1 Tika naitai ma maka-me ma uka-me ma okei umi-toojojo, naidi Long-ago my-father & father-his & mother-his & they slept-time-when, hunger uwa pagi ti-doke. 2 Okei tai wido kei ti-jake eda kakade season struck did-suddenly. 2 They gardens three make-having fence layers wija wagii. 3 Ti-jake ekina tai-da jokojo ki-jake we-ta agijo-two made. 3 Do-having pigs garden-place enter become-having plant-ed thing-udo ja-nai. 4 Ti-jake okei ekina-ido kodo mapega wagi-makni. s for-them-ate. 4 Bo-having they pig-s those arrows shot-completely. 5 We-ta agijo-udo utoma wei kogi. 6 Ti-jake okei nai-ja agijo 5 Plant-ed thing-s all dried-up. 6 Do-having they eat-thing beu. 7 Naitai maka-me naidi ka bokai. 8 Agoo wija umi-goo not. 7 My-father father-his hungry cause die. 8 Month two sleep-going-on jama-awi-jake naitai uka-me maija naidi ka bokai. 9 Ti-jake on-put-having my-father mother-his also hungry cause die. 9 Do-having naitai okai to buguwa uwii. 10 Okai tai kato kei tai. my-father he only jungle went. 10 He garden one made. 11 Okai naidi wedaba. 12 Okai piti modo maid-a tagi ati-jake 11 He hungry much. 12 He belt stomach on-tight do-having tai tai. 13 Okai eda kakade pituwo wagii, ti-jake ekina jokojo garden make. 13 He fence layers seven made, do-having pigs enter
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14 Kigee- na kii ke okai dimi kato- uda uwii.
not become-able. 14 Time- one that he mountain one-place went.

15 Okai dou, me- ido utoma dami- goo iti- doke, naidi ka.
15 He saw, person pl. all perish-ing collective-done, hungry cause.

16 Egi agijo utoma dami-goo iti- doke. 17 Awii ka uti pija
16 Meat thing all perish-ing collect- done. 17 Clear-weather cause trees

maiija wei kogi ti- daa. 18 Okai kii tadi bagee wuu eti- jake mo
also dried-up did-collect. 18 (All around there) people call tell-having person

idaa- na ma mana beu. 19 Utoma kodo dami- goo iti- jako.
animate-one even speech not. 19 All those perish- ing collective-having.

20 Okai owaa- pa uwe- etigo ibo ita maida na ka jamo kai. 21 Wo- we
20 He house-to go- ing-while big trail on down came. 21 Over- ward

na ka joka idaa- na titi woka- jake ebepeka to gane apumi- jake
child animate-one dirt separate-having face only hands cover- having

naidi ka boka- toojogo e- dou. 22 Uka- me ko agija to kodaa
hungry cause dead- was-there him- saw. 22 Mother- his that net- bag only that

jaiki- jake naidi ka boka- jake, 23 okai ogoogi ti- goo na
leave- having hungry cause die- having, 23 she rolled did- over- and- over

uti pija ma jamo poume- etigo doba- ida kodaa naidi ka boka- toojogo
brush even down crush- ing- while gully- place that hungry cause dead- was.

24 Ti- jake naitai- ja okejai uka ka- ija me oka e- makai.
24 Do- having my- father- agent those- two mother with- two grave them- buried.

25 Ti- jake naitai owaa- pa uwii. 26 Okai tai to kei ti- goo.
25 Do- having my- father house- to went. 26 He garden only work on- and- on.
Famine – Kapauku

27 Ti-jake naidi uwa beu ki-jake naitai-ja tai enaa moti-doke.
27 Do-having hunger season not become-having my-father-s garden mature took-did.

28 Okai kega-jake me ino-opa kaa tai. 29 Me-ido utoma dami-goo
28 He dig-having person other-to sell do. 29 Person-pl. all perish-ing
iti-jake me beu dani to. 30 Okei juwo kato duwai, me-ido
coll.-having person not like just. 30 They pig-feast one had, person-pl.
dou-ne. 31 Okei me-ido me beu dani.
see-wish. 31 They people-pl. people not like.

FREE TRANSLATION

1 Long ago in the time when my father lived with his father and mother, there was a famine. 2 They made three gardens and enclosed them in two fences. 3 Then the pigs got in and ate up all they planted. 4 They shot the pigs with arrows. 5 All planted things dried up. 6 Then they didn’t have any food. 7 My father’s father died of hunger. 8 Two months later my father’s mother also died of hunger. 9 Then my father being left alone he went into the bush. 10 He made a garden. 11 He was very hungry. 12 He tightened his belt and worked at his garden. 13 He enclosed it in seven fences then the pigs couldn’t get in. 14 Once he went up on a mountain. 15 He saw that all the people were perishing with hunger. 16 All the animals were perishing. 17 Because of the dry weather all the trees too dried up. 18 When he shouted for the people around there was no answer. 19 They were all perished. 20 As he was going home he got over on a well-traveled trail. 21 Over to the side he saw where a child had clawed at the ground, covered his face with his hands and lay dead of hunger. 22 His mother having left the net bag and having died of hunger, 23 had rolled down crushing the brush before her and lay dead of hunger in the gully below. 24 Then JT-Y’s father buried the two of them mother and child.
25 Then he went home. 26 He worked hard at his garden. 27 When the famine was over
Farnino - Kapauku

my father's potatoes were ready to eat. 28 When he dug them he sold them to
other people. 29 So many had died there were only a few left. 30 They made a
feast to take stock of the people. 31 There were only a few people.

INVENTORY OF MARGINAL MORPHEMES. The number indicates the sentence of the first
appearance.

A ffixes. Assimilated forms have basic
form shown in parenthesis.

1  -me  3rd person sing. poss. noun suff.
 -toologo  past durative, verb suffix
 -doko  sudden occurrence, verb suffix

2  -jake  subordinating verb suffix, 'having done'

3  -de  (-ida) noun suffix, & nominalizer, locative
 -ta  past perfect verb suffix
 -udo  (-ido) noun suffix and nominalizer, generalizer

ja-  3rd person relational verb prefix

4  -ido  noun suffix and nominalizer, generalizer
 -makai  completive, verb suffix

6  -ia  a unique noun derivation from the verb nai 'eat'

8  -goo  to keep on and on, verb suffix

12 -iga  noun suffix of motion

13 -make  ability, verb suffix

14 -na  (ena) 'one!', phonologically conditioned joining to preceding word
 -uda  (-ida) noun suffix and nominalizer, locative

17 -daa  sudden, collectively, verb pre.

20 -na  (-epa) 'to, at!', phonologically conditioned connective and noun
 marker
 -etigo  subordinating verb suffix, 'while doing'

21 -we  'ward', as in 'downward' etc.
 e-  3rd person direct obj. verb pref.

2h -ja  noun suffix of possession
 (agent in this case)
 -ija  dual noun suffix, derivative of wija 'two'

28 -opa  -epa), 'to, at!', phonologically conditioned connective and noun
 marker

30 -ne, verb suffix of intention

Particles

1  ...ma...ma  connective for two words of the same class

4 kodo  noun or noun phrase substitute or boundary marker indicating large
 things and feminine. Other forms are kou ko, kou

7 ka  cause; belonging to; agent; attribute to antecedent

8 jama- (jamo) 'down, over there'

maiya 'also', att to antecedent

9 to 'only, just!', att. to antecedent

12 maida 'on!', att. to antecedent

13 te  prohibitive, precedes verb

14 kii ke  noun or noun phrase substitute or boundary marker indicating
 masculine and general. Other forms is-kii

18 ma  connective, att. to antecedent

20 na ka  unanalyzed, att. to antecedent

22 koda another derivative of kou. See #4 above

29 dani  'like'. Idiom: beu dani 'a few
 only'