#### Free Translation

They are peach palm nuts. They grated manioc, too. They went back [to the other village] and grated manioc. They brought the manioc. They are at the same water hole, just before the high water season started. They are. They shot game with blowguns. They are game.

They went back and grated manioc again, with their fathers.

They came back again. They arrived back again, where there was no fish. They drank the water from where the rock was, where there was no fish. There were no *korobo* fish, no little fish. They drank water from the water in which there were no little fish, the water in the hole in the rock.

They went back again. They grated manioc again back there. They brought manioc again.

"Let's live for a while at the same little spring. We'll go home when the high water season starts. The high water season is going to come. Don't you see the crops growing? The crops are growing. When the high water season comes, and then when the high water season ends, the leaves of the manioc plant fall off," he said. "When the eating of peach palm nuts is over, the high water season will end."

They ate. The flood waters came to them. He went out hunting. He went. He stood on the bank of a stream. He saw the *aba* fish coming downstream. "Plunk" [went the sound of the fish coming to the surface and eating fruits]. Their backs could be seen above the surface all over.

"Wow, look at all the *aba* fish coming downstream!" He saw the *aba* fish.

He came home. He came upon some howler monkeys on the way back. He quickly shot howler monkeys with his blowgun. He shot spider monkeys with his blowgun. He quickly tied up the spider monkeys. He came home carrying the game. He also shot a female capuchin monkey with his blowgun. He came home. He arrived home.

"Whew, we're not going to be hungry. The *aba* fish are in the stream, and we're hungry." "Are there *aba* fish?"

"The *aba* fish are there in the stream, coming downstream. The water is full of them. I saw the *aba* fish and came back. Let's shoot the *aba* fish with arrows."

They got ready to shoot *aba* fish with arrows.

"I'm going to put a point on my arrow. I'm going to put on the point during the night. Where is the point for my arrow? Where is the bone of the agouti they ate?"

He looked for a bone of the agouti they had eaten, to divide it lengthwise. He found an agouti bone. He split the agouti bone down the center. He made a point at the end of the bone.

They made points at the end of the bones. They were not arrow points like those nowadays. They attached the arrow points. They twisted the points into the shafts. They twisted the foreshaft into the shaft. They finished the arrows. They were ready.

Morning came, and they had not slept, because they had heard the report about the *aba* fish. They used agouti teeth and paca teeth for arrow points. Agouti teeth can't be stuck in the arrow point right, they are curved. They didn't get upset. He put on the agouti tooth quickly. He quickly lashed on the agouti tooth.

They left, to carry *aba* fish. The *aba* fish were unsuspecting. The fish were going right along the edge. They shot them with arrows, the ones who would eat. Their manioc mash was waiting.

"Don't wash the fish intestines out in our water. You take out some water. You put the water

in another place. And then you wash the fish intestines. Don't dirty our water." Their voices were heard, the voices of the people who were protecting their water [i.e. the water in the spring in the rock].

They brought the aba fish back and ate. They roasted the aba fish on grills.

"They are coming downstream."

It was Bakayona who made the water dry up, and made the *aba* fish.

"You will see his *aba* fish. He was always angry, and he is lying there now in the water [he turned into an alligator]."

They ate his *aba* fish all the time, the one who made them. They shot *aba* fish with arrows. There was no one who didn't catch a lot of fish. They carried the *aba* fish that had been swimming near the bank. They killed lots of *aba* fish, because they were unwary. They were tired from bringing the *aba* fish home. They had shot the fish with agouti teeth. Agouti and paca bones, too. Their arrow points were paca teeth. They carried the victims of what was not an arrow point, they affixed animal bone to the arrows, my grandfather used to say, my father reported. Collared peccary bones, deer bones, he put points on deer bones, to be arrow points.

He exclaimed. "The *aba* fish brought on its own death. Don't go after it! I want it to be me [that is, I want to shoot it]," he said.

He pulled back his bow and shot at the *aba* fish, right where there was a root, and his paca tooth arrow point broke. Thwack went the arrow. Smack went the *aba* fish's tail on the water. The fish went off.

"Don't go after it! Let it go. When it forgets and comes back downstream slowly, it will get shot."

The *aba* fish went off. They waited for it. It forgot and came back downstream. The *aba* fish came back downstream.

"There it is! It came back! It came back! Shoot it! My arrow point is broken, the paca tooth; a piece of it broke off. You're going to miss it."

"I'm going to shoot it with an arrow, just a minute."

He shot at the *aba* fish. He shot the *aba* fish with an arrow as it came downstream. The *aba* fish jumped.

"I'm going to get it. I'm going to get the *aba* fish, to eat it. I'm going to get the *aba* fish that you shot. You will be with my younger sister."

"I don't want to be with your sister."

"To pay for the fish. You ate the fish. You will be full because of the fish. It's a big fish. Let the fish be inside the basket, threaded on a line. It will be the price of my sister."

They came home. They arrived home. They roasted the *aba* fish. They roasted them. They also boiled them, in ceramic pots. They didn't have metal pots, so they cooked the *aba* fish in pots fashioned from clay. Their ceramic pots were all in a row. They boiled the *aba* fish. They ate.

"We are going to eat *aba* fish. The older brother didn't leave his younger brother alone [in the story of Bakayona]. We are going to eat the *aba* fish of the younger brother who went after the fish. You are going to eat the *aba* fish of the younger brother of the man who killed, whose rear end his wives didn't like." Their voices could be heard as they ate.

They ate aba fish the next day. "Come on! Let's not let the aba fish go away downstream."

They went after the *aba* fish so they wouldn't go downstream. The *aba* fish were still in the same spot where they had shot them before. There were lots of *aba* fish every day. They shot them with arrows all day. They brought them back.

Then the others who had never fished went. They went out. They shot *aba* fish again.

"We are always eating game. Let's eat fish for a while."

They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They brought *aba* fish again. They roasted the *aba* fish back in the village. They ate *aba* fish again. They ate them. They slept.

"Shall we go out tomorrow? Come on, the *aba* fish won't be eaten anymore. The *aba* fish will go back at the end of the rainy season."

He said the rainy season wasn't going to end yet. "Wait a minute. The whatchamacallit hasn't called yet. The *kawa* frog calls. It hasn't called yet, saying, 'maa, maa'. The *kawa* frog hasn't called yet. When the *kawa* frog calls, the *aba* fish will come back."

They went out again. They shot *aba* fish again. It wasn't with crabwood fruit bait, they hadn't asked for crabwood fruit bait. The *aba* fish were by the water's edge. They started coming back. They were in the Faha Biri stream.

"There aren't any fish left, you need to go fishing."

There were many of them in the stream. They always ate *aba* fish. Because the water level fell, the *aba* fish didn't go any further upstream. The *aba* fish all had full bellies. Others went upstream and lived there. Many were still coming upstream. The *aba* fish were staying in the Faha Biri stream, their home. That was the old home of the *aba* fish that they always ate. They ate.

My grandfather, who was a child, was brought by his father. He ate his uncle's roasted *aba* fish.

"Oh, there is my nephew coming."

"We came. Uncle, where are the aba fish?"

"I roasted the *aba* fish, and they are there on the grill. You eat *aba* fish," said the one who he would call father-in-law.

He ate the *aba* fish killed by his future father-in-law. He ate the *aba* fish he had killed. His father also ate.

"Whew, aren't you going to eat manioc mash with fat? There is manioc mash with fat in the pot there. You will see the *aba* fish. They are always by the edge of the stream. The shallow water is full of them and we shoot them. Let's go, I'm going to shoot *aba* fish," my grandfather's father said.

"My wife is hungry, and I left her there. I left my wife there. When I have shot some *aba* fish, I will bring them. The boy misses me. He is filling his father-in-law's stomach. Our in-law doesn't have any food, why doesn't he come here?"

"Our in-law, come to be with us. You come here. We will each live in our own house. Let's eat *aba* fish a while more. You live over there on the other side. Let's make gardens. Let's make gardens where the *aba* fish live."

When they saw where the *aba* fish lived, they made gardens there. They cleared the underbrush. They chopped down the trees. They chopped down the trees while eating lots of *aba* fish. When they finished cutting down the trees, the *aba* fish came back. The *aba* fish came back, and they shot them. They shot the *aba* fish with animal teeth, my mother used to say. They used to shoot *aba* fish with deer bones, not with nails.

My grandfather's father had just married. He had one son. His son wanted to go with him, so he took him. He arrived with his son.

"You stay with your aunt. I'm going to shoot some *aba* fish for your mother. Your mother is hungry."

He shot *aba* fish. He brought the *aba* fish. His niece gutted the *aba* fish. He wrapped the *aba* fish in leaves. He roasted the fish.

"Uncle, do you have manioc mash?"

"There is manioc mash there on the floor."

He toasted some manioc mash. He ate an aba fish. He quickly ate the rest of the aba fish. He

ate the aba fish with his son. My grandfather ate with his father.

"You stay here for now. You stay with your uncle for now. I'm going to take some fish to your mother. We're going to move tomorrow. We're going to eat *aba* fish. Let my garden be for now. My garden that I started to cut down will sit. I will not be there many days. I'll come back soon."

"All right."

"I'll be there two days. After two days I'll arrive back. You fasten the thatch on my roof together. When you close up the top of the roof, I'll appear."

"All right."

He left. He left, my father said. My father reported what my grandfather used to say. He left. He went. He went into the forest. His son stayed behind with his uncle.

His father came back. He was away for two days, and then he came back. He arrived back.

"My father came back. Uncle, my father came back. I worked on his thatch for him."

"Let him come and live here. Let him live here for now."

#### Interlinear Presentation

yawita me yawita me kaba+F iyawa fowa	
	00
peach palm 3PL peach palm 3PL.S eat manioc mash mani	00
nm pron nm pron vt nf nm	
me hiti , na fowa me , fowa me hiti	
me hiti.LIST na+F fowa me fowa me hiti	
3PL.S grate AUX manioc 3PL manioc 3PL.S grate	
pron vt aux nm pron nm pron vt	
tonama fowa me kakama me tatafa	
to- na -ma+F fowa me ka- ka -ma+F me ta-tafa	
away AUX back manioc 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S DUP eat	
aux nm pron vt pron vi	
toemetemone , fara fa iti ya , fa fowe	
to- ha -hemete -mone fara faha ita.NOM+F ya faha fowe	
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F same+F water sit ADJU flood	
aux dem nf vi prt nf	
kisibani ya .	
ka -risa.NOM+F -ba -ni ya	
go/come down FUT IP.N+F ADJU	
vi prt	

'They are peach palm nuts. They grated manioc, too. They went back and grated manioc. They brought the manioc. They are at the same water hole, just before the high water season started.'

2	Faya	1	me	tatafa	ı	toa		me	,	bani	me	me	,	bani
	faya	ı I	me	ta-	tafa	to-	ha+I	E me		bani	me	me	,	bani
	SO		3PL.S	DUP	eat	СН	AUX	3PL	.S	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	}	animal
	conj	1	pron	vi		aux		pro	n	nm	pron	pron		nm
me		me		fora				na	bani	me	me	kakal	ba	
me		me		fora				na+F	bani	me	me	ka-	kaba	
3P	L.O	3P	L.S	shoot	with	blowe	gun	AUX	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP	eat	
pro	on	pr	on	vt				aux	nm	pron	pron	vt		
toa			me	ka	abi		me	ya	me	taba		fowa	me	2
to.	- ha-	ŀF	me	ka	abi		me	ya	me	taba+E	?	fowa	m∈	2
СН	AUΣ	Χ	3PL	POSS	fat	her	3PL	ADJU	3PL.S	be too	gether	manio	c 3E	PL.S
au	X		pron	prt	nm		pron	prt	pron	vi		nm	pr	on

<pre>hiti hiti grate vt</pre>	tonamatasa to- na away AUX aux	-ma -tas back agai	-	<b>kama</b> ka go/c	-m	a -tasa+F ck again	,	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>kobo</i> kobo arrive vi
namatasa na -ma AUX bac aux		, <b>aba</b> aba fish nm	<i>sawire</i> sawi be prese vi	_	.NOM+M	<b>ya</b> , ya ADJU prt	fa faha wate nf	, r	<pre>betira betira rock nf</pre>
winaha wina+F be insi vi	me me lde 3PL.3 pron	fawa fawa+F drink vt	me , me 3PL.S pron	<i>aba</i> aba fish nm	watare wata exist vi	-ra.NOM+M	<i>ya</i> ya ADJ prt	-	

'They ate. They shot game with blowguns. They ate game. They went back and grated manioc again, with their fathers. They came back again. They arrived back again, where there was no fish. They drank the water from where the rock was, where there was no fish.'

3 <b>Aba</b> ,	korobo ,	korobo	watarihi	,	korobo	me
aba	korobo	korobo	wata -rihi		korobo	me
fish	fish sp	fish sp	exist NEG.LIST		fish sp	3PL.S
nm	nm	nm	vi		nm	pron
watarihi	, aba	biti	mati .			
wata -rihi	aba	biti	mati			
exist NEG.LI	ST fis	n small+M	3PL			
vi	nm	adj	pron			

'There were no korobo fish, no little fish.'

4	Aba	biti	me	watari		ka	fa	me	fafawa
	aba	biti	me	wata	-ra.NOM+F	ka	faha	me	fa- fawa
	fish	small+M	3PL.S	exist	NEG	which	water	3PL.S	DUP drink
	nm	adj	pron	vi		prt	nf	pron	vt
toe	metemon	ne e		fa	itaharo	•	yati	tori	ya .
to	- ha	-hemete -	-mone ´	faha	ita -haar	ro ´	yati	tori	ya
СН	AUX	FP.N+F F	REP+F	water	sit IP.E-	+F	stone	inside+F	ADJU
au	X			nf	vi		nf	pn	prt

5	Faya	yati	tori	ya	fa	me	fafawa	toa	me,
:	faya	yati	tori	ya	faha	me	fa- fawa	to- ha+F	me
:	so	stone	inside+F	ADJU	water	3PL.S	DUP drink	CH AUX	3PL.S
(	conj	nf	pn	prt	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron
me		tokomatasa			fowa	me	hiti		
me		to- ka	-ma	-tasa+	-F fowa	me me	hiti		
3PL	.S	away go/	come back	again	mani	oc 3PI	.S grate		
pro	n	vi			nm	pro	n vt		
tona	matas	а	for	va	me	kakamata	sa		, fara
to-	na	-ma -	tasa+F fo	wa	me	ka- k	ta -ma	-tasa+F	´ fara
awa	y AU	X back a	gain ma	nioc	3PL.S	COMIT o	go/come back	again	same+F
aux			nm	1	pron	vt			dem
fa		bite	iti	ya	e	wiwina	ı		
fah	a	bite	ita.NOM+F	ya	ee	wi- v	vina		
wat	er	small+F	sit	ADJU	J 1IN.S	DUP 1	Live		
nf		adj	vi	prt	pron	vi			
kawa	amata	hi							
ka-	n	a -waha	-mata	-hi					
COM	IT A	UX chang	e short ti	me IMF	+F				
vi									

'They drank water from the hole in the rock. They went back again. They grated manioc again back there.

They brought manioc again. "Let's live for a while at the same little spring."

6	Fa fowe	kisi	ya	e	tokomaba
	faha fowe	ka -risa.NOM+	F ya	ee	to- ka -ma -haba
	flood	go/come down	ADJU	1IN.S	away go/come back FUT+F
	nf	vi	prt	pron	vi
ere	eke				
er	e -ke				

1IN.S DECL+F

pron

"We'll go home when the high water season starts."

7 Fa fowe kisiba amani
faha fowe ka -risa.NOM+F -ba ama -ni
flood go/come down FUT be BKG+F
nf vi vc

"The high water season is going to come."

Yamata yani haro te yamata yana.NFIN tee awa -ra.NOM+F haaro crops grow 2PL.S see NEG that one+F nf vi pron dem

"Don't you see the crops growing?"

9 Yamata yanake haro
yamata yana -ke haaro
crops grow DECL+F that one+F
nf vi dem

"The crops are growing."

10	Faya	fa fowe	kisi				ya	yama ,	fa	sai
	faya	faha fowe	e ka	-r:	isa.NON	1+F	ya	yama	faha	sai.NOM
	so	flood	go/c	ome do	wn		ADJU	thing	water	be empty
	conj	nf	vi				prt	nf	nf	vi
ya		fowa 6	efe	abate		ama	ka	hari		ati
ya	,	fowa (	efe	ahaba	-tee	ama	-ka	haari	,	ati
AD	JU	manioc :	leaf+M	die	HAB	SEC	DECL+N	I that of	ne+M	say
pr	t	nm ,	on	vi		sec		dem		vt

#### nematamona

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

"When the high water season comes, and then when the high water season ends, the leaves of the manioc plant fall off," he said.'

11	Yawita	kabi	fawa	ne	ya	fa	saihaba	
	yawita	kaba.NFIN	fawa	na.NOM+M	ya	faha	sai	-haba
	peach palm	eat	stop	AUX	ADJU	water	be empty	FUT+F
	nm	result	vi	aux	prt	nf	vi	

#### amani

ama -ni SEC BKG+F

"When the eating of peach palm nuts is over, the high water season will end."

12 Yawita	kabi	fawa n	ıe	ya fe	a s	aihaba		
yawita	kaba.NFIN	fawa r	na.NOM+M	ya f	aha s	sai	-haba	
peach palm	eat	stop A	XUA	ADJU w	ater k	e empty	FUT+F	
nm	result	vi a	aux	prt n	ıf v	7i		
amake h	aro .							
ama -ke h	aaro							
	hat one+F							
	em							
"When the eating	of peach palm n	uts is over,	, the high wa	ter season	will end."	•		
12 E	<b>C</b>	<b>C</b>		4 6 4 6	_	4		
13 <i>Faya me</i> faya me	, <i>faya me</i> faya me	, , ,		tafatafa + 2 f 2 -		toa to- ha+F	me	, <i>ni</i> ni
iaya me so 3PL	faya me so 3P		_		eat	CH AUX	me 3PL	to
conj pron	conj pr		onj pron	vi	cac	aux	pron	prt
ya fa fowe	kisemetemo		I	ama	ıke		L - 4-1-	F
ya faha for			hemete -m		-ke	•		
ADJU flood	go/come	down Fl	P.N+F RE	P+F SEC	DECL+E	7		
prt nf	vi			sec				
'They ate. The floo	d waters came to	them.'						
	_	_				_		
14 Yama yete	nebona	toke	la o LM	yama	yete	nebona		
yama yete thing hunt			ka+M y go/come	yama thing	yete hunt	na -hik AUX INT		
nf vt	aux	. away vi	y go/come	nf	vt	aux	I'I	
tokematamonaka	G G.11	• -						
	-himata -mon	a -ka	•					
away go/come :	FP.N+M REP+	M DECL+N	A.					
vi								
v <u> </u>								
'He went out hunt	ing.'							
'He went out hunt	_							
'He went out hunti	, toke	leo IM	fa falsa	witi yo		vabasawite	la a a a	
'He went out hunti	, <i>toke</i>	ka+M	faha	witi y	a to	- waa	-basa	
'He went out hunti	, toke to-	ka+M go/come	faha stream	witi y edge A	a to DJU aw	- waa ay stand		
'He went out hunti	, toke to- me away vi	go/come	faha stream nf	witi y edge A	a to	- waa way stand	edge	
'He went out hunti	, toke to- ne away vi e , aba		faha stream	witi y edge A pn p	a to DJU aw	- waa ay stand		
'He went out hunti	, toke to- ne away vi e , aba	go/come me me	faha stream nf <b>kisani</b> ka	witi y edge A pn p	a to DJU aw rt vi	o- waa vay stand	edge  awe	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke to- ka+M away go/com vi , aba me aba me fish sp 31	, toke to- ne away vi e , aba	go/come me me	faha stream nf  kisani ka S go/com	witi y edge A pn p	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani	o- waa vay stand	edge  awe awa+M	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke to- ka+M away go/com vi , aba me aba me fish sp 31	, toke to- ne away vi e , aba e aba EL fish	go/come  me  me  sp 3PL.	faha stream nf  kisani ka S go/com	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani	mera mera mera mera	awe awa+M see	out
'He went out hunti	toke to- away vi  e , aba aba fish con nm aba aba	me me sp 3PL. pron me me	faha stream nf  kisani ka S go/com vi  bar	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down i wari ri waa	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani	mera mera mera mera	awe awa+M see	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke to- ka+M away go/com vi , aba me aba me fish sp 3I nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surf	toke to- away vi  e , aba aba fish con nm aba aba	me me sp 3PL. pron me me sp 3PL.	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi bar bar	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F	mera mera mera mera 3PL.O pron	awe awa+M see	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke to-ka+M away go/com vi , aba me fish sp 31 nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surissound	toke to- away vi  e , aba aba fish con nm aba aba	me me sp 3PL. pron me me sp 3PL. pror	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi bar bar poss bac n pn	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down i wari ri waa	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F	mera mera mera mera 3PL.O pron	awe awa+M see	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke to- ka+M away go/com vi , aba me fish sp 31 nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surissound tonemetemoneke	toke to- away vi  e, aba e aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pror ahi	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi bar bar POSS bac n pn	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F	mera mera mera mera 3PL.O pron	awe awa+M see	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke to- ka+M away go/con vi , aba me fish sp 31 nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surf sound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme	, toke to- away vi e, aba e aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pror ahi ah:	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi ban ban POSS bad pn	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F	mera mera mera mera 3PL.O pron	awe awa+M see	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/con vi  , aba me fish sp 31 nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surf sound  tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+	, toke to- away vi e, aba e aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pron ahi ah:	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi ban POSS bad pn i	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F	mera mera mera mera 3PL.O pron	awe awa+M see	out
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/con vi  , aba me fish sp 31 nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surf sound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+: aux	, toke to- ne away vi e , aba e aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pror ahi ah:	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi ban ban POSS bac pn i	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan vi	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri id DISTF	mera mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe awa+M see vt	out ,
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M  away go/con vi  , aba me fish sp 31  nm po  kabo kabo (breaking surfisound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+ aux 'He went. He stood	, toke to- away vi e, aba aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke F REP+F DEC	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pron ahi ah: L+F the der a stream. I	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi ban ban POSS bac n pn i en m He saw the a	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan vi	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri ad DISTF	mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe  awa+M  see  vt	out ,
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/con vi  , aba me fish sp 31 nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surf sound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+: aux	, toke to- away vi e, aba aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke F REP+F DEC	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pron ahi ah: L+F the der a stream. I	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi ban ban POSS bac n pn i en m He saw the a	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan vi	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri ad DISTF	mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe  awa+M  see  vt	out ,
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/com vi  aba ma fish sp 3H nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surf sound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+H aux 'He went. He stood sound of the fish c	, toke to- away vi e, aba aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke F REP+F DEC	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pron ahi ah: L+F the der a stream. I	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi ban ban POSS bac n pn i en m He saw the a	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down  i wari ri waa ck stan vi	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri ad DISTF	mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe  awa+M  see  vt	out ,
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/com vi  , aba ma fish sp 31 nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surrisound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+; aux 'He went. He stood sound of the fish cover.'	, toke to- away vi e, aba e aba PL fish fon nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke F REP+F DEC d on the bank of oming to the sur	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pror ahi ah: L+F the der a stream. I	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com bar bar POSS bac pn i en m He saw the a ating fruits].	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down i wari ri waa ck stan vi  ba fish con Their back	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri d DISTF	mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe  awa+M  see  vt	out ,
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/com vi  , aba me fish sp 3F nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surresound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+F aux 'He went. He stood sound of the fish cover.'  16 Aii , a aii , a	toke to- away vi  aba e aba e aba eL fish fon nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke F REP+F DEC d on the bank of oming to the sur  ba me ba me	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pror ahi ah: L+F the der a stream. I	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi bar bar POSS bac pn i en m He saw the a ating fruits].	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down i wari ri waa ck stan vi  ba fish con Their back	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri ad DISTF	mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe  awa+M  see  vt	out ,
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/com vi  , aba me fish sp 3F nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surrisound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+F aux 'He went. He stood sound of the fish cover.'  16 Aii , aaii aii aaii wow! ff	toke to- away vi  e, aba aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke F REP+F DEC d on the bank of oming to the sur	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pron ahi ah: L+F the der a stream. I face and ex kisaka ka . S go/c	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com bar bar POSS bac pn i en m He saw the a ating fruits].	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down i wari ri waa ck stan vi  ba fish con Their back	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri d DISTF	mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe  awa+M  see  vt	out ,
'He went out hunting  15 Toke  to- ka+M away go/con vi  , aba me fish sp 3F nm pr  kabo kabo (breaking surf sound tonemetemoneke to- na -heme CH AUX FP.N+F aux 'He went. He stood sound of the fish cover.'  16 Aii , a aii , a wow! ff	toke to- away vi  e, aba e aba PL fish con nm aba aba face) fish nm  te -mone -ke F REP+F DEC d on the bank of oming to the sur	me me sp 3PL. pron me sp 3PL. pron ahi ah: L+F the der a stream. I face and ex kisaka ka . S go/c	faha stream nf kisani ka S go/com vi ban POSS bac pn i en m He saw the a ating fruits].	witi y edge A pn p -risa ne down i wari ri waa ck stan vi  ba fish con Their back	a to DJU aw rt vi -hani IP.N+F -ri ad DISTF	mera mera 3PL.O pron	edge  awe  awa+M  see  vt	out ,

```
17 Fava
          aba
                                     kame
                    me
                            awe
                                              -ma+M
   faya
          aba
                    me
                             awa+M
                                     ka
   so
          fish sp
                    3PL.O
                             see
                                     go/come back
   conj
                    pron
                                     vi
          nm
kamematamonaka
         -ma
              -himata -mona -ka
go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi
'He saw the aba fish. He came home.'
18 Kame
                    viko
                                              wasime
                                                            yiko
                                     me
                                                                             me
                    yiko
                                                            yiko
            -ma+M
                                              wasi -ma+M
   ka
                                     me
                                                                             me
   go/come back
                    howler monkey
                                              find back
                                      3PL.O
                                                            howler monkey
                                                                             3PL.O
   vi
                    nm
                                      pron
                                                                             pron
forafora
                              kawe
                                                       viko
                                                                        me
fora- fora
                              ka-
                                    na
                                         -waha+M
                                                       yiko
                                                                        me
DUP
       shoot with blowgun
                              COMIT AUX change
                                                       howler monkey
                                                                        3PL.0
vt.
                              aux
                                                       nm
                                                                        pron
                                                          soki
fora
                      ne
                                 viko
                                                  me
fora
                       na+M
                                 yiko
                                                          soki
                                                  me
shoot with blowgun
                      AUX
                                 howler monkey
                                                  3PL.O
                                                          tie up
                                                  pron
                       aux
                                                          vt
kanakikabote
                                 faya
                                        bani
                                                 me
                                                          weve
                                                                  ni
                                 faya
                                                          weye
ka- na -kI
                   -kabote
                                        bani
                                                                  na.NFIN
                                                 me
COMIT AUX coming quickly
                                        animal
                                                 3PL.O
                                                          carrv
                                                                  AUX
                                 so
                                 conj
                                                 pron
aux
                                                          vt
                                                                  aux
                                        nm
kame
                    hani
                                              ni
                              me
                                      weye
                                              na.NFIN
         -ma+M
                    hani
                                      weye
kа
                             me
                    animal
                              3PL.O
go/come back
                                              AUX
                                      carrv
πi
                                              aux
                    nm
                              pron
                                      vt
kamematamonaka
         -ma
               -himata -mona -ka
go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
```

'He came home. He came upon some howler monkeys on the way back. He quickly shot howler monkeys with his blowgun. He shot spider monkeys with his blowgun. He quickly tied up the spider monkeys. He came home carrying the game.'

```
19 Yowi
                    fana
                              karaboa
                                                       faya
   yowi
                     fana
                              karaboha.LIST
                                                       faya
   brown capuchin
                     female
                              shoot with blowgun
                                                       so
                     nf
                                                       conj
kamematamonaka
         -ma
              -himata -mona -ka
go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
77 i
```

'He also shot a female capuchin monkey with his blowgun. He came home.'

20	<i>Kame</i> ka go/c vi			<i>kame</i> ka go/d vi		-ma+ back		<pre>kobo kobo arrive vi</pre>		,	<pre>Oof oof hoo interj</pre>	,	<pre>hoo hoo humph interj</pre>	,
e		fifim	ıi		toibe	?								
ee		fi-	fimi		to-	ha	-b	е						
111	N.S	DUP	be hu	ngry	СН	AUX	IM	MED+F						
pro	on	vi			aux									

'He came home. He arrived home. "Whew, we're not going to be hungry."

21 Me me 3PL.S pron "The aba fis	fimia fimi+F be hungr vi sh are in the	pron	kaya kaya lie vi lwe're hur	nine na -ne AUX CONT+E aux ngry."'	haa '	aba aba fish sp nm	mati mati 3PL pron
22 <b>Aba</b> aba fish sp nm "Are there a	pron	<i>amani</i> ama -ni be BKG vc					
23 Aba aba fish sp nm mati mati 3PL.S pron "The aba fis	pron	lie A vi a	a.NOM+F UX ux	<pre>ahi ahi there dem  downstream."</pre>	aba fish sp nm	me ka	o/come down
24 Yama yama thing nf "The water i	faha r water (	CAUS die ⁄t	; a -rawa F.PL	-hara -ni IP.E+F BKG			
25 Aba aba fish sp nm "I saw the a	pron	1SG.S so	wa+F or ee 1:	SG.S go/com	-ma -ne ne back CON		ni .S BKG+F
26 <b>Aba</b> aba fish sp nm "Let's shoot	pron	ee 1IN.S	vt	ith arrow	namata na -mata AUX short aux	, time	<pre>mata    . mata for now prt</pre>
27 41-	me	me	tisa		nabone	me	yana
27 <b>Aba</b> aba fish sp	me	me 3PL.S	tisa shoot w: vt	ith arrow	na -habon AUX INT+F aux	e me 3PL.S pron	yana start vi
aba fish sp nm tonemetemon to- na -	me p 3PL.O pron  eke hemete -r P.N+F RI	me 3PL.S pron  mone -ke EP+F DECL	shoot wi vt ahi ahi +F the	n	AUX INT+F	3PL.S	start

#### okanawarimatibeya

o- ka- na- waa -rI -mata -be -ya 1SG.S COMIT CAUS stand raised surface short time IMMED+F now vt

"I'm going to put a point on my arrow."

#### 29 Okanawari onahabebanaka

o- ka- na- waa -rI o- nahaba -hibana -ka 1SG.S COMIT CAUS stand raised surface 1SG.S at night FUT+M DECL+M vt prt

"I'm going to put on the point during the night."

30 Wati oko wati inobara -ba -ra wati  $\circ$ ka wati ino arrow 1SG.POSS POSS arrow point+M FUT NPQ prt nm pn

"Where is the point for my arrow?"

31 Sinama tone hikabe sinama me tone e ra sinama tone sinama hi- kaba+M tone -ra me na agouti bone agouti 3PL.S OC eat bone (question) AUX CQ+M pron pn vi aux pn

ahi ahi

here dem

"Where is the bone of the agouti they ate?"

32 Sinama	ı me	hikal	pari		tone	ahi	tabiy	o,	sara	
sinam	a me	hi-	kaba	-haari	tone	ahi	tab	iyo ´	sara	
agout	i 3PL.S	S OC	eat	IP.E+M	bone	then	wan	ting	split	
nm	pron	vt			pn	dem	pn		vt	
kanisebona	!			sinama	tone	siba		ne	sinama	tone
ka- na	a -risa	-hibor	na ´	sinama	tone	e siba		na+M	sinama	tone
COMIT AU	JX down	INT+M		agouti	bone	e look	for	AUX	agouti	bone
aux				nm	pn	vt		aux	nm	pn
wasi	sinama	tone	sara	kanise			,	sinama	tone	tari
wasi+M	sinama	tone	sara	ka-	na	-risa+M	,	sinama	tone	tari
find	agouti	bone	split	t COMIT	AUX	down		agouti	bone	peel
vt	nm	pn	vt	aux				nm	pn	vt

nematamona
na -himata -mona ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
aux dem

'He looked for a bone of the agouti they had eaten, to divide it lengthwise. He found an agouti bone. He split the agouti bone down the center. He made a point at the end of the bone.'

33 <i>Tari</i>	hine	tona	me	tari	neme	etemoneke			wati
tari	hi- na+M	tona	me	tari	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	wati
peel	OC AUX	bone	3PL.S	peel	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	arrow
vt	aux	nf	pron	vt	aux				nm
ino	amarari								
ino	ama -ra -	-haari							
point+M	be NEG 1	IP.E+M							
pn	VC								

'He made a point at the end of the bone. They made points at the end of the bones. They were not arrow

points like those nowadays.'18

34	<i>Tona</i> tona bone	me me 3PI		<i>tari</i> tar pee		<i>na</i> na+F AUX	me me 3PI	. S	,	<i>wati</i> wat arr	i	<pre>ino inc poi</pre>		me me 3PL.S	]	kok	o <b>bo</b> oo attache	ed	-bo DUP
	nf	pro	on '	vt		aux	pro	n		nm		pn		pron	7	νi			
<i>nih</i> nil	<i>a</i> na- na	+F	<i>wati</i> wati		<i>me</i> me		<i>wari</i> wari	<i>na</i> na+	F	,	<i>wati</i> wat:	i	<i>me</i> me	<i>wari</i> wari	i				
CA	JS AU	Χ	arro	W	3PI	L.S	turn	AUX			arro	WC	3PL.S	turi	n				
au:	X		nm		pro	on	vt	aux			nm		pron	vt					
nen	netemon	eke																	
na	-hem	ete	-mon	e -	-ke														
AU2	X FP.N	+F	REP+	F I	ECI	+F													
au:	X																		

'They made points at the ends of the bones. They attached the arrow points. They twisted the points into the shafts.'

```
35 Wati
                 wari
                              me
                                      wati
                                                    hawa
  wati
          me
                 wari
                        na+F
                              me
                                      wati
                                             me
                                                    hawa
         3PL.S turn
                        AUX
                              3PL.S
                                     arrow
                                             3PL.S
                                                    be finished
          pron
                 vt
                        aux
                              pron
                                             pron
toniha
                        yana
                               tonemetemone
                me
to- niha- na+F
                me
                               to- na -hemete -mone
                        yana
CH CAUS AUX
                3PL.S
                        start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                pron
                        vi
                               aux
```

'They twisted the foreshaft into the shaft. They finished the arrows. They were ready.'

36 <i>Yama</i>	we	kamakike		,	me	amo	ra
yama	wehe	ka -	-makI -	ke	me	amo	na -ra+F
thing	light+F	go/come f	following D	ECL+F	3PL.S	sleep	AUX NEG
nf	pn	vi			pron	vi	aux
mati ,	aba	me	tamine	me	mita	mati	
mati ´	aba	me	tamine	me	mita+F	mati	
3PL.S	fish sp	3PL.POSS	news abou	t 3PL.S	hear	3PL.S	
pron	nm	pron	pn	pron	vt	pron	

'Morning came, and they had not slept, because they had heard the report about the aba fish.'

37 <b>Sinam</b> sinam agournm	ma ino	<b>ya</b> ya +M ADJU prt	me me J 3PL pron	ka ka POSS	wati wati arrow nm	<pre>ino ino point+M pn</pre>	toha to- ha.I CH be	LIST ,	wakowa wakowa paca nm
	ini	-	-	ama	ino	nanawanih	_		11111
me		, fa				nanawanin	ına		
me	ini	fa	aya si:	nama	ino	na- na-	wana	-h	ina
3PL.POS	S tooth+	·F sc	o ag	outi	tooth+M	DUP CAUS	S be atta	ched ca	n
pron	pn	CC	onj nm		pn	vi			
re	ino	kero		nami		kitakita		raba	
na -ra	+M ino	ker	0	na	-ma.NFIN	kita- k	ita	na -r	aba
AUX NEG	tooth	n+M be	curved	AUX	back	DUP be	e strong	AUX a	bit
aux	pn	vi		aux		vi		aux	
tere		me :	yayawa		toaremete	moneke			
na -te	e -ra+M	me	ya- yaw	ra	to- ha	-ra -he	mete -mor	ne -ke	
AUX HAB	NEG	3PL.S	DUP be	upset	CH AUX	K NEG FP.	N+F REP-	+F DECL+	·F
aux		pron	vi		aux				

<sup>18</sup> The original sounds like *amari hari* at the end of the sentence, and this has been corrected in the transcription.

sina	ma	ino	,	nawan	ıa			kanibot	e		sinama	ino	wete
sin	ama	in	0	na-	war	na		ka-	na	-bote	sinama	ino	wete
ago	uti	to	oth+M	CAUS	be	attad	ched	COMIT	AUX	quickly	agouti	tooth+M	tie
nm		pn		vt				aux			nm	pn	vt
kan	akabote	e		me		tokel	hemeten	noneke				aba	me
ka-	na	a	-kabote	e me		to-	ka	-	hemet	te -mone	-ke	aba	me
COM	JA TI	JX	quickly	7 3PI	L.S	awa	y go/d	come F	P.N+F	F REP+F	DECL+F	fish sp	3PL.O
aux				pro	on	vi						nm	pron
	aba		me	wey	e	naba		mati					
,	aba		me	wej	ze	na	-haba	a mat	i				
	fish	sp	3PL.S	car	rry	AUX	FUT+F	7 3PL	.S				
	nm		pron	vt		aux		pro	n				

'They used agouti teeth and paca teeth for arrow points. Agouti teeth can't be stuck in the arrow point right, they are curved. They didn't get upset. He put on the agouti tooth quickly. He quickly lashed on the agouti tooth. They left, to carry *aba* fish.' <sup>19</sup>

baraha bara+F be unsuspecting	<i>aba</i> aba fish sp	me me 3PL.S	hom	na	zontal		F
vi	nm	pron	vi		2011041	cago	
nemo	etemoneni	1		,	me	tafaba	
na	-hemete	-mone	-ni		me	tafa	-haba
t with arrow AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F	7	3PL.S	eat	FUT+F
aux					pron	vi	
	bara+F be unsuspecting vi nemo na t with arrow AUX	bara+F aba be unsuspecting fish sp vi nm nemetemoneni na -hemete	bara+F aba me be unsuspecting fish sp 3PL.S vi nm pron  nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone t with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F	bara+F aba me hom be unsuspecting fish sp 3PL.S be vi nm pron vi  nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni t with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F	bara+F aba me homa be unsuspecting fish sp 3PL.S be hori: vi nm pron vi  nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni t with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F	bara+F aba me homa be unsuspecting fish sp 3PL.S be horizontal vi nm pron vi  nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni me t with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.S	bara+F aba me homa -basa+ be unsuspecting fish sp 3PL.S be horizontal edge vi nm pron vi  nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni me tafa t with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.S eat

'The aba fish were unsuspecting. The fish were going in a line right along the edge. They shot them with arrows, the ones who would eat.'

39	Me	ka	iyawa	si	tona	rama	
	me	ka	iyawa	sii	to- na+F	rama	
	3PL	POSS	manioc mash	stand	CH AUX	unusual	
	pron	prt.	nf	vi	aux	prt.	

'Their manioc mash was waiting.'

40	Aba	me		yoti	te	soko	riyahi	e
	aba	me		yoti	tee	soko	na -ra -yahi	ee
	fish	3PL	.POSS	intestines+F	2PL.S	wash	AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F	1IN
	nm	pro	n	pn	pron	vt	aux	pron
ka	fa	ha	ya	•				
ka	fa	aha	ya					
PO	SS wa	ater	ADJU					

"Don't wash the fish intestines out in our water."

prt

prt nf

41	<b>Fa</b> faha water nf	te tee 2PL.S pron	<i>kabi</i> kabi dip out vt	<i>kaniha</i> ka- COMIT aux	niha- na+ CAUS AUX		te tee 2PL.	S	
tok	owatawitil	ha		aba	me	yoti		te	soko
to	- ka-	wata	-witI+F	aba	me	yoti		tee	soko.LIST
aw	ay COMI	T exist	out	fish	3PL.POSS	intestin	es+F	2PL.S	wash
au	X			nm	pron	pn		pron	vt

<sup>19</sup> The last clause should have been aba me me weye naba mati.

#### nahi

na -hi AUX IMP+F

"You take out some water. You put the water in another place. And then you wash the fish intestines."

42 **E** ka mai tonahiyariyahi fa te mahi to- na- hiya ee ka faha tee -ra -vahi water CAUS be bad NEG DIST.IMP+F 1IN POSS smell+F 2PL.S СН pron prt nf pron vt pn

"Don't dirty our water."

43 *Faya* fa kayawa ati me me faya faha me ka- yawa+F ati me COMIT be upset so water 3PL.S 3PL.POSS voice conj nf pron vt pron pn saihemetemone fahi -hemete -mone fahi be heard FP.N+F REP+F then dem

'Their voices were heard, the voices of the people who were protecting their water.'

44 Fava me tafehemetemone fahi aba me me tafa -hemete -mone fahi aba faya me me me fish sp 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.O 3PL.S pron conj vi dem pron nm pron

kakamamatika-ka-ma+FmatiCOMIT go/comeback3PL.Svtpron

'They brought the aba fish back and ate.'

45 Aba me me tabasi nemetemoneke ahi aba me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi 3PL.O AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish sp 3PL.S roast on grill then pron pron aux dem

'They roasted the aba fish.'

46 Yama kisarawini

yama ka -risa -rawa -ni thing go/come down F.PL BKG+F nf vi

"They are coming downstream."

47 **Fa** nasahimata Bakayona Bakayona fa faha na- sai -himata Bakayona Bakayona faha water CAUS be empty FP.N+M (man's name) (man's name) water nf npropm npropm nf nasahimata aba me yama tehinoho -himata -tee -hino -ho na- sai aba me yama na AUX HAB IP.N+M DUP CAUS be empty FP.N+M fish sp 3PL.O make nm pron vt

"It was Bakayona who made the water dry up, and made the aba fish."

48	Hinaka	aba	me	te	awah	nabanani				
	hinaka	aba	me	tee	awa	-habana	-ni			
	3SG.POSS	fish sp	3PL.O	2PL.S	see	FUT+F	BKG+F			
	pron	nm	pron	pron	vt					

"You will see his aba fish."

49	Kakako	towatimata	hofe	ahi
	ka- kaako	to- ha -tee.NOM -mata	hofa+M	ahi
	DUP be angry with	CH AUX HAB FP.N+M	be in water	there
	vi	aux	vi	dem

"He was always angry, and he is lying there now in the water."

50	Faya	me	, hinaka	aba	me	me	mahika	
	faya	me	´ hinaka	aba	me	me	mahika	
	so	3PL	3SG.POSS	fish sp	3PL.0	3PL.S	consume a	lot
	conj	pron	pron	nm	pron	pron	vt	
hi	wahemet	emoneni			, aba	n	ie yama	nemata
h	l- na	-waha	-hemete -mc	one -ni	aba	m	e yama	na -hi

hi- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni aba me yama na -himata OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F fish sp 3PL.O make AUX FP.N+M aux nm pron vt aux

'They ate his *aba* fish all the time, the one who made them.'

51 *Aba* me me tisa nemetemoneni aba tisa na -hemete -mone -ni me me fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F pron pron vt aux

'They shot aba fish with arrows.'

52	Me	hinita	wawa	remetemon	e	
	me	hinita	wa- waa	na -ra	-hemete	-mone
	3PL.POSS	empty	DUP stand	AUX NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F
	pron	pn	vi	aux		

'There was no one who didn't catch a lot of fish.'

53	Aba	me	me	weye	neme	rtemoneni			,	aba	me
	aba	me	me	weye	na	-hemete	-mone	-ni	,	aba	me
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	carry	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F		fish sp	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux					nm	pron

homabasamatihoma-basa+Fmatibe horizontal edge3PL.Svipron

'They carried the aba fish that had been swimming in a line near the bank.'

54	Aba	me	barakosa	me	me
	aba	me	bara -kosa+F	me	me
	fish sp	3PL.S	be unsuspecting middle	3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm	pron	vi	pron	pron

katomemetemoneni

katoma -hemete -mone -ni kill many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'They killed lots of aba fish, because they were unwary.'

```
55 Aba
              me
                      me
                               kakamemetemoneke
                                                                                 ahi
   aba
              me
                      me
                               ka-
                                      ka
                                                -ma
                                                      -hemete -mone -ke
                                                                                 ahi
                               COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
   fish sp
              3PL.O
                       3PL.S
                                                                                 then
              pron
                      pron
                                                                                 dem
                    tokaha
                                        mati
                                                ahi
                                                           sinama
                                                                     me
                                                                                 ini
me
        ma
                    to- ka-
                                        mati
                                                ahi
                                                                                 ini
me
        maa
                                ha+F
                                                           sinama
                                                                     me
                    СН
                         COMIT AUX
                                        3PL.S
                                                then
                                                           agouti
                                                                     3PL.POSS
                                                                                 tooth+F
3PL.S
        be tired
pron
        vi
                    aux
                                        pron
                                                dem
                                                           nm
                                                                     pron
                                                                                 pn
                                   tisa
ya
       aba
                  me
                                                                mati
                                                                         ahi
                           mρ
                                                         na
       aba
                  me
                           me
                                   tisa
                                                         na+F
                                                                mati
                                                                         ahi
ya
       fish sp
                  3PL.O
                           3PL.S
                                   shoot with arrow
                                                         AUX
                                                                3PL.S
                                                                         then
A D.TII
prt
                           pron
                                                                pron
                  pron
                                   vt.
                                                                         dem
       nm
                                                         aux
'They were tired from bringing the aba fish home. They had shot the fish with agouti teeth.'
56 Sinama
             tone
                       wakowa
                                 me
                                             tone
                                                        faya
                                                               wakowa
                                                                         ini
                                                                                    va
   sinama
             tone
                       wakowa
                                 me
                                             tone
                                                        faya
                                                               wakowa
                                                                         ini
                                                                                    ya
                                                                                    ADJU
   agouti
            bone
                       paca
                                 3PL.POSS
                                             bone
                                                        so
                                                               paca
                                                                         tooth+F
   nm
             pn
                       nm
                                 pron
                                             pn
                                                        conj
                                                               nm
                                                                         pn
                                                                                    prt
            wati
                    ino
                               toha
                                                           ino
hinaka
                                                   wati
                                                                      amare
hinaka
            wati
                               to-
                                    ha.LIST
                                                  wati
                                                           ino
                                                                      ama -ra+M
                    ino
3SG.POSS
                    point+M
                               СН
                                    be
                                                           point+M
                                                                      be
                                                                          NEG
            arrow
                                                   arrow
pron
            nm
                    pn
                                                           pn
                                                                      VC
ehene
                        weweve
                                     toemetemone
               me
                        we- weye
ehene
                                     to- ha
                                               -hemete -mone
               me
                        DUP carry
                                          AUX FP.N+F
victim of+M
               3PL.S
                                     СН
               pron
                                     aux
                        vt
okiti
                                aati
                                           toematamona
                iti
                                           t.o- ha
                                                    -himata -mona
          ka
                                     ati
                                a –
                                               AUX FP.N+M
                                                              REP+M
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                DUP
                                           СН
                                    say
                                vt
                                           aux
okobi
                          aati
                                     toemari
                                                               amani
                                                                                bani
                                     to- ha.NOM+M -mari
                                                                                hani
          ka
                 abi
                          a-
                               ati
                                                               ama -ni
                          DUP say
1SG.POSS POSS father
                                     СН
                                                     FP.E+M
                                                                                animal
                                          AUX
                                                               be
                                                                   BKG+F
                          vt
                                     aux
                                                               VC
                                                                                nm
me
            tone
                           wati
                                   me
                                            nawaria
                                                                            mati
                   ya
me
            tone
                   ya
                           wati
                                   me
                                            na-
                                                 waa
                                                         -rI+F
                                                                            mati
3PL.POSS
            bone
                   ADJU
                           arrow
                                   3PL.S
                                            CAUS stand raised surface
                                                                            3PL.S
pron
                   prt
                           nm
                                   pron
                                            vt
                                                                            pron
'Agouti and paca bones, too. Their arrow points were paca teeth. They carried the victims of what was not an
arrow point, they affixed animal bone to the arrows, my grandfather used to say, my father reported.'
57 Kobaya
                         tone
                                   bato
                                                                                   wati
                                           tone
                                                     bato
                                                             tone
                                                                    tari
                                                                           ne
   kobaya
                         tone
                                   bato
                                           tone
                                                     bato
                                                             tone
                                                                    tari
                                                                           na+M
                                                                                   wati
   collared peccary
                                                                    peel
                        bone
                                   deer
                                           bone
                                                     deer
                                                             bone
                                                                           AUX
                                                                                   arrow
   nm
                        pn
                                                     nm
                                                                    vt.
                                                                           aux
                                                                                   nm
                                   nm
                                           pn
                                                             pn
ino
          toha
                             faya
                                     hora
                                                 neba
                                                                  aba
                                                                                aba
           to- ha.LIST
                                                                  aba
                                     hora
                                                      -hiba
                                                                                aba
ino
                              faya
                                                 na
          СН
                                                 AUX FUT+M
                                                                  fish sp
                                                                                fish sp
point+M
               be
                                     complain
                              so
pn
           VC
                              conj
                                     vi
                                                 aux
                                                                  nm
                                                                                nm
hiwa
              kabane
                                                 aba
                                                            hiwa
              ka-
                     habana+M
                                                 aba
                                                            hiwa
                                                 fish sp
3SG.REFL.M
              COMIT order someone against
                                                            3SG.REFL.M
                                                            pron
pron
              vt.
kabane
                                  awaraba
                                                  timata
       habana+M
                                                  ti-
                                  awaraba
                                                         na
COMIT order someone against
                                  leave alone
                                                  2SG.S AUX short time
vt
                                   vi
                                                  aux
```

'Collared peccary bones, deer bones, he put points on deer bones, to be arrow points. He exclaimed. "The *aba* fish brought on its own death. The *aba* fish brought on its own death. Don't go after it!"

58 Awaraba timata
awaraba ti- na -mata
leave alone 2SG.S AUX short time
vi aux

"Don't go after it!"

59 *Ha* ati owa taba ama oni nematamona haa owa taa -ba 0ati na -himata -mona ama пi DEM 1SG contrast FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F AUX FP.N+M REP+M say pron prt dem VC prt 77 t allx

"I want it to be me," he said."

60 Awaraba tinahi

awaraba ti- na -hi leave alone 2SG.S AUX IMP+F vi aux

"Don't go after it."

61 Aba hiwa kabane amane
aba hiwa ka- habana+M ama -ne
fish sp 3SG.REFL.M COMIT order someone against SEC BKG+M
nm pron vt sec

"The aba fish brought on its own death."

62 *Hoka* hikane ahi habi wai vokana rama awa hi- kaahi habi waa.NOM yokana hoka na+Mrama awa yank OC COMIT AUX then unusual tree root+F stand true dem nf vt aux prt 77 i adj pn baka ya ahi hinaka wakowa ino tonebana ahi hinaka baka to- na -hibana ya wakowa ino CH AUX FUT+M 3SG.POSS A D.TU there tooth+M break paca dem pron nm pn vt. aux

'He pulled back his bow and shot at the *aba* fish, right where there was a root, and his paca tooth arrow point broke.'

63 Taikai teeboo aba aba tebo taikai teeboo aba aba tebo (sound of arrow hitting) smack fish sp fish sp hit water sound vi

nawahare tokehimatamonaka

na -waharI to- ka -himata -mona -ka
AUX all over away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux vi

'Thwack went the arrow. Smack went the aba fish's tail on the water. It went off.'

64 *Aba* Awaraba toke tinahi aba awaraba ti--hi t.oka+M na 2SG.S AUX IMP+F fish sp away qo/come leave alone vi aux

'The fish went off. "Don't go after it!"'

65 Hiwa toka ahi na to- ka.NOM+M hiwa na ahi only.M away qo/come AUX there pron vi aux dem "Let it go."

ya 66 Ati fawa towiti kikisama to- na -witI.NOM ki- ka -risa -ma ati fawa va DUP go/come down back disappear away AUX out ADJU voice prt vi vi pn aux tosi ne ya sa to- na -sii na.NOM+M saa ya CH AUX slowly along the way AUX ADJU shoot with arrow aux aux prt result

kanebanaka

ka- na -hibana -ka COMIT AUX FUT+M DECL+M

"When it forgets and comes back downstream slowly, it will get shot."

67 *Aba* toke noki hine ati me ka+M noki hi- na+M ati aba tome fish sp away qo/come wait for OC AUX voice 3PL.S pron aux pn

katamohinokisamematamonaka-tamo-hinoka-risa -ma-himata -mona

COMIT forget IP.N+M go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M vi

'The aba fish went off. They waited for it. It forgot and came back downstream.'

68 Aba kisamematamona
aba ka -risa -ma -himata -mona
fish sp go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M

'The *aba* fish came back downstream.'

pn

69 *Aba* kisame Hari fari fari aba ka -risa -ma+M haari faari faari fish sp go/come down back that one+M that one+M that one+M vi dem kame kame kame hoka tikanaho ka -ma+M ka -ma+M ka -ma+M hoka ti- kana -ho yank go/come back go/come back go/come back 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+M vi vi vt aux

"The aba fish came back downstream. "There it is! It came back! It came back! Shoot it!"

wati ino totabohinoka wakowa  $\circ$ ka wati ino to- tabo -hino -ka wakowa CH be bent IP.N+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS POSS point+M paca arrow vi prt nm pn nm ino kote wahari ino kote waa -haari stand IP.E+M tooth+M tooth+M piece

"My arrow point is broken, the paca tooth; a piece of it broke off."

vi

pn

71 **Hani** tiniheba ti- to- niha- na -hiba hani ama -ka miss 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX FUT+M SEC DECL+M aux "You're going to miss it." 72 **Sasa** onebanaka hiba sa- saa o- na -hibana -ka hiba DUP shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX FUT+M DECL+M wait aux interj "I'm going to shoot it with an arrow, just a minute." 73 *Aba* hoka kanematamona hoka ka- na -himata -mona aba fish sp yank COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M vt aux 'He shot at the *aba* fish.' kisame sa ka -risa -ma+M saa fish sp go/come down back shoot with arrow vi kanematamonaka ahi ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 'He shot the aba fish with an arrow as it came downstream.' 75 *Aba* kanematamona yora ahi ka- na -himata -mona aha yora ahi jump COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M fish sp then vi aux 'The aba fish jumped.' 76 **Ohehibanaka** o- iha -hibana -ka 1SG.S have FUT+M DECL+M "I'm going to get it." 77 Ohehibanane o- iha -hibana -ne 1SG.S have FUT+M BKG+M "I'm going to get it." , okobebana 78 **Ohehibanaka** aba ha owa o- iha -hibana -ka ' haa aba o- kaba -hibana owa fish sp 1SG.S have FUT+M DECL+M DEM 1SG 1SG.S eat FUT+M dem pron nm vt "I'm going to get the aba fish, to eat it." oni sa o- ni o- iha -habana aba saa

1SG.S BKG+F

prt

shoot with arrow

vt

1SG.S have FUT+F

fish sp

vt.

tikanari

ti- ka- na -haari 2SG.S COMIT AUX IP.E+M

aux

"I'm going to get the aba fish that you shot."

80 Okasima te famibeya

o- ka asima tee fama -be -ya 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister 2PL.S be two IMMED+F now nf pron vi

"You will be with my younger sister."

81 *Asima* fama asima onofa ota fama+F asima otaa asima 0nofa younger sister 1SG.S want 2SG.POSS.younger sister 1EX.S be two pron vi nf vt

okere

o- ke -re 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F

prt

"I don't want to be with your sister."

82 Aba kabi manakonebonaha

aba kaba.NFIN manakone -bona -ha fish eat price INT+M DUP

nm result pn

"To pay for the fish."

83 Aba tikaba ama tike

aba ti- kaba+F ama ti- ke fish 2SG.S eat SEC 2SG.S DECL+F

nm vt sec prt

"You ate the fish."

84 Tiwakaraba ama tini aba ehene

ti- akara -haba ama ti- ni aba ehene 2SG.S be satiated FUT+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F fish because of+M

vi sec prt nm pos

"You will be full because of the fish."

85 Aba nafika hari

aba nafi -ka haari fish be big DECL+M that one+M  $\,$ 

nm vi dem

"It's a big fish."

86 Faya aba tasi tose foyamata

aba tasi to- na -kosa+M faya foya -mata fish string CH AUX middle be inside short time so conj nm result aux vi

"Let the fish be inside the basket, threaded on a line."

87 Okasima manakoneba

o- ka asima manakone -ba 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister price FUT

"It will be the price of my sister."

```
88 Fava
                          me
                                  kama
                                                                     kobo
         me
                  me
                                                  me
                                                             me
   faya
         me
                  me
                          me
                                  ka
                                           -ma+F
                                                  me
                                                             me
                                                                     kobo
         3PL
                  3PL
                          3PL.S
                                  go/come back
                                                  3PL.S
                                                             3PL.S
                                                                     arrive
                                  vi
   conj
         pron
                  pron
                          pron
                                                  pron
                                                             pron
namemetemoneke
na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'They came home. They arrived home.'
89 Aba
                            tabasi
                                             nemetemone
            me
                    me
   aba
            me
                    me
                            tabasi
                                             na -hemete -mone
                   3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F
   fish sp
            3PL.O
            pron
                    pron
                            vt
                                             aux
'They roasted the aba fish.'
90 Me
          me
                  tabasi
                                   hinemetemoneke
                                                                    ahi
                                                                              me
          me
                  tabasi
                                   hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
                                                                    ahi
                                                                              me
   3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                                    then
                                                                              3PL
                                   aux
                                                                    dem
  pron pron vt
        me
                me
                        hiwaria
                                                   mati
                                                          ahi
                                                                     viwa boni
me
                       hi- waa -rI+F
        me
                me
                                                   mati
                                                          ahi
                                                                     yiwaha boni
        3PL.O 3PL.S
                       OC cook raised surface
                                                   3PL.O
                                                          there
                                                                     ceramic pot
        pron
                pron
pron
                        vt
                                                   pron
                                                          dem
                                                                     nf
va
ya
ADJU
prt
'They roasted them. They also boiled them, in ceramic pots.'
91 Yiwa
         watari
                            ya
                                  yiwa boni
                                                 kero
                                                                              na
                                  yiwaha boni
                -ra.NOM+F
   yiwa
         wat.a
                            ya
                                                 kero
                                                                              na+F
                            ADJU
                                                make with circular motion
   pot
         exist NEG
                                  ceramic pot
                                                                              AUX
  nf
         vi
                            prt
                                  nf
                                                 result
                                                                              aux
  yiwa
         kero
                                      naha
                                                atabo
                                                        kero
   yiwa
                                      na+F
                                                atabo
                                                        kero
   pot
         make with circular motion
                                      AUX
                                                clay
                                                        make with circular motion
  nf
         result
                                      aux
                                                nf
                                                        result
         boni
                  ya
                         aba
                                  me
                                                  waware
na
                                          me
na+F
         boni
                  ya
                         aba
                                  me
                                          me
                                                  wa- waa
                                                           -rI
AUX
         mass+F
                  ADJU
                         fish sp
                                  3PL.O
                                         3PL.S
                                                  DUP cook raised surface
         pn
                  prt
aux
                         nm
                                  pron
                                          pron
                                                  vt.
toemetemone
to- ha -hemete -mone
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
'They didn't have pots, so they cooked the aba fish in pots fashioned from clay.'
92 Me
              yiwa boni
                             ware
                                                     tohitia
               yiwaha boni
  me
        ka
                             waa
                                   -rI
                                                     to- na -hitI+F
   3PL
       POSS
                             stand raised surface
                                                     CH AUX along the way
              ceramic pot
  pron prt
               nf
                             νi
                                                     aux
         ahi
rama
         ahi
rama
unusual there
```

prt

dem

'Their ceramic pots were all in a row.'

93	Aba	me	me	ware		me	tafehe	metemone	
	aba	me	me	waa	-rI	me	tafa	-hemete	-mone
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	cook	raised surface	3PL.S	eat	FP.N+F	REP+F
	nm	pron	pron	vt		pron	vi		

'They boiled the aba fish. They ate.'

94 *Aba* kababa amake me e aba kaba -haba ama -ke me ee ee fish sp 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F 1IN.S SEC DECL+F pron pron vt pron sec

"We are going to eat aba fish."

95 Nisori anoti ya
nisori anoti ya
3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS older brother ADJU

nisoriaawarabarematanisoria- awarabana -ra -himata3SG.POSS.younger brotherDUP leave aloneAUX NEG FP.N+Mnmvtaux

nisori aba ka me yama teno nisori na -tee -hino aba me yama ka 3SG.POSS.younger brother fish sp 3PL.O work on AUX HAB IP.N+M POSS vt pron aux prt nm

aba kabibana me ekaba+F -bana aha me ee 3PL.O FUT fish sp 1IN.S eat pron pron vt

"He didn't leave his younger brother alone. We are going to eat the aba fish of his younger brother who went after the fish."  $^{20}$ 

96 <i>Yotohoti</i> yotohoti	<i>fati</i> fati	<i>nofanoj</i> nofa-		<i>raba</i> na -ra	<i>na</i> aba na			
rear part	3SG.POSS.wife	DUP	want	AUX a k	oit AUX			
pn	nf	vt		aux	aux			
hiaremata hi- to- ha - OC CH AUX N		ene ehene victim	of+M	-	-himata FP.N+M	<i>ka</i> ka POSS	<i>aba</i> aba fish sp	me me 3PL.0
aux , <i>nisori</i>	20 11 • 11 • 11	pn <i>ka</i>	aba	vi me	te	prt <i>kabak</i>	nm kaba	pron
nisori 3SG.POSS.yo	ounger brother	ka POSS	aba fish :	me sp 3PL.	tee O 2PL.S		ı- kaba eat	

nm toibanani

to- ha -bana -ni CH AUX FUT BKG+F

"'You are going to eat the *aba* fish of the younger brother of the man who killed, whose rear end his wives didn't like."'

pron

pron

vt.

97	Faya	me	tafa	me	ati	saihemetemo	one		aba
	faya	me	tafa+F	me	ati	sai	-hemete	-mone	aba
	so	3PL.S	eat	3PL.POSS	voice	be heard	FP.N+F	REP+F	fish sp
	conj	pron	vi	pron	pn	vi			nm

nm

prt

<sup>20</sup> The phrase anoti ya is a false start.

me	me		kabam	ina	,	me		me		hikal	pamina			me
me	me		kaba	-mina+F		me		me		hi-	kaba	-mina	a+F	me
3PL.O	3PL	.S	eat	morning		3PL.C	)	3PL	.S	OC	eat	morn	ing	3PL.0
pron	pro	n	vt			pron		pro	n	vt				pron
Hima		hima		aba	n	ıe	to	kisari	yahi					
hima		hima	a	aba	m	ie.	to	<b>)</b> –	ka		-risa	a -ra	-yal	hi
let's q	go	let'	s go	fish sp	3	PL.S	av	vay	go/d	come	down	NEG	DIS	T.IMP+F
interj		inte	erj	nm	р	ron	V	Ĺ						

'Their voices could be heard as they ate. They ate *aba* fish the next day. "Come on! Let's not let the *aba* fish go away downstream."'

```
98 Aba
                 tokisarabone
          me
                                              me
  aba
          me
                 to- ka
                            -risa -ra -habone
                                             me
                away go/come down NEG INT+F
  fish sp 3PL.S
                                              3PL.S
          pron
                 vi
                                              pron
hinaka
                           fara
                                  aba
                                          me
                    me
hi- to- na- ka+F
                    me
                          fara
                                  aba
                                          me
OC away CAUS go/come 3PL.O same+F fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S
vt
                    pron dem nm
                                          pron pron
                        ya aba
tisa
                                             homabasa
                ni
                                      me
                na.NOM+F ya
                              aba
                                      me
                                             homa
shoot with arrow AUX ADJU fish sp 3PL.S be horizontal edge
                             nm
                                      pron
                aux
                         prt
                                             vi
           nemetemoneni
nawi
na -wi na -hemete -mone -ni
AUX steadily AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
            aux
```

'They went after the aba fish so they wouldn't go downstream. The aba fish were still in a line in the same spot at the edge where they had shot them before.'21

99 A	4ba	tamabote		me	fafaw	а	tona	
á	aba	tama -	-bote	me	fa-	fawa	to-	na
f	fish sp	be many v	very	3PL.S	DUP	disappear	CH	AUX
r	nm	adj		pron	vi		aux	

#### toaremetemoneni

to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ni CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux

'There were lots of aba fish every day.'

100	) Faya	me	me	tisa			hinah	ate	, me	me	
	faya	me	me	tisa			hi-	nahatI	me	me	
	so	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot	with a	rrow	OC	daytime	3PI	.O 3PL.	. S
	conj	pron	pron	vt			prt		pro	n pror	ì
tisa	!		hinahat	te e	me	me	h	iwakamat	asa		
ti	sa		hi- n	ahatI	me	me	h	ni- ka-	ka	-ma	-tasa+F
sh	oot wit	h arrow	OC d	aytime	3PL.O	3PL.	S C	COM	IT go/co	me back	again
vt			prt		pron	pron	V V	7t			
,	fa	me	, fa	me	ki		ra		me	bara	me
,	faha	me	faha	a me	ki	i	na	-ra+F	me	bara	me
	water	3PL.S	wate	er 3PL	.S lo	ok at	AUX	NEG	3PL.S	other+F	3PL.S
	nf	pron	nf	pro	n vt		aux		pron	adj	pron
tok	atasa		,	me	tokah	a		me	aba	me	me
to	- ka	-ta	sa+F ´	me	to-	ka+F		me	aba	me	me
aw	ay go/c	ome aga	in	3PL.S	away	go/co	me	3PL.S	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S
vi				pron	vi			pron	nm	pron	pron

<sup>21</sup> It should be *me me hinaka me*.

tisa	tasa ,	Bani	e	kabi	nofa	e
tisa	na -tasa+F ´	bani	ee	kaba	nofa+F	ee
shoot with arrow	AUX again	animal	1IN.S	eat	recently	1IN.S
vt	aux	nm	pron	vt	prt	pron

amake

ama -ke SEC DECL+F

sec

'They shot them with arrows all day. They brought them back. Then the others who had never fished went. They went out. They shot *aba* fish again. "We are always eating game."

101	Bani	bani	aba me e			kabamatahi	mata
	bani	bani	aba	me	ee	kaba -mata -	-hi mata
	animal	animal	fish	3PL.O	1IN.S	eat short time	IMP+F for now
	nm	nm	nm	pron	pron	vt	prt

"Let's eat fish for a while."

**usa** tisa 102 *Faya* aba me me nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke faya aba me me fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F so conj nm pron pron vt aux

fahi

fahi then

dem

'They shot aba fish with arrows.'

103 <i>Aba</i>	!	me	n	ne	tisa			na	me		aba		me	
aba	l	me	n	ne	tisa			na+F	me		aba	ì	me	
fis	sh sp	3PL.0	Э З	3PL.S	shoot	with arr	OW	AUX	3P1	L.S	fis	sh sp	3PL.0	)
nm		pron	r	oron	vt			aux	pro	on	nm		pron	
me	kakam	atasa				me	,	aba		me		me		
me	ka-	ka		-ma	-tasa+E	me me	,	aba		me		me		
3PL.S	COMIT	go/c	ome	back	again	3PL.S		fish	sp	3PL	.0	3PL.S		
pron	vt					pron		nm		pro	n	pron		
tabasi		n	ama		me	me	hika	batasa			,	me	me	
tabasi		n	a ·	-ma+F	me	me	hi-	kaba	-ta	sa+F		me	me	
roast	on gri	ll A	.UX 3	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	OC	eat	aga	in		3PL.	O 3P	L.S
vt		a	ux		pron	pron	vt					pron	pro	on

hikabemetemoneke

hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

vt

'They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They brought *aba* fish again. They roasted the *aba* fish back in the village. They ate *aba* fish again. They ate them.'

104	Me	hikaba	,	me	amo	neme	rtemoneke		
	me	hi- kaba+1	F Ó	me	amo	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	3PL.S	OC eat		3PL.S	sleep	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	pron	vt		pron	vi	aux			
'The	y ate ther	n. They slept.'	22						

<sup>22</sup> It should be *me me hikaba*.

```
\boldsymbol{E}
105 Me
            amo
                    na
                           me
                                               tokaminibana
                                                              -mina+F -bana
                    na+F
                                               to- ka
    me
            amo
                           me
                                       ee
                                       1IN.S
                                               away go/come morning FUT
    3PL.S
            sleep
                    AUX
                           3PL.S
            vi
                    aux
                           pron
                                       pron
                                               vi
'They slept. "Shall we go out tomorrow?"'
106 Hima
                  aha
                                     kabamaraba
                                                                      amani
                             me
                                                              me
                                     kaba -ma -ra -haba
    hima
                   aba
                             me
                                                              me
                                                                      ama -ni
    let's go
                   fish sp
                                     eat back NEG FUT+F
                             3PL.S
                                                              3PL.S
                                                                      SEC BKG+F
                             pron
    interj
                                     result
                                                                      sec
                  nm
                                                              pron
"Come on, the aba fish won't be eaten anymore."
107 Aba
                      tokomaba
                                                            amake
                                                                             fa
              me
                                                   me
    aha
              me
                      to- ka
                                     -ma
                                          -haba
                                                   me
                                                            ama -ke
                                                                             faha
    fish sp
              3PL.S
                      away go/come back FUT+F
                                                   3PL.S
                                                            SEC DECL+F
                                                                             water
              pron
                      vi
                                                   pron
                                                            sec
                                                                             nf
sai
           ya
sai.NOM
           ya
be empty
           ADJU
"The aba fish will go back at the end of the rainy season."
108 Fa
            sai
                        tonihemata
            sai.NFIN
                        to- niha- ha -himata
    faha
                       CH CAUS be FP.N+M
    water
            be empty
            vi
                        vt
'He said the rainy season wasn't going to end yet.'
109 Hibareya
               mata
   hibareya mata
               for now
    wait
    interj
               prt
"Wait a minute."
110 Iteni
                       ha
                                 iteni
                                                     ha
                                                            rini
    itehani
                       haa
                                  itehani
                                                     haa
                                                            na
    whatchamacallit
                       call
                                  whatchamacallit
                                                     call
                                                            AUX NEG BKG+F
                       vi
                                  nm
                                                     vi
                                                            aux
maa
                            maa
                                                        maa
                                                                                  ha
maa
                            maa
                                                        maa
(sound of kawa frog)
                            (sound of kawa frog)
                                                         (sound of kawa frog)
                                                                                  call
sound
                            sound
                                                        sound
teha
                                                 teha
                                                               ha
                                                                      rini
                                          ha
                 maa
na -tee+F
                 maa
                                          haa
                                                 na -tee+F
                                                               haa
                                                                      na
                                                                           -ra -ni
AUX HAB
                 (sound of kawa frog)
                                          call
                                                 AUX HAB
                                                               call
                                                                      AUX NEG BKG+F
aux
                 sound
                                          vi
                                                 aux
                                                               vi
                                                                      aux
mata
             maa
                                          maa
                                                                      ati
                                                                            naro
                                                                      ati
mata
             maa
                                          maa
                                                                            na -haaro
                                          (sound of kawa frog)
for now
             (sound of kawa frog)
                                                                            AUX IP.E+F
                                                                      say
                                          sound
             sound
"The whatchamacallit hasn't called yet. The kawa frog calls. It hasn't called yet, saying, 'maa, maa'."
111 Maa
                             ha
                                    rini
                                                      mata
    maa
                             haa
                                    na
                                         -ra -ni
                                                      mata
    (sound of kawa frog)
                             call
                                    AUX NEG BKG+F
                                                      for now
```

prt

sound

vi

aux

"The kawa frog hasn't called yet."

```
112 Maa
                              ha
                                                 ya
                                     ni
                                                         aba
                                                                   me
                                     na.NOM+F
                              haa
                                                         aba
                                                 ya
                                                                   me
    (sound of kawa frog)
                              call
                                     AUX
                                                 ADJU
                                                         fish sp
                                                                   3PL.S
    sound
                              vi
                                     aux
                                                 prt
                                                         nm
                                                                   pron
kamaba
                       me
                                amake
ka
         -ma
               -haba
                       me
                                ama -ke
qo/come back FUT+F
                        3PL.S
                                SEC DECL+F
                       pron
vi
                                sec
"When the kawa frog calls, the aba fish will come back."
```

113 Faya me tokatasa aba me

faya me t.o- ka -tasa+F aba me me so 3PL.S away go/come again fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S conj pron vi nm pron pron

tisa tasa wakana wakana amari ya tisa na -tasa+F wakana wakana ama -ra.NOM+F уа shoot with arrow AUX again crabwood crabwood be NEG ADJU nf aux prt

me

wakana ini hiri mati me ra wakana ini me hiri na -ra+F mati 3PL.S AUX NEG 3PL.S crabwood name+F say pn pron vt aux pron

'They went out again. They shot *aba* fish again. It wasn't with wakana fruit bait, they hadn't asked for wakana fruit bait.'

114 *Aba* hohomabasa hine ya me ho- homa hine -basa aba ya me only fish sp 3PL.S DUP be horizontal edge ADJU vi nm pron prt pron

toemetemonemeamanito- ha -hemete -monemeama -niCH AUX FP.N+F REP+F3PL.SSEC BKG+Fauxpronsec

'The aba fish were in a line by the water's edge.'

115 *Me* kamawa ahi rama me -ma -waha+F rama ahi 3PL.S go/come back change unusual then pron vi prt dem 'They started coming back.'

116 *Me* kamawa ahi rama me ka -ma -waha+F rama ahi 3PL.S go/come back change unusual then pron vi dem prt

'They started coming back.'

117 Fa Biri ka me toha fa bite ka mati Faha Biri to- ha.LIST ka me faha bite ka mati (name of stream) 3PL.S CH be small+F 3PL of stream of npropf prt pron VC nf adj prt pron

'They were in the Faha Biri stream.'

118 Me wiwina  me wi- w  3PL.S DUP 1  pron vi  kiki ton  ki- kii to-  DUP look at CH  vt aux  "There aren't any fish	ive CH AUX FP aux eni ha -ne -ni AUX CONT+F BKG	<pre>haro haaro  +F that one dem</pre>	me ta 3PL.POSS pl pron pn		ee PL.S Con
119 <b>Fa bite</b> faha bite stream smal	ka me ka me l+F LOC 3PL.S	_	<pre>faya aba faya aba so fish :</pre>	me me sp 3PL.0	me me 3PL.S
ihi to	pron n  comarabanihi  ka -ma  ay go/come back	a saiha Taha sai+F vater be emp nf vi -ra -haba -	nf ni -hi P.N+F DUP	pron saiha sai+F be empty vi	
120 Aba me aba me fish sp 3PL		to- ha t CH AUX C	pemetemone o- ha -hemet H AUX FP.N+F ux	e -mone REP+F	me me 3PL.S
amani , hai	ha me tok aha me to is+F 3PL.S aw	k <b>oma</b> - ka - yay go/come b	me ma+F me ack 3PL.S	towinama to- wina away live	pron a -ma.LIST back
haro haaro that one+F dem 'The aba fish all had fi	1		-	_	
121 Haha me haaha me this+F 3PL.: dem pron	<pre>katima ka -tima 5 go/come upst: vi</pre>		tama tama.LIST be many vi	<pre>aba aba fish sp nm</pre>	me me 3PL.S pron
foyafoya foya- foya DUP be inside vi amake haro ama -ke haar	toemetemone to- ha -hemet CH AUX FP.N+F aux , Fa Bi	me e -mone me REP+F 3PL pro	tabori tabori .POSS place+	<i>Fa Biri</i> Faha E	Biri of stream)
'Many were still comir	npro	pf a fish were stayin	prt	stream, their	home.'
122 Faya aba faya aba so fish sp	me me me p 3PL.O 3PL.S	ka- kaba DUP eat	toemetemone to- ha -heme CH AUX FP.N+		me ka me ka 3PL POSS

conj nm pron pron vt aux

pron prt

```
aba
          me
                      tabori
                                 bote
                                        amani
aba
          me
                      tabori
                                 bote
                                        ama -ni
                                            BKG+F
fish sp
          3PL.POSS
                      place+F
                                 old
                                        be
          pron
                      pn
                                 adj
'That was the old home of the aba fish that they always ate.'
123 Me
            tafatafa
                          toa
                                       me
                                                  faya
                                                         me
            tafa- tafa
                           to- ha+F
    me
                                      me
                                                  faya
                                                         me
    3PL.S
            DUP
                   eat
                          CH
                               AUX
                                       3PL.S
                                                  so
                                                          3PL
    pron
                                      pron
            vi
                           aux
                                                  conj
                                                         pron
okititeba
                                              okititeba
                              -tee -ba
          ka
                iti
                                              \circ
                                                        ka
                                                              i t i
                                                                            -tee -ba
                                              1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB FUT
nm
                                              nm
ehewe
        toahi
                       bati
                                              okititeba
                       bati
ehewe
        to- ha+M
                                               0-
                                                         ka
                                                               iti
                                                                             -tee -ba
child
        CH be
                       3SG.POSS.father
                                               1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB FUT
nm
        VC
                       nm
                                               nm
                    bati
                                        hiwakamaki
ehewe
        toahi
        to- ha+M
                    bati
                                        hi- ka-
                                                    ka
                                                             -makI+M
child
        CH be
                    3SG.POSS.father
                                        OC COMIT go/come following
        VC
                                        vt.
                                                                                 aba
kokori
                                          kokori
                                                                         ka
                               ka
kokori
                               ka
                                          kokori
                                                                          ka
                                                                                 aba
3SG.POSS.mother's brother
                                          3SG.POSS.mother's brother
                                                                                 fish sp
                               POSS
                                                                         POSS
                                          nm
                               prt
                                                                         prt
                                                                                 nm
                                           oko
                                                             bitimi
        kai
                      kabe
me
                                   Aa
        kaha.NFIN
                                                             bitimi
                      kaba+M
                                                      ka
me
                                   aa
                                           \circ
        be toasted
                                           1SG.POSS POSS
                                                             nephew
3PL.S
                      eat
                                   aha
pron
        77 i
                      vt
                                   interj prt
kamakino
                     -hino
         -makI
go/come following IP.N+M
They ate. My grandfather, who was a child, was brought by his father. He ate his uncle's roasted aba fish.
"Oh, there is my nephew coming."
124 Ota
            kamaki
    otaa
            ka
                      -makI.NOM
    1EX.S
            go/come following
    pron
            vi
"We came."
125 Koko
                         aba
                                    mera
    koko
                         aba
                                    me -ra
    mother's brother
                         fish sp
                                    3PL NPQ
                                    pron
"Uncle, where are the aba fish?"
126 Aba
              me
                             tabasi
                                                ona
                                                              me
    aba
              me
                     me
                             tabasi
                                                0-
                                                       na+F
    fish sp
               3PL
                     3PL.O
                                                1SG.S AUX
                                                              3PL.S
                             roast on grill
              pron pron
                             vt
                                                aux
                                                              pron
kawine
                       haro
      waa
              -ne
                       haaro
COMIT stand CONT+F
                       that one+F
vi
                       dem
```

"I roasted the *aba* fish, and they are there on the grill."

```
127 Aba
                   tikabamakihi
                                                          koko
            me
                                                  fare
                   ti- kaba -makI -hi
   aba
            me
                                                  fare
                                                          koko
                  2SG.S eat following IMP+F
   fish sp
            3PL.O
                                                  same+M
                                                          call father-in-law
            pron
                                                  dem
   nm
hitehibana
hi- na -tee -hibana
OC AUX HAB FUT+M
aux
```

"You eat aba fish," said the one who he would call father-in-law."

```
hiteba
128 Fare
           koko
                                                     ene
   fare
           koko
                              hi- na -tee -hiba
                                                     ehene
   same+M call father-in-law OC AUX HAB FUT+M
                                                     victim of+M
   dem
           vt
                              aux
kabamakematamonaka
                                       hinaka
                                                kokotebana
kaba -makI -himata -mona -ka
                                      hinaka
                                                koko
                                                              -tee -bana
eat following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                       3SG.POSS father-in-law HAB FUT
                                       pron
```

'He ate the aba fish killed by his future father-in-law.'

129	Fay		ene			amak		13/	,	<i>bati</i>		,
	fay	/a 6	ehene		ПТ.	Kaba	a -makI	+14		bati		
	so	7	victim	of+M	OC	eat	follo	win	.g	3SG.POS	S.father	
	cor	nj p	on		vt					nm		
bati				tafa			Oof		yaha			
bat	i			tafa.	LIST	,	<i>Oof</i> ○○f	,	yaha			
3SG	.PO	SS.f	ather	eat			hoo		manio	oc meal	with fat	
nm				vi			interj		nf			
tikab	arib	ana			_	yaha				?		
ti-		kaba	-ra+F	-bana	,	yaha	a					
2SG	.S	eat	NEG	FUT		man	ioc mea	l w	ith f	at		
77±						n f						

'He ate the aba fish he had killed. His father also ate. "Whew, aren't you going to eat manioc mash with fat?"'

130	Yaha			kawitarine					haro		
	yaha				ka-	ita	-rI		-ne	haaro	
	manioc	meal	with	fat	COMIT	sit	raised	surface	CONT+F	that one+F	
	nf				vi					dem	

"There is manioc mash with fat in the pot there."

131	Aba	me	tiwaban	а						
	aba	me	ti-	awa	-habana					
	fish sp	3PL.O	2SG.S	see	FUT+F					
	nm	pron	vt							
"You will see the <i>aba</i> fish."										

homabasi		nofarawa		amani	ama
homa	-basa	nofa	-rawa+F	ama -ni	ama
be horizontal	edge	recently	F.PL	SEC BKG+F	SEC
vi		prt		sec	sec
ſ	<pre>homabasi homa  be horizontal vi</pre>	homa -basa be horizontal edge	homa -basa nofa be horizontal edge recently	homa -basa nofa -rawa+F be horizontal edge recently F.PL	homa -basa nofa -rawa+F ama -ni be horizontal edge recently F.PL SEC BKG+F

"They are always in a line by the edge of the stream."

133	faha	isawa isawa+F	yama yama	howa	toniharawara	na	-rawa		ota otaa	
	water nf	be shall	low thing nf	be open vi		AUX	F.PL	NEG	1EX.S	5
tisa	111		nofarawa	VΙ	aux <i>amani</i>				pron	
tis	а		na nofa	-rawa+F		•				
sho	ot with		AUX recentl	y F.PL	SEC BKG+	- F				
vt			aux		sec					
'''Th	e shallow	water is ful	l of them and v	ve shoot ther	n."'					
124	<b>F</b>	.1		.1:		- 1	•			
134	2	<i>ıba</i> aba	me , oko		abi	, <i>ok</i>	citi -	ka	iti	
	_	fish sp			SS father		SG.POSS			father
		nm	pron nm			nr			5 –	
	okiti		-	batiteba			. 1	Hiya		aba
,	0-	ka it	ti	bati	-t	ee -b	,	niya	,	aba
	1SG.POSS	S POSS gr	randfather	3SG.POSS	.father HA	B FU'	T (	come or	n	fish sp
	nm			nm			=	Interj		nm
me	sa		omat							
me	saa		0-	na -ma		(D.   E				
3PI		ot with	arrow ISG. aux	S AUX SNC	ort time.IM	IP+F.				
pro	_	going to sh	oot aba fish," ı	ny grandfath	er's father sai	d'				
LC	15 50, 1 111	501115 to 311	oot dod fish, i	ny grandiati	ici s iutiici sui	·				
135	Oko		yibote fin	iharake						
	0-	ka	4		hara -ke					
	1SG.POS	SS POSS	wife be	hungry I	P.E+F DECL	+F				
	prt		nf vi							
'''M	y wife is hı	ıngry.'''								
126	OL:			. • 1					1. :	
136	Oko	15.0			owakanakosa	lean	n – leo		<i>ahi</i> ahi	•
	o- 1SG.POS	ka se pose	-		o- ka- 1SG.S COMI	kan			there	
	prt	00 1000	nf vi		vt	ı iea	ve mita		dem	
'''M <sup>-</sup>	-	ingry and	I left her there.		V C				acm	
1,1	, ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	angry, and	ricit ner there.							
137	Oko		yibote fin	iharake						
	0-	ka	yibote fi		hara -ke					
	1SG.POS	SS POSS	wife be	hungry I	P.E+F DECL	+F				
	prt		nf vi							
'''M	y wife is hu	ıngry.'''								
120	Oko		vibote ow	akanakosa			haro			
130	0KU	ka	yibote ow		kana -ko	sa+F	<i>haro</i> haaro		•	
	1SG.POS		_		leave mid		that	one+F		
	prt	000	nf vt		icave mia	.010	dem	0110 11		
""I l	eft my wife	e there."'								
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,									
139	Aba	me	sa		oni		ya	aba	m	e
	aba	me	saa		o- na.N	OM+F	ya	aba	me	
	fish sp				1SG.S AUX		ADJU	fish	_	PL.0
	nm	pron	vt		aux		prt	nm	pı	ron
	kamabana	le o	-ma h-1	oke	lr o	mata	•			
0- 190	ka-	ka ™ go/gom	ma -hak- +e back FUT		ke S DECL+F	mata for r	) O W			
vt	COMI	1 90/COIII	- nack toli	prt		for r	ı O W			
	hen I hawa	shot some	aba fish, I will	-	•••	Prr				
v v	ncn i nave	SHOL SOILLE	uou 11311, I WIII	ving them.						

	<pre>Inamate inamate child nm</pre>	owa owa 1SG.O pron	<pre>abiyo abiyo+ want t vt</pre>	M he presenc	e of	kokori koko: 3SG.I	ri	ther-in-	law	<i>bako</i> bako chest+M pn
vt	-ka l DECL+M	ma Haja	filling hi	ia fother in le	ry's stomoch	. ""				
	oof	me. He is		is father-in-la	w's stomach nofamate	<b>1.</b> '''			ati	ama
	oof hoo	_		-makI following	na nofa AUX rece		-mate short	time+M	ati voice	ama be
	interj Owa owa .POSS.aff	vi inal re	lative		aux				pn	VC
'''Ou	r in-law doe	sn't have a	any food,	why doesn't h	ie come her	e?"'				
	E owa e owa brother- voc ir in-law, con		vi			-yahi DIST.	IMP+F	<i>mata</i> mata for now prt		
	Tikamamati ti- ka 2SG.S go, vi u come here.	-r /come ba	na -ma ack sho	ta -y rt time DI	vahi ST.IMP+F	<i>ahi</i> ahi her dem	е			
144	ee w.		nikima ttered	AUX short		i	mata mata for now prt	ahi ahi here dem		
'''\\\ <i>\</i>	z wiii cacii iiv	e iii oui o	wii iious	<b>-</b> .						
		me	e	kabakaba	kawahi	ibeva				ahi
	Aba aba fish sp	me me 3PL.0 pron	e ee 1IN.S pron	<i>kabakaba</i> kaba- kak DUP eat vt		na	-waha change	-be IMMED+F	-ya now	<pre>ahi ahi here dem</pre>
145	Aba aba fish sp	me 3PL.O pron	ee 1IN.S pron	kaba- kak DUP eat	oa ka- t COMIT	na			_	ahi here
145 '''Let	Aba aba fish sp nm t's eat aba fis  Tiwinama ti- win 2SG.S liv	me 3PL.O pron shawhile na -ma ve back	ee 1IN.S pron more."' ahi ahi there	kaba- kak DUP eat vt  kowani kowani other si	ba ka- t COMIT aux <b>ka</b> ka	na	change .		_	ahi here
145 ""Let 146 ""Yo	Aba aba fish sp nm t's eat aba fish Tiwinama ti- win 2SG.S liv	me 3PL.O pron shawhile na -ma ve back	ee 1IN.S pron more."' ahi ahi there	kaba- kak DUP eat vt  kowani kowani other si	ba ka- t COMIT aux <b>ka</b> ka ide LOC	na AUX ya ya ADJU prt	change .		_	ahi here

148 Awa awa garden nf  karo LOC prt "'Let's make ga	ee 1IN.S pron	bore bore pull out vt re the aba fish	nibeya na -be AUX IMMED aux	-ya a +F now f	fish sp	me 3PL.S	<i>wini</i> wina.NOM+F live vi
bore r	pron nemetemone na -heme AUX FP.N+	ete -mone F REP+F	F ka a LOC f prt n waha waha now prt	ba m ish sp 3 m p	BPL.S se oron vt	ra+F ee	<pre>awa me awa me garden 3PL.S nf pron</pre>
awa garden nf  na me na+F me AUX 3PL.S aux pron nemetemoneke na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux 'They made gar	nf e -mone - REP+F D	awa m garden 3 nf p me ti 3PL.S cu pron vt	BPL.S pul pron vt i t through	e.LIST , and , na , na+F AUX aux	awa r tree 3	3PL.S c	bore bore pull out vt iii cut through
awa m tree 3	PL.S ch ron vt nemeten na -h AUX FE aux	op AUX aux noneke nemete -mo: P.N+F REP	+F DECL+F	aba aba fish sp nm ahi ahi then dem he trees whil	me 3PL.S pron	kakaba ka- kaba DUP eat pn	ADJU tree prt nf
awa m tree 3	e ka e ka PL.S ch ron vt	op AUX aux	awa me awa me tree 3PI nf pro	n vt	ni na.NOM+ AUX aux nimetemone	<i>ya</i> ⊦F ya ADJU prt	, <b>awa</b> awa tree nf
kaa na.N chop AUX result aux amake ama -ke be DECL+F vc		ıba+F 'a	aba m fish sp 3	ie ka		.NOM+F	-mete -mone FP.N+F REP+F

<sup>23</sup> Siko actually said *awaha*, not *waha*, I'm not sure why.

'They chopped down trees. When they finished cutting down the trees, the *aba* fish came back.'

		J	O		,
153 Aba me aba me fish sp 3PL.	<b>kama</b> ka S go/com	-ma+F ne back	<i>me</i> me 3PL.O	me me 3PL.S	<i>tisa</i> tisa shoot with arrow
nm pron	- ,		pron	pron	vt
nemetemone			_	_	
na -hemete -mone	9				
AUX FP.N+F REP+1	?				
aux					
The <i>aba</i> fish came bac	k, and they s	shot them.			
54 Aba me	me	tisa		neme	etemone
aba me	me	tisa		na	-hemete -mone
fish sp 3PL.	O 3PL.S	shoot w	ith arr	ow AUX	FP.N+F REP+F
nm pron	-	vt		aux	
They shot the <i>aba</i> fish	.'				
155 Aba me	me	titisa			toemetemone
aba me	me	ti- tis	a		to- ha -hemete -mone
fish sp 3PL.	O 3PL.S	DUP sho	ot with	arrow	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm pron	pron	vt			aux
komi	na	, aati			temone , bani
o- ka am:		a-	ati.LIS		
ISG.POSS POSS mot			say		AUX FP.N+F REP+F anim
nf 	aux	vt		aux	nm
<i>me ini</i> me ini	<i>ya</i> ya	•			
BPL.POSS tooth+1	=				
oron pn	prt				
They shot the <i>aba</i> fish		teeth, my r	nother use	ed to say.'	
156 Bato tone	bereko	amara	11/1	ha	ereko amara ya
bato tone ,	bereko	ama -ra	<i>ya</i> .+F ya	,	ereko amara ya ereko ama -ra+F ya
deer bone	nail	be NEG	_		ail be NEG ADJU
nm pn	nf	VC	prt	ni	f vc prt
bato tone ya	aba	me	me	titisa	_
oato tone ya	aba	me	me	ti- tis	sa
deer bone ADJU	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP sho	oot with arrow
nm pn prt	nm	pron	pron	vt	
oemetemone	•				
to- ha -hemete					
	REP+F				
BUX Thom used to sheet ab	a fich with d	oor bonos r	ot with no	sila '	
They used to shoot <i>ab</i>	a iisii witii d	eer bonies, i	iot with Ha	1115.	
157 Faya aba	me	me t	isa		na me aba n

157	Faya	aba	me	me	tisa		na	me	aba	me
	faya	aba	me	me	tisa		na+F	me	aba	me
	so	fish sp	3PL.0	3PL.S	shoot w	ith arrow	AUX	3PL.S	fish sp	3PL
	conj	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron	nm	pron
	okobi			okiti			ba	ıti		
,	0-	ka	abi	´ o-	ka	iti	ba	ati	,	
	1SG.PO	SS POSS	father	1SG.	POSS POSS	grandfatl	ner 3	SG.POSS.	.father	
	nm			nm			nı	m		

```
okiti
                                batiteba
                                                                hiba
                                                                              fana
0-
           ka
                 iti
                                bati
                                                    -tee -ba
                                                                hiba
                                                                               fana
                                3SG.POSS.father HAB
                                                        FUT
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                                soon after
                                                                              be married
                                                                conj
                                                                              vi
       biti
                        ohari
                                      biti
                                                       hiwabiyo
nρ
       biti
                        ohari+M
                                      biti
na+M
                                                       hi- abivo+M
       3SG.POSS.son
                                      3SG.POSS.son
AUX
                        be one
                                                       OC
                                                            want the presence of
aux
                        77 i
                                      nm
                                                       vt
biti
                kakamake
                                               hiti
                                                                kobo
                ka-
                                               biti
                                                                kobo
biti
                        ka
                                  -makT
3SG.POSS.son
                COMIT go/come following
                                               3SG.POSS.son
                                                                arrive
nm
                 vt
                                                                77 i
kanamake
                             iita
                                         karama
                                                           tiya
                             i –
                                 ita
                                                           ti-
                                                                       -yahi
ka-
      na
            -makI
                                         na
                                              -karahama
                                                                  na
COMIT AUX following
                             DUP stay
                                         AUX only do
                                                           2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
aux
                             vi
                                         aux
                                                           aux
aso
                               ni
                                    уa
                                    ya
aso
2SG.POSS.father's sister
                                    ADJU
                               prt prt
'They shot aba fish. My grandfather's father had just married. He had one son. His son wanted to go with
him, so he took him. He arrived with his son. "You stay with your aunt."
158 Aba
               me
                       Sa
                                             omate
    aba
               me
                                             0-
                                                         -mate
                       saa
                                                    na
    fish sp
               3PL.O
                       shoot with arrow
                                             1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
                       vt
    nm
               pron
                                             aux
ami
                    ka
                           aba
                                      meba
                                                  mati
                                           -ba
                                                  mati
ami
                    ka
                            aba
                                      me
2SG.POSS.mother
                    POSS
                           fish sp
                                                  3PL
                                      3PL FUT
                    prt
                            nm
                                      pron
                                                  pron
"I'm going to shoot some aba fish for your mother."
159 Ami
                            ami
                                     fimiharake
    ami
                            ami
                                      fimi
    2SG.POSS.mother
                            mother
                                     be hungry IP.E+F DECL+F
                            nf
                                      vi
"Your mother is hungry."
160 Faya
           aha
                                aba
                                                   tisa
                                                                                    faya
                      me
                                           me
                                                                         ne
    faya
           aba
                      me
                                aba
                                           me
                                                   tisa
                                                                         na+M
                                                                                    faya
    so
            fish sp
                      3PL
                                fish sp
                                           3PL.O
                                                   shoot with arrow
                                                                         AUX
                                                                                    so
                      pron
    conj
                                           pron
                                                   vt.
                                                                         aux
                                                                                    conj
           nm
                                nm
aba
                   tisa
                                                aba
           me
                                                                    kakame
                                         ne
                                                           me
```

tafematamona
tafa -himata -mona
wrap FP.N+M REP+M

me

me

me

3PL.O

3PL.POSS

pron

pron

tisa

tori

pn

tori

quts+F

shoot with arrow

hinaka

pron

hinaka

3SG.POSS

vt

aba

nm

aba

aba

nm

fish sp

fish sp

na+M

AUX

aux

aba

nm

bitimi

bitimi

niece

nf

fish sp

me

hi- iti+F

hitiha

OC

vt

3PL.O

take out

pron

ka-

ka

aba

aba

nm

COMIT go/come back

fish sp

-ma+M

me

me

3PL.O

pron

<sup>&#</sup>x27;He shot aba fish. He brought the aba fish. His niece gutted the aba fish. He wrapped the aba fish in leaves.'

me

me

tafe

tafa+M

aba

aba

mρ

me

161 *Aba* 

aba

me

me

tafe

tafa+M

aba

aba

```
fish sp
              3PL.O
                      wrap
                               fish sp
                                         3PL.O
                                                  wrap
                                                           fish sp
                                                                      3PL.O
              pron
                      vt
                               nm
                                                  vt
                                                           nm
                                          pron
                                                                      pron
tabasi
                            aha
                                      me
                                              tabasi
                  ne
tabasi
                  na+M
                            aba
                                      me
                                              tabasi
                                      3PL.O
roast on grill
                  AUX
                            fish sp
                                              roast on grill
vt
                  aux
                            nm
                                      pron
                                              vt
nematamonaka
na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
allx
'He wrapped the aba fish in leaves. He roasted the fish.'
162 Koko
                                                                 kiahani
                        iyawa
                                          iyawa
                                                         te
                                                                                te
                                                                 kiha -hani
    koko
                        iyawa
                                          iyawa
                                                         tee
                                                                                tee
    mother's brother
                        manioc mash
                                          manioc mash
                                                        2PL.S
                                                                 have IP.N+F
                                                                                2PL.S
                        nf
                                          nf
                                                         pron
                                                                 vt
                                                                                pron
ama
ama
SEC
sec
"Uncle, do you have manioc mash?"
163 Iyawa
                                                            haro
                   warineke
    iyawa
                         -rI
                                           -ne
                                                   -ke
                                                            haaro
                   waa
                  stand raised surface CONT+F DECL+F
                                                            that one+F
    manioc mash
                   vi
                                                            dem
"There is manioc mash there on the floor."
164 Iyawa
                      iyawa
                                                             fahi
                                    sirematamona
                                    sira -himata -mona
    iyawa
                      iyawa
                                                             fahi
                                    toast FP.N+M REP+M
                     manioc mash
                                                             then
    manioc mash
                      nf
                                    77
                                                             dem
'He toasted some manioc mash.'
165 Iyawa
                  sire
                               iyawa
                                             sire
                                                       aba
                                                                 kabe
                                                                           aba
    iyawa
                   sira+M
                               iyawa
                                              sira+M
                                                       aba
                                                                 kaba+M
                                                                           aba
    manioc mash
                  toast
                               manioc mash
                                             toast
                                                       fish sp
                                                                 eat
                                                                           fish sp
                               nf
                                              vt
                                                                 vt
                                                   fame
kabakaba
             kawahe
                                   biti
                                                             aha
                                                                       kahe
kaba- kaba
             ka-
                   na -waha+M
                                   biti
                                                   fama+M
                                                             aba
                                                                       kaba+M
DUP
      eat
             COMIT AUX change
                                   3SG.POSS.son
                                                   be two
                                                             fish sp
                                                                       eat
vt.
             aux
                                   nm
                                                   vi
                                                            nm
okititeba
                                                            hikatafe
                                         bati
                                         bati
                                                            hi- ka-
          ka
              iti
                             -tee -ba
                                                                        tafa+M
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB FUT
                                         3SG.POSS.father
                                                            OC COMIT eat
                                                            vt.
                                         nm
faya
       Tisawimatahi
                                      -hi
faya
       ti- sawi
                          -mata
       2SG.S be present short time IMP+F
so
'He toasted some manioc mash. He ate an aba fish. He quickly ate the rest of the aba fish. He ate the aba fish
```

with his son. My grandfather ate with his father. "You stay here for now."

166	Koko koko 2SG.POSS nm	.mothe	r's brot		ya ya ADJU prt	<i>tisawiya</i> ti- 2SG.S vi	sawi be present	-yahi DIST.IN	mata mata MP+F for now prt
'''Yo	u stay with	your unc	ele for now	.""					
167		e c PL.O 1	esemamatib o- to .SG.S awa	- isI	-ma off bac		a -be t time IMME	, ED+F	
nf	.POSS.mot	r ther t	ni ya ni ya to ADJU prt prt	ır mother."'					
168 '''We	otaa k 1EX.S m	7i	-mina ray morni	a -haba ing FUT+F		S DECL-	· -F		
	Aba aba fish sp nm 're going to	me me 3PL.O pron eat aba	pron	<i>kabibeya</i> kaba -1 eat II vt	be MMED+F	-ya now			
	Aba aba fish sp nm 're going to	me me 3PL.O pron eat aba	pron	<i>kabibe</i> kaba -l eat II vt	be MMED+F				
171	Oko o- 1SG.POSS prt my garden	ka B POSS	<i>awa</i> awa garden nf		mata nort ti	mai mat me for pri	ta r now		
	Awa awa garden nf	<i>titi</i> ti- ti		ona o- gh 1SG.S aux	na+F S AUX		-ne CONT+F		
'''My	garden tha	at I starte	ed to cut do	own will sit.	""				
173	Oko o- 1SG.POSS prt	ka S POSS	amo amo sleep vi	ni na.NFIN AUX aux	tamara tama be ma vi		-habana (	oke o- 1SG.POSS ort	ke DECL+F

ahi
ahi
there
dem

"I will not be there many days."

174 <i>Oko</i> o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt	amo amo sleep vi		tamarabana tama -ra be many NEG vi		oni o- r 1SG.POSS E	ni BKG+F	
"I will not be many days	s.'''				-		
175 Kamakabote  ka -ma - go/come back o	kabote uickly		-habana c K FUT+F 1	<i>ni</i> D- ni .SG.S BKG+1 Drt	·		
176 <i>Ee</i> ee yes interj "'All right."							
177 <i>Oko</i> o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt "I'll be there two days."	amo amo sleep vi	ni na.NFIN AUX aux	famabana fama -hab be two FUT+ vi	oni pana o- F 1SG. prt	ni POSS BKG+F		
178 Oko  o- ka  1SG.POSS POSS  prt  onamabana  o- na -ma -h.  1SG.S AUX back FU  aux  "After two days I'll arriv	vi abana a I+F h		fami fama.NOM+F be two vi	ya kol ya ko ADJU ar prt vi			
179 <i>Oka</i> o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt	yobeba yobe thatch nm	-ba c	oka o- ka LSG.POSS POS ort	4		ko sako tie	
tikawaiyahi ti- ka- na -waha -yahi 2SG.S COMIT AUX change DIST.IMP+F aux "'You fasten the thatch on my roof together."'							
180 Yobe sako yobe sako.LI house tie nm vt tasi onamabana tasi o- na emerge 1SG.S AUX vi aux	ST y h n	vobe tati vobe tati nouse top nm pn oki abana o- T+F 1S	ti yoto to cover 2 vt a  e ke GG.S DECL+F	ikani :i- ka- :SG.S COMI: :ux	na.NOM+F F AUX	<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt	
"When you close up the top of the roof, I'll appear."							

```
181 Ee
   ee
   yes
   interj
"All right."
182 Fava
                 tonematamona
                                          fahi
          yana
                 to- na -himata -mona
                                          fahi
    faya
          yana
   so
          start
                 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                                          then
    conj
          vi
                  aux
'He left.'
                      , yana
183 Yana
           tone
                                tonematamona
                                                          okobi
   yana
           to- na+M
                        yana
                                to- na -himata -mona
                                                         0-
                                                                   ka
                                                                       abi
   start CH AUX
                         start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father
                         vi
   vi
           aux
                                aux
                                                         nm
         tohemari
                            amaka
a- ati to- ha -himari
                            ama -ka
DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
                            SEC DECL+M
         aux
                            sec
'He left. He left, my father said.'
184 Okiti
                                atimatamona
                                                      okobi
             ka iti
                                ati -mata -mona
                                                      0-
                                                                ka
   1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                voice FP.N+M REP+M
                                                      1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                      nm
                                ng
hihiyara
             toemari
            to- ha -himari
hi- hiyara
            CH AUX FP.E+M
OC tell
77 T
             aux
'My father reported what my grandfather used to say.'
185 Faya
          yana
                 tone
                            tokome
                                                  fawa
                            to- ka
    faya
          yana
                  to- na+M
                                          -ma+M
                                                  fawa
                 CH AUX
                            away go/come back
          start
                                                  disappear
   conj
          vi
                  aux
                            vi
                                                  vi
tonakosame
                           biti
                                          tosawikosa
                           biti to- sawi -kosa.1
3SG.POSS.son CH be present middle
to- na -kosa -ma+M
                                                          -kosa.LIST
away AUX middle back
                           nm
kokori
                         ni
                             ya
kokori
                         ni
                             ya
3SG.POSS.father-in-law
                         to
                             ADJU
                         prt prt
'He left. He went. He went into the forest. His son stayed behind with his uncle.'
186 Biti
                  tosawikose
                                            bati
                                                              kame
   biti
                  to- sawi
                                  -kosa+M bati
                                                                       -ma+M
                                                              ka
                                            3SG.POSS.father
   3SG.POSS.son CH be present middle
                                                              go/come back
                  vi
                                            nm
                 tofamame
amo
                                          va
                                                kamematamona
       na.NFIN to- fama -ma.NOM+M
amo
                                         ya
                                                ka
                                                         -ma
                                                              -himata -mona
                                                go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
sleep AUX
                 away be two back
                                          ADJU
       aux
                 vi
                                          prt
                                                vi
```

#### fahi

fahi then

dem

'His son stayed behind. His father came back. He was away for two days, and then he came back.'

187 <i>Kame</i>	, kobo n	ame , Ok	aobi			
ka -ma+M	kobo n	a -ma+M ´o-	ka abi			
go/come back	arrive A	.UX back 1S	G.POSS POSS father			
vi	vi a	ux nm	1			
kame .	okobi	kame	, koko	,		
ka -ma+M ´	o- ka	abi ka	-ma+M koko	,		
go/come back	1SG.POSS POSS	S father go/com	me back mother	's brother		
vi	nm	vi	nm			
koko	okobi	kame	okobi	okobi		
koko	o- ka	abi ka	-ma+M o-	ka abi		
mother's brother	1SG.POSS POSS	S father go/com	me back 1SG.POSS	POSS father		
nm	nm	vi	nm			
, yama , hinaka	yobebona	yama	onahareka			
yama hinak	a yobe -	bona yama	o- na -hare -	-ka		
thing 3SG.E	POSS thatch I	NT+M work on	1SG.S AUX IP.E+M I	DECL+M		
nf pron	nm	v†.	aux			

'He came back. He arrived back. "My father came back. Uncle, my father came back. I worked on his thatch for him "

## 188 *Hiwa winamaka* hiwa wina -ma -ka

only.M live back DECL+M

pron vi

"Let him come and live here."

# 189 Winamataho , oof wina -mata -ho oof

live short time IMP+M hoo vi interj

"Let him live here for now."