuḷun avahāra leppevī nevi kuḍatuttu gē ga. ehen mīhaku buni eve
"Somebody claimed they slept in Nevi Kudathuththu's house."

146 ⟨**"ʾe de bēfuḷun bēnunfuḷu vī gina duvahu faḷaś huri geʾeʾgaʾi tiʾbavan."**⟩
/e de bēfuḷun bēnunfuḷu vī gina duvahu faḷaś huri geekgai tibbavan
"They wanted a place deserted for a long time."

147 ⟨**"ʾeʾī kīʾ vegen bā?"**⟩
/eī kīk vegen bā?
"What could be the reason?"

148 ⟨**"ʾeʾī guguri danmavā leʾ ʾaḍu gadakamun fārеʾ veʾtun_as ʾehen mīhakaś kameʾ nu vānī ʾērun kamaś vāṭu.**⟩
/eī guguri dammavā lek aḍu gadakamun fārek vettunu-as ehen mīhakaś kamek nu vānī ērun kamaś vāṭu
"The reason is that even if a wall breaks because of the loud snoring no one else would get hurt."

149 ⟨**ʾaneʾkā ves hini gaňḍekeve.**⟩
/anekkā ves hini gaňḍek eve
Again another roar.

150 ⟨**nevi kuḍatuʾtuge namāʾi, faḷu gēge vāhakaʾige ʾaḍu ʾivumun saʾi mēzuge ʾaňga majaluge tereʾaś vanna hit keňḍiʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/nevi kuḍatuttuge nam-āī, faḷu gēge vāhakaige aḍu ivumun sai mēzuge aňga majaluge tereaś vanna hit keňḍijje eve
Hearing Nevi Kudathuththu's name and the deserted house mentioned, I withdrew from the small talk around the table

151 ⟨**maḍumaḍun ʾiňdevē got veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/maḍumaḍun iňdevē got vejje eve
and became quiet.

152 ⟨**saʾin nimigen ʾenmen bēraś nukutumā ʾeku katību dabas gennan tō suvālu kośli ʾeve.**⟩
/sain nimigen ekmen bēraś nukutum-āi eku katību dabas gennan tō suvālu kośli eve.⟩
After breakfast, we all left the house. The island chief asked whether to fetch my bag or not.

153 ⟨**ʾaharen nan gatīmeve.**⟩
/aharen nam gatīm eve
I was addressed,

154 ⟨**ʾeʾaś ʾaḷan huri ʾeʾceti ves hunnāne ʾeve.**⟩
/eaś aḷan huri ecceti ves hunnāne eve
"It's almost packed.

155 ⟨**"dabas balā hingavā."**⟩
/dabas balā hingavā
I'll go with you to get it," I told him thankfully.

156 ⟨**de mīhun ʾekugaʾi hiňgaʾigenfaʾi katību kuren ʾahālīmeve.**⟩
/de mīhun ekugai hiňgaigenfai katību kuren ahālīm eve
As I walked with Katheeb, I asked,

157 ⟨**"nevi kuḍatuʾtuge ge faḷaś lāfaʾi ʾēnā mi ʾuḷenī kontāku tō?"**⟩
/nevi kuḍatuttuge ge faḷaś lāfai ēnā mi uḷenī kontāku tō?
"Where is Nevi Kudathuththu living since he left his house deserted?"

158 ⟨**"ʾas tā, ʾeňgi nu laʾvā tō?**⟩
/as tā, eňgi nu lavvā tō?
"Oh, you didn't know?

159 ⟨**ʾēnā geʾlunu fahun bāra ʾaharaś vure gina duvas veʾje."**⟩
/ēnā gellunu fahun bāra aharaś vure gina duvas vejje."
It's been 12 years since he was lost."

160 ⟨**"geʾlunī ʾē."**⟩
/gellunī ē
"Lost!"

161 ⟨**"laʾba! ʾeʾkala ... ʾeʾkala ... kon bōṭeʾ tō ʾeʾī?"**⟩
/labba! ekkala ... ekkala ... kon bōṭek tō eī?
"Yes! That... that... which ship was it?"

162 ⟨**"kon bōṭeʾ?"**⟩
/kon bōṭek?
"Which ship?" I asked.

163 ⟨**"viʾsakaś divehinnā ʾeku geʾlifaʾi veʾje nūn tō bōteʾ?"**⟩
/vissakaś divehin-āi eku gellifai vejje nūn tō bōtek?
"There was one ship lost with 20 or so Maldivians?"

164 ⟨**ʾe bōṭugaʾi ta ʾe kuḍatuʾtu vī?"**⟩
/e bōṭugai ta e kuḍatuttu vī?
"Was Kudathuththu on that ship?"

165 ⟨**"laʾba! ʾēnāʾakī ʾēge nevin.**⟩
/labba! ēnāakī ēge nevin
"Yes. He was the ship's captain.

166 **⟨ʾeī hāda moḷu mālimīʾek_ē ʾiňgē tō."⟩**
/eī hāda moḷu mālimīek ē iňgē tō
He was a great navigator."

167 **⟨"ʾehen ta."⟩**
/ehen ta
"Is it?"

168 **⟨ʾe hisābun ʾaharen katību kuren ʾituru suvālutakeʾ kurāne bēnumeʾ ʾot kamakaś nu fenuneve.⟩**
/e hisābun aharen katību kuren ituru suvālutakek kurāne bēnumek ot kamakaś nu fenun eve
From then on, I saw no need to ask further questions.

169 **⟨mīhaku biru gannavālumaś rēgaʾi rēvi rēvumāʾi, ʾamiʾlaʾaś hedunu moya hitaś ʾaraʾi nafusu deke ladugateve.⟩**
/mīhaku biru gannavālumaś rēgai rēvi rēvum-āi, amillaaś heňdunu moya hitaś arai nafusu deke ladugat eve
I felt ashamed at reacting to someone's attempts to frighten me.

170 **⟨timāʾaś visnālumuge furuṣatu nu libē konme daňḍi vaḷeʾgaʾi ʾehen mīhun ʾēge furuṣatu naga ʾeve.⟩**
/timāaś visnālumuge furuṣatu nu libē konme daňḍi vaḷekgai ehen mīhun ēge furuṣatu nagā eve
Others take advantage of a situation when one cannot think straight.

171 **⟨visnumuge dāʾirā vaki gotakaś fālu ʾeḷiʾje nama timā bumareʾ hen ʾaměburālaʾi ʾe mīhun duraś gos tibe henī ʾeve.⟩**
/visnumuge dāirā vaki gotakaś fālu eḷijje nama timā bumarek hen aměburālai e mīhun duraś gos tibe henī eve
Then, they spin a man like a top and back off laughing.

172 **⟨mīge fahun mi kahala laňḍeʾ duvahaku ves libunaka nu dēnamē hitun ʿazum kaňḍa ʾelīmeve.⟩**
/mīge fahun mi kahala laňḍek duvahaku ves libunaka nu dēnamē hitun ʿazum kaňḍa eḷīm eve
I pledged to myself that this would never happen to me again.

173 **⟨ʾamiʾla heʾvā kamuge maʾcaś ʾetere haśin ruḷi ves ʾa ʾeve.⟩**
/amilla hevvā kamuge maccaś etere haśin ruḷi ves ā eve
My stupidity irritated me.

174 **⟨mi ruḷīge terēgaʾi dabahaś hurihā ʾeʾceʾ ʾaḷaʾi zip bandu koślaʾi dabas bahaʾṭāfaʾi huri koḷu filā goňḍi matin dabas ʾufulālīmeve.⟩**
/mi ruḷīge terēgai dabahaś hurihā eccek aḷai zip bandu koślai dabas bahaṭṭāfai huri koḷu filā goňḍi matin dabas ufulālīm eve
Still angry, I dumped the rest of my things into my bag and closed it.

175 **⟨ʾe vagutu dabahuge daśugaʾi ʾot ʾeʾceʾ bimaś veʾṭiʾje ʾeve.⟩**
/e vagutu dabahuge daśugai ot eccek bimaś veṭṭijje eve
When I lifted it from the bench where it was placed, something underneath the bag fell on the floor.

176 **⟨guduve negi ʾiru ʾeʾī biʾlūri gaňḍu teḷi gosfaʾi vā giʾugaňḍakā ʾeku ʾot foṭōʾekeve.⟩**
/guduve negi iru eī billūri gaňḍu teḷi gosfai vā giugaňḍak-āi eku ot foṭōek eve
It was a framed portrait with the glass broken.

177 **⟨foṭōgaʾi hurī ʾenme mīhekeve, firihenekeve.⟩**
/foṭōgai hurī ekme mīhek eve, firihenek eve
A man's picture.

178 ⟨**kitan me ˀañdiri reˀeˀgaˀi fenunu namaves mi foṭōgaˀi mi vā mīhā ˀahannaś vanī fenifa ˀeve.**⟩
/kitan me añdiri reekgai fenunu namaves mi foṭōgai mi vā mīhā ahannaś vanī fenifai eve
Even though the night was dark, I had seen that man.

179 ⟨**vāhaka ves vanī daˀkāfa ˀeve.**⟩
/vāhaka ves vanī dakkāfai eve
And, I had talked to him.

180 ⟨**mā durakun nūneve.**⟩
/mā durakun nūn eve
Not from a distance,

181 ⟨**sifaˀāˀi ˀis kośláˀi mūnuge baṭ̈tan ˀeñgē hā kaˀirinneve.**⟩
/sifaāi is koślái mūnuge baṭ̈tan eñgē hā kairin eve
but from a place where I could clearly distinguish his shape, height, and even facial features.

182 ⟨**katību bunuˀvi ˀeve.**⟩
/katību bunuvvi eve
Katheeb said,

183 ⟨**"miˀī ˀēnā ˀenme fahun raśaś ˀaˀi iru, genaˀi foṭōˀeˀ.**⟩
/miī ēnā ekme fahun raśaś ai iru, genai foṭōek
"He brought this picture the last time he came.

184 ⟨**mihāru hirafus burā haḍi vefaˀi ˀot_as ˀēnāˀakī varugada bēkaleˀ kan miˀin ves daˀkaˀi deˀeˀ nūn tō."**⟩
/mihāru hirafus burā haḍi vefai ot as ēnāakī varugada bēkalek kam miin ves dakkai deek nūn tō
Even though it’s dusty and old, you can still see he had strong features, can’t you?"

185 ⟨**ˀahannaś bunevunī ˀenme lafuzekeve.**⟩
/ahannaś bunevunī ekme lafuzek eve
I could only reply with one word,

186 ⟨**ˀeˀī, "laˀba" ˀeve.**⟩
/eī, labba eve
"Yes!"

T9: Ḥabībā Ḥussain Ḥabīb

Nimun

"The end"*

* The original was published in *Fattūra*, vol. 82, Māle 1985, 43-45; the English translation (by ABDULLAH SAEED KOSHY) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 3, Māle 1988, 26 ff.

1 ⟨**divehi rāʾjēge ʾaḍuge ʿimārāt ʾotī varaś kulagada gotakaś diʾlā ʾalāfa ʾeve.**⟩
/divehi rājjēge aḍuge ʿimārāt otī varaś kulagada gotakaś dillā aḷāfai eve
The Voice of Maldives building was brightly lit,

2 ⟨**kuḷakuḷaʾige ʾalitakun zīnatteri kośfa ʾeve.**⟩
/kuḷakuḷaige alitakun zīnatteri kośfai eve
adorned by many kinds of coloured bulbs.

3 ⟨**baʾeʾ faharu mi zīnatterikamaś ʾituru cālūkamakā jāhu genesdenī muḷi ʿimārātaś ʾaraʾigen dā ratkula ʾeve.**⟩
/baek faharu mi zīnatterikamaś ituru cālūkamak-āi jāhu genesdenī muḷi ʿimārātaś araigen dā ratkula eve
The decorations were further embellished by the red light oscillating across the entire building.

4 ⟨**šarīfu ʾēnāge geʾin nukume maḍumaḍun hiňgamun ʾe ʾannanī mi dimāʾaśeve.**⟩
/šarīfu ēnāge gein nukume maḍumaḍun hiňgamun e annanī mi dimāaś eve
Shareef walked slowly towards this site

5 ⟨**miʾī ʾēnāge konme reʾeʾge prōgrameve.**⟩
/miī ēnāge konme reekge prōgram eve
— this was his every night program,

6 ⟨**ādēheve!**⟩
/ādēs eve!
alas! —

7 ⟨**rēgaňḍuge keʾumaś fahu hiňgālumeʾ bēʾvumeve.**⟩
/rēgaňḍuge keumaś fahu hiňgālumek bēvvum eve
on his nightly after dinner stroll.

8 ⟨**hiňgālan mi dimāʾaś ʾaʾumeve.**⟩
/hiňgālan mi dimāaś aum eve
And, walking, to get in this direction.

9 ⟨**miʾī vētuve diya fas ʾaharuʾsure medu keňḍumeʾ neti ʾēnā kuramun ʾaʾi kasratekeve.**⟩
/miī vētuve dia fas ahar-ussure medu keňḍumek neti ēnā kuramun ai kasratek eve
He had done this for the past five years for exercise.

10 ⟨**mi rē mi hisābaś ʾaʾumun ʾadi kurimatin vidābabuḷā bokitaʾ fenumun reyakī divehi rāʾjēge ʾaḍaś fanara ʾaharu furē rē kan haňdānaś ʾa ʾeve.**⟩
/mi rē mi hisābaś aumun adi kurimatin vidābabuḷā bokitak fenumun reakī divehi rājjēge aḍaś fanara aharu furē rē kam haňdānaś ai eve
On seeing the decorative lights, he remembered that this was Voice of Maldives' fifteenth anniversary.

11 ⟨**hama ʾehenme duvahuge ʾavadi neti uḷumugaʾi haňdānun kaʾsāli daʿuvatu kāḍā medu ves ʾēnāge xiyālu ʾeňburigateve. ʾe ʾonānī ʾofīhuge mēzu matīga ʾeve.**⟩
/hama ehen-me duvahuge avadi neti uḷumugai haňdānun kassāli dauvatu kāḍā medu ves ēnāge xiyālu eňburigat eve. e onānī ofīhuge mēzu matīgai eve
Somewhere on his office desk lay an invitation card forgotten during his busy day.

12 ⟨**šarīfu kuriyaś hiňgamun diya ʾeve.**⟩
/šarīfu kuriyaś hiňgamun dia eve
Shareef continued on,

13 ⟨**fenna kulagada muʾsaňdi manzaru balamunneve.**⟩
/fenna kulagada mussaňdi manzaru balamun eve
observing the colorful scenery.

14 ⟨**namaves ʾēnāge hamajehifaʾi vā hitaś libunī kuʾli sihumekeve.**⟩
/namaves ēnāge hamajehifai vā hitaś libunī kulli sihumek eve
Suddenly, he was shocked

15 ⟨**hama varaś kuʾliʾakaśeve.**⟩
/hama varaś kulliakaś eve
— all of a sudden —

16 ⟨**mi kahala cālū manzareʾge tereʾin fennāne kamaś hī ves nu kurā kahala sūraʾeʾ fenumunneve.**⟩
/mi kahala cālū manzarekge terein fennāne kamaś hī ves nu kurā kahala sūraek fenumun eve
by seeing an unexpected figure emerge from the splendid tableau.

17 ⟨**ʾanheneʾ kan hitaś genuvā sūraʾekeve.**⟩
/anhenek kam hitaś genuvā sūraek eve
The form seemed like a female.

18 ⟨**šaʾkaś vure yaqīn kamā ʾēnāge xiyālu kaʾiri kośli ʾeve.**⟩
/šakkaś vure yaqīn kam-āi ēnāge xiyālu kairi kośli eve
His uncertainty was dispelled

19 ⟨**ʾe ʾiru himatoḷi ʾanheneʾge sūra sīdā ʾēnāʾā dimāʾaś ʾāde ʾeve.**⟩
/e iru himatoḷi anhenekge sūra sīdā ēnā-āi dimāaś āde eve
as he made out the shape of a slim woman coming directly towards him.

20 ⟨**ʾannanī ʾeʾlemun ʾanna gotakaśeve.**⟩
/annanī ellemun anna gotakaś eve
and going zigzagging along the street.

21 ⟨**baʾeʾ faharu kāli ʾaḷamun ʾanna hen hī ve ʾeve.**⟩
/baek faharu kāli aḷamun anna hen hī ve eve

22 ⟨**šarīfuge samālukan mihāru huʾṭifaʾi ʾe vanī hama ʾekani kurimatin ʾe ʾanna ʾanheneʾge sūraʾāʾi sifaʾige maʾcaśeve.**⟩
/šarīfuge samālukam mihāru huṭṭifai e vanī hama ekani kurimatin e anna anhenekge sūra-āi sifaige maccaś eve

23 ⟨**hiňgamun ʾanna gotuge maʾcaśeve.**⟩
/hiňgamun anna gotuge maccaś eve

24 ⟨**fahatugaʾi divehi rāʾjēge ʾaḍuge kulagada bokitakāʾi ni vi diʾlē ran rihi ʾadi nūkulaʾige ʾali fas farudā ʾeʾhen fene ʾeve.**⟩
/fahatugai divehi rājjēge aḍuge kulagada bokitak-āi ni vi dillē ran rihi adi nūkulaige ali fas farudā ekhen fenē eve

25 ⟨**namaves šarīfuge lolakaś ʾe kulagada farudā, ʾeʾves ʾasareʾ nu kuruva ʾeve.**⟩
/namaves šarīfuge lolakaś e kulagada farudā, ekves asarek nu kuruvā eve
No longer aware of the brilliant panorama in the background,

26 **⟨ʾēnāge ḥaʾirān vefaʾi vā sikuḍīge hurihā samālukameʾ vanī kaʾiri vamun ʾanna ʾanhen sūraʾige maʾcaśeve.⟩**
/ēnāge ḥairān vefai vā sikuḍīge hurihā samālukamek vanī kairi vamun anna anhen sūraige maccaś eve
he focussed on the advancing person.

27 **⟨šarīfuge varaś kaʾiriyaś ʾaʾisfaʾi ʾe mīhāge hiňgun huʾṭiʾje ʾeve.⟩**
/šarīfuge varaś kairiaś aisfai e mīhāge hiňgun huṭṭijje eve
She stopped very close to Shareef,

28 **⟨ʾeʾī hasfas netifaʾi ʾadi ṣiʾḥatu geʾlifaʾi ʾistaśitaʾ hēvifaʾi huri medu ʿumureʾge ʾanhenekeve.⟩**
/eī hasfas netifai adi ṣiḥḥatu gellifai istaśitak hēvifai huri medu ʿumurekge anhenek eve
a weak, middle-aged women, with unkempt hair.

29 **⟨"ʾa .... ʾa .... ʾaharenge darifuḷu duśin ta?"⟩**
/a .... a .... aharenge darifuḷu duśin ta?
"H... h... have you seen my child?"

30 **⟨turuturu ʾaḷaʾaḷā huri zīla ʾaḍeʾ šarīfuge kanfatugaʾi jehuneve.⟩**
/turuturu aḷaaḷā huri zīla aḍek šarīfuge kanfatugai jehunu eve
Shareef heard a stuttering piercing voice.

31 **⟨ʾanheneʾge ʾaḍugaʾi hunna ʾomān, ʾadi maḍuma ʾitiri ʾadi kanfataś ʾarā medu ni vi goteʾ ʾe ʾaḍaku neteve.⟩**
/anhenekge aḍugai hunna omān, adi maḍuma itiri adi kanfataś arā medu ni vi gotek e aḍaku net eve
That voice was devoid of a woman's usually smooth, soft, pleasing tones.

32 **⟨"bu .... bunē .... bunebala!"⟩**
/bu .... bunē .... bunebala!
"T... t... tell me!"

33 **⟨ʾanhenmīhā šarīfā varaś kaʾiriyaś jehilāfā bāraś bunefi ʾeve.⟩**
/anhenmīhā šarīf-āi varaś kairiaś jehilāfā bāraś bunefi eve
She drew near, demanding loudly.

34 **⟨šarīfaś libifaʾi vā ḥaʾirānkamakā ʾadi ʾe vagutu ʾēnāʾaś hadan vī goteʾ nēňgumuge hās kamugaʾi ʾēnāʾaś sikuntutaʾ miniṭṭakaś badalu vegen diya ʾiru ves hurevunī ʾeve.⟩**
/šarīfaś libifai vā ḥairānkamak-āi adi e vagutu ēnāaś hadan vī gotek nu eňgumuge hās kamugai ēnāaś sikuntutak miniṭṭakaś badalu vegen dia iru ves hurevunī eve
Unable to speak, engrossed in the trembling woman before him, Shareef remained silent as seconds lengthened into minutes.

35 **⟨ʾaňgaʾin nu bune hurevunī ʾeve.⟩**
/aňgain nu bune hurevunī eve

36 **⟨kurimatīgaʾi hūrevi hūrevi huri ʾanhenmīhāge nikameti ḥālāʾi ʾadi ʾe mīhāge loluga'i vā biruge tereʾaś geʾlifaʾi hurevunī ʾeve.⟩**
/kurimatīgai hūrevi hūrevi huri anhenmīhāge nikameti ḥālāi adi e mīhāge lolugai vā biruge tereaś gellifai hurevunī eve
Her eyes reflected horror and something which Shareef could not name.

37 **⟨miʾī ves manmaʾeʾge sūra ʾeve.⟩**
/mii ves mammaekge sūra eve
She was a mother.

38 **⟨geʾlunu darifuḷeʾ hōdā manmaʾekeve.⟩**
/gellunu darifuḷek hōdā mammaek eve
And a mother, anxious for a lost child, never gives up hope.

39 **⟨ʾe badu naṣību manmaʾige karuna hikifaʾi huri loluge digaśā hurahaś liyevifaʾi, ʾadi kurehifaʾi, ʾe vanī duvahaku ves šarīfu nu dekē fada māyūs kamekeve.⟩**
/e badu naṣību mammaige karuna hikifai huri loluge digaśā hurahaś lievifai, adi kurehifai, e vanī duvahaku ves šarīfu nu dekē fada māyūs kamek eve
Certainly Shareef had never before seen the sorrow embedded in this unfortunate mother's dried tears.

40 **⟨bireve. hitāma ʾeve.⟩**
/biru eve. hitāma eve

41 **⟨ʾadi varaś kuḍa ʾuʾmīdeʾge nivemun dā faňḍu ʾalikoḷeʾ ves me ʾeve.⟩**
/adi varaś kuḍa ummīdekge nivemun dā faňḍu alikoḷek ves me eve
Yet, he also saw a fleeting glimmer of hope.

42 **⟨ʾirukoḷeʾ fahun šarīfaś ʾiḥsās kurevunī ʾēnāge kurimatīgaʾi huri ʾanhenmīhāge samālukan ʾēnāge mūnun neʾṭiʾje kameve.⟩**
/irukoḷek fahun šarīfaś iḥsās kurevunī ēnāge kurimatīgai huri anhenmīhāge samālukan ēnāge mūnun nettijje kam eve
After a while, Shareef noticed the woman's gaze was not on him,

43 **⟨šarīfuge furagahun fenna manzaraś ʾe samālukan hiňgaʾje kameve.⟩**
/šarīfuge furagahun fenna manzaraś e samālukan hiňgajje kam eve
but directed behind him.

44 **⟨hama ʾe ʾiḥsāsā ʾeku ʾēnāʾaś ʾivunī ʾaḍufaśgaňḍekeve.⟩**
/hama e iḥsās-āi eku ēnāaś ivunī aḍufaśgaňḍek eve
At that moment, he heard a loud noise.

45 **⟨šarīfu ʾeňberigateve.⟩**
/šarīfu eňberigat eve
Spinning around,

46 **⟨kuʾliʾakaś ʾēnāge kaḷi gos huʾṭunī kurimatīgaʾi ʾeʾ vefaʾi vā baʾeʾge maʾcaśeve.⟩**
/kulliakaś ēnāge kaḷi gos huṭṭunī kurimatīgai ek vefai vā baekge maccaś eve
he saw a strange sight. An excited crowd was gathering around something.

47 **⟨kuʾliʾakaś šarīfu kaʾirīgaʾi huri ʾanhenmīhā ʾe dimāʾaś duʾvaʾigateve.⟩**
/kulliakaś šarīfu kairīgai huri anhenmīhā e dimāaś duvvaigat eve
The woman left Shareef and ran towards them.

48 **⟨šarīfu ves haru koś ʾe dimāʾaś hiňgaʾigateve.⟩**
/šarīfu ves haru koś e dimāaś hiňgaigat eve
Bewildered, Shareef followed.

49 **⟨kī vegen kan neňgi duʾvaʾiganemuneve.⟩**
/kī vegen kam nu eňgi duvvaiganemun eve
Not knowing, why he ran

50 **⟨ʾeʾ vefaʾi ʾot mīhunge tereʾaśeve.⟩**
/ek vefai ot mīhunge tereaś eve
to the place where people gathered,

51 ⟨**šarīfaś fenunī varaś ʾādayā xilāfu manzarekeve.**⟩
/šarīfaś fenunī varaś ādai-āi xilāfu manzarek eve
Šarīf realised a very unusual picture,

52 ⟨**kuʾli ʾasarutakakun hit nu tanavas kośli manzarekeve.**⟩
/kulli asarutakakun hit nu tanavas kośli manzarek eve
a picture, which was not delightful at all by its unpleasant circumstances:

53 ⟨**ʿumurun 12 varakaś ʾaharu ve dāne kamaś lafā kurevē kuʾjeʾ ʾat maʾcaś laʾigen de mīhaku huri taneve.**⟩
/ʿumurun 12 varakaś aharu ve dāne kamaś lafā kurevē kujjek at maccaś laigen de mīhaku huri tan eve
Two men were picking up a child of about twelve years of age.

54 ⟨**šarīfaʾi baʾdalu kuri nikameti ʾanhenmīhā ʾaḍun ʾaḍu nagā rō taneve.**⟩
/šarīf-āi baddalu kuri nikameti anhenmīhā aḍun aḍu nagā rō tan eve
Shareef saw that the woman, on reaching the scene, began wailing uncontrollably.

55 ⟨**ʾisāhitaku fuluhunge bayaku ʾaʾis ʾe tanaś huʾṭaʾifi ....**⟩
/isāhitaku fuluhunge bayaku ais e tanaś huṭṭaifi ...
In a few moments, the police arrived in a bus.

56 ⟨**faś ʾeḷi bēkaleʾ faʾi bannavaʾi ʾe de maʾin ʾe bahaś leʾvē tō masaʾkat kuraʾva ʾeve.**⟩
/faś eḷi bēkalek fai bannavai e de main e bahaś levvē tō masakkat kuravva eve
An officer got down, and then seemed to assist the mother and child into the vehicle.

57 ⟨**mi kan hingumuge terēgaʾi maruvafaʾi ʾot kamaś nuvata hē netifaʾi ʾot kamaś šarīfaś hī vi kuʾjāge muśu terēgaʾi ʾot ʾeʾceʾ šarīfaś fenuneve.**⟩
/mi kam hingumuge terēgai maruvafai ot kamaś nuata hē netifai ot kamaś šarīfaś hī vi kujjāge muśu terēgai ot eccek šarīfaś fenun eve
While this was going on, Shareef observed a syringe clenched in the fist of the motionless child.

58 ⟨**ʾeʾī ʾinjekšan jahā sirinjekeve. ....**⟩
/eī injekšan jahā sirinjek eve ..
It was an injection syringe.

59 ⟨**mīhunge tereʾin de mīhakaś bunevuneve.**⟩
/mīhunge terein de mīhakaś bunevunu eve
Someone in the crowd gasped,

60 ⟨**ʾeʾī kōcceʾ heʾyeve.**⟩
/eī kōccek heyo eve
"What is this?"

61 ⟨**hašiš heʾyeve .....**⟩
/hašiš heyo eve .
"Dead? ... Was it heroin?"

62 ⟨**maruvī heʾyeve.**⟩
/maruvī heyo eve

T10: ᶜAbdullāh Ṣādiq

Mudarris vantakamuge lōbi

"A teacher's love"*

* The original was published in *Fattūra* 87, Māle 1986, 7-12; the English translation (by ABDULLAH SAEED KOSHY) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 1, Māle 1988, 24 ff.

1
⟨vagutakī havīruge vaguteve.⟩
/vagutakī havīruge vagutu eve
It was early in the evening.

2
⟨ḥilmī mārukēṭaś dān geʾin nukumeʾje ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī mārukēṭaś dān gein nukumejje eve
Hilmy walked to the market from his house,

3
⟨geʾaś bēnun vā baʾeʾ taketi gatumaś ṭakaeve.⟩
/geaś bēnun vā baek taketi gatumaś ṭakai eve
to buy some necessities.

4
⟨ʾēnāʾaś mārukēṭaś devunu ʾiru ʾādaʾige duvas duvahek_ē ʾeʾ gotaś ʾe tāňgaʾi ʾonna hōbō levumāʾi halēkuge ʾaḍun muḷi tan vanī gugumālāfa ʾeve.⟩
/ēnāaś mārukēṭaś devunu iru ādaige ḍuvas duvahek ē ek gotaś e tāňgai onna hōbō levumāi halēkuge aḍun muḷi tan vanī gugumālāfai eve
When he reached the market, he heard the usual shouting and noises.

5
⟨ʾeʾ tākun maskibaʾeʾ genfaʾi kaʾirīgaʾi huri kuʾjāʾā havālu kośfi ʾeve.⟩
/ek tākun maskibaek genfai kairīgai huri kujjā-āi havālu kośfi eve
He bought half a dried fish and gave it to the boy near him, his carrier.

6
⟨ʾaneʾ tākun de tin luňbō genfaʾi ʾēnāʾā ḥavālu kośfi ʾeve.⟩
/anek tākun de tin luňbō genfai ēnā-āi ḥavālu kośfi eve
From another stall he purchased two or three limes

7
⟨den ḥilmī gatī mirus koḷekeve. āde! rō mirus koḷekeve.⟩
/den ḥilmī gatī mirus koḷek eve. āde! rō mirus koḷek eve
and then Hilmy bought some chillies.

8
⟨ʾeʾaś fahu ʾēnā miṣrābu jehī daru mārukēṭaśeve. geʾaś daru koḷeʾ gannāśeve.⟩
/eaś fahu ēnā miṣrābu jehī daru mārukēṭaś eve. geaś daru koḷek gannāś eve
Next, he walked towards where they sold firewood.

9
⟨"duruvē! duruvē!⟩
/duruvē! duruvē!
"Come here! Come here!

10
⟨mihirī barābaru kāni daru."⟩
/mihirī barābaru kāni daru
This is the best *kaani* firewood."

11
⟨"mi tanun nangavā!⟩
/mi tanun nangavā!
"Get it here!

12
⟨ʾaḷugaňḍumen dēkaś māreʾ demu."⟩
/aḷugaňḍumen dēkaś mārek demu
We give a bundle for two *ruffias*."

13
⟨"mihirī ʾagu heyo daru.⟩
/mihirī agu heyo daru
"Here are the cheap ones.

14
⟨**doḷakaś mārеʾ."**⟩
/doḷakaś mārek
One-and-a-half *ruffia*!"

15
⟨**"vakaru baʾlavaʾi gannavamu tō?"**⟩
/vakaru ballavai gannavamu tō?
"Will you buy coconut trunks?"

16
⟨**"mi dilifilā gendavan vī nūn tō?"**⟩
/mi dilifilā gendavan vī nūn tō?
"Why don't you take some planks from here?"

17
⟨**ḥilmī ʾadi ves kuriʾaś hiňgamun de ʾeve.**⟩
/ḥilmī adi ves kuriaś hiňgamun de eve
Hilmy continued walking ahead,

18
⟨**ʾeki tantan vakivakin balamunneve.**⟩
/eki tantan vakivakin balamun eve
looking in different directions at all the firewood.

19
⟨**ḥilmī huʾṭunī ʾe tāňgaʾi huri magū daru funñeʾge kaʾirīga ʾeve.**⟩
/ḥilmī huṭṭunī e tāňgai huri magū daru fuññekge kairīgai eve
He stopped near a boy selling *magoo* firewood.

20
⟨**"kihineʾ daru?"**⟩
/kihinek daru?
"How much?"

21
⟨**"doḷakaś mārеʾ."**⟩
/doḷakaś mārek
"One-and-a-half *ruffia*."

22
⟨**ḥilmīʾaś ʾis ʾe fulaʾi balaʾileviʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/ḥilmīaś is e fulai balaileviʾje eve
Hilmy stared at the young seller

23
⟨**doḷakaś mārek_ē buni kuʾjāʾā dimāʾaś raňgaḷaś balaʾileviʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/doḷakaś mārek ē buni kujjā-āi dimāaś raňgaḷaś balaileviʾje eve
and studied him carefully.

24
⟨**ʾēnāʾaś yaqīneve.**⟩
/ēnāaś yaqīn eve
He was certain

25
⟨**ʾe aḍakī konme ves ʾiraku konme ves tākun ʾēnāge kanfatugaʾi jehifaʾi vā ʾaḍekeve.**⟩
/e aḍakī konme ves iraku konme ves tākun ēnāge kanfatugai jehifai vā aḍek eve
that he had heard this voice another place at another time.

26
⟨**ḥilmī balaʾilumā ʾeku ʾe kuʾjakaś ves mīnāʾāʾi dimāʾaś balaʾileviʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/ḥilmī balailum-āi eku e kujjakaś ves mīnā-āi dimāaś balaileviʾje eve
Simultaneously, the boy looked up at him.

27 ⟨**hataru kaḷi hama vumā ʾeku kuḍa huʾṭumeʾ ʾarāli ʾeve.**⟩
/hataru kaḷi hama vum-āi eku kuḍa huṭṭumek arāli eve
Their eyes met, and there was a short pause.

28 ⟨**ʾeʾaś fahu ādе! ....**⟩
/eaś fahu ādе! ...
After that, alas!

29 ⟨**daru vikkan huri kuʾjāge lolun nīrāli tan fenunī rīti karuna ʾeve.**⟩
/daru vikkan huri kujjāge lolun nīrāli tan fenunī rīti karuna eve
Tears trickled down the boy's face.

30 ⟨**ḥilmī varaś boḍaś ʾajaʾibu vi ʾeve.**⟩
/ḥilmī varaś boḍaś ajaibu vi eve
Hilmy was very surprised.

31 ⟨**nama ves ʾe tanun diha varakaś māru daru genfaʾi geʾin genaʾi kuʾjāʾā ḥavālu kośfi ʾeve.**⟩
/nama ves e tanun diha varakaś māru daru genfai gein genai kujjā-āi ḥavālu kośfi eve
He bought 10 bundles of firewood, and gave them to his carrier to take home.

32 ⟨**"kon nameʾ ta kiyanī?"**⟩
/kon namek ta kianī?
"What is your name?"

33 ⟨**"naʿīmu. ḥilmīʾakaś ʾaḷugaňḍu ʾeňgiʾeʾ nu laʾvāne. nama ves ʾaḷugaňḍaś ḥilmī ʾeňgē.**⟩
/naʿīmu. ḥilmīakaś aḷugaňḍu eňgiek nu lavvāne. nama ves aḷugaňḍaś ḥilmī eňgē
"Naeem. Hilmy won't know me, but I know Hilmy.

34 ⟨**ʾaḷugaňḍakī, ḥilmīge darivareʾ."**⟩
/aḷugaňḍakī, ḥilmīge darivarek
I was your student."

35 ⟨**"ʾaharenge darivarek_ē?"**⟩
/aharenge darivarek ē?
"My student?"

36 ⟨**"laʾba. ʾaḷugaňḍu vaki vī skūlge grēḍ 4Cʾin.**⟩
/labba. aḷugaňḍu vaki vī skūlge grēḍ fōsīin
"Yes. I left school when I was in grade 4C.

37 ⟨**ʾaḷugaňḍuge namakī ʾaḥmadu naʿīmu.**⟩
/aḷugaňḍuge namakī aḥmadu naʿīmu
My name is Ahmed Naeem.

38 ⟨**ʾaḷugaňḍaś ʾeňgē, ṭīcarunnaś huri hā kudinge nameʾ ʾeňgiʾeʾ nu laʾvāne kan.**⟩
/aḷugaňḍaś eňgē, ṭīcarunnaś huri hā kudinge namek eňgiek nu lavvāne kam
I understand teachers don't know all the students' names.

39 ⟨**ʾe gotakī ʾaḷugaňḍumen haňdān kuran jehifaʾi ʾonnanī ʾenme tirīhakaś ṭīcarunge nan.**⟩
/e gotakī aḷugaňḍumen haňdān kuran jehifai onnanī ekme tirīhakaś ṭīcarunge nam
We students only have to remember the names of 30 or so teachers.

40 ⟨**ʾeʾā xilāfaś ṭīcarunnaś haňdān kuraʾvan jehē kudinge ʿadadu, ʾetaʾ satēkaʾakā gāt kurāne.**⟩
/eā xilāfaś ṭīcarunnaś haňdān kuravvan jehē kudinge ʿadadu, etak satēkaak-āi gāt kurāne
However, teachers must remember hundreds of names.

41 ⟨**vī mā, ʾe huri hā kudinge nameʾ haňdāneʾ ves nu kureʾvāne."**⟩
/vī mā, e huri hā kudinge namek haňdānek ves nu kurevvāne
You cannot recall them all."

42 ⟨**kuʾliʾakaś ʾēnā teḷigenfi ʾeve.**⟩
/kulliakaś ēnā teḷigenfi eve
Suddenly the boy jumped

43 ⟨**hī vī direʾ eʾceʾ ʾēnāge gayaś ʾerī henneve.**⟩
/hī vī direk eccek ēnāge gayaś erī hen eve
as if a live insect climbed on him,

44 ⟨**ʾadi ʾeʾā ʾeku konme ves ʾeʾceʾ ʾēnāge ʾatun dū vegen ʾe dimā bin maʾcaś veʾṭiʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/adi eā eku konme ves eccek ēnāge atun dū vegen e dimā bim maccaś veṭṭijje eve
and something fell from his hand.

45 ⟨**ʾeʾī siňgirēṭeʾge filṭar(u) buriʾekeve.**⟩
/eī siňgirēṭekge filṭar(u) buriek eve
It was a cigarette butt.

46 ⟨**ʾe filṭarun vaki vegen ʾe filṭaraś vure kurin bin maʾcaś veʾṭifaʾi ʾotī varaś digu hudu ʾaḷigaňḍekeve.**⟩
/e filṭarun vaki vegen e filṭaraś vure kurin bim maccaś veṭṭifai otī varaś digu hudu aḷigaňḍek eve
Near the butt was a long piece of white ash.

47 ⟨**"ʾān, mihāru haňdān veʾje.**⟩
/ān, mihāru haňdān vejje
"Yes, I remember, now.

48 ⟨**ʾaḥmadu naˁīmu dō!"**⟩
/aḥmadu naˁīmu dō!
You are Ahmed Naeem, aren't you?"

49 ⟨**ḥilmī mi ʾaḷikoḷaś balan hurefaʾi buneli ʾeve.**⟩
/ḥilmī mi aḷikoḷaś balan hurefai buneli eve
Hilmy eyed the cigarette ash.

50 ⟨**"kihineʾ vegen ta skūlun vaki vī?"**⟩
/kihinek vegen ta skūlun vaki vī?
"Why did you leave school?"

51 ⟨**"promōšan ṭesṭ dāḍi kaʾiri vefaʾi ʾoʾvā ʾaḷugaňḍuge manma bali vegen ʾengī mā raśaś diyaʾī.**⟩
/"promōšan ṭesṭ dāḍi kairi vefai ovvā aḷugaňḍuge mamma bali vegen engī mā raśaś diaī
"The promotion test was very close when they informed me my mother was sick, and I knew I must go back to my island.

52 ⟨**ʾaḷugaňḍaś raśaś devunu ʾiru manma vanī mi dunye dū kuraʾvaʾi ʾaneʾ duniyeʾaś daturu kuraʾvāfaʾi.**⟩
/aḷugaňḍaś raśaś devunu iru mamma vanī mi dunie dū kuravvai anek dunieaś daturu kuravvāfai
When I reached home, my mother had already left this world and gone to the other.

53 ⟨**ʾaḷugaňḍu vanī ʾenme kuḍa ʾiru ves lobuveti baʾpaʾeʾge ʾōgaveri hiyalun maḥrūm vefaʾi.**⟩
/aḷugaňḍu vanī ekme kuḍa iru ves lobuveti bappaekge ōgaveri hialun maḥrūm vefai
Even as a small child, I was deprived of the love of a father."

54 ⟨**"den heyo." naʿīmuge lolun faʾi bamun dā karuna ʾigē de roňgaś varaś gina ʾiru van den balan hurehurefā ḥilmī ʾe vāhaka huʾṭevāli ʾeve.**⟩
/den heyo. naʿīmuge lolun fai bamun dā karuna iňgē de roňgaś varaś gina iru van den balan hurehurefā ḥilmī e vāhaka huṭṭevāli eve
Seeing Naeem's tears, Hilmy halted his tale with, "Now stop,"

55 ⟨**ʾadi xud ʾēnā ves ʾis daśaś jahaʾili ʾeve.**⟩
/adi xudu ēnā ves is daśaś jahaili eve
and dropped his gaze.

56 ⟨**den ḥilmī, naʿīmuge bāga mīhaśāʾi ʾaʾibu vā varaś digu vefaʾi huri tuňbuḷi mati mahaś balaʾili ʾeve.**⟩
/den ḥilmī, naʿīmuge bāga mīhaś-āi aibu vā varaś digu vefai huri tuňbuḷi mati mahaś balaili eve
Hilmy looked at Naeem's old shirt, his untrimmed moustache and beard,

57 ⟨**ʾadi tantangaʾi foti ʾaḷaʾi, rodi ʾaruvāfaʾi huri faṭlūnaśāʾi fū veʾṭen taʾyāru vefaʾi huri faʾivānaś balāli ʾeve.**⟩
/adi tantangai foti aḷai, rodi aruvāfai huri faṭlūnaś-āi fū veṭṭen tayyāru vefai huri faivānaś balāli eve
and then at his patched trousers, and slippers, almost worn through.

58 ⟨**kuḍa ves šaʾkeʾ neteve.**⟩
/kuḍa ves šakkek net eve
There was no doubt

59 ⟨**ʾenme fāḷukan boḍu ḥaqīqatakī "hāluge duleve."**⟩
/ekme fāḷukam boḍu ḥaqīqatakī ḥāluge dul eve
His state was miserable at any rate.

60 ⟨**"den bunan."**⟩
/den bunan

61 ⟨**ḥilmī ʾenāʾā dimāʾaś balālāfaʾi buneli ʾeve.**⟩
/ḥilmī ēnā-āi dimāaś balālāfai buneli eve
Hilmy glanced at him and said,

62 ⟨**"geʾaś gosfaʾi vaguteʾ libiʾje nama mi rē ha gaḍi baʾi ʾehākaś hāʾiru ʾaharemen geʾaś goslaʾi dī ʾiňgē!"**⟩
/geaś gosfai vagutek libijje nama mi rē ha gaḍi bai ehākaś hāiru aharemen geaś goslai dī iňgē!"
"If you have time, after you've finished work and gone home, come to my house around 6:30 p.m."

63 ⟨**"laʾba!" ʾēnā ʾufulun foḷilāfaʾi bunňeve.**⟩
/labba! ēnā ufulun foḷilāfai buni eve
"Yes!" he answered, very happily.

64 ⟨**fen bovaʾigenfaʾi vā mīhakaś fen libēne dimāʾaś feniʾje nama ʾe mīhaku ʾe dimāʾaś kihā bārakaś duʾvaʾi gannāne tō ʾeve?**⟩
/fen bovaigenfai vā mīhakaś fen libēne dimāaś fenijje nama e mīhaku e dimāaś kihā bārakaś duvvai gannāne tō eve?
If a thirsty man sees a place where he can get water, he will run to that place as fast as possible.

65 **⟨baňḍu haʾi genfaʾi vā mīhakaś kā ʾeti koḷeʾ dēne mīhaku veʾje nama ʾe mīhaku mi dennevi mīhakā dimāʾaś kihaʾi bārakaś duʾvaʾi gannāne tō ʾeve?⟩**
/baňḍu hai genfai vā mīhakaś kā eti koḷek dēne mīhaku vejje nama e mīhaku mi dennevi mīhak-āi dimāaś kihai bārakaś duvvai gannāne tō eve?
If offered food, how fast will a hungry man run to that person?

66 **⟨naˁīmu vanī, ʾēnāge ʾe hīteriʾakaś mihā varaś bēnun vefa ʾeve.⟩**
/naˁīmu vanī, ēnāge e hīteriakaś mihā varaś bēnun vefai eve
Naeem was in need of a helper so badly.

67 **⟨naˁīmu faʾi bā hunna geʾaś gos fen varā laʾigen ḥilmīmen geʾā dimāʾaś hiňgaʾigatī ʾēnāge "de fayakun" nūneve.⟩**
/naˁīmu fai bā hunna geaś gos fen varā laigen ḥilmīmen ge-āi dimāaś hiňgaigatī ēnāge de fayakun nūn eve
Going to where he was staying in Male', Naeem showered, and then rushed towards Hilmy's house. Not with his feet,

68 **⟨kārakaś vure ves haluvi duvelīgaʾi daturu kurā moṭōsaʾikaleʾgaʾi kahala ʾeve.⟩**
/kārakaś vure ves haluvi duvelīgai daturu kurā moṭōsaikalekgai kahala eve
he was even faster than a motorcycle or car.

69 **⟨naˁīmu varaś birun hure ḥilmīmen gē dorōśi huḷuvāli ʾeve.⟩**
/naˁīmu varaś birun hure ḥilmīmen gē dorōśi huḷuvāli eve
Timidly, Naeem opened Hilmy's door.

70 **⟨ʾe ʾiru, ʾēnāʾaś fenunī dādi den meʾakā jehen den mi tāňgaʾi kuḷen tibi de kuʾjaku ʾe gē hanigōḷi terēn laʾigen ʾe koḷaś gos nivā vā taneve.⟩**
/e iru, ēnāaś fenunī dādi den meak-āi jehen den mi tāňgai kuḷen tibi de kujjaku e gē hanigōḷi terēn laigen e koḷaś gos nivā vā tan eve
Inside, he saw two children disappear into a narrow alleyway.

71 **⟨ʾiru koḷeʾ vanden hurelāfaʾi ʾe tāňgaʾi huri raňgabīlakaś ʾobāli ʾeve.⟩**
/iru koḷek vanden hurelāfai e tāňgai huri raňgabīlakaś obāli eve
He waited for some time, then pressed the doorbell.

72 **⟨kuʾliʾakaś medu ˁumureʾge firihenaku mi koḷaś ʾannātī feniʾje ʾeve.⟩**
/kulliakaś medu ˁumurekge firihenaku mi koḷaś annātī fenijje eve
Suddenly Naeem saw a middle-aged man approaching him.

73 **⟨ʾēnā munḍun ʾaruvā jahālāfaʾi huri gotunnāʾi ʾatugaʾi ʾot fen dē ʾetigaňḍun ʾēnā ʾe ʾaˁī gastakaś fen dēn ʾuḷefaʾi kan ʾeňge ʾeve.⟩**
/ēnā munḍun aruvā jahālāfai huri gotun-āi atugai ot fen dē etigaňḍun ēnā e aī gastakaś fen dēn uḷefai kam eňge eve
From his tucked up sarong and the watering can in his hand, it was apparent that he was watering the plants.

74 **⟨"kī kurā kuʾjeʾ?"⟩**
/kīk kurā kujjek?
"What do you want?"

75 **⟨"ḥilmī ʾuḷuʾvā tō?"⟩**
/ḥilmī uḷuvvā tō?
"Is Hilmy at home?"

76 ⟨"ʾeba ʾuḷuʾvā̄. mi nan ganelanī̄. maḍu kośla̱!"⟩
/eba uḷuvvā̄. mi nam ganelanī̄. maḍu kośla̱!
"Yes. Wait, I will tell him."

77 ⟨ʾēnā̄ ʾe farātaś diya tā̄ mā̄ gina ʾireʾ nu ve, ḥilmī̄ nukumeʾje ʾeve.⟩
/ēnā̄ e farātaś dia tā̄ mā̄ gina irek nu ve, ḥilmī̄ nukumejje eve.⟩
Not long after that man disappeared, Ḥilmy came out.

78 ⟨ʾēnā̄ ʾiśīnī ʾe gē fenḍā̄ matīgaʾi huri boḍu ʾuṅḍoʾyeʾga ʾeve.⟩
/ēnā̄ iśīnī e gē fenḍā̄ matīgai huri boḍu uṅḍoyyekga eve
He sat down on the big swing

79 ⟨ʾiśīnnamun ʾe tāṅgaʾi huri digu goṅḍiʾakaś ʾišārat kośla̱faʾi naʿīmuge gātugaʾi ʾiśinnan bunñeve.⟩
/iśīnnamun e tāṅgai huri digu goṅḍiakaś išārat kośla̱fai naʿīmuge gātugai iśinnan buni eve
and showed Naeem a chair.

80 ⟨naʿīmu ʾe goṅḍīgaʾi ʾiśīṅdeʾje ʾeve.⟩
/naʿīmu e goṅḍīgai iśīṅdejje eve
Naeem also sat down.

81 ⟨"kihineʾ ta tiya ʾuḷē gēge kantaʾ?" ḥilmī ʾuṅḍolīge valugaʾi vātun hifahaʾṭalāfaʾi naʿīmā dimāʾaś kuḍa koś leṅbilāfaʾi ʾahāli ʾeve.⟩
/kihinek ta tia uḷē gēge kantak? ḥilmī uṅḍolīge valugai vātun hifahaṭṭalāfai naʿīm-āi dimāaś kuḍa koś leṅbilāfai ahāli eve
Hilmy held the swing's rope with his left hand and, slightly bending towards Naeem, asked, "How are things at the house where you are staying now?"

82 ⟨ḥilmī, naʿīmā dimāʾaś balāli ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī, naʿīm-āi dimāaś balāli eve
He considered Naeem,

83 ⟨mi faharu laʾigen ʾin gamīs raṅgaḷeve.⟩
/mi faharu laigen in gamīs raṅgaḷu eve
noticing that the shirt was a little better,

84 ⟨nama ves giruvānuge ʾeterēgaʾi huri dā roṅgun ʾe gamīs donnan vefaʾi vā kamāʾi, konme ves sababakā hure nu dovevifaʾi vā kan hāma ve ʾeve.⟩
/nama ves giruvānuge eterēgai huri dā roṅgun e gamīs donnan vefai vā kam-āi, konme ves sababak-āi hure nu dovevifai vā kam hāma ve eve
but the stain mark on the collar indicated that it needed washing

85 ⟨boluge ʾistaśigaṅḍu tat vefaʾi huri hurumunnāʾi mūnu matīgaʾi huri teyokameʾge sababun fen varāfaʾi ʾe vanī saʾibōni koḷeʾ ves nu lā kan raṅgaḷaś visne ʾeve.⟩
/boluge istaśigaṅḍu tat vefai huri hurumun-āi mūnu matīgai huri teyokamekge sababun fen varāfai e vanī saibōni koḷek ves nu lā kam raṅgaḷaś visne eve
and his oily face showed he had not used any soap.

86 ⟨"gēge kantaʾ raṅgaḷu." naʿīmu bunñeve.⟩
/gēge kantak raṅgaḷu. naʿīmu buni eve
"It's all right," Naeem answered.

87 ⟨"keʾin buʾimāʾi ʾannaʾunuge kantaʾ ves raṅgaḷu.⟩
/kein buim-āi annaunuge kantak ves raṅgaḷu
"Food and clothing are also all right,

88 ⟨**nama ves gēgaʾāʾi gēn bērugaʾi kuran jehē masaʾkatun duvālu dā hataru dan ʾonnanī furifā."**⟩
/nama ves gēgai-āi gēn bērugai kuran jehē masakkatun duvālu dā hataru dam onnanī furifā
but a lot of work has to be done at home and outside in the market."

89 ⟨**ʾēnāge vāhaka hīvanī teʾtirīhuge hoḷigaňḍeʾ sāḷīsfahakaś jaʾsālāfaʾi huri henneve.**⟩
/ēnāge vāhaka hīvanī tettirīhuge hoḷigaňḍek sāḷīsfahakaś jassālāfai huri hen eve
He related his story as if a 33 ⅓ rpm record was being played at 45 rpm speed.

90 ⟨**"ʾadi baʾeʾ rērē masaʾkat hunna gotun nidenī ves ʾegāra bāra jahā fahun.**⟩
/adi baek rērē masakkat hunna gotun nidenī ves egāra bāra jahā fahun
"And, some nights I get to sleep only after 11:00.

91 ⟨**ʾaḷugaňḍu nu lā hiku kiyavā hit vē.**⟩
/aḷugaňḍu nu lā hiku kiavā hit vē
I would like to learn a lot,

92 ⟨**ʾehen nama ves furatama kamakī baňḍu furāna muʾti kurumeʾ nūn tō."**⟩
/ehen nama ves furatama kamakī baňḍu furāna mutti kurumek nūn tō
but first I have to find a way to eat, don't I?

93 ⟨**mi kahala geʾakaś mi fē bunī ves ʾehen vegen.**⟩
/mi kahala geakaś mi fē bunī ves ehen vegen
That's why I came to this sort of house.

94 ⟨**nama ves mihā hisābaś diyaʾi mā ʾaḷugaňḍakaś deneʾ nu kiyavāne kan ʾaḷugaňḍaś ʾeňgiʾje.**⟩
/nama ves mihā hisābaś diai mā aḷugaňḍakaś denek nu kiavāne kam aḷugaňḍaś eňgijje
But, now I know that I cannot learn anything.

95 ⟨**ʾeʾī ʾaḷugaňḍumen varuge nasību dera mīhunnaś vevēne kameʾ nūn kan visniʾje."**⟩
/eī aḷugaňḍumen varuge nasību dera mīhunnaś vevēne kamek nūn kan visnijje
Education is not a thing for the unlucky."

96 ⟨**naˁīmuge de lolun ʾeʾves hifeheʾṭumeʾ neti karunataʾ faʾi baʾigateve.**⟩
/naˁīmuge de lolun ekves hifehetṭumek neti karunatak fai baigat eve
There was no holding back the tears from Naeem's eyes.

97 ⟨**"ʾaḷugaňḍakī mi kahala kameʾ minvaru kuraʾvāfaʾi vā mīhakaś vī namaka ʾaḷugaňḍu ʾe hā kuḍa ʾiru ʾaḷugaňḍuge baʾpaʾeʾ de mi ʾotumuge ˁālamaś dattureʾ nu kureʾvīs.**⟩
/aḷugaňḍakī mi kahala kamek minvaru kuravvāfai vā mīhakaś vī namaka aḷugaňḍu e hā kuḍa iru aḷugaňḍuge bappaek de mi otumuge ˁālamaś daturek nu kurevvīs
"If I was a person destined for it, my father would not have left me when I was so young,

98 ⟨**ʾadi manma ves ʾe hā kuʾli goteʾgaʾi kalāňge raḥmataś dattureʾ nu kureʾvīs.**⟩
/adi mamma ves e hā kulli gotekgai kalāňge raḥmataś daturek nu kurevvīs
and my mother also would not have gone to God's blessings so suddenly.

99 ⟨**mi huri hā kameʾ mihen hurumā ʾeku ves ʾaḷugaňḍu hāda kiyavā hiteʾ ve ʾē.**⟩
/mi huri hā kamek mihen hurum-āi eku ves aḷugaňḍu hāda kiavā hitek ve ē
But still I like to learn,

100 ⟨**maʾin bafaʾin nagāfaʾi duniye matīgaʾi tibē ʾenme gāt mīhunnakī kiyavaʾi dē mīhun.**⟩
/main bafain nagāfai dunie matīgai tibē ekme gāt mīhunnakī kiavai dē mīhun
and, aside from parents, teachers are the most dependable people.

101 **⟨ʾehen vī mā, ʾeʾves laduveti kameʾ neti ʾaḷugaňḍuge mudaʾrisaś ʾaḷugaňḍu ʾādēs kuran ʾaḷugaňḍaś kiyavāne goteʾ haʾdavaʾi deʾvā!"⟩**
/ehen vī mā, ekves laduveti kamek neti aḷugaňḍuge mudarrisaś aḷugaňḍu ādēs kuran aḷugaňḍaś kiavāne gotek haddavai devvā!
So, I do not feel shy to plead for you to teach me. Please, find a way for me!"

102 **⟨ʾēnāʾaś gis leviʾje ʾeve.⟩**
/ēnāaś gis levijje eve
By this time he was sobbing.

103 **⟨"nu roʾi naʿīmu."⟩**
/nu roi naʿīmu
"Don't cry, Naeem."

104 **⟨ḥilmīge ʾatun ʾe kan manā kurumaś ʾišārat koślamun bunňeve.⟩**
/ḥilmīge atun e kam manā kurumaś išārat koślamun buni eve
Hilmy motioned with his hand to stop.

105 **⟨"hama raňgaḷu vāhakaʾeʾ bunan.⟩**
/hama raňgaḷu vāhakaek bunan
"Really,

106 **⟨naʿīmu fenifaʾi naʿīmu vī dera fenifaʾi ʾaharen mi geʾaś ʾaʾis dēn mi bunī ves ʾahannaś naʿīmaś tiya kahala furṣateʾ hōdaʾi devi dāne tō balan vegen.⟩**
/naʿīmu fenifai naʿīmu vī dera fenifai aharen mi geaś ais dēn mi bunī ves ahannaś naʿīmaś tiya kahala furṣatek hōdai devi dāne tō balan vegen
when I saw you, Naeem, and how sad you were, I told you to come here, to see whether I could provide an educational opportunity for you.

107 **⟨ʾahannaś varaś raňgaḷaś naʿīmaś vefaʾi huri got ʾiḥsās kurevē.⟩**
/ahannaś varaś raňgaḷaś naʿīmaś vefai huri got iḥsās kurevē
I understand very well what's happened to you.

108 **⟨tiya kahala kantakugaʾi maṣlaḥataś varaś boḍaś bayan jehēne.⟩**
/tia kahala kantakugai maṣlaḥataś varaś boḍaś bayan jehēne
But, in such cases, you must always see that nobody gets angry.

109 **⟨ʾenme furatama naʿīmu ʾe geʾaś gos ʾe gē mīhun gātugaʾi mi vāhaka daʾkālan jehēne.⟩**
/ekme furatama naʿīmu e geaś gos e gē mīhun gātugai mi vāhaka dakkālan jehēne
First, go to your place and ask them about this opening.

110 **⟨ʾe mīhunge gātugaʾi bunē, ʾaharen mudaʾrisaku ʾe geʾaś ʾaharen gendavan bēnun veʾje ʾē. ʾehen bunaʾcē ʾiňgē!⟩**
/e mīhunge gātugai bunē, aharen mudarrisaku e geaś aharen gendavan bēnun vejje ē. ehen bunaccē iňgē!
Tell them one of your teachers wants to keep you in his home!

111 **⟨den ʾannānī, kon ʾirakun?"⟩**
/den annānī, kon irakun?
Then, when will you come back?"

112 **⟨naʿīmu lolun karuna fohelan ʾin gotaś nazaru hingālāfaʾi ḥilmī suvālu kośli ʾeve.⟩**
/naʿīmu lolun karuna fohelan in gotaś nazaru hingālāfai ḥilmī suvālu kośli eve
[Hilmy asked Naeem, cleaning the tears that had fallen from his eyes.]

113 ⟨"ʾaḷugaňḍu bēnumī hama mihāru mi vagutu ves mi gēgaʾi hunnan.⟩
/aḷugaňḍu bēnumī hama mihāru mi vagutu ves mi gēgai hunnan
"From this instant, I want to be here.

114 ⟨vī mā, ʾaḷugaňḍu geʾaś goslāfaʾi ʾannākaś mā gina ʾireʾ nu vāne.⟩
/vī mā, aḷugaňḍu geaś goslāfai annākaś mā gina irek nu vāne
It won't take much time to go and come back."

115 ⟨naˁīmu ʾe geʾin nukumeʾje ʾeve.⟩
/naˁīmu e gein nukumejje eve
Naeem left.

116 ⟨ḥilmī ʾe uňḍōlīgaʾi ʾis jahālaʾigen ʾineve.⟩
/ḥilmī e uňḍōlīgai is jahālaigen in eve
Hilmy stayed in the swing, pondering the situation.

117 ⟨ʾēru ḥilmī, hama ʾis jahālaʾigen ʾinīʾakī nūneve.⟩
/ēru ḥilmī, hama is jahālaigen inīakī nūn eve

118 ⟨ʾēnā ʾinī, varaś varugada xiyālutakeʾge tereʾaś geňbigenneve.⟩
/ēnā inī, varaś varugada xiyālutakekge tereaś geňbigenn eve

119 ⟨ḥilmī hitaś ʾara ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī hitaś arai eve
It came to his mind,

120 ⟨"hāda moḷu kuʾjekeve.⟩
/hāda moḷu kujjek eve
"He was an excellent student

121 ⟨huri hā maʾdāʾakaś ves ʾēnā hama ʾe hā moḷeve.⟩
/huri hā māddāakaś ves ēnā hama e hā moḷu eve
in all subjects,

122 ⟨liyā leʾ ves ʾe hā rīʾceve.⟩
/liā lek ves e hā rīti eve
especially handwriting," he thought.

123 ⟨vāhaka deʾkumun muḷi skūlun de faharu 1vana hōdafaʾi ve ʾeve.⟩
/vāhaka dekkumun muḷi skūlun de faharu ekvana hōdafai ve eve
"And, he even got the first place in oratory.

124 ⟨skūlge majaʾlāgaʾi ʾenme fahun ʾēnā liyeli ʾiňgirēsi mazumūnuge fen varu raňgaḷukamun huri hā muda'risun tārīfu kureʾvi ʾeve.⟩
/skūlge majallāgai ekme fahun ēnā liyeli iňgirēsi mazumūnuge fen varu raňgaḷukamun huri hā mudarrisun tārīfu kurevvi eve
All the teachers complimented his English essay in the school magazine.

125 ⟨nama ves huri hā ves kamakī taqdīreve.⟩
/nama ves huri hā ves kamakī taqdīr eve
But everything depends on fate.

126 ⟨**ʾe fakīraś nikan ʾe dimā vi got balāśeve.**⟩
/e fakīraś nikam e dimā vi got balāś eve
See what has happened to him.

127 ⟨**manma maruvī ʾeve.**⟩
/mamma maruvī eve
His mother died,

128 ⟨**ʾuḷēne raňgaḷu geʾeʾ ves nu libunī ʾeve!**⟩
/uḷēne raňgaḷu geek ves nu libunī eve!
and he didn’t get a good place to live.

129 ⟨**ʾēnā, kē.jī.ʾin fenigen mi hisābaś genaʾumugaʾi ʾahannaś koś devifaʾi vā masaʾkateʾ ves madeʾ nu vāne ʾeve.**⟩
/ēnā kējīin fenigen mi hisābaś genaumugai ahannaś koś devifai vā masakkatek ves madek nu vāne eve
The work I did in bringing him from kindergarten to this level is more than enough.

130 ⟨**masaʾkateʾ faśāfaʾi nu nimenīs.**⟩
/masakkatek faśāfai nu nimenīs
However, if you start a work

131 ⟨**huʾṭāḷumakī, ʾe masaʾkatuge nimumeʾ nūneve.**⟩
/huṭṭāḷumakī, e masakkatuge nimumek nūn eve
you must also complete it.

132 ⟨**ʾēnāge taʿulīmī masaʾkat feśi ʾekakī hama gaʾimu ves ʾahanneve.**⟩
/ēnāge taulīmī masakkat feśi ekakī hama qaimu ves ahan eve
I am also a person who started his education,

133 ⟨**ʾehen vī ʾiru ʾēnā ʾeʾcakaś vanden ʾēnāʾaś kiyavaʾi dinumakī, ʾaharenge ves masaʾkatakaś nu veʾeʾ nu dāne ʾeve.**⟩
/ehen vī iru ēnā eccakaś vanden ēnāaś kiavai dinumakī, aharenge ves masakkatakaś nu veek nu dāne eve
so, to teach him until he becomes a man is sort of my duty.

134 ⟨**mīnā moḷu vegen qaʾumugaʾi furānī kon maqāmeʾ kan ʾeňgenī kākaś heʾyeve?**⟩
/mīnā moḷu vegen qaumugai furānī kon maqāmek kam eňgenī kākaś heyo eve?
Who knows what national post he will hold after his schooling?

135 ⟨**ʾadi ʾehen nūn-as ʾe varaś kiyavan ʾe dē kuʾjakaś kiyavaʾi dinumakī, kiyavaʾigen tibē mīhunnaś koś dēn jehēne ves kamekeve.**⟩
/adi ehen nūn-as e varaś kiavan e dē kujjakaś kiavai dinumakī, kiavaigen tibē mīhunnaś koś dēn jehēne ves kamek eve
Besides, if he is so eager to learn, it’s required for those who know more to teach him.

136 ⟨**ʾahannaś ves mihāru ʾe varu kuʾjaku gēgaʾi beheʾṭē varaś faʾisā koḷeʾ ʾeba libe ʾeve.**⟩
/ahannaś ves mihāru e varu kujjaku gēgai behetṭē varaś faisā koḷek eba libe eve
Now I earn enough to keep a boy in my house,

137 ⟨**vī mā, naʿīmaś ʾēnāge geʾlifaʾi vā mustaq bal hōdaʾi dinumugaʾi ʾaharen ʾehī nu vān vī kī vegen heʾyeve?**⟩
/vī mā, naʿīmaś ēnāge gellifai vā mustaq bal hōdai dinumugai aharen ehī nu vān vī kīk vegen heyo eve?
so why shouldn’t I help Naeem retrieve his lost future?

138 **⟨naʿīmu ʾe buni gotun ves ʾēnāge den huri ʾehīteriʾakī ʾēnāge mudaʾriseve.⟩**
/naʿīmu e buni gotun ves ēnāge den huri ehīteriakī ēnāge mudarris eve
From what he said, his teacher is the sole person who could help him now.

139 **⟨ʾaharen ʾēnā mi gēgaʾi bahaʾṭānameve.⟩**
/aharen ēnā mi gēgai bahaṭṭānam eve
So, I will keep him here,

140 **⟨ʾaharen ʾēnāʾaś kiyavaʾi dēnameve.⟩**
/aharen ēnāaś kiavai dēnam eve
educate him,

141 **⟨ʾaharen ʾēnāʾaś mustaq baleʾ hōdaʾi dēnameve.⟩**
/aharen ēnāaś mustaq balek hōdai dēnam eve
and give him a future."

142 **⟨.....⟩**

Ibrahim Fulhu's wife's anger was extreme.

143 **⟨"ʾēnāʾaś kon mustaq baleʾ hōdaʾi devēnī kaleʾaś?⟩**
/ēnāaś kon mustaq balek hōdai devēnī kaleaś?
"What future is he going to provide you?

144 **⟨ʾeʾī, kalēge mudaʾriseʾ vī mā tiya hitaś ʾaranī kalē laʾvā ʾēnā ʾeʾves masaʾkateʾ nu kuruvāne kamaś dō!⟩**
/eī, kalēge mudarrisek vī mā tia hitaś aranī kalē lavvā ēnā ekves masakkatek nu kuruvāne kamaś dō!
Do you think that just because he's your teacher he won't give you any chores!

145 **⟨ʾehen vāneʾeʾ nu.⟩**
/ehen vāneek nu
Don't think so.

146 **⟨tiya geʾaś kalē gendan tiya ʾuḷenī hama kalē laʾvā nōkirī kuruvan.⟩**
/tia geaś kalē gendan tia uḷenī hama kalē lavvā nōkirī kuruvan
They want to take you to get someone to work for them.

147 **⟨gulā nu taḷuvan.⟩**
/gulā nu taḷuvan

148 **⟨mi gēgaʾi kalē tankoḷeʾ raňgaḷaś masaʾkat koś ʾuḷē tan fenunī mā, ḥilmīge hatgaňḍu kūkū lavaʾigatī.⟩**
/mi gēgai kalē tankoḷek raňgaḷaś masakkat koś uḷē tan fenunī mā, ḥilmīge hatgaňḍu kūkū lavaigatī
Since they've seen you working so hard, Hilmy couldn't rest until he got you.

149 **⟨māleʾaku mihāraku nūḷē tiya bunā kahala mīhaku.⟩**
/māleaku mihāraku nu uḷē tia bunā kahala mīhaku
In Male', there are no such people now.

150 **⟨ʾenme raňgaḷu. kalē dē. mi geʾin nukumē.⟩**
/ekme raňgaḷu. kalē dē. mi gein nukumē
All right, you can go from this house,

151 **⟨ʾaharemen balānan ḥilmī kaleʾaś kiyavaʾi dē tan.⟩**
/aharemen balānan ḥilmī kaleaś kiavai dē tan
but we will see how Hilmy teaches you.

152 **⟨ʾeʿī ʾaharemen nu danna ḥilmīʾeʾ viʾyāl!"⟩**
/eī aharemen nu danna ḥilmīek vi-āi!"
We know this Hilmy very well."

153 **⟨ʾibrāhīm fuḷuge ʾanhenunge ruḷi vanī, ʾēge haʾdun naʾṭāl̄āfa ʾeve.⟩**
/ibrāhīm fuḷuge anhenunge ruḷi vanī, ēge haddun nattālāfa eve
Ibrahim Fulhu's wife's anger was extreme.

154 **⟨naʿīmuge fośi nere ʾe gē fenḍā maʾcaś ʾeʾlāli ʾeve. nūn, hūrāli ʾeve.⟩**
/naʿīmuge fośi nere e gē fenḍā maccaś ellāli eve. nūn, hūrāli eve
She threw Naeem's box of belongings out onto the veranda.

155 **⟨naʿīmu fośi koňḍaś laʾigen, romun romun ʾe geʾin nukumeʾje ʾeve.⟩**
/naʿīmu fośi koňḍaś laigen, romun romun e gein nukumejje eve
Naeem shouldered his box and started off, crying.

156 **⟨ʾēnāʾaś ḥilmīmen geʾaś devunu ʾiru ḥilmī ʾinī bat kāśeve.⟩**
/ēnāaś ḥilmīmen geaś devunu iru ḥilmī inī bat kāś eve
When he reached Hilmy's place, Hilmy was having his dinner.

157 **⟨ʾirukoḷakun mīhaku nukume naʿīmu govaʾigen vanī gētereʾaśeve.⟩**
/irukoḷakun mīhaku nukume naʿīmu govaigen vanī ge etereaś eve
After a few minutes, a man came and showed Naeem in.

158 **⟨fośi beheʾṭī ʾe gē kā geʾā guḷifaʾi hunna koṭariʾeʾga ʾeve.⟩**
/fośi behettī e gē kā ge-āi guḷifai hunna koṭariekgai eve
Naeem's things were placed in the room adjacent to the dining room.

159 **⟨kuḍa ʾirukoḷakun naʿīmu fenunu ʾiru ʾēnā ʾinī bat kāśeve.⟩**
/kuḍa irukoḷakun naʿīmu fenunu iru ēnā inī bat kāś eve
Soon, Naeem joined Hilmy at the dinner table,

160 **⟨ḥilmī ʾin mēzuge ʾaneʾ farātuga ʾeve.⟩**
/ḥilmī in mēzuge anek farātuga eve
(sitting) vis-à-vis with Hilmy.

161 **⟨ʾe gēgaʾi ʾuḷē don ḥusaʾin varaś rīʾcaś biʾlūri taśīge bērun fohelaʾifaʾi naʿīmu kaʾirīgaʾi fen taśi bahaʾṭāli ʾeve.⟩**
/e gēgai uḷē don ḥusain varaś rīccaś billūri taśīge bērun fohelaifai naʿīmu kairīgai fen taśi bahaṭṭāli eve
Don Hussain, the servant, cleaned a tumbler very carefully and served Naeem water.

Fairy tales and

Fables

T11: **Aňga gada miturāi, aňga maḍu mituru (1)**

"The two friends and Santhimariyanbu"

Mālе: ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq*; Aḍḍū: Ḥassan Saʿīd

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 2, p. 174. The translation into English appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 1, Mālе 1988, 1 ff.

1 ⟨**ʾaga gada mituraā ʾaga maḍu mituraā miʾīī varaś boḍu de ʾekuverīnneve.**⟩
/aňga gada mituraā aňga maḍu mituraā miīī varaś boḍu de ekuverīn eve
▸anga gada mituraāi anga maḍa mituraāi de vennakīī (verinakī) de raṭṭehin (rahumatterin).◂
Anga Gadha Mithuru and *Anga Madu Mithuru* were two good friends.

2 ⟨**ʾeʾ reʾaku, ʾaga maḍu mituru binbi māfuś kaʾigen ʾatiri matīgaʾi**⟩
/ek reaku, aňga maḍu mituru bimbi māfuś kaigen atiri matīgai
▸ed reaki biňbi maufiśi keuma ʾ faha ʾ, anga maḍa mituraā gonodaśa ʾ ebege.◂
One night, after eating *bimbi maafuh, Anga Madu Mithuru* went to the beach.

3 ⟨**huri hoḷu ʾaʾṭeʾgaʾi nidāfaʾi ʾoʾvā**⟩
/huri hoḷu aṭṭekgai nidāfai ovvā
▸ede hoḷo āśaki irīn, (den ede) nidāʾ veśio ʾ.◂
He sat on a *holhu ashi*, then, lay down to sleep on it.

4 ⟨**santi mariyabu ʾaʾis**⟩
/santi mariyaňbu ais
▸maufīśe vas dovagen, santumariāā anga maḍa mituraā nidāau o ʾ veēlei bāāi.◂
Drawn by the smell of *maafuh, Santhimariyanbu* came to *Anga Madu Mithuru* while he slept,

5 ⟨**ʾaga maḍu mituruge huri hā dattakeʾ luʾsāfaʾi varaś ā dattakeʾ jahaʾi dīfi ʾeve.**⟩
/aňga maḍu mituruge huri hā dattakek lussāfai varaś ā dattakek jahai dīfi eve.
▸eagē da ʾ nagalāāi, ehen kahalei au da ʾ seṭa ʾ jahafi.◂
removed his teeth, and replaced them with a nice, new set of teeth.

6 ⟨**hedunu ʾaga gada mituruge geʾaś diʾumun,**⟩
/heňdunu aňga gada mituruge geaś diumun,
▸hennāāi, anga maḍa mituraā ēge raṭṭehi anga gada mituraā ekahau ebege.◂
In the morning, *Anga Madu Mithuru* visited his friend, *Anga Gadha Mithuru.*

7 ⟨**ʾahaʾifi ʾeve. "tiyaʾī, kalē kihineʾ jehi datpilaʾeʾ heʾyeve."**⟩
/ahaifi eve. tiaī, kalē kihinek jehi datpilaek heyo eve.
▸ea ʾ angai tibi au da ʾ fenifei, anga maḍa mituraā e libeṇei kehennaka ʾ tau ehi.◂
On seeing his friend's nice new teeth, Anga *Gadha Mithuru* asked how he got them.

8 ⟨**bunñeve. ʾaharen māfuś kaʾigen ʾatiri matī hoḷu aśīgaʾi nidifā ʾoʾvā, santi mariyabu ʾaʾis jahā dinītī ʾeve."**⟩
/buni eve. aharen māfuś kaigen atiri matī hoḷu aśīgai nidifā ovvā, santi mariyaňbu ais jahā dinītī eve.
▸anga maḍa mituraā santumariāāge vāhaka kēi derefei, ea ʾ e da ʾ dinī ea kamaś beṇi.◂
Anga Madu Mithuru told him the story of *Santhimariyanbu* and how she gave him the nice teeth.

9 ⟨**ʾe ʾaḍu ʾahāfaʾi ʾaga gada mituru bunñeve.**⟩
/e aḍu ahāfai aňga gada mituru buni eve.
▸mi vāhaka aḍa ehuma ʾ fahi anga gada mituraā beṇi mi reakī timāge rei au.◂
After hearing the story, *Anga Gadha Mithuru* said, "Tonight is my night.

10 ⟨**mi rē ʾaharen tiʾa tāgaʾi onnānameve.**⟩
/mi rē aharen tia tāgai onnānam eve.
▸ava etān mi rei ēśun.◂
I will be there tonight."

11 ⟨**ʾe rē māfuś kaʾigen hoḷu ʾaśīgaʾi ʾaga gada mituru ʾoʾvā**⟩
/e rē māfuś kaigen hoḷu aśīgai aňga gada mituru ovvā
▸ehen vi mei, e rei anga gada miturā maufiśi kāgen e ede veśioˀ eagē rahumatteriā kurie rei veśioˀ tani.◂
So, that night, *Anga Gadha Mithuru* ate *maafuh* and lay down on the same bed his friend used the previous night.

12 ⟨**santi mariyabaś māfuś vas duvaʾigen ʾaʾis**⟩
/santi mariyaňbaś māfuś vas duvaigen ais
▸kudu velakeḍaˀ fahun maufiśe vas libigen santumariā anga gada miturāˀ ekahaˀ bāi.◂
After a while, drawn by the smell of the *maafuh*, *Santhimariyanbu* came to *Anga Gadha Mithuru*,

13 ⟨**dattaʾ luʾsāfaʾi ʾe dattaʾ gōnñaś ʾalaʾi**⟩
/dattak lussāfai e dattak gōňňaś aḷai
▸e angai tibi daˀ nagafei ea ati oˀ kotaḷāu eḍafi.◂
pulled out his teeth and put them in her sack.

14 ⟨**ʾalun dattakeʾ jahan kamaś koludateʾ jehi tanī, ʾaga gada mituru bunñeve.**⟩
/alun dattakek jahan kamaś koludatek jehi tanī, aňga gada mituru buni eve.
▸au daˀ angai jahā faṭṭagaˀ, santumariā angai daḷā tayyāra keḍa koˀ anga maḍa miturā beṇī: ◂
Then she started replacing them with nice, new teeth. Just as *Santhimariyanbu* was setting one molar tooth in place, *Anga Gadha Mithuru* said,

15 ⟨**"ʾe mituruge dattakaś vure rīti koś dēti! ʾigē" ʾeve.**⟩
/e mituruge dattakaś vure rīti koś dēti! iňgē eve.
▸"balafele ma angai tibi au daˀ afagē raṭṭehi mīhāˀ angai tibi datav vanī mā riveti (au)".◂
"Please see that my new teeth are nicer than my friend's."

16 ⟨**mihen hama bunumun gat birun santi mariyabuge ʾatugā huri dattaʾ aga gada mituruge ʾagayaś ʾukālāfaʾi duve higaʾje ʾeve. den dattaʾ hurī hunnāne gotakaśeve.**⟩
/mihen hama bunumun gat birun santi mariyaňbuge atugā huri dattak aňga gada mituruge aňgayaś ukālāfai duve hiňgajje eve. den dattak hurī hunnāne gotakaś eve.
▸ee mehen beṇi aḍa ahafei, santumariā biri ginagen ea ati oˀ dabahā (kotaḷa) baňḍun jahalāi, ee miḷi muṇu mati datun forovalāi ebege.◂
Hearing him speak, *Santhimariyanbu* was so frightened that she upset her whole bag and ran away, leaving him covered with teeth sticking to his face.

17 ⟨**mi kamā varaś dera vegen**⟩
/mi kam-āi varaś dera vegen
▸anga gada miturā mi kamāi deetere varaˀ hitāma koffi.◂
Anga Gadha Mithuru was very sad about this.

18 ⟨**ʾaga maḍu mituruge geʾaś diyā mā, varaś malāmāt koś ʾeʾceti kiyā hedi ʾeve.**⟩
/aňga maḍu mituruge geaś diā mā, varaś malāmāt koś ecceti kiā hedi eve.
▸hennāi ēge rahumatteri anga gada miturāˀ ekahaˀ gē mei, ede malāmāˀ koffei ihafi.◂
In the morning, when he visited his friend, *Anga Madu Mithuru* laughed and made fun of him.

Fig. 2: Aňga gada miturā, aňga maḍu miturā (1 and 2) (ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq)

T12: **Aňga gada miturāi, aňga maḍu mituru (2)**

"The two friends and the flying jar"

Māle: ᶜAbdullāh Ṣādiq*

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 2, p. 174. The English translation appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 3, Māle 1988, 1 ff.

1 ⟨**ʾane**ʾ **duvahaku, de miturun havīru finñaś higālān nukumeʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/anek duvahaku, de miturun havīru fiññaś hiňgālān nukumejje eve.\
One evening Anga Gadha Mithuru and Anga Madu Mithuru went for a stroll.

2 ⟨**higamun higamun gos kōreʾge ʾaʾsēriʾaś nukumeviʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/hiňgamun hiňgamun gos kōrekge assēriaś nukumevijje eve.\
They reached the beach when it was almost sunset.

3 ⟨**ʾe hā tanaś devunu tanā ʾiru ʾoʾsēn kaʾiri vefā vālеʾ boḍukamun, geʾaś diʾumaś vāhaka daʾkaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/e hā tanaś devunu tan-āi iru ossēn kairi vefā vālek boḍukamun, geaś diumaś vāhaka dakkaifi eve.\
Just as it was getting dark, Anga Gadha Mithuru decided to go back.

4 ⟨**ʾe kamaku, ʾaga maḍu mituru geʾaś dā hiteʾ nu tveve.**⟩
/e kamaku, aňga maḍu mituru geaś dā hitek nu tu eve.\
But, as Anga Madu Mithuru did not want to,

5 ⟨**mihen ve geʾaś ʾannan jehunī, ʾaga gada mituru ʾekanñeve.**⟩
/mihen ve geaś annan jehunī, aňga gada mituru ekani eve.\
Anga Gadha Mithuru returned home alone.

6 ⟨**ʾaga maḍu mituru kōruge ʾaʾsērīgaʾi hurelāfaʾi, tantan balamun higamun higamun dani koś fenunī ʾe tāge gaheʾ kaʾirīgaʾi huri jāḍiʾekeve.**⟩
/aňga maḍu mituru kōruge assērīgai hurelāfai, tantan balamun hiňgamun hiňgamun dani koś fenunī e tāge gahek kairīgai huri jāḍiek eve.\
After walking a little farther, Anga Madu Mithuru saw a huge jar near a tree.

7 ⟨**mi jāḍi fenigen ʾaga maḍu mituru gos ʾe jāḍiʾaś ʾerefi ʾeve.**⟩
/mi jāḍi fenigen aňga maḍu mituru gos e jāḍiaś erefi eve.\
He went up to it, and,

8 ⟨**ʾēru ʾiru ʾoʾsi ʾadiri veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/ēru iru ossi aňdiri vejje eve.\
seeing it empty, decided to spend the night inside the jar.

9 ⟨**danbaʾeʾ ʾaḷāfaʾi ʾaga maḍu mituraś teduvevunī, jāḍi kaʾirin bayaku vāhaka daʾkā ʾaḍu ʾivigenneve.**⟩
/dambaek aḷāfai aňga maḍu mituraś teduvevunī, jāḍi kairin bayaku vāhaka dakkā aḍu ivigen eve.\
Late in the night, he was awakened by whispering outside the jar.

10 ⟨**ʾaḍu hurī ʾeku lavā lāfa ʾeve.**⟩
/aḍu hurī eku lavā lāfa eve.\
Listening carefully,

11 ⟨**visnāli ʾiru, ʾeʾī, kotaru bayakeve.**⟩
/visnāli iru, eī, kotaru bayak eve.\
he realised this was made by a lot of pigeons.

12 ⟨**ʾiru koḷakun, ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiʾaś kuḷi jahāfaʾi, kuru magu kuḷiʾaś kuḷi jahāfaʾi, jāḍi matin tin faharu funmaʾigen diʾumaś fahu, ʾiven feśī, lavaʾeʾge ʾaḍeve.**⟩
/iru koḷakun, ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahāfai, kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahāfai, jāḍi matin tin faharu fummaigen diumaś fahu, iven feśī, lavaekge aḍu eve.\
The king pigeon did a sword folk dance, and jumped over the jar three times. Next, the pigeons started singing a song,

13 ⟨**reʾaś vuren mi rē bar_ē, ʾe reʾaś vure mi rē bar_ē".**⟩
/reaś vuren mi rē baru ē, e reaś vure mi rē baru ē.\
"Tonight it's heavier than last night."

14 ⟨**mi lavaʾige ʾaḍāʾi ʾeku jāḍi maʾcaś ʾarān faśaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/mi lavaige aḍāi eku jāḍi maccaś arān faśaifi eve.\
And, with the singing of that song, Anga Madu Mithuru felt the jar rising up.

15 ⟨**ʾaramun ʾaramun gos duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, ʾekati ʾanekaʾcaś bunā ʾaḍu ʾive ʾeve.**⟩
/aramun aramun gos dunie vaś kuňburakaś vī mā, ekati anekaccaś bunā aḍu ive eve.\
It rose up and up until the earth became a small ball. Anga Madu Mithuru heard the pigeons asking each other,

16 ⟨**mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heʾyeve? buneʾpeve.**⟩
/mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heyo eve? bunefi eve.\
"Where shall we take the jar tonight?"

17 ⟨**mi rē gendānī lō bimaś ʾeve.**⟩
/mi rē gendānī lō bimaś eve.\
"Tonight we'll take it to the bronze land."

18 ⟨**ʾiru koḷakun taneʾgaʾi bahaʾtaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/iru koḷakun tanekgai bahaṭṭaifi eve.\
Then he felt the jar lowered and being set down somewhere.

19 ⟨**jāḍin nukut ʾiru, ʾe sorumen ʾe duhi gos vanī, mā duruga ʾeve.**⟩
/jāḍin nukut iru, e sorumen e duhi gos vanī, mā durugai eve.\
After the pigeons flew away, he came out of the jar, and started walking around.

20 ⟨**ʾaga maḍu mituru ʾe bimaś faʾibā higālā hedumaś fahu ʾe tāge gasgahun mēvā bide, kaʾi hadaʾigen jāḍiʾaś vadeʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/aňga maḍu mituru e bimaś faibā hiňgālā hedumaś fahu e tāge gasgahun mēvā biňde, kai hadaigen jāḍiaś vadejje eve.\
He saw lots of fruit trees. After eating some fruit, he went back to sleep in the jar.

21 ⟨**ʾaneʾ duvas vefaʾi ʾiru ʾossi ʾehākaś ʾiru vumun, kotarutaʾ ʾatu veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/anek duvas vefai iru ossi ehākaś iru vumun, kotarutak atu vejje eve.\
The next day, at the same time in the evening he heard the same noises as the night before,

22 ⟨**ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiʾaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā jaḍi matin tin faharu funmaʾigen diʾumaś fahu, ʾeʾ kala lava kiyāfaʾi jāḍi ʾufuʾlān faśaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā jaḍi matin tin faharu fummaigen diumaś fahu, ek kala lava kiāfai jāḍi ufullān faśaifi eve.\
and the king pigeon did the same warlike folk dance as on the previous day. With the song "Tonight it's heavier than last night,"

23 ⟨**maʾcaś ʾarā duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru ʾahāli ʾeve.**⟩
/maccaś arā dunie vaś kuňburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru ahāli eve.\
he felt the jar rising. Again, as it rose up until the earth became a small ball the king pigeon asked,

24 ⟨**mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heʾyeve? bunñeve.**⟩
/mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heyo eve? buni eve.\
"Where shall we take the jar tonight?"

25 ⟨**mi rē gendānī, rihi bimaśeve.**⟩
/mi rē gendānī, rihi bimaś eve.\
"Tonight we'll take it to the silver land," answered the others.

26 ⟨**ʾiru koḷakun jāḍi taneʾgaʾi bahaʾṭāfaʾi, kotarutaʾ diyā mā, ʾe bimaś faʾibā kuḍa rihi koḷeʾ jāḍiʾaś lā heḍumaś fahu, mēvā kaʾigen jāḍiʾaś vade ʾoʾvā ʾiru ʾossi ʾadiri veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/iru koḷakun jāḍi tanekgai bahaṭṭāfai, kotarutak diā mā, e bimaś faibā kuḍa rihi koḷek jāḍiaś lā heḍumaś fahu, mēvā kaigen jāḍiaś vade ovvā iru ossi aňdiri vejje eve.\
After some time, Anga Madu Mithuru felt the jar being lowered onto the ground, and heard the pigeons leaving. Slowly, he crept out of the jar. There was silver everywhere. Seeing fruit trees, he ate their fruit and collected some silver. Then he got back in the jar.

27 ⟨**hama nidili tanā ʾeku hen kotarutakuge ʾaḍu ʾiviʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/hama nidili tan-āi eku hen kotarutakuge aḍu ivijje eve.\
That night, once again,

28 ⟨**kurī rē fadaʾin kantaʾ kurumaś fahu, jāḍi hifaʾigen, ʾuduhēn faśaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/kurī rē fadain kantak kurumaś fahu, jāḍi hifaigen, uduhēn faśaifi eve.\
the same events took place as before.

29 ⟨**duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru ʾahaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/dunie vaś kuňburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru ahaifi eve.\
He heard the king pigeon ask the others

30 ⟨**mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heʾyeve? bunñeve.**⟩
/mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heyo eve? buni eve.\
where they should take the jar.

31 ⟨**mi rē gendānī, ran bimaśeve.**⟩
/mi rē gendānī, ran bimaś eve.\
They answered that they would take the jar to the golden land.

32 ⟨**ʾiru koḷeʾ vumun, jāḍi taneʾgaʾi bahaʾṭāfaʾi, kotarutaʾ higaʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/iru koḷek vumun, jāḍi tanekgai bahaṭṭāfai, kotarutak hiňgajje eve.\
In a little while he felt the jar being lowered onto the ground and heard the pigeons fly away.

33 ⟨**ʾaga maḍu mituru jāḍin ʾarā, bin maʾcaś fēbi ʾiru, tedeʾme ʾeve.**⟩
/aňga maḍu mituru jāḍin arā, bin maccaś fēbi iru, tedek-me eve.\
Anga Madu Mithuru crawled out of the jar and saw that what the pigeons said was true.

34 ⟨**hus raneve.**⟩
/hus ran eve.\
There was gold all around him.

35 ⟨**den bēnun varakaś rantaʾ nagaʾi gengenes jāḍiʾaś aḷā hadaʾigen vade ʾoʾvā kotarutaʾ ʾatu veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/den bēnun varakaś rantak nagai gengenes jāḍiaś aḷā hadaigen vade ovvā kotarutak atu vejje eve.\
He collected as much gold as he wanted and got back into the jar. During the night, the pigeons came back for the jar again.

36 ⟨**ʾe sāhitu ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiʾaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiʾaś kuḷi jahā hedumaś fahu, jāḍi matin tin faharu funmaʾigen gosfa jāḍi ʾufulan ʾangaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/e sāhitu ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā hedumaś fahu, jāḍi matin tin faharu fummaigen gosfa jāḍi ufulan angaifi eve.\
On the way, he heard them singing again,

37 ⟨**"reʾaś vure mi rē bar_ē! ʾe reʾaś vure mi rē bar_ē!" kiyamun jāḍi hifaʾigen ʾuduhi ʾaʾis ʾihaś ves jāḍi huri tāgaʾi bahaʾṭaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/reaś vure mi rē bar ē! e reaś vure mi rē bar ē!" kiamun jāḍi hifaigen uduhi ais ihaś ves jāḍi huri tāgai bahaṭṭaifi eve.\
"Tonight it's heavier than last night," and with that they lifted the jar and rose up high until the earth became a small ball.

38 ⟨**ʾe sorumen diʾumun jāḍin ʾarā geʾaś rantaʾ ʾufuʾlaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/e sorumen diumun jāḍin arā geaś rantak ufullaifi eve.\
Finally, they lowered the jar to its original place near the beach. After the pigeons left, Anga Madu Mithuru got out of the jar, and took the silver and gold home with him.

39 ⟨**mi kan ʾaga gada mituraś ʾegigen ʾahaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/mi kan aňga gada mituraś eňgigen ahaifi eve.\
Somehow, Anga Gadha Mithuru learned that his friend had come across a lot of gold.

40 ⟨**"kaleʾaś mihā, rantakeʾ libunī kon tākun heʾyeve?"**⟩
/kaleaś mihā, rantakek libunī kon tākun heyo eve?\
and was very curious to know how he got it.

41 ⟨**den ʾaga maḍu mituru, hama ʾekani ran bimaś tiya rē, vī huri hā goteʾ kiyā dīnin vī mā, ʾaga gada mituru bunñeve.**⟩
/den aňga maḍu mituru, hama ekani ran bimaś tia rē, vī huri hā gotek kiā dīnin vī mā, aňga gada mituru buni eve.\
When Anga Gadha Mithuru asked him how it happened, Anga Madu Mithuru related the story of the last night, when he visited the golden land.

42 ⟨**ʾahannaś ʾe jāḍi daʾkan hingāśeve.**⟩
/ahannaś e jāḍi dakkan hingāś eve.\
Anga Gadha Mithuru was truly anxious to go and gather the gold,

43 ⟨**den de miturun ʾekī ga ʾe tanaś higaʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/den de miturun ekīgai e tanaś hiňgajje eve.\
so Anga Madu Mithuru showed him the jar.

44 ⟨**balākaś nu hur ʾaga gada mituru ʾe jāḍiʾaś vadeʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/balākaś nu hure aňga gada mituru e jāḍiaś vadejje eve.\
Quickly, Anga Gadha Mithuru climbed into the jar

45 ⟨**dan baʾeʾ ʾaḷāfaʾi, ʾeʾ kala kotarutaʾ ʾaʾis ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiʾaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiʾaś kuḷi jahāfaʾi jāḍi matin tin faharu gosfaʾi jāḍi hifaʾigen ʾuduʾsaʾigenfi ʾeve.**⟩
/dan baek aḷāfai, ek kala kotarutak ais ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahāfai jāḍi matin tin faharu gosfai jāḍi hifaigen udussaigenfi eve.\
and waited for the pigeons to come that night. Anga Gadha Mithuru heard the king pigeon doing his dance,

46 ⟨**"mi rē ves" kiyanī, "reyaś vuren mi rē bar_ē, ʾe reʾaś vure mi rē bar_ē ..." mi henneve.**⟩
/mi rē ves, kianī, reaś vuren mi rē bar ē, e reaś vure mi rē bar ē ... mi hen eve.\
and with the song, "Tonight it's heavier than last night,"

47 ⟨**maʾcaś ʾarā, duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, buneʾpeve.**⟩
/maccaś arā, dunie vaś kuṁburakaś vī mā, bunefi eve.\
the pigeons lifted the jar and rose up until the earth became a small ball.

48 ⟨**"mi rē bahaʾṭānī kon bimeʾgaʾi heʾyeve?" bunñeve.**⟩
/mi rē bahaṭṭānī kon bimekgai heyo eve? buni eve.\
The king pigeon asked "Where shall we take it tonight?"

49 ⟨**"lō bimuga ʾeve."**⟩
/lō bimugai eve.\
The others replied, "We'll take it to the bronze land."

50 ⟨**hama bunumun ʾaga gada mituru ʾovelāfaʾi bunefi ʾeve.**⟩
/hama bunumun aṅga gada mituru ovelāfai bunefi eve.\
On hearing this, Anga Gadha Mithuru exclaimed,

51 ⟨**"nūnekeve!**⟩
/nūnek eve!\
"No! no.

52 ⟨**mi rē ves gendan vānī, hama ran bimaśeve.**⟩
/mi rē ves gendan vānī, hama ran bimaś eve.\
Tonight you must take it to the golden land also.

53 ⟨**ʾaharen viʾyā, vakin lō bimaś gen gos gen ve dāne heʾyeve?**⟩
/aharen vi-āi, vakin lō bimaś gen gos gen ve dāne heyo eve?\
Just because it is me, why should you take it to the bronze land?"

54 ⟨**jāḍi tereʾin ʾaḍeʾ ʾivunu haʾi ʾirun huri hā kotaru jāḍiʾakā jāḍiʾekē kiyāfaʾi dū koślumun ʾaʾis bin matīgaʾi jehunu jehunun jāḍi teḷi, ʾaga gada mituru fis fis veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/jāḍi terein aḍek ivunu hai irun huri hā kotaru jāḍiak-āi jāḍiek ē kiāfai dū koślumun ais bim matīgai jehunu jehunun jāḍi teḷi, aṅga gada mituru fis fis vejje eve.\
Terrified at the noise coming from inside the jar, the pigeons let it go. Down came the jar with Anga Gadha Mithuru.

T13: **Fūḷu digu handige vāhaka**

The devil with the long navel

Māle: ᶜAbdullāh Ṣādiq*; Fuaʾ Mulaku: Āminat Muḥammad Saᶜīd

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 3, p. 188.

1

M **⟨ˀe ba ˀuḷeyē, ˀe ba ˀuḷeyē, ˀaˀiminā bīˀāˀi, hasan takurā, mi de mafirin ˀidegen ˀuḷetā kuḍa duvaskoḷeˀge fahun hasan takuru furaˀigen, daturaku higaˀje ˀeve.⟩**

/e ba uḷē-ē, e ba uḷē-ē, āminā bī-āi, hasan takur-āi, mi de mafirin iňdegen uḷetā kuḍa duvaskoḷekge fahun hasan takuru furaigen, daturaku hiňgajje eve.

Once there lived Āminat Bī and Hassan Takuru. A certain time after having got married, Hassan Takuru embarked for a journey.

F **▹ed duvaheki veňdunai āminā bī ai kē mīhaku.◃**

▵ek duvaheki veňdunai āminā bī ai kē mīhaku. ▿

Once there lived a (wo)man called Aminā Bī.

2

M **⟨ˀēge fahun, ˀeˀ duvahaku, havīru ˀaˀiminā bī, ˀe raśu hukuru kurā mā miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā higaˀje ˀeve.⟩**

/ēge fahun, ek duvahaku, havīru āminā bī, e raśu hukuru kurā mā miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā hiňgajje eve.

One day, (a little bit) later, Āminat Bī went to the well of the great Friday mosque of her island in the evening in order to fetch (some) water.

F **▹e mīhā ebage ai miskite vaḍo doraha fen eḍanna.◃**

▵e mīhā ebage ai miskite vaḍo doraha fen eḍanna. ▿

That woman (lit. "person") went to the well of the mosque to fetch (lit. "pluck") some water.

3

M **⟨ˀaˀimīnā bī fen furan faśāfā balāli tanā fenunī miskitu gibula vī farātugaˀi "fūḷudigi hanḍi" kaś bolu nāśi gaḍakun, bolaś veli furān ˀinda ˀeve.⟩**

/āmīnā bī fen furan faśāfā balāli tan-āi fenunī miskitu gibula vī farātugai fūḷudigi hanḍi kaś bolu nāśi gaňḍakun, bolaś veli furān indai eve.

When Āminat Bī, while starting filling in water, looked around, she saw the devil with the long navel who, being aside the Qibla, was shovelling bone sand onto (his) head with a coconut shell.

F **▹goho, hiśu vēlai, fūḷudigi haňdi hīśī naiśakaha kaˀ vēli eḍān bolaha furanna.◃**

▵goho, hiśu vēlai, fūḷudigi haňdi hīśī naiśakaha kaś vēli eḍān bolaha furanna. ▿

When she went there, the devil with the long navel was just filling some bone sand, which he had collected in a coconut shell, onto his head.

4

M **⟨ˀaˀimīnā bī gat birun, baḍiyā kihili jahaˀigen, duvefā gos, ˀe hisābu gaḍuge mīhunge gātugaˀi, mi vāhaka bunefi ˀeve.⟩**

/āmīnā bī gat birun, baḍiyā kihili jahaigen, duvefā gos, e hisābu gaňḍuge mīhunge gātugai, mi vāhaka bunefi eve.

Āminat Bī was frightened, (she) ran away crying and told this story to the (other) people.

F **▹hiśu vēlai mi āminā bīśa fennā biraha duvvā gat ai.◃**

▵hiśu vēlai mi āminā bīśa fennā biraha duvvā gat ai. ▿

When A.B. saw this, she was frightened and ran away.

5

M **⟨ˀe reˀaśu ˀiru oˀsi mīhun nidāfaˀi hila vaḷu ˀobunu tanā ˀekuhen, ˀivunī gē bitu kaˀirīn govāli ˀaḍeve.⟩**

/e reaś iru ossi mīhun nidāfai hila vaḷu obunu tan-āi ekuhen, ivunī gē bitu kairīn govāli aḍu eve.

That evening, after sunset, when people were sleeping and no more sound(s) could be heard, she heard the sound of (somebody) calling through the wall.

F **▹den, kommi rēiki mia nidanna onnā vēlai, fuḷudigi haňdi āho mi beṇanī,◃**

▵den, kommi rēeki mia nidanna onnā vēlai, fuḷudigi haňdi āho mi beṇanī, ▿

Then, every night when she was sleeping, the devil with the long navel came and asked,

6

M ⟨**"tedeʾ hē. ʾaʾimīnā bī ʾē? mi ʾadu havīru hukuru miskitu gibula vī farātugaʾi, fūḷudigu haṇḍi, kaś bolu nāśigaḍakun, bolaś veli furān ʾindā duśīmā_vē bunīmā hē?"**⟩

/tedek hē. āmīnā bī ē? mi adu havīru hukuru miskitu gibula vī farātugai, fūḷudigu haṇḍi, kaś bolu nāśigaňḍakun, bolaś veli furān indā duśīmā evē bunīmā hē?"

'Is it true, Āminat Bī, did you tell (the people) that you saw the devil with the long navel shovelling bone sand into (his) mouth with a coconut shell this evening aside of the Qibla of the Friday-Mosque?'

F **▹tedaʾ tai, āminā bī ai ta diśi tai timā naiśakaha kaʾ vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai.◃**

▵tedaś tai, āminā bī ai ta diśi tai timā naiśakaha kaś vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai.▿

'Is it true, Āminat Bī, that you saw me when I was shovelling bone sand into (my) mouth with a coconut shell?'

7

M ⟨**ʾaʾimīnā bī bunñ_ē nūnek_ē!**⟩

/āmīnā bī buni ē nūnek ē!

Āminat Bī said: 'No!'

F **▹beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, timā ni dakimā ve ai.◃**

▵beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, timā ni dakimā eve ai.▿

At his saying (so), A.B. answered, 'I did not see (that).'

8

M ⟨**ʾaharen bunī, "ran nāśi koḷakun bolaś ran furuʾvan ʾindā duśimā_ve ʾeve."**⟩

/aharen bunī, ran nāśi koḷakun bolaś ran furuvvan indā duśimā eve eve.

'I said, "I saw how he was shovelling gold into (his) mouth (lit. "head") with a golden shell."'

F **▹timā dīśī ta ran nāśi koḷakun bolaha ran furuvanna hiśu vēlai ai.◃**

▵timā dīśī ta ran nāśi koḷakun bolaha ran furuvanna hiśu vēlai ai.▿

'I saw you when you were filling gold into your mouth (lit. "head") with a (piece of a) golden coconut shell.'

9

M ⟨**den hī genfaʾi haṇḍi higaʾje.**⟩

/den hī genfai haṇḍi hiňgajje.

Then, (thus) being satisfied, the devil walked away.

F **▹beṇum mā, den miu kakkaʾ jahāfē ihan ihavun ebage ai.◃**

▵beṇum mā, den miu kakkak jahāfē ihan ihavun ebage ai.▿

At (her) saying (so), he went away laughing 'ha ha ha'.

10

M ⟨**ʾaneʾkā ʾaneʾ rē ves, hama ʾe danvaru ʾaʾis ʾehen ʾahaʾifi ʾeve. mi faharu ves ʾaʾimīnā bī bunī, hama, ʾehenneve.**⟩

/anekkā anek rē ves, hama e damvaru ais ehen ahaifi eve. mi faharu ves āmīnā bī bunī, hama, ehen eve.

Another night, at the same hour, she heard the same (words). This time too, Āminat Bī said 'it was just like this.'

F **▹den eneʾ rēekias āho mihen ehum mā, mia beṇī, hama ehen ai.◃**

▵den enek rēeki-as āho mihen ehum mā, mia beṇī, hama ehen ai.▿

Then, yet another night, when he came and asked like this, she answered in just the same way.

11

M ⟨**bunumun hī genfaʾi, higaʾje ʾeve. mi gotaś kantaʾ vān feśumun, ʾaʾimīnā bī hikēn faśaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/bunumun hī genfai, hiňgajje eve. mi gotaś kantak vān feśumun, āmīnā bī hikēn faśaifi eve.\
(Once more) satisfied by (her) saying (so), he went away. As it continued to be (lit. "(the) facts having started to be") this way, Āminat Bī began to lose weight (lit. "to get thin").

F ▹**e kal hasan fuḷu ni hiśe ai mi raśi.**◃
▵e kal hasan fuḷu ni hiśe ai mi raśi. ▿
At that time, Hassan Fuḷu was not present on that island.

12

M ⟨**hasan takuraś ʾādevunu ʾiru ʾaʾimīnā bī hīvanī kaśi koḷeʾ henneve. ʾaʾimīnā bī fenifā hasan takuru buneʾpeve. "ʾaʾimīnā bī, tiʾa hā hikifā tīnī kī vegen hē?"**⟩
/hasan takuraś ādevunu iru aimīnā bī hīvanī kaśi koḷek hen eve. āmīnā bī fenifā hasan takuru bunefi eve. āmīnā bī, tia hā hikifā tīnī kīk vegen hē?"\
When Hassan Takuru returned, Āminat Bī was (thin) like a piece of bone. When he saw Āminat Bī, Hassan Takuru asked: ‘Āminat Bī, why have you become so thin?’

F ▹**den hasan fuḷu mi raśaha āho beṇī ettakī kumā tai ta ti varaha hemaī.**◃
▵den hasan fuḷu mi raśaha āho beṇī ettakī kumā tai ta ti varaha hemaī. ▿
Then, when Hassan Fuḷu came (back) to this island, he said ‘why are you so very thin?’

13

M ⟨**ʾaʾimīnā bī bunñeve. hasan takuru furaʾigen, diya fahun,**⟩
/āmīnā bī buni eve. hasan takuru furaigen, dia fahun,\
Āminat Bī said: ‘after (you,) Hassan Takuru, had embarked and gone away,

F ▹**beṇum mā, beṇī**◃
▵beṇum mā, beṇī ▿
When he spoke (like this), (Āminā Bī) said,

14

M ⟨**ʾeʾ duvahaku havīru, hukuru miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā gos huʾtā fenunī, fuḷu digu handi miskitu gibula vī farātugaʾi, kaś bolu nāśigaḍakun, bolaś veli furān ʾinda ʾeve.**⟩
/ek duvahaku havīru, hukuru miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā gos huttā fenunī, fuḷu digu handi miskitu gibula vī farātugai, kaś bolu nāśigaňḍakun, bolaś veli furān inda eve.\
‘one day, in the evening, I went to the well of the Friday Mosque in order to get (some) water, (and suddenly) I saw the devil with the long navel who, being near by the *qibla*, was shovelling bone sand into (his) mouth (lit. "head") with a coconut shell.

F ▹**fuḷudigi haňdi kommi reiki timā nidanna onnā vēlai, āho uňdagu kō hadanna hedī ai.**◃
▵fuḷudigi haňdi kommi rēeki timā nidanna onnā vēlai, āho uňdagu kō hadanna hedī ai. ▿
‘every night, when I lie down for sleeping, the devil with the long navel comes making it difficult (for me) to do so.

15

M ⟨**den ʾaharen birun ʾaʾis, ʾe vāhaka mi hisābu gaḍu mīhun gātugā bunefīmeve. ʾēge fahun konme reʾaku, fuḷu digu handi gēge bitu kaʾiriʾaś ʾaʾis, ʾahanī ʾeve.**⟩
/den aharen birun ais, e vāhaka mi hisābu gaňḍu mīhun gātugā bunefīm eve. ēge fahun konme reaku, fuḷu digu handi gēge bitu kairiaś ais, ahanī eve.\
Then, gripped by fear, I told this to the people. Ever since then, every night, the long navelled devil comes near (our) house, asking:

16
M ⟨**"tedeˀ hē, ˀaˀimīnā bī ˀē, hukuru miskitu gibla vī farātugaˀi fūḷu digu hanḍi kaś bolu nāśigaḍakun bolaś veli furān ˀindā duśīmā_vē bunīmā hē?"**⟩
/"tedek hē, āmīnā bī ē, hukuru miskitu gibla vī farātugai fūḷu digu hanḍi kaś bolu nāśigaňḍakun bolaś veli furān indā duśīmā eve bunīmā hē?"
‘Is it true, Āmināt Bī, that you told (the people) that you saw the long navelled devil near the qibla of the mosque filling sand into (his) mouth (lit. "head") (with) a coconut shell?’

17
M ⟨**den ˀaharen bunanī, "nūnek_ē! ran nāśi koḷakun, bolaś ran furuˀvan ˀindā duśīmā_ve ˀeve." den hanḍi hī genfaˀi, higaˀije ˀeve ...**⟩
/den aharen bunanī, "nūnek ē! ran nāśi koḷakun, bolaś ran furuvvan indā duśīmā eve eve." den hanḍi hī genfai, hiňgajje eve ...
Then I say, ‘no! I saw him filling gold into (his) mouth (lit. "head") with a golden shell.’ Then the devil goes away, contented (as it were).’

18
M ⟨**hasan takuru bunñeve. mi rē, ˀaˀi mā, "ˀāˀek_ē duśīm_ē." bunāśeve.**⟩
/hasan takuru buni eve. mi rē, ai mā, "āek ē duśīm ē." bunāś eve.
Hasan Takuru said: ‘When he will come tonight, (say), "I have watched something new."’
F ▹**den, beṇī ettakī hā ve ai tiuśa mi rei laḍa dennā (?) ve.**◃
▵den, beṇī ettakī hā ve ai tiuśa mi rei laḍa dennā eve. ▿
Then he said, ‘okay, I will play a trick on him tonight.’

19
M ⟨**mihen bunefā gēge biˀtaˀ, ragaḷaś baˀdā ˀenme lō vaḷeˀ ves, nu hunnāne hen hadāfaˀi ˀuturu ˀedu biˀdoś farātu bitun, heyo varuge ˀeˀ lō vaḷu beheˀṭi ˀeve.**⟩
/mihen bunefā gēge bittak raňgaḷaś baddā ekme lō vaḷek ves nu hunnāne hen hadāfai uturu eňdu biddoś farātu bitun heyo varuge ek lō vaḷu behetti eve.
After speaking (like this), he inspected the walls of the house well, and taking care that no other hole was present, he made one good hole into the wall beside the upper bed.

20
M ⟨**den lonu mirus gaḍeˀ fuḍuvāfaˀi, kośi vaḷi buriˀeˀ, taˀyāraś bēˀvi ˀeve.**⟩
/den lonu mirus gaňḍek fuḍuvāfai, kośi vaḷi buriek, tayyāraś bēvvi eve.
Then he prepared some salt and chili and a blunt knife.
F ▹**kēfē, beṇī ettakī tayyāro keranna kē loṇo miris, den kośi kośi vāḷaˀ huanna kē.**◃
▵kēfē, beṇī ettakī tayyāro keranna kē loṇo miris, den kośi kośi vāḷak huanna kē. ▿
Saying so, he told her to prepare some salt and chili and then to look for a very blunt knife.

21
M ▹**den, fūḷudigi haňdi ām mā, beṇanna kē hā vē ai, hama diśimā ve.**◃
▵den, fūḷudigi haňdi ām mā, beṇanna kē hā eve ai, hama diśimā eve. ▿
Then (he told her), when the devil comes, to say ‘yes, I saw you like this’.

22
M ⟨**dan vumun ˀehen rērē ves, fadaˀin, fūḷu digu hanḍi ˀatu veˀje ˀeve.**⟩
/dam vumun ehen rērē ves, fadain, fūḷu digu hanḍi atu vejje eve.
When the time had come this night, the devil with the long navel appeared as usual.
F ▹**den, hama e rei bā ve ai.**◃
▵den, hama e rei bā ve ai.
Then the (the devil) came (again) the same night.▿

23

M **⟨ˀaˀis ˀehen ˀehumun,⟩**
/ais ehen ehumun,
When he came and asked (as usual),

F **▹ām mā miu beṇī, tedaˀ tai ta diśi tai naiśi gaňḍakaha kaˀ vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai.◃**
▵ām mā miu beṇī, tedaś tai ta diśi tai naiśi gaňḍakaha kaś vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai.▿
When he came, he said, ‘is it true that you saw (me) when I was filling bone sand into my mouth (lit. "head") using a coconut shell?’

24

M **⟨ˀaˀimīnā bī bunñeve. "ˀāˀek_ē! duśīmā_ve ˀeve."⟩**
/āmīnā bī buni eve. "āek ē! duśīmā eve eve."
Āminat Bī said: ‘Something new: I saw you!’

F **▹beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, hā ve ai, hama diśimā ve.◃**
▵beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, hā eve ai, hama diśimā eve.▿
A.B. answered, ‘yes, I saw you like this.’

25

M **⟨den ˀivēn feśī ge vaśaˀigen duvā ˀaḍeve. ˀirukoḷakun ˀeˀ kala lō vaḷun fūḷu bānān faśaˀifi ˀeve.⟩**
/den ivēn feśī ge vaśaigen duvā aḍu eve. irukoḷakun ek kala lō vaḷun fūḷu bānān faśaifi eve.
Then (they) heard a noise (he produced) by going around the house. After a certain time he started to put his navel through the hole.

F **▹den, hedī vaḍāmakī, e tani hīši balakun fūḷu kullāli ai.◃**
▵den, hedī vaḍāmakī, e tani hīši balakun fūḷu kullāli ai.▿
Then he pushed his navel through the hole which was there.

26

M **⟨hasan takuru ˀataś kahanī ˀeve.⟩**
/hasan takuru ataś kahanī eve.
Hassan Takuru scratched (it) with his hand.

F **▹kullum mā hasan fuḷu hedī liki, fūḷu ganḍo buri kōliai.◃**
▵kullum mā hasan fuḷu hedī liki, fūḷu ganḍo buri kōliai.▿
When he pushed it through, Hassan Fuḷu cut off a piece of the navel.

27

M **⟨ˀeterige furi, bēruge furi, den hus veˀje hen hī vī mā hasan takurufūḷaś kuˀḷiˀeˀ, jehumun, pas lāfaˀi ˀis, bitugā handīge baḍu jehunu ˀaḍu ˀiviˀje ˀeve.⟩**
/eterige furi, bēruge furi, den hus vejje hen hī vī mā hasan takurufūḷaś kuḷḷiek jehumun, pas lāfai is, bitugā handīge baňḍu jehunu aḍu ivijje eve.
Hasan Takurufuḷu heard the sound of (the devil’s) hitting the wall with his belly after being blown up inside, blown up outside, and bursting.

28

M **⟨ˀe vagutu ˀatugaˀi ˀot kośi daˀbūra vali tila gaḍakun, fūḷugaˀi kāˀtaˀi gatumun fūḷu vaki koślāfā ˀe tāgaˀi lonu mirus, gaḍeˀ ˀaḷaˀifi ˀeve. den teḷigenfaˀi "ˀaˀdō, ma fūḷō! fūḷaku, fūḷō!"_ē govamun⟩**
/e vagutu atugai ot kośi dabbūra vali tila gaňḍakun, fūḷugai kāttai gatumun fūḷu vaki koślāfā e tāgai lonu mirus, gaňḍek aḷaifi eve. den teḷigenfai "addō, ma fūḷō! fūḷaku, fūḷō!" ē govamun
Then (Hassan Takuru) cut the navel with the blunt knife he held in his hand until having cut it through, and (he) put salt and chili on the surface of the wound. Being wounded (in this way), (the devil) cried, ‘woe, my navel, my navel!’

F **▹buri kōfē, loṇo miris līm mā, addōi, ma fūḷē ai.◃**
▵buri kōfē, loṇo miris līm mā, addōi, ma fūḷē ai.▿
After cutting it, (Hassan Takuru) applied some salt and chili, (and the devil said), ‘woe, my navel!’,

29
M ⟨**duvamun gos, ʾe raśun ves faʾibaʾi gen higaʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/duvamun gos, e raśun ves faibai gen hiňgajje eve.
and he ran away, leaving this island.
F ▹**kēfē, aḍo lavan lavamun ebage ai.**◃
△kēfē, aḍo lavan lavamun ebage ai. ▽
Crying (lit. "saying") so, making continuous noise, he went away.

30
M ⟨**ʾēge fahun mi ʾadāʾi jehen den ves fūḷu digu haṇḍige ʾudaguleʾ ʾeʾves mīhakaś nu fōra ʾeve ....**⟩
/ēge fahun mi adāi jehen den ves fūḷu digu haṇḍige uňdagulek ekves mīhakaś nu fōra eve ....
After that, nobody ever heard about difficulties produced by the long navelled devil ...

31
M ⟨**vāhaka huʾṭunīʾeve**⟩
/vāhaka huṭṭunī eve
The story is finished.

Fig. 3: Fūḷu digu hanḍi (ᶜAbdullāh Ṣādiq)

T14: **Mākanā fiňdanā**

“Brother-in-law stork”

Māle: ᶜAbdullāh Ṣādiq*

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 4, p. 196. The English translation appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 2, Māle 1988, 1 ff.

1 ⟨**mākanā ʾidegen ʾuḷenī fidanāge daʾtaʾakāʾi ʾeve.**⟩
/mākanā iňdegen uḷenī fiňdanāge dattaak-āi eve.\
Maakana was married to *Findhana's* elder sister,

2 ⟨**fidana ʾidegen ʾuḷenī, mākanāge koʾkoʾakāʾi ʾeve.**⟩
/fiňdana iňdegen uḷenī, mākanāge kokkoakāi eve.\
and *Findhana* was married to *Maakana's* younger sister.

3 ⟨**mi gotun mākanāʾāʾi, fidana vanī, de ḷiʾanunnaśeve.**⟩
/mi gotun mākanā-āi, fiňdana vanī, de ḷianunnaś eve.\
Therefore, they were brothers-in-law.

4 ⟨**ʾeʾ duvahaku fidana ʾaʾis mākanā liʾaśbē gātugaʾi bunñeve:**⟩
/ek duvahaku fiňdana ais mākanā ḷianbē gātugai buni eve\
One day, *Findhana* came to *Maakana* and suggested,

5 ⟨**"konme ves masaʾkateʾ kuravā higāś_ē,"**⟩
/konme ves masakkatek kuravā hiňgāś ē\
"Let's do some work."

6 ⟨**mākanā ḷiʾanbē bunñeve.**⟩
/mākanā ḷianbē buni eve.\
Maakana asked,

7 ⟨**"kurānī kon masaʾkateʾ hē?"**⟩
/kurānī kon masaʾkatek hē?\
"What shall we do?"

8 ⟨**fidana bunñeve.**⟩
/fiňdana buni eve.\
Findhana answered,

9 ⟨**"vaḷu terēn tankoḷeʾ sāfu koślāfaʾi daḍeʾ haʾdamā higāś_ē". ʾenme ragaḷ_ē!**⟩
/vaḷu terēn tankoḷek sāfu koślāfai daňḍek haddamā hiňgāś ē. ekme raňgaḷu ē!\
"We'll clear a space in the woods and plant something."

10 ⟨**den de ḷiʾanun ʾeʾbas kiyālāfā vaḷu tereʾin tangaḍeʾ sāfu kośgen, daḍu kośaʾi fasgaḍu jehumaś fahu, kaʾṭala ʾindaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/den de ḷianun ekbas kiālāfā vaḷu terein tangaňḍek sāfu kośgen, daňḍu kośai fasgaňḍu jehumaś fahu, kaṭṭala indaifi eve.\
So they agreed and started to work. They ploughed and prepared the field and planted sweet potatoes.

11 ⟨**duvas koḷakun daḍu hā vanī, gayaś ves ʾaraʾigenfāne henneve.**⟩
/duvas koḷakun daňḍu hā vanī, gayaś ves araigenfāne hen eve.\
The potatoes grew very well.

12 ⟨**ʾe hā varu gadaʾaś daḍu hedi kaʾṭala konnān vī mā, fidana ʾaʾis, mākanā ḷiyanbē gātugaʾi bunñeve.**⟩
/e hā varu gadaaś daňḍu hedi kaṭṭala konnān vī mā, fiňdana ais, mākanā ḷiyanbē gātugai buni eve.\
When it was time to harvest, *Findhana* went to *Maakana* and said,

13 ⟨**"daḍu ˀotī hedifa ˀeve."**⟩
/"daňḍu otī hedifai eve."
"Our potatoes are ready for harvesting.

14 ⟨**ḷiˀanbē bēnun baˀeˀ bunāś_ē."**⟩
/ḷianbē bēnun baek bunāś ē."
Which part of the field do you want?"

15 ⟨**visnālāfaˀi bunñeve.**⟩
/visnālāfai buni eve.
After thinking for a while, *Maakana* decided,

16 ⟨**"ˀahannaś daḍun bimuge maˀceve."**⟩
/ahannaś daňḍun bimuge mati eve.
"I want everything above the ground."

17 ⟨**fidana bunñeve.**⟩
/fiňdana buni eve.
Findhana replied,

18 ⟨**"ˀahannaś bimuge ˀaḍi tā ˀeve!"**⟩
/ahannaś bimuge aḍi tā eve!
"That means I will have to take what is left under the ground."

19 ⟨**ˀe sāhitu mākanā daḍuge bimun maˀcaś huri kaˀṭala kuri taˀ kośā laˀigen, boḍiˀakaś badegen gen gos, gēdoru maˀcaś vaˀṭālaˀifi ˀeve.**⟩
/e sāhitu mākanā daňḍuge bimun maccaś huri kaṭṭala kuri tak kośā laigen, boḍiakaś badegen gen gos, gēdoru maccaś vaṭṭālaifi eve.
They agreed. Within a short time, *Maakana* gathered all the leaves and stems into a pile and took them to his home.

20 ⟨**ˀe vagutu, mākanāge ˀanhenun nukume balālāfaˀi bunñeve.**⟩
/e vagutu, mākanāge anhenun nukume balālāfai buni eve.
His wife saw them and asked,

21 ⟨**"tiˀaˀī kī kurā boḍi vareˀ heˀyeve?"**⟩
/tiaī kīk kurā boḍi varek heyo eve?"
"What are these for?"

22 ⟨**"miˀī ˀahuremen de ḷiyamun daḍu haˀdāfaˀi ˀaharen negi ba ˀeve.**⟩
/miī ahuremen de ḷiyamun daňḍu haddāfai aharen negi bai eve.
Maakana replied, "We two brothers-in-law planted a sweet potato crop and this is the share I took."

23 ⟨**ˀanhenun ˀeˀseve. "koˀko gen diyaˀī kon ˀeˀceˀ hē?"**⟩
/anhenun ehi eve. kokko gen diaī kon eccek hē?
"Which part did my brother take?" she inquired.

24 ⟨**bunñeve. "bimuge ˀaḍi ˀeve!**⟩
/buni eve. bimuge aḍi eve!
"What is left under the ground.""

25
⟨**ʾanhenun bunñeve.** ⟩
/anhenun buni eve. \
His wife exclaimed,

26
⟨"**ʾaharemen koʾkoge huri varuge buʾdi ʾeʾves, kalāge netiʾyā ʾeve.**⟩
/aharemen kokkoge huri varuge buddi ekves, kalāge neti-āi eve.\
"You don't have the brains my brother has.

27
⟨**kaʾṭalaʾige ʾenme faʾidā huri baʾi hunnānī, bimuge ʾaḍīga ʾeve.**"⟩
/kaṭṭalaige ekme faidā huri bai hunnānī, bimuge aḍīgai eve.\
In sweet potatoes, everything valuable is underground. That is where the potatoes are."

28
⟨**mākanā bunñeve.**⟩
/mākanā buni eve.\
Maakana said,

29
⟨"**mi faharu vī got tā ʾeve! ....**⟩
/mi faharu vī got tā eve! ....\
"What to do? It happened this time,

30
⟨**den faharakun, tiya hen, viyaka nu dēnameve.**"⟩
/den faharakun, tia hen, viaka nu dēnam eve.\
but it will never happen again."

31
⟨**ʾaneʾkā ves daḍu haʾdā <mausim> ʾadu veʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/anekkā ves daňḍu haddā mausim adu vejje eve.\
Soon the next farming season began.

32
⟨**ʾindāne ʾeʾcakāʾi medu fidana ʾahālī mā ....**⟩
/indāne eccak-āi medu fiňdana ahālī mā ....\
Findhana went to *Maakana* and asked, "What shall we plant this time?"

33
⟨**mākanā bunī, "ʾindāne ʾeʾceʾ ʾegēnī koʾkoʾaś_ē!**"⟩
/mākanā bunī, indāne eccek eňgēnī kokkoaś ē!\
Maakana responded, "That is up to you."

34
⟨**mi henneve. ... "ʾān tā ʾē!**"⟩
/mi hen eve. ... ān tā ē!\
So,

35
⟨**bunefaʾi, mi faharu ʾindī zuvāri ʾeve.**⟩
/bunefai, mi faharu indī zuāri eve.\
Findhana planted corn.

36
⟨**daḍu hedi zuvāritaʾ nukume, ʾośtaʾ jahā don vī mā ḷiʾanbeʾā baʾdalu vefaʾi fidana bunñeve.**⟩
/daňḍu hedi zuāritak nukume, ośtak jahā don vī mā ḷianbe-āi baddalu vefai fiňdana buni eve.\
When the plants had grown and the corn ripened, *Findhana* met his brother-in-law and said,

37
⟨"**daḍu hediʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/daňḍu hedijje eve.\
"It is time for harvesting again.

38 ⟨**ḷiʾanbē, bēnun baʾeʾ ḷiʾanbē nagāś_ē."**⟩
/ḷianbē, bēnun baek ḷianbē nagāś ē.\
You take which ever part you want."

39 ⟨**mākanā bunñeve. "mi faharu ʾahannaś bimuge ʾaḍi ʾeve."**⟩
/mākanā buni eve. mi faharu ahannaś bimuge aḍi eve.\
"This time I will take what is underground," *Maakana* said.

40 ⟨**fidana "ʾenme ragaḷ_ē!"**⟩
/fiňdana, ekme raňgaḷu ē!\
Findhana replied, "All right,"

41 ⟨**bunefaʾi, gos zuvāritaʾ keḍī mā mākanā ʾe gastakuge mūtaʾ nagaʾigen boḍiʾakaś badegen gen gos, gēdośaś vaʾṭālaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/bunefai, gos zuāritak keňḍī mā mākanā e gastakuge mūtak nagaigen boḍiakaś badegen gen gos, gēdośaś vaṭṭālaifi eve.\
and cut down all the corn. When he left, *Maakana* dug out all the roots, and took them to his home.

42 ⟨**ʾe tan dekefā ʾanhenun bunñeve.**⟩
/e tan dekefā anhenun buni eve.\
Seeing them, his wife demanded,

43 ⟨**"tiya yō ʾē" ....**⟩
/tia yō ē ....\
"What is this?"

44 ⟨**"mī mi faharu daḍu haʾdaʾigen ʾahuren negi ba ʾeve."**⟩
/mī mi faharu daňḍu haddaigen ahuren negi bai eve.\
Maakana said, "This is my share of the corn crop."

45 ⟨**koʾko gen diyaʾī kon ʾeʾceʾ hē?"**⟩
/kokko gen diaī kon eccek hē?\
"Which part did my brother take?"

46 ⟨**mākanā zuvābu dineve. "bimuge maʾceve."**⟩
/mākanā zuābu din eve, bimuge mati eve."\
"What is above the ground."

47 ⟨**ʾanhenun, <ḥayrān> vefaʾi, bunñeve.**⟩
/anhenun, ḥayrān vefai, buni eve.\
His wife complained,

48 ⟨**ñaki tiyaʾī!**⟩
⟨**ñaki tiaī**⟩
"You are very foolish.

49 ⟨**zuvārige faʾidā huri baʾi hunnanī, bimuge matīga ʾeve.**⟩
/zuārige faidā huri bai hunnanī bimuge matīgai eve.\
The nutritious part of corn is above the ground.

50 ⟨**kaḷeʾakī, boḍu moyaʾekeve."**⟩
/kaḷeakī, boḍu moyaek eve.\
You are mad."

51
⟨mākanā bunñeve.⟩
/mākanā buni eve.
Then the stork said,

52
⟨mi faharu vī got tā ʾeve!⟩
/mi faharu vī got tā eve!
"What to do? It happened this time.

53
⟨den faharakun hama hilā tiya henеʾ nu vāne ʾeve."⟩
/den faharakun hama hilā tia henek nu vāne eve.
It won’t happen again."

54
⟨ʾanеʾkā ves daḍu haʾdāne ʾuven faśaʾifi ʾeve.⟩
/anekkā ves daṅḍu haddāne uven faśaifi eve.
Once more, when the next season began, they started their farming.

55
⟨mi faharu ves, fidana, ḷiyanbē kuren ʾindānī kon ʾeʾceʾ tō ʾahāli ʾeve.⟩
/mi faharu ves, fiňdana, ḷiyanbē kuren indānī kon eccek tō ahāli eve.
This time again, *Findhana* asked his brother-in-law, what to plant.

56
⟨ʾēnā bunī, tiya got ʾegēnī hama koʾkoyaś_ē" ʾeve.⟩
/ēnā bunī, tia got eňgēnī hama kokkoyaś ē eve.
This one said, the one who knows best, are you.

57
⟨mi faharu ʾindā hiʾtala ʾeve.⟩
/mi faharu indā hittala eve.
They planted *hiththala.*

58
⟨daḍu hedi hiʾtala faʾibā duvas vī mā, fidana bunñeve.⟩
/daňḍu hedi hittala faibā duvas vī mā, fiňdana buni eve.
At harvest time, *Findhana* asked his brother-in-law

59
⟨"daḍu hediʾje ʾeve. bēnun baʾeʾ bunuʾvāś_ē."⟩
/daňḍu hedijje eve. bēnun baek bunuvvāś ē.
to choose his share.

60
⟨fikuru koślāfaʾi bunñeve.⟩
/fikuru koślāfai buni eve.
Maakana said,

61
⟨"mi faharu bēbeʾaś bimun maʾceve."⟩
/mi faharu bēbeaś bimun mati eve."
"This time I want what is above the ground."

62
⟨ʾenme ragal_ē bunefaʾi bunñeve.⟩
/ekme raňgaḷu ē bunefai buni eve.
Findhana said, "All right.

63
⟨"tiya hennā bēbe gos bēbege baʾi kośālaʾigen gendāśeve.⟩
/tia hen-āi bēbe gos bēbege bai kośālaigen gendāś eve.
Go and take the part you want."

64 ⟨**boḍu vefaʾi varu gadaʾī ves liʾanbē tiʾṭā ʾeve!"**⟩
/boḍu vefai varu gadaī ves ḷianbē titt-āi eve!\

65 ⟨**hiʾtala gastakuge fattakā kabō kōḷitaʾ boḍiʾakaś badegen tubulaʾigen, ʾufalun mākanā gos gēdoru maʾcaś vaʾṭalī mā**⟩
/hittala gastakuge fattak-āi kabō kōḷitak boḍiakaś badegen tuňbulaigen, ufalun mākanā gos gēdoru maccaś vaṭṭalī mā\
So, *Maakana* gathered up all the leaves and stems and took them to his home.

66 ⟨**ʾanhenun ʾe hen faharu faharu ves fadaʾin mī kon ʾeʾceʾ tō ʾahaʾifi ʾeve.**⟩
/anhenun e hen faharu faharu ves fadain mī kon eccek tō ahaifi eve.\
As in the previous times, his wife demanded, "What is this?"

67 ⟨**miʾī mi faharu hiʾtala daḍun ʾaharen negi ba ʾeve. bimun maʾceve."**⟩
/miī mi faharu hittala daṅḍun aharen negi bai eve. bimun mati eve.\
Maakana answered, "This is my share from the *hiththala* field."

68 ⟨**ʾanhenun ʾantarīs vefaʾi bunñeve.**⟩
/anhenun antarīs vefai buni eve.\
Then his wife was angry and said,

69 ⟨**tiyaʾī hama ragaḷu moyaʾekeve.**⟩
/tiaī hama raňgaḷu moyaek eve.\
"You are a real fool.

70 ⟨**hiʾtalaʾige faʾidā huri baʾi hunnānī bimuge ʾaḍīga ʾeve." .....**⟩
/hittalaige faidā huri bai hunnānī bimuge aḍīgai eve. .....\
In *hiththala* everything valuable will be underground."

71 ⟨**mākanā ʾis daśaś jahālaʾigen ʾidefā bunñeve.**⟩
/mākanā is daśaś jahālaigen iňdefā buni eve.\
Maakana pondered what she said.

72 ⟨**"mi huri hā boḍiʾeʾ ves ʾahannaś mi libunī liʾan koʾkoʾā hure ʾeve.**⟩
/mi huri hā boňḍiek ves ahannaś mi libunī ḷian kokko-āi hure eve.\
He concluded, "All this has happened because of my brother-in-law.

73 ⟨**ʾeʾceʾ bunākaś ves nu kurēne nūn hē! ....**⟩
/eccek bunākaś ves nu kurēne nūn hē! ....\
But, what can I say?

74 ⟨**ʾe hen vī mā den ʾēnāyā ʾekī ʾuḷun huʾṭalī ʾē".**⟩
/e hen vī mā den ēnāyā ekī uḷun huṭṭalī ē.\
After all he is my brother-in-law. So, I'll stop working with him."

75 ⟨**(vāhaka ves nimunī ʾeve).**⟩
/(vāhaka ves nimunī eve).\

Fig. 4: Mākanā fiňdanā (ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq)

T15: **Fileimaḍi**

“Filomadi”*

Aḍḍū: Ḥassan Saʿīd

* The English translation by ABDULLAH SHAVI (based on an oral version by KARAANGE FATHMA DIDI, Fuaʾ Mulaku) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 4, Māle 1989, 4 ff.

1 **▸ete' zamāna kurin, fari fileimaḍie bēkakāi baddala koffi.◂**
▴etek zamāna kurin, fari fileimaḍia bēkak-āi baddala kośfi.▾
Long, long ago a reef flounder met a *beki*.

2 **▸e duvahi fileimaḍiege lō hiśī eagē bole de farāti, ehen huśi hei mahāmennas hinne leka'.◂**
▴e duvahi fileimaḍiage lō hiśī eagē bole de farāti, ehen huśi hei mahāmen-as hinne lekaś.▾
At that time the flounder had an eye on each side of its head, like all the other fish.

3 **▸de mahias vara' (gina) kudu kudu, kā' bēṇun ni vē kahalei kaśi tibei.◂**
▴de mahi-as varaś gina kudu kudu, kāś bēṇun ni vē kahalei kaśi tibei.▾
Both fish have a great many small bones, making them undesirable for food.

4 **▸rad raśi mīhun e kāi veňḍenī kaḷēla maha' nuata kaňḍi veňḍē ehem maha' ni libeṇe fehē.◂**
▴raś raśi mīhun e kāi veňḍenī kaḷēla mahak nuata kaňḍi veňḍē ehen mahak ni libeṇe fehē.▾
Islanders eat them only when they cannot get tuna and other big ocean fish.

5 **▸miāmen baddala vī mei, mahā vāhaka dakkā' faśaga'.◂**
▴miāmen baddala vī mei, mahā vāhaka dakkāś faśagat.▾
Upon their meeting, the fish began a conversation with each other.

6 **▸e de mahun kure mahakā' gayes enehakā vanī itiri sifā netumuge sababun egē deverie (deeti) ehakā enehakā gai tibi◂ kaśīge adadāi deetere aḍa lavai arairun vē' fattafie.**
▴e de mahun kure mahak-ā gai-es enehak-ā vanī itiri sifā netumuge sababun egē de-verie (de-eti) ehak-ā enehak-ā gai tibi▾ kaśīge adad-āi de-etere aḍa lavai arairun vēś fattafie.
As they were insignificant fish with little to brag about, they started boasting about the great number of bones they had, teasing each other.

7 **▸e deetīge zuābuge mede everie masveriakāi dimā eňberigen ahafie:◂**
▴e de-etīge zuābuge mede everie masveriak-āi dimā eňberigen ahafie:▾
In the midst of their argument they turned to a fisherman, asking,

8 **▸"afirin kuren emme kaśi ginei kankā gai?◂**
▴afirin kuren ekme kaśi ginei kankā gai?▾
"Which of us has the most bones?"

9 **▸ede javvāb derefi:◂**
▴ede javvāb derefi:▾
He answered,

10 **▸"bēkā gai fileimaḍiav vanī ek kaśi itirau hiśei."◂**
▴bēkā gai fileimaḍiaś vanī ek kaśi itiraś hiśei.▾
"The *beki* has one more bone than the *filomadi*."

11 **▸bēkā hiu hama jehegen kiburuverikamāi ekī fatamun ebege.◂**
▴bēkā hit hama jehegen kiburuverikam-āi ekī fatamun ebege.▾
Relieved, the *beki* swam away proudly.

12 **▸mi rihikulaige (= rihikulai) mahā minivankamāi ekī eterevarieai gonodaśieai kōreai fatā vēlei ta' mi kalas fenēhe.◂**
▴mi rihikulaige (rihikulai) mahā minivankam-āi ekī eterevarie-āi gonodaśie-āi kōre-āi fatā vēlei taś mi kal-as fenēhe.▾
You can still see this silvery fish, swimming freely in lagoons and inshore lakes.

13 **▸e vagute fileimaḍie onnei fara matte hitāmaverikamāi ekī gōva gōvai.◂**
▴e vagute fileimaḍie onneī fara matte hitāmaverikam-āi ekī gōva gōvai.▾
Meanwhile, the flounder remained on the reef, sadly crying and crying.

14 **▸e hei bārā lō fuhumuge sababun eagē lō bole ef farātakaʾ kassagen ebege.◂**
▴e hei bārā lō fuhumuge sababun eagē lō bole ek farātakaś kassagen ebege.▾
She wept so hard that both eyes slid onto one side of her head.

15 **▸mi kamāi deetere vī dera boňḍakamun ef fahun fileimaḍie āmunge etere fetun huṭṭalāi aḍiau ebege.◂**
▴mi kam-āi de-etere vī dera boňḍakamun ek fahun fileimaḍie āmunge etere fetun huṭṭalāi aḍiaś ebege.▾
Deeply ashamed of her defeat, she no longer swam about openly, but went to the bottom.

16 **▸adas ee adias varaʾ ladagani.◂**
▴adu-as ea adi-as varaś ladagani▾
Nowadays, still very shy,

17 **▸ea onnei e kalaki deagaňḍi hinne kula gāu aruva aruvai aḍie veśifei.◂**
▴ea onneī e kalaki deagaňḍi hinne kula gāś aruva aruvai aḍie veśifei.▾
she lies flat, camouflaging herself with the drab color of the ocean floor.

18 **▸takau ea otī kontāki kan beṇāʾ ni eňgēhe, varaʾ kaverin fari omau tela tantan ni balā fehēnā.◂**
▴takaś ea otī kontāki kam beṇāś ni eňgēhe, varaś kaverin fari omaś tela tantan ni balā fehēnā.▾
You cannot tell where she is, unless you look very closely at the smooth places of the reef in shallow water.

19 **▸mī fileimaḍie eagē ādāi xilāfu mūṇāi āda kādataʾ libeṇe goʾ.◂**
▴mī fileimaḍie eagē ādāi xilāfu mūṇu-āi āda kādatak libeṇe got.▾
And that is how the *filomadi* got her strange face and habits.

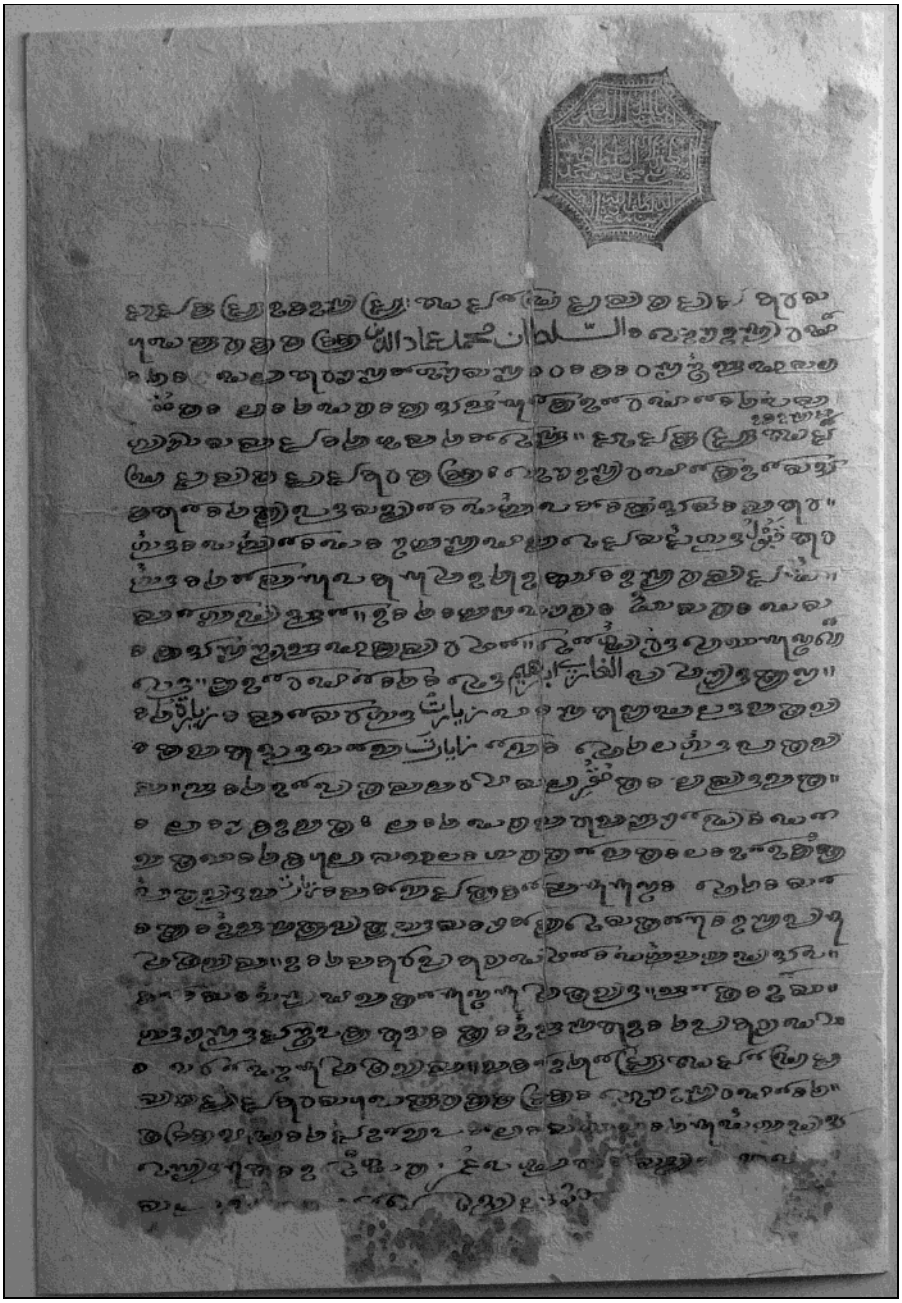

Fig. 5: *Fatkoḷu* F6

T16: **Nadalla Takuru**[*]

Addū: Ḥassan Saʿīd

[*] The English translation by ABDULLAH SHAVI (based on an oral version by MAGIEDURUGE IBRAHIM DIDI, Fuaʾ Mulaku), was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 5, Māle 1990, 13 ff.

1 ▸**nadellakī huvadu ateḷe hulaňga matte farāti faraʾ kaverie onna raśaʾ.**◂
▴***nadellakī huvadu ateḷe huḷaňga matte farāti faraś kaverie onna raśak.***▾
Nadalla is an island located on the long coral reef fringing the western side of Huvadu Atoll.

2 ▸**takuru ve hai boňḍa vī e raśi evvias taulīman ni libi.**◂
▴***takuru ve hai boňḍa vī e raśi ek-vi-as taulīman ni libi.***▾
Takuru was born and raised in Nadalla, but received no schooling.

3 ▸**ehen vi mei, eakī e raśi hiśi emme fakīri taulīman neʾ mīhā kamugai vege.**◂
▴***ehen vi mei, eakī e raśi hiśi ekme fakīri taulīman net mīhā kamugai vege.***▾
Therefore, he became the poorest and least educated man in his island.

4 ▸**ea boňḍa vi mei, eau eňgige anhen kudin eaʾ vāhaka dakkāʾ bēṇun nun kan.**◂
▴***ea boňḍa vi mei, eaś eňgige anhen kudin eaś vāhaka dakkāś bēṇun nun kam.***▾
When he came of age, he realised the girls did not want to talk with him.

5 ▸**ee fakīri hāle lēnaʾ kēʾ ni eňgi hiśi vēlei, evvias mīhakāʾ eaʾ heu edēkaʾ bēṇumaʾ nun.**◂
▴***ea fakīri hāle lēnaś kēś ni eňgi hiśi vēlei, ek-vi-as mīhakāś eaś heu edēkaś bēṇumak nun.***▾
No one esteemed him since he was impoverished and illiterate.

6 ▸**eau hī vege, emmennas eei deetere balanī nikameti koʾ kamaʾ.**◂
▴***eaś hī vege, ekmen-as eai de-etere balanī nikameti koś kamak.***▾
He resented being despised by everyone.

7 ▸**mi kamāi deetere hiu hama ni jehigen, ede ēge raʾ dū koffei aḍḍu ateḷe dekuṇe raśakau ebege.**◂
▴***mi kam-āi de-etere hit hama ni jehigen, ede ēge raś dū koffei aḍḍū ateḷe dekuṇe raśakaś ebege.***▾
Disgusted with his situation, he left his island and sailed south to Addu Atoll.

8 ▸**ee enun rad raśias hinnaʾ masakkaʾ keḍe fehēnās, evvias mīhā eei deetere heu gotakaʾ ni beli.**◂
▴***ea enun raś raśi-as hinnaś masakkat keḍe fehēnā-as, ek-vi-as mīhā eai de-etere heu gotakaś ni beli.***▾
Although he tried staying in several islands, nobody paid much attention to him.

9 ▸**eagē vāhaka dekkun mā raňgaḷāʾ nun adi eaʾ ni eňgei mīhun hiʾ jehē kahalei vāhaka kēʾ evennāi vāhaka dakkāʾ.**◂
▴***eagē vāhaka dekkun mā raňgaḷāk nun adi eaś ni eňgei mīhun hit jehē kahalei vāhaka kēś even-āi vāhaka dakkāś.***▾
His way of talking was unrefined and he did not know any good stories or how to discuss interesting things.

10 ▸**emme fahun ede e raʾ dū koffei hankeḍau ebege.**◂
▴***ekme fahun ede e raś dū koffei hankeḍaś ebege.***▾
Finally, he settled in the island of Hankede.

10a ▸**emme fahun ede hankeḍe au kē raśi vazamveri vegaʾ.**◂
▴***ekme fahun ede hankeḍe au kē raśi vazamveri vegat.***▾
(Finally he became a settler in the island named Hankeḍe.)

11 ▸**e tani ede mussanti mīhunnaʾ rukau arai kaiśi edai dēʾ faśafi.**◂
▴***e tani ede mussanti mīhunnaś rukaś arai kaiśi eḍai dēś faśafi.***▾
There he climbed palm trees and harvested coconuts for rich people.

12 ▸**tin aharaʾ fahun ede havvā au kē anhen kūdakāi iňdefi.**◂
▴***tin aharaś fahun ede havvā au kē anhen kūdak-āi iňdefi.***▾
After three years, he married a girl named Havva.

13 ▸**"makī mi kō hama ekaṇi fakīrak-āu" e kaňbulēge ekehe beṇafi.**◂
▴***makī mi kō hama ekaṇi fakīrak-āu, e kaňbulēge ekehe beṇafi.***▾
"I am only a poor man now," he told her.

14 ▸**"ehen fehēnās, ma rāvafei otī mada aharatekakaʾ fahaʾ mussanti mīhun kamāu hitā mīhakāʾ vegen, aṁbarā (eṁberi)] raśau ēʾ."**◂
▴***ehen fehēnā-as, ma rāvafei otī mada aharatekakaś fahaś mussanti mīhun kamāś hitā mīhakāś vegen, aṁbarā (eṁberi)· raśaś ēś.***◂
"But I have a scheme for returning to my island in a few years rich and respected."

15 ▸**mi vāhaka kēi derefei, evvias mīhakāʾ ekehe ni beṇāʾ kēi e kaṁbulēge ekehe ede beṇafi.**◂
▴***mi vāhaka kēi derefei, ek-vi-as mīhakāś ekehe ni beṇāś kēi e kaṁbulēge ekehe ede beṇafi.***·
He confided his plan to her and warned her not to tell anybody about it.

16 ▸**everie hankeḍe eu aharaʾ nuata eav vanī gina duvahaʾ ufāverikamāi ekī veṁḍifie, hisābakaʾ fakīrikan ihsās keḍun nun fehē.**◂
▴***everie hankeḍe ek aharaś nuata eaś vanī gina duvahaś ufāverikam-āi ekī veṁḍifie, hisābakaś fakīrikam ihsās keḍun nu· fehē.***◂
They lived in Hankede for a year or so, and were happy except for the limitations of their poverty.

17 ▸**e raʾ dū keḍumuge kurie takuru ēge tiṁbili digi koffi.**◂
▴***e raś dū keḍumuge kurie takuru ēge tiṁbili digi kośfi.***·
Shortly before leaving, Takuru grew a long beard

18 ▸**adi hudu annayē ea amellā rakkō keḍe fāisāʾ ginafi.**◂
▴***adi hudu annayē ea amellā rakkō keḍe fāisāś ginafi.***·
and bought beautiful white clothes for himself with his hard earned savings.

19 ▸**ea vehi raśau eagē anhenunnāi ekī baṭṭelakun ede furafi.**◂
▴***ea vehi raśaś eagē anhenun-āi ekī baṭṭelakun ede furafi.***·
He sailed with his wife on a *batteli* back to the island of his birth.

20 ▸**huvadu ateḷaʾ fōramun, ea feratumāʾ maḍa keḍeī fiōrie.**◂
▴***huvadu ateḷaś fōramun, ea feratumāś maḍa keḍeī fiōrie.***·
Reaching Huvadu atoll it stopped first at the island of Fiori.

21 ▸**takuru den gasdu koffi eagē rēvun faśāʾ.**◂
▴***takuru den gasdu koffi eagē rēvun faśāś.***·
Takuru decided he would try his plan there.

22 ▸**ede hudu gamīhaʾ lāgen muṇḍu eṁdegen, gonodaśau ebege.**◂
▴***ede hudu gamīhak lāgen muṇḍu eṁdegen, gonodaśaś ebege.***·
He donned his white shirt and *mundu* and went ashore.

23 ▸**kiburuverikamāi boṁḍākan dakkamun ede emmennaʾ anguvafi, ea aī, hatara ahara vē ti koʾ, arabikarāi hiśe kiavagen kan.**◂
▴***kiburuverikam-āi boṁḍākam dakkamun ede ekmennaś anguvafi, ea aī, hatara ahara vē ti koś, arabikarāi hiśe kiavage· kam.***◂
Adopting a proud, aloof attitude, he informed everyone he had just completed four years of study in Arabia.

24 ▸**mīhā ee gabūlu koffie, everie eaʾ geu ēʾ davvatu derefie.**◂
▴***mīhā ea gabūlu koffie, everie eaś geś ēś davvatu derefie.***·
The people believed him. They invited him into their homes,

25 ▸**adi eaʾ raṁgaḷa kāʾ derefei hadiās derefie.**◂
▴***adi eaś raṁgaḷa kāś derefei hadiā-as derefie.***·
and gave him good food and gifts.

26 ▸**ehen vī mei, ede nimmafi eagē rēvun kāmiābu kamaʾ.**◂
▴***ehen vī mei, ede nimmafi eagē rēvun kāmiābu kamak.***·
So, he concluded, "My plan works."

27 ▸**reigaňḍaki maulūdu kē̃ ee davvat libeṇe mei, ee varaʾ jehilun vege.**◂
▴*reigaňḍaki maulūdu kēś ea davvat libeṇe mei, ea varaś jehilun vege.*▾
When he was invited to take part in a *Maulud* at night, Takuru became a bit nervous.

28 ▸**eagē anhenun eau haňdan koʾ derefi "tō bala, mī huśi hei kalaki fassēha kamaʾ nun".**◂
▴*eagē anhenun eaś haňdan koś derefi. tō bala, mī huśi hei kalaki fassēha kamak nun.*▾
His wife reminded him, "You see, it's not always so easy."

29 ▸**lada gatun nuata e tān geun nun fehē neʾ kamaʾ hī koffei ede rāvafi.**◂
▴*lada gatun nuata e tān geun nun fehē net kamak hī koffei ede rāvafi.*▾
Knowing he must go or lose face, he developed a plan of action.

30 ▸**raśi tibi hei muskuḷin eagē vaśai irifei tibe everie maulūdu fattā̃ kēì beṇafie.**◂
▴*raśi tibi hei muskuḷin eagē vaśai irifei tibe everie maulūdu fattāś kēì beṇafie.*▾
When the most venerable old men of the island gathered around him and sat down, they asked him to start the *Maulud*.

31 ▸**ehen vī mei, ee hite etere rāvafei oʾ goʾ matin ede mā̃nane ettaʾ kē̃ faśafi.**◂
▴*ehen vī mei, ea hite etere rāvafei ot got matin ede mā̃nanek ettak kēś faśafi.*▾
So, maintaining his dignified attitude, he began chanting nonsense,

32 ▸**ēge etere bae divehi akurāì arabi aḍāì himenei.**◂
▴*ēge etere bae divehi akura-āì arabi aḍa-āì himenei.*▾
combining Maldivian words and Arabic sounds.

33 ▸**emmennaśas ee kēì ettaʾ eňgei kamaʾ hī koffei ede hama jehige.**◂
▴*ekmennaś-as ea kēì ettak eňgei kamak hī koffei ede hama jehige.*▾
He convinced everyone he knew what he was saying. So he fared better than he expected.

34 ▸**huśi hei kamaʾ raňgaḷa vēhe kamugai balagen, ede eňberi eagē raśau ebege.**◂
▴*huśi hei kamak raňgaḷa vēhe kamugai balagen, ede eňberi eagē raśaś ebege.*▾
Very optimistically, he resumed his journey back to his island.

35 ▸**ede e tanias raňgaḷaʾ vēňḍē̃ faśafi.**◂
▴*ede e tani-as raňgaḷaś vēňḍēś faśafi.*▾
There he managed extremely well too.

36 ▸**mīhā ee kamāu hitai eagē lafās hōdai miskide duāverikan kiavai dinumaśas edetā.**◂
▴*mīhā ea kamāś hitai eagē lafās hōdai miskide duāverikan kiavai dinumaś-as edetā.*▾
People respected him, sought his advice, and often he was asked to lead prayers at the mosque.

37 ▸**ee eki gē gē dīnuge kanteti kerāśas gini gos raňgaḷa kā̃ etteti dere tafātu goʾ gotaʾ kamāu hitatā.**◂
▴*ea eki gē gē dīnuge kanteti kerāś-as gini gos raňgaḷa kāś etteti dere tafātu got gotak kamāś hitatā.*▾
He was invited to make religious chants in houses and was given good food and treated with deference.

38 ▸**ee libeṇe tafātu hadiāge sababun ee tanavas mīhakā̃ vege.**◂
▴*ea libeṇe tafātu hadiāge sababun ea tanavas mīhakāś vege.*▾
He became wealthy from the many presents people gave him.

39 ▸**eagē anhenun hankeḍe havvā eai deetere varaʾ ufā vei.**◂
▴*eagē anhenun hankeḍe havvā eai de etere varaś ufā vei.*▾
His wife, Hankede Havva, was very happy with him.

40 ▸**ehen fehēnās, eʾ duvahaki ēge nimun kaveri vege.**◂
▴*ehen fehēnā-as, ek duvahaki ēge nimun kaveri vege.*▾
But inevitably, one day this came to an end.

41 **huvadu ateḷe vādū hinne arabi bas denne nakatteriā eʾ duvahaki e raśun fenige.**
huvadu ateḷe vādū hinne arabi bas denne nakatteriā ek duvahaki e raśun fenige.
A *nakatteriya* from the island of Vadu in the same atoll who was well versed in Arabic, appeared in Nadalla.

42 **ea mīhun mūṇe eḍafei vē kaṇafaʾ nagalāne mīhakāʾ bēheti hen hī vegē fehē, ede aba daśas dara hōdāśāu kēfei faḷa raśakau ebei.**
ea mīhun mūṇe eḍafei vē kaṇafat nagalāne mīhakāś bēheti hen hī vegē fehē, ede aba daśas dara hōdāś-āu kēfei faḷa raśakaś ebei.
Usually, Takuru made an excuse to get firewood from a deserted island whenever he heard an important person was expected, avoiding those who could unmask him.

43 **ehen fehēnās, mi mīhākī (mīhakī) mi kan dene hiśi mīhakāʾ vē hedī, ea aī takuruaʾ ni anguvai sidrun.**
ehen fehēnā-as, mi mīhākī (mīhakī) mi kan dene hiśi mīhakāś vē hedī, ea aī takuruaś ni anguvai sirrun.
But this man was an unassuming man who arrived quietly and caught Takuru completely off guard.

44 **e ilmuveriā geakaʾ van kō, takuru inī e gē etere ek kani fotakun kē kamāu hedēʾ.**
e ilmuveriā geakaś van kō, takuru inī e gē etere ek kani fotakun kē kamāś hedēś.
The scholar entered a house while Takuru was chanting in a corner, pretending to read from a book.

45 **ēge kurimatte, kelei anda andai hiśi.**
ēge kurimatte, kelei anda andai hiśi.
A stick of sandalwood burned in front of him.

46 **takuru kē ettaki aḍa ahagen e ilmuveriā ajāibu vege, ea kēnī kon ettaʾ kan ni engi.**
takuru kē ettaki aḍa ahagen e ilmuveriā ajāibu vege, ea kēnī kon ettak kam ni engi.
Listening to Takuru's chant the educated man wondered, "What is he saying?"

47 **takuru kaverie hiśi mēze kaverie huṭṭigen hiśe ede e fotaʾ balafi.**
takuru kaverie hiśi mēze kaverie huṭṭigen hiśe ede e fotaś balafi.
Going to stand beside the table next to Takuru, he glanced at the book.

48 **e foʾ lēfei hiśī boṅḍa arabi akurun.**
e fot lēfei hiśī boṅḍa arabi akurun.
It was written in bold Arabic characters.

49 **ta kiavanī mi fotun tau takuru ekuhun ede ahafi.**
ta kiavanī mi fotun tau takuru ekuhun ede ahafi.
"Were you reading this?" he asked Takuru.

50 **mi tani etau aharaʾ vē ti koʾ, mīhunge kamāu hitun libigen hiśefei, takuru maḍa maḍun beṇafi, "hāu".**
mi tani etak aharaś vē ti koś, mīhunge kamāś hitun libigen hiśefei, takuru maḍa maḍun beṇafi, "hā-au".
Having been respected here for years Takuru replied with imperturbable calm, "Yes."

51 **tai (= takī) eteʾ mīhun oḷovā mīhakāu ede beṇafi.**
tai (takī) etek mīhun oḷovā mīhak-āu ede beṇafi.
"You are an imposter!" the man declared.

52 **adi ateḷeverin ekehe beṇāśumāu as beṇi.**
adi ateḷeverin ekehe beṇāśum-āu-as beṇi.
"I will tell the Atoll Chief about you".

53 **▸takuruge kulavara badalu vege.◂**
▴takuruge kulavara badalu vege.▾
Takuru's expression changed.

54 **▸biri verikamun furigen ede ehen ni hadāu ādees koffi.◂**
▴biri verikamun furigen ede ehen ni hadāś ādees kośfi.▾
Filled with fear, he begged him not to do so.

55 **▸nakatteriāge hiu hama jassai denumaʾ ede eagē hitāmaveri zuān duvasvaruge vāhaka kēi derefi.◂**
▴nakatteriāge hit hama jassai denumaś ede eagē hitāmaveri zuān duvasvaruge vāhaka kēi derefi.▾
He told him about his sad youth, hoping to warm the *nakatteriya's* heart.

56 **▸ehen fehēnās, mi mīhā eagē goʾ dū ni kerāʾ vegen ede e raśi verikan kerā raʾ tenaduvau ebege.◂**
▴ehen fehēnā-as, mi mīhā eagē got dū ni kerāś vegen ede e raśi verikam kerā raś tenaduvaś ebege.▾
But this man was relentless in his resolve. He went to the capital island Havaru Tinadu,

57 **▸adi miage vāhaka ateḷeveriā ekehe beṇafi.◂**
▴adi miage vāhaka ateḷeveriā ekehe beṇafi.▾
and revealed the truth to the Atoll Chief.

58 **▸e raśi nadelle mīhun oḷovagen, timaī arabi kiavagen hiśi mīhakāu kēfei veňḍē mīhau ebihiʾ.◂**
▴e raśi nadelle mīhun oḷovagen, timaī arabi kiavagen hiśi mīhak-āu kēfei veňḍē mīhak ebihiś.▾
"There is a wretched man on this island Nadalla who claims he spent four years studying in Arabia.

59 **▸hagī gati ea e duvasvara hēda keḍeī divehi rukau arāʾ hankeḍe.◂**
▴hagī gati ea e duvasvara hēda keḍeī divehi rukaś arāś hankeḍe.▾
Actually he spent that time in Hankede climbing coconut palms."

60 **▸ateḷeveriā takuru hōdāʾ bākim feňḍuvafi.◂**
▴ateḷeveriā takuru hōdāś bākin feňḍuvafi.▾
The atoll chief sent a party of men to find Takuru.

61 **▸everie havara tenaduvau ea baginātā.◂**
▴everie havara tenaduvaś ea baginātā.▾
They brought him to Havaru Tinadu.

62 **▸satēka eti fārāʾ jessumaʾ fahi ee aňbarai nadellaʾ feňḍuvalie.◂**
▴satēka eti fārak jessumaś fahi ea aňbarai nadellaś feňḍuvalie.▾
After giving him a hundred lashes, they sent him back to Nadalla.

63 **▸takuru eḍi kaṇafaʾ negeṇe mei hankeḍe havvā ladun mara vē varaʾ vi.◂**
▴takuru eḍi kaṇafat negeṇe mei hankeḍe havvā ladun mara vē varaś vi.▾
When Takuru was unmasked, Hankede Havva thought she would die of shame.

64 **▸mi nikameti kan ihusās koggen, e kaňbulēge ea dū kollāi aňbarai addu ateḷaʾ ebege.◂**
▴mi nikameti kam ihusās kośgen, e kaňbulēge ea dū koślāi aňbarai aḍḍū ateḷaś ebege.▾
Feeling deceived she left him and went back to Addu Atoll.

65 **▸takuru eagē umurun bākī hiśi duvas nadellāi hēda keḍeī fakīri raśi mīhun kamāu ni hitā mīhakāge gote.◂**
▴takuru eagē umurun bākī hiśi duvas nadellāi hēda keḍeī fakīri raśi mīhun kamāś ni hitā mīhakāge gote.▾
Takuru remained in Nadalla the rest of his life, the poorest and least respected man in the island.

T17: **Juhā**

Aḍḍū: ᶜAlī Maṇikufānu

1
▸eˀ duvahi, den mi juhāu kē mīhā eba vēṅḋei.◂
▴ek duvahi, den mi juhā-au kē mīhā eba vēṅḋei.▾
Once upon a time, there lived a man named Juhā.

2
▸varaˀ baṅḋu hā hai hūne jehi, varaˀ nikameti koˀ vēṅḋenī.◂
▴varaś baṅḋu hā hai hūne jehi, varaś nikameti koˀ vēṅḋenī.▾
He was (lit. "lived") very poor and very weak from hunger.

3
▸den hiśī rasgefānu.◂
▴den hiśī rasgefānu.▾
Furthermore (lit. "then"), there was a king.

4
▸rasgefānu hinnei kāi baṅḋa boṅḋo koggen.◂
▴rasgefānu hinnei kāi baṅḋa boṅḋo koggen.▾
The king was living (well by) making himself a big stomach by eating.

5
▸juhākaˀ kāhettaˀ ni libe.◂
▴juhākaˀ kāhettaˀ ni libe.▾
But Juhā received nothing for eating.

6
▸varaˀ baṅḋu hāu vē vagutu ai.◂
▴varaˀ baṅḋu hāu vē vagutu ai.▾
By the time he became more (and more) hungry.

7
▸mehen vegen, juhā rasgefānau hasadaveri vege.◂
▴mehen vegen, juhā rasgefānau hasadaveri vege.▾
Because of this, Juhā started envying the king.

8
▸den, juhā hitā erī rasgefānaˀ boṅḋiaˀ dēśumāu.◂
▴den, juhā hitā erī rasgefānaˀ boṅḋiaˀ dēśumāu.▾
Thus, it came to his mind, ‘I am going to play a trick on him.’

9
▸hitau arafē, rasgefānu hukurau ē magi medaˀ hedi lekakī gos, boṅḋo gūfālaˀ lāfi.◂
▴hitau arafē, rasgefānu hukurau ē magi medaˀ hedi lekakī gos, boṅḋo gūfālaˀ lāfi.▾
It had come to (his) mind to lay a big dropping into the middle of the road where the king used to go to the Friday prayer.

10
▸lāfei, hedi lekakī, bole oˀ bolun koppā nāgen gūfāle matte eḋagen de farāti de aˀ eḋagen obagaˀ.◂
▴lāfei, hedi lekakī, bole oˀ bolun koppā nāgen gūfāle matte eḋagen de farāti de aˀ eḋagen obagaˀ.▾
After laying it he took off the cap which he had on (his) head, put it on the dropping and pressed (it with his) two hands on both sides.

11
▸den, (mehen hadagen oˀ vēlei), rasgefānu hukuraˀ vaḋagannavamun juhā mehen hadagen oˀ vēlei fenigen rasgefānu◂ suāla koffi, bala juhāu, ta te otī kehenakaˀ hadagen tau?
▴den, (mehen hadagen oˀ vēlei), rasgefānu hukuraˀ vaḋagannavamun juhā mehen hadagen oˀ vēlei fenigen rasgefānu▾ suāla koffi, bala juhāu, ta te otī kehenakaˀ hadagen tau?
Then, when the king was ambulating to the Friday prayer and appeared where Juhā was doing this, the king asked, ‘look, Juhā, why are you doing this?’

12
▸beṅi mei kēfi, manipulāu, dene hiś tau timā diśī ranun oˀ dīṅakāu.◂
▴beṅi mei kēfi, manipulāu, dene hiś tau timā diśī ranun oˀ dīṅakāu.▾
Being asked (so), he said, ‘excellency, did you (not) know that I saw a bird from gold?

13
▸e dīṅā uduhigen ē vēlei, timā bole ou etigaṅḋa nagafei, elli mei dīṅā daśi vege au.◂
▴e dīṅā uduhigen ē vēlei, timā bole ou etigaṅḋa nagafei, elli mei dīṅā daśi vege au.▾
When this bird flew up, I lifted the thing which was on my head, threw it and so the bird got under it.

14 **▸den iňgen ās, jeheṇe mei timā mi otī eḍai obagenāu.◂**
▴den iňgen ās, jeheṇe mei timā mi otī eḍai obagenāu.▾
Thus, it fell down, and since it hit the ground, I have been holding (it) by pressing (it).

15 **▸timā miā nagāʾ eu at-as dū kollī fehē, miā ebēṇeti mi otī au.◂**
▴timā miā nagāʾ eu at-as dū kollī fehē, miā ebēṇeti mi otī au.▾
If I let loose but one hand to take it, it might happen that it disappears.’

16 **▸manipuḷāu miā nagai derefelāk kei.◂**
▴manipuḷāu miā nagai derefelāk kei.▾
He said: ‘Sultan, would you please lift this (for me)!’

17 **▸beṇi mei, rasgefānu tofigaňḍi hifafei, halalāi nagāʾ hiňgi mei, juhā kēfi, manipuḷāu, tehen kami ni ēśiau.◂**
▴beṇi mei, rasgefānu tofigaňḍi hifafei, halalāi nagāʾ hiňgi mei, juhā kēfi, manipuḷāu, tehen kami ni ēśiau.▾
When the king grasped the hat, and tried to lift (it) while holding (it), Juhā said, ‘excellency, in this way it may not work (lit. "go").’

18 **▸eʾ farāti daśun aʾ kullāʾ kei.◂**
▴eʾ farāti daśun aʾ kullāʾ kei.▾
He told him to push his hand under (the hat on) one side.

19 **▸beṇi mei, rasgefānu maḍa maḍun maḍa maḍun toppigaňḍi eteraʾ aʾ veduvi mei, maḍa ettaʾ ati jehige.◂**
▴beṇi mei, rasgefānu maḍa maḍun maḍa maḍun toppigaňḍi eteraʾ aʾ veduvi mei, maḍa ettaʾ ati jehige.▾
When the king very very slowly pushed his hand inside the hat, it (the hand) touched something soft.

20 **▸jeheṇe mei, miśi fihagaʾ.◂**
▴jeheṇe mei, miśi fihagaʾ.▾
When it touched (that), he closed (his) fist.

21 **▸miśi fihagaʾ mei, ati ahurun ahurun gū divage.◂**
▴miśi fihagaʾ mei, ati ahurun ahurun gū divage.▾
After closing his fist, the excrements started running through the fingers of (his) hand.

22 **▸juhā hedī lekakī, baḍi baḍi lāfei divi ebege.◂**
▴juhā hedī lekakī, baḍi baḍi lāfei divi ebege.▾
Juhā, however, ran away, moving his body to and fro.

Fig. 6: *Fatkoḷu* F9

T18: **Buddiveri musaḷo**[*]

The wise rabbit

Fuaʾ Mulaku: Āminat Muḥammad Saʿīd

[*] This is a well-known story from the Old Indic *Pañcatantra* (I, 8 in the edition M.R. KALE, Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman, 3rd ed., Delhi 1982, 46 ff.); for other versions of the fable cf. Th. BENFEY, Pantschatantra: Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen, 1. Th., Leipzig 1859, 179 ff.

1
▹ed duvahaki veṅḋun ai jaňgaliaki minikāvage'.◃
▵ek duvahaki veṅḋunu ai jaňgaliaki minikāvagek. ▿
In a jungle, there once lived a tiger.

2
▹mi minikāvago hadā vaḋāmakī mi jaňgalie tibē hai kudu janavāra te kanīy ai.◃
▵mi minikāvago hadā vaḋāmakī mi jaňgalie tibē hai kudu janavāra te kanī ai. ▿
He used to eat small living beings in this jungle.

3
▹den mi kan jaňgalie ehen janavāro ekaha boňḋo vegen emmen sallā kō.◃
▵den mi kam jaňgalie ehen janavāro ekaha boňḋo vegen ekmen sallā kō. ▿
Because of this, the other animals in the jungle came together for a meeting.

4
▹den nimmī euśa siṭiya feṇovannāve.◃
▵den nimmī euśa siṭiya feṇovanna eve. ▿
They decided to send him a letter.

5
▹den euśa timāmenge tedein kommias mīhaku maṇikufānenge keumakaha komme duvaheki ekaku kā ettaka enna.◃
▵den euśa timāmenge tedein kommi-as mīhaku maṇikufānenge keumakaha komme duvaheki ekaku kā ettaka enna. ▿
One (lit. "a person") from among us will come to (be) your excellency's meal every day.

6
▹den mi kan singā gabūl keḋi ai.◃
▵den mi kam singā qabūl keḋi ai. ▿
The lion (!) accepted it.

7
▹komme duvaheki e' janavāroe' ai.◃
▵komme duvaheki ek janavāroek ai. ▿
Each day one animal came (to him).

8
▹adakī musaḷoge duvahai.◃
▵adakī musaḷoge duvas-ai. ▿
Today is the day of the rabbit.

9
▹den musaḷośa giūnī mā lahen ai.◃
▵den musaḷośa giūnī mā lahen ai. ▿
To the rabbit it happened to come very late.

10
▹den singā hīśī rīḋi arāgennāi.◃
▵den singā hīśī rīḋi arāgen-āi. ▿
So the lion became angry.

11
▹singā ehī ai, kumā tai mi hai laha vī.◃
▵singā ehī ai, kumā tai mi hai laha vī. ▿
The lion asked, 'why has it happened (lit. "become") (that you come) as late as this?'

12
▹beṇum-mā beṇi ai, mi jaňgalie o' ehen minīkāvago kahāigen timāśa ni giūnī ai.◃
▵beṇum-mā beṇi ai, mi jaňgalie ot ehen minīkāvago kahāigen timāśa ni giūnī ai. ▿
At (his) saying so, (the rabbit) said, 'I could not come to you because of another tiger living (lit. "being") in this jungle who scratched me.

13
▹eu timā kanna beṇaha hedī ai.◃
▵eu timā kanna beṇaha hedī ai. ▿
He said that he would eat me himself.'

14 **▹den singā beṇi ai mi jaňgalie ni hinnā hinnai timā varo mīhaku; mi jaňgalien emme boňḍī timā ve ai.◃**
▵den singā beṇi-ai mi jaňgalie ni hinnā hinnai timā varo mīhaku; mi jaňgalien ekme boňḍī timā ve ai.▿
Then the lion said, ‘there will be nobody else in this jungle like me. I am the biggest one in this jungle.’

15 **▹kefe, gēyāi singāyā ekī musāḷo.◃**
▵kefe, geı-āi singāyā ekī musāḷo.▿
At (his) saying so, the rabbit went together with the lion (to show him).

16 **▹e o’ tanaʾ balanna gē kal fen gaḍeki etere ti ōtai.◃**
▵e ot tanaś balanna gē kal fen gaňḍeki etere ti ōt-ai.▿
When they went (around) looking where that one was, they found him (lit. "he was") in a water pond.

17 **▹mi singā o’ vēlai, eneʾ siňga hedī vaḍāmakī, fen gaḍi eteraha fummali ai.◃**
▵mi singā ot vēlai, enek siňga hedī vaḍāmakī, fen gaňḍi eteraha fummali ai.▿
This lion being there, the other lion jumped into the water pond.

18 **▹fummum mā eu marovege ai.◃**
▵fummum mā eu marovege ai.▿
Jumping in, he died.

19 **▹euśa mi fenūnī fen gaḍi eteren euge hianī ai.◃**
▵euśa mi fenūnī fen gaňḍi eteren euge hianī ai.▿
What he had seen was his (own) reflection (lit. "shadow") from inside the water pond.

Fig. 7: *Lōmāfānu* L1, pl. d1

Fig. 8: *Lōmāfānu* L2, pl. 15

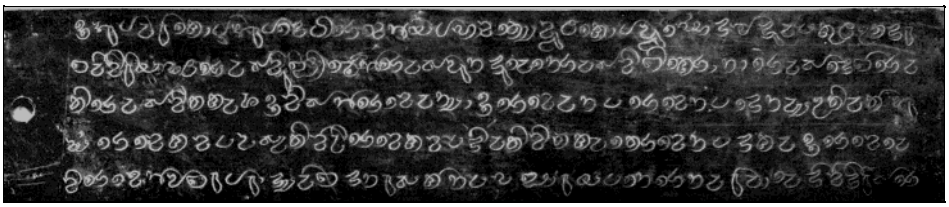

Fig. 9: *Lōmāfānu* L3, pl. 3/1

Fig. 10: *Lōmāfānu* L4, pl. g/1

Survey of historical documents

Copper-plate Documents in *Evēla* and *Dives akuru* (*Lōmāfanu*)

L1: This *lōmāfanu* was registered as no. 1 by BELL (1940, 180) who named it after "Haddummati" (today Lām) Atoll; given that its subject matter is about the donation of a mosque on the island "Gamuduvu" (today Gamu or Gan) of this atoll[1], the name "**Gamu Lōmāfanu**" would be more appropriate. According to BELL, this *lōmāfanu* must have consisted at least of 17 plates originally, the (authentic) page numbers of the manuscript ending with *mn* = 17. 15 plates have been preserved, with one plate missing at the beginning. A "rough translation" by BELL can be found under no. 907 (86/82) as part of the author's bequest in the Government Archives, Colombo (Sri Lanka)[2]. According to this translation, the numbering of the plates ranges from *f* (= 2; "i") to *ms* (= 17). The fragments that were left unaccounted for by BELL have provisionally been subsumed under *mx* and *my* here. A plate which BELL subsumed as no. 19 under "Haddummati No. 2" (cf. L4) seems to be a further fragment of the present *lōmāfanu*, given that it exhibits six lines as all the plates listed under L1 do; this plate is referred to as *mz* here. The *lōmāfanu* is dated into the year "582 after the Prophet (Muḥammad) went to heaven"; if this passage refers not to the Ascension of the Prophet (*miʿrāǧ*) but to his death (in A.D. 632), the *lōmāfanu* must have been written about 1194 A.D. This dating coincides with the statement that the *lōmāfanu* was published in the third year of the reign of King Gaganādīṭya.[3] According to the Chronicle of the Kings (*Rādavaḷi*, cf. below: RC 11,10), the beginning of the reign of "Gannādīṭṭa" must have occurred in A.H. 588 ≈ A.D. 1192; the king ruled for seven years.

L2: "**Isdū Lōmāfanu**": This *lōmāfanu*, which is named after the island Isdū (in Haddummati or Lām Atoll), is the most voluminous one that has been preserved; it comprises 20 plates à 2 pages à 5 lines. Its first edition was published in 1986 by HASSAN AHMED MANIKU and G.D. WIJAYAWARDHANA ("Isdhoo Loamaafaanu", Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society). The dating of this *lōmāfanu* is identical with that of L1.

L3: "**Daṁbidū Lōmāfanu**": This document, called "Eterukolu (Palace) Lomafanu" or "Lōmāfanu of the inner palace" by BELL (1940, 180 f.), would be better named after the island of Daṁbidū (in Haddummati or Lām Atoll), because its subject is the

[1] For the atolls and islands referred to in this survey, cf. the map printed as fig. 11 on p. 224 below.
[2] I am grateful to the director of the Archive who allowed me to inspect and use this material.
[3] For the name of this king cf. GIPPERT (forthcoming), fn. 13.

donation of a mosque on this island. According to BELL, it must have contained 16 plates (counted from *m* = 1 to *mg* = 16) in the beginning, with plate 14 (*mg* = 16) missing already at the time of BELL, who transcribed plates *m* (single-sided: "A") and *mg* (front page: "A") only. A complete but not very reliable edition was published in 1982 by the "National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research" in Male (then directed by HASSAN AHMED MANIKU) under the title of "Loamaafaanu: Transliteration, Translation and notes on Palaeography. Vol. 1"; a former attempt of reading (by ALEE NAJEEB) has recently appeared (2001). This *lōmafānū* is dated into the year "583 after the Ascension of the Prophet to heaven" and into the fourth year of the reign of King Gaganādītya; thus, the year A.D. 1195 can be regarded as the date of its origin.

L4: This *lōmāfanu*, which BELL (1940, 182) registered under the name of the "Haddummati Atoll" as well (cp. L1 above), should be better named "**Kudahuvadū Lōmāfanu**" after the island it concerns (in Nīlandu South or Dāl Atoll). It contains 8 plates (à 2 pages à 7 lines) which were presumably written by two different hands, possibly not at the same time. The *lōmāfanu* has not yet been edited so far; a rough translation with a transcription of the first two pages can be found in BELL's bequest (Government Archives, Colombo) under the signature 906/86:81, however. The "Nelles-Jumbo-Guide Malediven", München 1994, p. 47 shows a total view of the given *lōmāfanu* but erroneously identifies it with the "Isdhoo loamaafaana" (sic; cf. L2 above). The date of the *lōmāfanu* refers to the sixth year of the reign of Queen (!) Rāarādesvara, who, according to the chronicle (RC 12,7), ascended the throne in A.H. 630 (≈ A.D. 1232); accordingly, the *lōmāfanu* must have been written A.D. 1237-1238.

L5: The first edition of a document named "**Boḍugalu Lōmāfanu**" can be found in BELL (1940, 182 ff). According to this edition, it contained 10 plates (à 2 pages à 5 lines) at BELL's time. Its date, which is written in Arabic on the first plate, refers to the year A.H. 758, approximately corresponding to A.D. 1356 as the year of its origin. It coincides with the reignal period of Queen Rādaābarnna, who, according to the chronicle (RC 17,1), ascended the throne (for the first time) in A.H. 748.

L6: This single plate of a *lōmāfanu* was published by BELL (1930, 541 ff.) as "no. 1"; according to BELL, it belonged to "Mr. E. 'Abdul Hamíd Dídí" in Colombo at that time. BELL stated a high degree of similarity with the "Boḍugalu Lōmāfanu" (L5) from the impression of its handwriting and the figuring of the words in general. There are no references as to the date of origin.

L7: Another single plate of a *lōmāfanu*; it was published by BELL (1930, 552 ff.) as "no. 2". There are no references to the date of origin either.

L8: Fragment (about the half) of a single plate which was published by BELL (1930, 560 ff.) as "no. 3". The *al-ġāzī Ibrāhīm Pāṭinā[kinage]* mentioned here (the name can be supplemented according to the Haññamīdū-Fatkoḷu, cf. F6 below) seems to be identical with Sultan Ibrāhīm III who reigned from A.H. 993 to 1017 (≈ A.D. 1585-1609) and was killed on 28th Šawwal 1017 A.H. (≈ 4.2.1609) when fighting against Malabar pirates. With high probability, the *lōmāfanu* refers to the time of reign of Muḥammad Šuǧāʿi ʿImād ud-dīn (A.H. 1029-1058 ≈ A.D. 1620-1648; cf. BELL 1930, 561 f.).

Documents in Dives-akuru on paper and wood

(*Fatkoḷu*)

F1: “**Koḷufuśi Fatkoḷu**”: The document is undated but it can with certainty be assigned to the period of the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufānu (between A.D. 1573 and A.D. 1585). It was first edited by BELL (1940, 188 f.). Its subject is the donation of a mosque on the island of Koḷufuśi in Mulaku (Mīm) Atoll.

F2: “**Hasan Pātinā Fatkoḷu**”: An unedited *fatkoḷu* dated the 17th Šawwal A.H. 1036 (≈ 1.7.1627). Clearly it notarises a decoration.

F3: “**Gan Fatkoḷu**”: The document which was edited for the first time by BELL (1940, 190 f.) is also called “Filā Fatkoḷu”; it consists of an inscription on a wooden board of 1,70 × 0,54 m which attests the donation of a mosque on Gan Island in Aḍḍū Atoll. It is dated the 23rd Muḥarram A.H. 1062 (≈ 5.1.1652), i.e. the fifth year of the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar I (time of reign 1648-1687). A coloured photograph of a part of the inscription can be found in M. AMIN, D. WILLETTS, P. MARSHALL, “Journey through Maldives”, Nairobi 1992, 14.

F4: “**Bā Miskit Fatkoḷu**”: The text attesting the donation of a mosque of the same name in Māle is written on a wooden beam which has been preserved in the Māle Museum since the destruction of the mosque some years ago. A first edition of the inscription (transcribed into *Tāna*) was published in MM, 38 f. The text is dated the 11th Ramadān A.H. 1062 (≈ 16.8.1652); this date again coincides with the fifth year of reign of Ibrāhīm Iskandar I.

F5: “**Gamu Fatkoḷu**”: The unedited *fatkoḷu* attests a donation for the rebuilding of the Friday Mosque on Gamu Island in Haddummati (Lām) Atoll (cp. also L1) by Sultan Muḥammad (son of Ḥāǧǧī ᶜAlī Tukkalā) who reigned from A.H 1104-1112 ≈ A.D. 1692-1701. It is dated into the year A.H. 1108 (≈ A.D. 1696).

F6: “**Haññamīdū Fatkoḷu**”: This unedited *fatkoḷu* (cp. fig. 5, p. 200) is not identical with the document registered and partly edited by BELL (1930, 565, note 2) under the name of “Haññа Mídú Fat-koḷu” (sic) although both documents refer to the grave of the same Al-ġāzī Ibrāhīm (cf. also L8) on the island of Haññamīdū in Ari (Alif) Atoll. The given *fatkoḷu* notarises that Sultan Muḥammad ᶜImād-ud-dīn in the seventh year of his reign transferred the care for this grave to a certain ᶜAlī Muqrī (“recitator of the Qurʾān”). Probably, this Muḥammad ᶜImād-ud-dīn is the second Sultan known under this name who reigned A.H. 1116-1133 (≈ A.D. 1704-1721); correspondingly, this *fatkoḷu* must have been written by 1711 A.D.

F7: “**Isseri Fatkoḷu**”: This document contains a decree by Sultan Muẓaffar Muḥammad ᶜImād ud-dīn II who reigned from A.H. 1116 to 1133 (≈ A.D. 1704-1721); it is dated into the year A.H. 1127 ≈ A.D. 1715 and concerns a donation to the island Isseri in Nīlandū South (Dāl) Atoll.

F8: “**Kaňḍūdū Fatkoḷu**”: The unedited manuscript which is dated into the year A.H. 1147 (≈ A.D. 1735) attests a donation for the Friday Mosque on the island Kaňḍūdū in Koḷumaḍulu (Tā) Atoll by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar II who reigned from A.H. 1133 to 1163 (≈ A.D. 1721-1750).

F9: "**Kuramati Fatkoḷu**": The undated, unedited *fatkoḷu* (cf. fig. 6, p. 210) attests the installation of a certain Mūsā, son of Maḥmūd, as the Ḫaṭīb of an island with the same name in "Huvadummatti" (Huvadū or Gaf) Atoll by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Iskandar II (cf. F8 above). An exact date is missing.

F10: "**Kuḍahuvadū Fatkoḷu**": This document was edited by BELL (1940, 193 ff.; the illustration given there as plate M contains but the beginning up to line 21). It is dated into the year A.H. 1164 (≈ A.D. 1751), i.e. the second year of the reign of Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III (reigning period A.H. 1163-1173 ≈ A.D. 1750-1759). It approves the renewal of an older "*lomāpanu*" concerning the mosque of the island Kuḍahuvadū in Nīlandu (Dal) Atoll. Possibly this refers to the Lōmāfanu "L4" (cf. above).

F11: "**Diamigilī Fatkoḷu**": This unedited *fatkoḷu* is dated into the year A.H. 1164 (≈ A.D. 1751) too, but it refers to the third year of the reign of Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III. It attests the donation of a mosque on the island of Diamiňgilī in Koḷumaḍulu (Tā) Atoll (a coloured photograph of this document is printed in "Maldives. A Nation of Islands", Male' 1983, 20 f.).

F12: "**Tinadū Fatkoḷu**": This unedited and undated document was not issued by a Sultan but by different officials. It refers (maybe as a court decision?) to a certain Don Kaňbuloge from Havoḍḍā or Tinadū island (in Huvadū South or Gaf-Dal Atoll). Probably it was written in the second half of the 18th c.

F13: "**Havoḍḍā Fatkoḷu**": This unedited *fatkoḷu* which cannot be dated exactly notarises a gift to a certain Ḥassan, son of Muḥammad Ḫaṭīb, from the island Havoḍḍā in "Huvadummatti" (Huvadū South or Gaf-Dal) Atoll. Like the preceding document, it probably dates from the second half of the 18th c.

The Chronicle (*Rādavaḷi*)

RA: A *Tāna* manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi*, i.e. the Maldivian chronicle of the kings, which was registered as variant "A" by BELL who published but a short excerpt (one page only; cf. 1940, 198 f.). This version of the *Rādavaḷi* ends with Sultan Muḥammad Kalaminjā, i.e. Muẓaffar Muḥammad ʿImād ud-dīn II, who reigned from A.H. 1116 to 1133 ≈ A.D. 1704-1721. According to BELL, the manuscript consists of 31 pages.

RB: A manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi* written in *Dives akuru* and registered as "B" by BELL who published an excerpt of it. According to BELL, the last name that was recorded in this ms. was that of Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III who reigned from A.H. 1163 to 1173 ≈ A.D. 1750-1759; thus, it must have been written about 40 years later than ms. A (cf. above).

RC: A second *Tāna* manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi* which was edited in facsimile in 1979 by the Divehi bahāi tārīxaś xidmat kurā qaumī marukazu [National Center for Linguistic and Historical Research] in Māle. It consists of 38 pages, the content of p. 10 being almost a duplicate of that of p. 9; a fact that can possibly be explained by assuming a change of the underlying manuscript model. This variant — which represents the only complete version of the *Rādavaḷi* we dispose of so far — ends with Šayḫ Ḫāǧǧī Ḥasan who reigned from A.H. 1193 to 1213 ≈ A.D. 1779-1799.

Inscriptions in *Dives akuru*

Inscriptions from Aḍḍū:

IDAH 1: An unedited inscription which cannot be dated exactly, on the gravestone of a certain Don ᶜAlī Takurupānu, son of Ḥassan Takurupānu and ᶜAīša Bīpānu, from the graveyard of the Medu Mosque in Hitadū.

IDAM 1: An unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ṣanfa, grand-daughter (?) of Muḥammad Paňḍiā Takurupānu, dated 11th (?) Šaᶜbān A.H. 1134 (≈ 19.5.1625). An excellent photograph of this gravestone has been published in "Nelles-Jumbo-Guide Malediven", München 1994, 186.

Inscriptions from Māle:

IDMBM 1: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain ᶜAīša Bīpānu, daughter of ᶜAlī Baḍeri Takurupānu from Takandū and Aminā Kaňbulōge from Mārandū (both islands are located in Tiladummati North or Hā-Alif Atoll), died 5th Šaᶜbān 1148 (≈ 31.12.1735), from the cemetery of a "Baňḍāra Mosque" in Māle. A picture of this stone can be found in BELL 1924 (pl. 1), its transcription and translation ib. p. 291; for the person of ᶜAlī Baḍeri Takurupānu cf. ib. 298. The stone seems not to exist any longer today. It was neither mentioned in the description of the Baňḍāra Mosque of Henveru in MM, no. 39, p. 99 f., nor in the description of the Baňḍāra Mosque of Māfannu, ib. no. 24, p. 66 f.

IDMDM 1: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ṣanfā Bīpānu, daughter of the Wazīr Ḥağğī Ḥussain Famuladēri, died 22nd Ǧumāḍ al-aḫīra A.H. 1114 (≈ 13.11.1702), from the cemetery of the former Dolidan Mosque in Māle. A picture of the gravestone can be found in BELL 1924 (pl. 1), a transcription and translation of the inscription ib., p. 291. Obviously, the stone does not exist any longer either.

IDMDM 2: Inscription on the tombstone of a certain ᶜAīša Kabulōge, daughter of Muḥammad Mēnāi Kalōge, died 15th Rağab 1105 A.H. (≈ 12.3.1694). In MM, no. 14, p. 29, this inscription was transcribed into *Tāna* and listed as No. 5. According to a photograph (private property of HASSAN AHMED MANIKU), the original place of this gravestone was to the left of that registered under IDMDM 1, in the graveyard of the Dolidan Mosque in Māle. Obviously it has not been preserved either.

IDMEM 1: Inscription on the tombstone of a certain Maria Kaňbādi Kilage, daughter of Sultan Muḥammad ᶜImād-ud-dīn (I, reigned from A.H. 1029 to 1058 A.H. ≈ A.D. 1620-1648), and one Fātuma Kilage from Bārasu (today Bāraʾ, in Tiladummati North / Hā-Alif Atoll), from the graveyard of the former Eterekoilu ("Inner Palace") Mosque; the date of the death is given as the "14th Ramaḍān" without a year being engraved. A picture of the gravestone was provided by BELL (1924, pl. II), together with a transcription and translation (ib., p. 292). In MM, the mosque is listed by the name of "Masğid ᶜAfīf-ud-dīn" (nr. 32, p. 82), the stone appearing as no. 3. Probably it has not been preserved.

IDMEM 3: Inscription on a pillar which reminds of a tombstone by its form; it was placed near the "Eterekoilu Mosque" (Inner Palace Mosque) in Māle. It contains a report on the capturing of Māle by Malabar conquerors on the 13th Ṣafar A.H. 1166 (≈ 12.12.1752), who on this occasion kidnapped Sultan Muḥammad ᶜImād-ud-dīn III, and the reconquest of Māle by Ḥassan Ranna Baḍeri Maṅikupānu and the rebuilding of the palace by Ismāil Māvaḍi. The inscription was first edited by BELL (1940, 173 f. with pl. A, 4); in MM it is listed as no. 1 of the stones pertaining to the mosque "Masǧid ᶜAfīf-ud-dīn" (no. 32), p. 82. For the contents cp. also ITMP 1-2.

IDMEM 4: Inscription on the gravestone of one Kadīdā (Ḫadīǧa) Bīpānu, daughter of ᶜĀīša Kaṁbulege from Maḍidū (?, in Miladummadulu North or Šaviyani Atoll) and ᶜAlī Takurupānu (?) from Māviliputi (?), died 20th Ǧumād-al-awwal 1086 A.H. (≈ 11.8.1675), from the cemetery of the Eterekoilu ("Inner Palace") Mosque. The inscription seems to be identical with that given as No. 9 in MM under mosque no. 32 (cp. IDMEM 1) on p. 83. Apparently, the stone no longer exists, but a photograph of it has been preserved (private property of HASAN AHMED MANIKU).

IDMHM 1: Inscription on the western wall of the portal of the Friday Mosque (Hukuru Miskit) in Māle, attesting the donation of the Mosque by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar I who reigned 1648-1687 A.D. It has not preserved but there is a picture of it in MHM (1984, 267). A first edition was published by BELL (1940, 171 f. under no. 6e), a second one can be found in MHM (1984, 305).

IDMHM 2: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Uttama Paḍiāru Takuru, son of Muḥammad Uttama Paḍiāru Takuru from Aḍḍū, died 14th Šaᶜbān 1072 A.H. (≈ 4.4.1662), from the graveyard of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is located close to the south-western corner of the mosque; on its backside there is an Arabic inscription. MHM (1984) exhibits a picture of good quality (p. 381) and a transcription into *Tāna* (p. 282).

IDMHM 3: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Boḍu Doṭimena Kiṅagepānu, son of Wazīr Muḥammad Pāmuladeri Maṅikupānu, died 6th Dū'l-ḥiǧǧa 1178 A.H. (≈ 27.5.1765), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque. The stone was registered as no. XIII, 142 in MHM (1984, 372).

IDMHM 4: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Āmin (?) Kilagepānu, grandson (?) of ᶜUmar Rannabaderi Kilage, died 18th Ǧumād al-awwal 1089 A.H. (≈ 8.7.1678), from the graveyard of the Friday Mosque. The stone is listed as no. IV, 9 in MHM (1984, 346).

IDMHM 5: Inscription on the tombstone of a certain Āminā Kilagepānu (?), daughter of Ḥussain Boḍu Doṭimena Kilagepānu, from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. Its dating has become almost illegible (13. xxx A.H. 11xx). Apparently, the stone was not registered in MHM (1984).

IDMHM 6: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm (?) Hadeigiri Kalogepānu, died 20th Ǧumād al-aḫīra 1131 A.H. (≈ 10.7.1719) (?), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The inscription has been heavily damaged, the stone having been broken several times. Apparently, it was not registered in MHM (1984).

IDMHM 7: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Al-ᶜAzīz ᶜAlī Rannabaderi Kilagepānu, son of Wazīr Muḥammad Fāmuladeri Manikupānu, died 29th Šaᶜbān 1196 A.H. (≈ 9.8.1782), from the cemetery of the Friday-Mosque in Māle. The stone was registered as no. II, 14 in MHM (1984, 327).

IDMMM 1-4: Inscription on the four walls of the so-called Medu Miskit of Māle, attesting the donation of the mosque by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar I who reigned 1648-1687 A.D. MHM (1984) exhibits a reproduction (p. 173 ff.) as well as a transcription of the text into *Tāna* (p. 97 and 165 ff.). In MM the inscription is not mentioned in the treatise of Medu Miskit (no. 7, p. 14).

Inscriptions in *Tāna*

Inscriptions from Aḍḍū:

ITAG 1: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Maṇikufānu, son of Ḥasan Maṇikufānu from Gan, died 24th Ǧumāḍ al-awwal A.H. 1148 (≈ 11.10.1735), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan. Together with three other stones inscribed in *Tāna* (ITAG 2-4), the stone stands in a family grave.

ITAG 2: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm Maṇikufānu, son of Sultan ᶜAlī bin as-sulṭān Ḥassan Maṇikufānu (ᶜAlī VII / Ḥassan X., cf. ITAH 1 / 3), died 28th Ramaḍān 1171 (≈ 4.6.1758), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan (cp. ITAG 1).

ITAG 3: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Āminā Mānika (?), daughter (?) of Ḥussain Maṇikufānu (cp. ITAG 1), died 8th Haǧǧ (Dū'l-ḥiǧǧa) 1201 A.H. (≈ 20.9.1787), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan.

ITAG 6: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Āminā Kaṁbulēge, daughter of (Šuǧāᶜ) bin Muḥammad Kalēge, died 23rd Rabīᶜ ul-awwal 1173 A.H. (≈ 13.11.1759), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan (cp. ITAG 1).

ITAH 1: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ǧabrāil Saᶜīd bin al-ḥāǧǧī Ḥassan (= Sultan Ḥassan X., reigning A.H. 1113 ≈ A.D. 1701), son of Sultan ᶜAlī (VII, reigning A.H. 1112 ≈ A.D. 1701), died 14th Ṣafar 1188 A.H. (≈ 26.4.1774), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū. Together with the tombstone ITAH 2 (cf. below) this stone stands in the so-called "Sultan's grave". For the two sultans concerned cf. BELL (1924, 298).

ITAH 2: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain ᶜAlī Manikufānu (Takuru?), died 15th Ǧumāḍ al-awwal 1205 A.H. (≈ 20.1.1791), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū.

ITAH 3: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a Wazīr Ḥassan bin ᶜAlī bin al-sulṭan hāǧǧī Ḥassan (X) bin al-sulṭān ᶜAlī al-Karīm (VII, cf. ITAH 1 above), died 24th Muḥarram 1222 A.H. (≈ 3.4.1807), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū.

ITAH 5: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain ᶜAīša Manika, daughter (?) of Ḥassan Manikufānu, died 20th Muḥarram 1179 (≈ 9.7.1765), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū. This and another stone (ITAG 5) stand in the so-called "donor's grave".

ITAH 6: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Muḥammad Takurufānu, son of Yūsuf Faňḍia Takurufānu (?), died 20th Dū'l-qaᶜda 1134 A.H. (≈ 1.9.1722), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Ḫitadū.

ITAM 1: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Āminā Bīfānu, daughter of Sittī Bīfānu and Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufānu, died 1st Ḥağğ (Dū'l-ḥiğğa) 1161 A.H. (≈ 22.11.1749), from the cemetery in Mīdū.

Inscriptions from Fuaʾ Mulaku:

ITFM 2: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm, son of Ḥussain Fānu, died 4th Dū'l-qaᶜda (?) 1290 A.H. (≈ 24.12.1873), from the cemetery of Daḍumagu in Fuaʾ Mulaku.

Inscriptions from Māle:

ITMHM 1: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Muḥammad Maṇikufānu, son of Fāmuladēri Maṇikufānu (?), died 20th Dū'l-qaᶜda (x13x), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 52 in MHM (1984, 320).

ITMHM 2: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm Maṇikufānu, son of a Wazīr Ḥassan Haku[ra]i Takurufānu (cf. ITMHM 4; for the person in question cf. BELL 1924, 298) and Āminā Manikufānu from Fuaʾ Mulaku, died 3rd Rağab 1219 A.H. (≈ 8.10.1804), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 48 in MHM (1984, 319).

ITMHM 3: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Fāṭumā (sic, in Arabic) Manikufānu, grand-daughter of ᶜUmar Boḍu Badēri Takurufānu, from Aḍḍū, died 12th Dū'l-qaᶜda 1190 A.H. (≈ 23.12.1776), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 46 in MHM (1984, 319).

ITMHM 4: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Fātumā Manikufānu, daughter of the Great Wazīr Ḥassan Hakuraʾ Takurufānu (cf. ITMHM 2) from Takandū (Tiladummati North / Hā-Alif Atoll), died 12th Dū'l-qaᶜda 1195 A.H. (≈ 30.10.1781), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 45 in MHM (1984, 318 f.).

ITMHM 7: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥawwā Manikufānu, daughter of Kakai Don ᶜAlī Takurufānu and Fātuma Fānu from Boḍugalu, died 9th Rabīᶜ al-awwal (?) 1193 A.H. (≈ 27.3.1779), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. III, 4 in MHM (1984, 334).

ITMKM 1: Inscription in the outer wall of the Kaluvakaru Mosque in Māle which attests the foundation of the mosque by Sultan Ḥassan Nūr-ud-dīn (reigning A.H. 1193-1213 ≈ A.D. 1779-1799) in the tenth year of his reign. This mosque, whose original place was in the middle of the main street of Māle (Boḍu Magu) in Henveru quarter, was transferred to the south-eastern corner of the Sulṭan's Park in the 1980ies (private information from HASSAN AHMED MANIKU).

ITMP 1-2: Inscriptions on two wooden beams which were originally affixed outside and inside of the lintel above the portal of the Sultan's Palace; today both inscriptions are exhibited in the Māle Museum. Their content (similar to that of the *Dives akuru* inscription IDMEM 3 but using other words) is about the conquest of Māle, which was accompanied by the kidnapping of Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III, by Malabar conquerors on the 13th Ṣafar 1166 A.H. (≈ 12.12.1752), the reconquest of Māle by Ḥassan Ranna Baḍeri Maṇikufānu, and the reconstruction of the palace by a certain Ismāīl Māvaḍi. The inscription was first edited by BELL (1940, 174 f., no. 8).

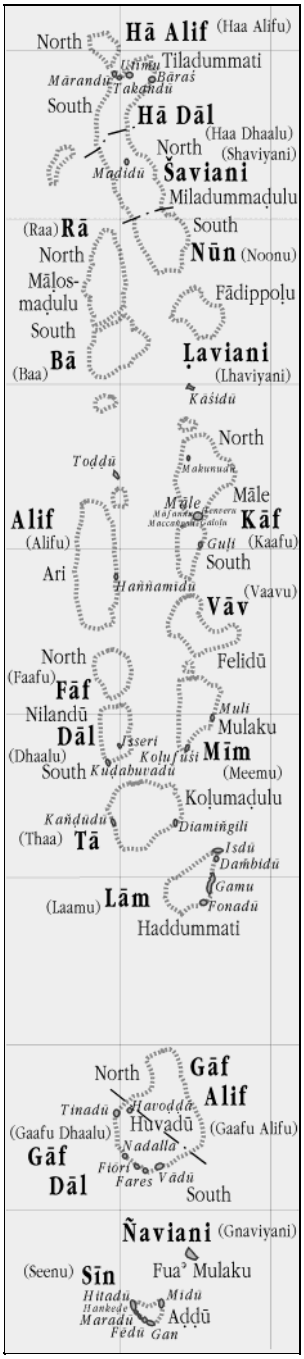

Fig. 11: Maldivian Atolls

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