

BAHI (2)

Free Translation

They were living there. As they were living there, Bahi came to them. He came from far away, and they didn't see him coming. He came upon them as they were living there, and he shined a light on them briefly. It was like a shock.

"Ee, ee." They were all crying out. "There is someone coming."

"Hoo, are you living here?"

"We are living here."

"Whew, I didn't know you were living here. I'm hungry."

"Did you eat where you came from? Didn't they feed you?"

"They didn't feed me. I passed by them [without stopping], they live far away. I have arrived late in the day."

It was Bahi, someone had turned into Bahi. He came.

"Are you going to sleep here?"

"Yes, it's late. I will sleep a while. I will sleep at your village. After I sleep...I will sleep a while."

They wanted him to sleep there. They wanted him to stay, and they fed him. They gave him food, and he ate. He was going to sleep.

He [the head of the house] had suspended the rifle. He spoke. He had tied [the rifle] near the tapir's trail,⁸⁹ and he spoke. "Aa, I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended by the tapir's trail. I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended near the trail the tapir goes back and forth on. Listen. It's sound [i.e the sound of the rifle going off] will start," he said.

He [the head of the house] was telling the story. "Let's eat tapir. I have never eaten tapir. I will eat a little bit of tapir," he [Bahi] said.

He slept. They woke up.

They woke up. "Where is your rifle suspended?"

"The rifle which I suspended is suspended there. It is suspended on the other side of the stream that comes this way."

"Who will show me the rifle? Grandmother, let's go together. Let's go together, Grandmother."

"He is calling me to go along, even though I move slowly."

"You move slowly. Just walk slowly, and show it. When I see the rifle...[I will say,] 'There is a tapir lying there.'"

So they left. The old woman went with her grandson. She went into the forest.

"Where?"

"There is the rifle suspended. There is the tapir's trail."

He was standing where the rifle was suspended. "Grandma, come here on the tapir's trail. Come around from that way over there. Come back here. Catch on the line."

He was holding the trigger of the rifle, and the old woman came.

"Grandma, come fast."

89 What is referred to is a booby trap with a trip line.

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"Taasei," it went. She didn't even yell. She died.

"Let her die."

When she died..."Carry the tapir. We are going out into the forest. You carry the tapir."⁹⁰ That was a weapon killing a tapir."

It was the weapon that killed their own mother, because of Bahi, because Bahi shot her. Bahi shot her and she died. He turned her into a tapir. She was a tapir.

He came back for them. He took them there. "The tapir died."

He cut the "tapir" in pieces. He cut up his grandmother. He carried the pieces of his grandmother. He carried her.

"Make a grill. A grill, make a grill."

They made a grill. Others went after firewood. They roasted her on the grill. Her sons that had gone out into the forest came back, and they ate her back in the village.

"The tapir died."

"Didn't I hear the sound of the gun that killed it going off a little while ago?" [said one of the sons of the old woman].

"Yes, it came early. The sound of the gun that shot it went off in front of me," [said Bahi].

"Where is my mother?"

"Your mother went to the other people. Your mother went to get them. She went. She went after them, she went so they could eat."⁹¹

They ate the supposed tapir, which was their own mother. They ate their own mother. They ate, eating their own mother. They ate and then slept.

Bahi didn't sleep. He lay in his hammock listening.

"My mother didn't come home."

"Your mother will come when the meat is boiled. She will come. She is sleeping with them for now, and will bring them tomorrow so they will eat."

The day came. Before daylight he was ready to leave. He rolled up his hammock, and he was ready to leave.

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, wow," he said. "The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, and they are sleeping, wow," he said, as he was ready to leave.

Then he disappeared. He disappeared. After he went, they woke up and looked where he had been. "Did you hear Bahi speak?"

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their own mother, wow,' Bahi said. I heard him. He disappeared. He must have gone into the forest. We ate my mother without knowing it. We ate my mother without knowing it, because of Bahi. He has gone away. We didn't see him leaving, and he disappeared."

He disappeared. He came out at another place. The woman who would be his grandmother was making a clay pot. She was smoothing the clay pot.

There was a shock. "Hey, oh."

"Grandma, are you making a clay pot?"

"I am making a clay pot. I was making a clay pot, and your scared me."

"Here Grandma, let me smooth it a little. I want to smooth it a little."

"Wipe my clay pot carefully. It shouldn't be wiped hard."

"I know how to do it."

He smoothed the clay pot really hard. He held onto the opposite edge of the clay pot really

90 This conversation was back in the village. Some of the people were saying they were going out hunting, and that the others should go after the dead tapir.

91 That is, she went to invite them to come back with her and eat tapir meat.

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hard, and the pot broke apart. "Oh no, Grandma the clay pot broke."

"He is saying he damaged my clay pot."

Then he grabbed his grandmother. He held his grandmother, and broke her neck. He broke her neck, and threw her in the water. "Come on, you are going to be the first sting-ray." He threw her clay pot in the water after her. "You who have been making clay pots are going to be the first sting-ray."

Then he was ready to leave, and went into the forest again. He came upon the one who was ramming out the inside of a new blowgun, who was going to be the first *ona* alligator. He was ramming out the inside of the blowgun. "Hiii, hiii, hiii." It was the sound of the ramming of his blowgun. He was ramming the blowgun forcefully, bracing himself with his leg.

There was a sound of a shock. "Hey. Wow."

He went. The man was ramming the inside of the blowgun. "Here Grandpa, let me ram it a little. Hand it to me. I want to ram it a little. Give me the stick."

"Don't ram my blowgun too hard."

Bahi rammed the blowgun. He broke the blowgun. The blowgun broke. "Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke."

"He is saying that he broke the blowgun."

"Grandpa, don't be angry with me. Wait, let me put it back together."

He tried to put the blowgun back together, and because the blowgun couldn't be put back together, he grabbed his grandfather. He wanted to stick the piece of the blowgun into his anus, and he tried to stick it in. He broke his legs. He pulled his arms behind his back. He broke his arms, too. Then he threw him in the water. "You are going to be the first *ona* alligator. You are the first *ona* alligator. You were ramming the blowgun."

It's the piece of his former blowgun that is sticking in his anus [that is, the alligator's tail]. He threw the alligator into the water. "You are going to be the first *ona* alligator."

Bahi looked at the sun. "Wait."

Bahi went into the forest. He went away. Then he came upon the sound of people cutting down a *hawa* palm, "Teo, teo." His future father-in-law was cutting down a *hawa* palm, to mix the fruits with manioc juice. Fish were killed, *ote* fish. The *ote* fish were in the makeshift basket on the ground. They had felt for the fish, and they had killed the fish. They were in the makeshift basket.

"Are those fish?"

"They are fish. The fish that I killed are in there. Hoo, let me cut down the *hawa* palm, to add the fruits to my wife's manioc juice." He picked up the ax and went into the forest. He was cutting down the *hawa* palm.

"I'm going to cut down my father-in-law's *hawa* palm."

He went there. He went there to cut down his father-in-law's *hawa* palm. He went there, and grabbed the ax. "Father-in-law, give the ax to me." He chopped at the *hawa* palm. He chopped at it really hard. The *hawa* palm fell.

The two women who were going to be his wives were standing there. "You two go bathe. Go bathe. I'm going to cut down a *hawa* palm," he said.

He went and cut down a *hawa* palm. When the *hawa* palm fell, he came back.

He went to the two women who were bathing. "Are you bathing?"

"We are bathing."

"I'm going to bathe, too. I'm sweating." He bathed. After they bathed, they put their breechcloths back on.

The two women went back. "Let's go back." They went back.

He went back after them. "Come on, I want to drink *hawa* drink. I want to eat fish. I'm

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hungry."

"You go ahead with him. I will follow," their father said.

"I'm going to marry you. You are going to be my wives." He wanted them to marry them. He took them back. He arrived back with them.

"Cook the fish quickly. I want to eat fish." So they cooked the fish. When the cooking of the fish was done, they called him.

They toasted manioc mash. Her mother mashed the manioc juice in the mortar. She put the *hawa* fruits in water. She mashed the *hawa* fruits in the mortar. She mixed the manioc juice with her hands. "Well, is he full?"

"Yes, I'm full, Mother-in-law. I'm full. I ate fish."

"Aren't you going to drink manioc juice?"

"Wait, my food is almost gone."

His mother-in-law called him for him to drink manioc juice. He dipped out some manioc juice with a cup. "Wait, I will dip out a little. I will try a little. Is it sweet?"

"It is sweet."

He got some manioc juice, and he drank the manioc juice. "Yumm, it's good. *Hawa* fruits are good with manioc juice."

So he came back. He was ready to leave. "I want to leave, but you won't let me. I'm going to leave."

"We won't let you leave because of what you said, when you said you would marry us."

"Yes, I will marry you."

"Don't deceive us."

"I will marry you. He is my father-in-law." He was going to marry them, and he slept with them. He didn't sleep with them, he had sex with them all night.

"I'm going now. Where is there forest that has game?"

"There is a path going that way that has game. There are woolly monkeys living there."

"Come on, let's go together. You will carry the woolly monkeys." He was ready to leave, and his two wives were ready to leave. They came on behind.

He went into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder, and holding onto arrows. He went into the forest. As he went, the voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. "Siya, siya." The voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. As he listened to their voices, he twirled darts in his mouth. As he twirled the darts in his mouth, he went along planning against the monkeys.

"You stay here. I will come back quickly if I hear your voices."

He went into the forest. He went, and he shot some monkeys, "Fai saki."

"Aaa, aaa." A female monkey cried out.

The monkeys got excited. "Aa, aa, aa." They were going to be hit with darts.

He shot monkeys with the blowgun. He was picking up the dead monkeys. The monkeys were falling onto the ground.

He came back. "Hoo, are you still here?"

"We are still here."

"Aren't there any dangerous animals?"

"There aren't any dangerous animals, and we are still here."

"I guess there isn't a jaguar. If there were a jaguar, you would have cried out. Come on, let's go get the game."

They went to get the game. They went with him. He went there and picked up the monkeys. They picked up the monkeys. His one wife carried some of the monkeys, his other wife carried some of them, and he carried some of them.

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They came back, and arrived. "I'm going to tie up the monkeys. You will carry them."

"Aren't you going to carry any of them? Ours should be less."

"You are the ones who are going to eat them."

He tied up the animals. He tied up the monkeys. His one wife carried some, and his other wife carried some, and he carried two. He came back. They came back.

He had sex with them where he had shot the monkeys. He had sex with them. "Here, I will make people that will eat game." He had sex with them.

When the sex with them was over, he came back. They came back. "Come on, you two carry them, the ones who made you suffer.⁹² It's so you can eat them." He was ready to leave. They were ready to leave.

They came back, and arrived back. When they came back, his father-in-law singed the hair off the monkeys. He cut up the monkeys. He made a grill, too. He threw them onto the grill. Then they ate, the monkeys' livers, their intestines. They ate, his brothers-in-law. They ate, and they finished eating. They took snuff, and slept.

He was ready to go again the next morning. "I'm going out hunting."

"Go hunting. You have seen the forest. You have seen where we go."

"I want my brothers-in-law to go with me." His brothers-in-law went with him as he went out into the forest.

As he went, it [a tapir] started making noise [brushing against leaves].

"It's a tapir. Be quiet. I will hit it with an arrow. Wait, watch me. I'm a hunter."

They crept toward it as it stood, breaking twigs. One of them inserted an arrow in his bow. [His brother-in-law] was going to shoot quickly, but he went first. "Takai wa."

The tapir jumped up. It went a ways, hurt, and soon fell. He had hit it right in the armpit with the arrow.

"Come on, I killed it as it was eating. I really pulled the arrow hard on it! The arrow point went inside, and turned up."

His brother-in-law pulled out the arrow. "The arrow point stayed in. I hit you with an arrow. My penis went in all the way in your younger sisters." He was talking naughty.

They cut up the tapir. They cut up the fat tapir. They carried the tapir.

"The head will stay here on the ground. Let its head stay here on the ground. My mother-in-law will eat its head. You carry its head."

"I will carry its head. You will see me, wait."

He put the tapir's head on top of the full basket. They all carried the tapir.

"Don't let the feet stay there on the ground. The feet will be eaten. Let's take it all."

They took it. They brought it, and arrived with it.

"They are coming back carrying game. While he is here, we are eating the game he kills."

He had impregnated his wives, they were pregnant. He spoke to his pregnant wives. "What are you going to do? Shall I take you away?"

"I don't know."

"I will take you, wait. When I hear what my mother says, when I go there and hear what my mother says, if my mother agrees, I will come back to get you. When I have come back to get you, and we have gone...I will sleep here [before leaving]. I will know what day it will be [that I will take you away]. If the babies are growing up when I come back, I will not leave. When the children are finished growing up, we will leave. I will ask my mother properly about it. When I ask my mother properly about it, I will also ask my father."

"Is it scary?"

92 That is, the monkeys were the cause of the women having had to have sex with Bahi.

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"It's not scary, it's just like where we are now. I went out [hunting] again and came out at another place, and then I came back here. My mother lives there. I came back here."

"It's scary. I don't think I want to go there."

"It's just like where we are now. You will see it. You don't believe me. It's just like where we are now."

He was ready to leave, but he turned back and slept there. He turned back because her labor had started. The baby was born.

"Is it a boy?"

"It's a boy."

"What do you know, it's a boy. You will eat his game [that he will kill when he grows up]. Didn't you see me? You will eat his game. You have seen me, his father. I have killed a tapir with bow and arrow, and have killed woolly monkeys with a blowgun."

So he turned back. He went out hunting. "I'm going hunting, wait. My son has been born."

"Since my son hasn't been born yet, you shouldn't go now. Wait for me," [said his other wife].

"Yes, I will wait for you. The labor of the other baby will start. When the other baby is born, I will go to speak to my mother."

He was going to be ready to leave. When the other baby was born, he was ready to leave.

"The other baby who was born is a boy. What do you know, there are two boys. I will go and speak to my mother, Mother-in-law. Mother-in-law, I will go and speak to my mother."

He was ready to go, and he went. He didn't stay.

"I will come back here. I will come back. When the baby is nursing well, I will come back. When I have spoken to my mother..."

So he went. He went, and disappeared in the forest.

"That village of Bahi is scary. I'm not going along."

"He said it's the same as here. Didn't you hear what he said? He said it's just like the place we live in here," their older brother said. "We will go together, so I can have sex with his younger sister, too. Wait, I'll ask him. Let him come back."

He was ready to go, and he disappeared in the forest.

He waited for him. They waited for him. After three full moons, he finally appeared again.

"Bahi has come back. Bahi has come back."

He came back, and arrived. "Hoo, the children have grown. Now I finally have children. My sons' grandmother said I should take them there. What are you going to do? Do you want to stay with me?"

"I don't know. Bahi, isn't it scary?"

"It's not scary. It's the same as where we are now. It's just like here. It's just like where we are now."

"Bahi, is there plenty of game there?"

"She is saying there isn't much game, but the game there are the same as where we live," [said Bahi].

They were ready to leave. When they were about ready to leave, they slept there some more.

"Wait, I will kill some game for my mother-in-law with my blowgun. When I kill game with my blowgun, my mother-in-law and father-in-law will roast them on a grill."

"Are you saying you are going to take my daughters away? Isn't it scary there?"

"Father-in-law, it's not scary. It's the same as the place where we are. The places are the same. It's the same as the place we're living."

"When we are ready to leave, and we go, and we arrive somewhere, we will go and go and

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will arrive. If we get up early, it won't be far. When we have slept in the house I slept in when I went before, when we have gotten up early and gone and gone, we will arrive," he said.

"Bahi really talks."

He listened to his father-in-law, and his father-in-law stopped speaking.

"Yes, Father-in-law, I'm going to take my wives there. I come back and see you again."

"If you take my daughters to a place that is not my village...."

"It's my village. Because it is my village there, I have come here to get my wives. It is my father and mother's village." So he took them away.

"Let him take them away," [said his father-in-law].

"He is taking them so their grandmother can see them. They won't die," [said his mother-in-law].

"I don't know if we will come back soon or not. I don't know if my wives will like the place when they see it."

So they went. They slept on the way, and went on again in the morning.

He wanted to ask his brother-in-law. "You said you wanted to marry my younger sister."

"I want you to pay for my sisters to live here."

"No, I don't want her to live over there. I want her to live in my village. You live in my village."

"It's scary."

"It's not scary. You heard me, it's the same forest. It's the same trails."

"You said the trail goes up."

"It doesn't go up. It's good to walk there. The trees are not high, they are like steps. There are tall trees. It's the same [whether the trees are tall or short]."

"I will slide back down."⁹³

"He won't slide back down. He crawls because he is a baby. Adults don't crawl."

They went. His brother-in-law made him go along. They went and went, and arrived at sundown. He had become Bahi's brother-in-law. He came. They arrived at sundown.

They slept. He called his younger sister. "Sister, Sister."

"Huh?"

"Sister, come here a minute. Listen to me. Look at what I have in my hand. I am holding something in my hand that I bought."

"Brother, what is it?"

"Look at what I am holding in my hand."

"He [the baby] is fat. The one my brother is holding looks just like him. Brother, whose daughters' hands are you holding? Whose daughters did you marry?"

"I don't know his name. I haven't heard his name. Wait, I will hear his name now. I will go and see them again."

"Brother, can we go together?"

"Yes, we will go together."

"Your partner is sitting there, holding his hard penis. Sister, he is your future husband."

"Are you going to stay here?" [said Bahi].

"I don't know."

"I don't want to go to his village and stay there."⁹⁴

93 This is a reference to the ability of shamans to walk in the sky.

94 When we came to the end of the tape and started recording again, Siko went back to an earlier point in the story and retold part of it, changing some details.

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When he arrived at their village, he wasn't kind. He killed the women. He killed people. When he came again and came upon others, he killed the others, too. He came to them. He arrived where they were.

"Mother, get my gun again. My gun is suspended at the tapir's trail. The gun is suspended there. We are going out in the forest."

They went out, all of them.

"If a tapir dies, you cut it up, Mother. We are going out."

They all went out. She toasted some manioc mash and was sitting on the ground eating it.

"Grandma, what are you eating?"

"I'm eating manioc mash."

"What are you eating with it?"

"Meat. I'm eating game that my son killed with his blowgun. I'm eating the game that my son killed with his blowgun. I ate one animal, and left the rest for later," she said.

He waited for her. He killed her when she was done eating. When she picked up a bowl of water to drink, he killed her. Then he had an idea. He went into the forest, and got the gun. He came back and stuck the gun under the roof. He pulled out a knife, and cut off her breasts, like a tapir. She was like a tapir. He burned her hair. Her head was just like the head of a tapir, after he burned her hair. Then he cut her in pieces. He cut her up. Her sons didn't see her legs. Her legs were lying over on the other side. Her sons didn't see her legs. He cut her up, and cooked her. He boiled her.

He heard their voices as they came back, "Hey, hey, hey."

They came back. He put her breasts on himself. He also put her old vagina on himself. When he had put her breasts on himself, he lay in the hammock, with his head down. His face was just like her face. His face was just like the face of the old woman.

He [one of the sons] looked ahead and saw something. "Yeh, the tapir really did die! Hoo, it has been cooked. It has boiled and has been cooked."

They came back, and started in right away [to get the food, because they were hungry].

"Mother, is it tapir?"

"Yes, it's a tapir. I cut up the tapir, and I am roasting it. I boiled it, and it is boiled there," Bahi said. It was not an old woman, it was Bahi.

"Mother, where is the manioc mash?"

"There is manioc mash in the container, that I toasted."

They started in right away on the manioc mash. They ate, eating their own mother.

"Wow, the tapir is fat! Look at the fat! We had said it was not fat," they said.

He was in the hammock. He stayed in the hammock, he didn't get out. He didn't get out of the hammock.

"Mother, did you eat some? I have already eaten some. It satisfied me, and I am lying in the hammock."

He didn't see that his "mother" was Bahi. He ate.

"The tapir is good to eat. It's good to eat, because it's fatty."

They ate. They finished eating.

"Turn over the tapir. I had turned over the tapir, but I hadn't turned it over again. You turn it over."

After they ate, they were ready to take a bath, and they went. When they had bathed, they came back. It was dark. He got out of the hammock and sat down.

"Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, go back into your hammock. I will go back to my hammock, but I am sitting here

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so that I can take snuff for a while. I'm going to take snuff for a while."

He was sitting there. "You go to sleep first, because you are full, while I cook the tapir for you. After you go to sleep first, I will sleep afterward."

So he sat there. He sat taking snuff. He sat there a while longer.

He [one of the sons] was watching his mother. He was awake, but he was getting sleepy. Bahi blew out the mucus from the snuff. Then he spoke. "I'm going to defecate. After I have taken the remaining snuff, I will defecate. You go to sleep before me. I will go to sleep afterward."

He said he was going to defecate. "My son, are you sleeping? Go to sleep. I'm going to defecate."

He went. He didn't come back. He went away. He didn't come back. He went away. They were sleeping. He came, and went.

"He made me eat my mother. I ate my mother because of Bahi," he said.

Dawn came and he arrived where a woman was making a clay pot. She was making a clay pot. He was going to kill them. She had two daughters. Her grandmother was sitting on the ground making a clay pot. She was sitting making the pot.

"Sori [shocking]."

"Hey. Aha."

Her daughters laughed. As they laughed, he came.

"Grandma."

"Huh?"

"Grandma, are you making a pot?"

"I'm making a pot to toast manioc mash on. I see. Here, let me smooth it. Give me the smoother, wait."

"Don't smooth my pot too hard."

He started to smooth the pot, and he was about to do it violently. He was smoothing the pot, "sio, sio". The pot split open. He didn't pay any attention, he just went on smoothing the pot.

"Oh no, it is ruined! The pot is ruined."

Then he grabbed his grandmother and threw her in the water. He broke her arms. After he killed his grandmother, he threw her in the water.

"You will be the first sting-ray."

The ones who saw their mother being killed went running away. He went running after them and killed them, and changed them into something else, too.

He came back. "Hoo." He came. As he came, the sound of a blowgun could be heard. The man was working on a blowgun. Its sound could be heard, "Hii, hii, hii." He braced himself with his leg. "Yebe," went the sound of shocking.

"Hey. Oh, it's you."

"Grandpa, what are you cleaning out?"

"I'm cleaning out the blowgun."

"Whew, Grandpa let me clean it a while. You are tired. Let me clean it a while."

"Go ahead and clean it a while."

He didn't clean it gently. He cleaned the blowgun violently. He was cleaning it.

"Don't break the router for my blowgun."

He thrust the stick into the blowgun, and it broke, because he wasn't thrusting gently.

"Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke."

"You broke my blowgun. The blowgun was finished, and you broke my blowgun."

"Grandpa, don't be angry with me."

Then he grabbed his grandfather. He grabbed him, and held onto him. He broke his neck,

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and pinched his nose, and threw him in the water.

"There, you are going to be the *ona* alligator."

He left again. In other places far away he came upon other people and killed them, too. He killed them, and turned them into animals, all of them. He finished killed them, and threw them in the water. He turned them into animals.

He grabbed his grandmother, and after he broke off her arm, he stuffed her arm into her anus. He stuffed her arm in, and threw her in the water. She was the dolphin, his grandmother.

"I'm throwing you in the water, so you can be the dolphin."

He left again. After he turned them into animals, he left and went again. He came upon them as they were with their father. He liked them [they were girls].

As he was cutting down the *hawa* palm, Bahi shocked him, "yebe".

"Hey."

"Father."

"Huh?"

"Father, what was that?"

"Something shocked me."

"You must have stepped on something. Look at it. You must have stepped on something."

"Something shocked me. There isn't anything [i.e. I didn't step on anything]. Something shocked me."

His daughters came to him and looked around. He appeared to them. "Tasi [appearing]."

"What was that?"

"Whew, what are you chopping down?"

"I am cutting down a *hawa* palm with fruits to mix with my wife's manioc juice."

"Give me the ax. I will chop on the other side."

He pulled the ax away from his father-in-law, and chopped on the other side of the *hawa* palm. "Taakai, taakai [sound of chopping]." The *hawa* palm broke, and fell.

"There, why didn't you chop hard?"

He threw the ax in the water.

"You threw my father's ax in the water."

"The ax went in the water because I accidentally let it go. I accidentally let it go, and it went in the water. Let it be in the water. I guess he will get it out. He will get it out."

His daughter was putting the *hawa* fruits in the basket.

"What fish are those?"

There were *ote* fish up to the top of the basket. They had caught *ote* fish, and the basket full of the *ote* fish was on the ground.

"What fish are those?"

"They are *ote* fish."

"The *ote* fish should be eaten. They are good to eat. They should be eaten. Go ahead and finish picking up the *hawa* fruits," [said Bahi].

They picked up the *hawa* fruits. "Father, here [showing that the basket was full]."

"Father-in-law, take my *hawa* fruits on ahead. Take the *hawa* fruits on ahead, for my mother-in-law to mix with manioc juice. Father-in-law, these will be my wives."

"All right, you marry them."

He could have said no, but he didn't. Bahi was always killing people because they said no to him.

He [Bahi's father-in-law] went back. He went back carrying the *hawa* fruits. He went back.

"Where are my daughters?"

BAHI (2)

"Where are my daughters?' you say. Bahi is holding onto your daughters."

"They say Bahi is naughty, why have you handed over my daughters?"

"Don't complain. Don't say anything. He will hear you when he comes. Don't cause a problem for us. Don't say anything. People say he killed a lot of people, and was violent with them."

His mother-in-law stopped talking, and his father-in-law wasn't talking, either.

He had sex with them, and brought them back. They appeared when it was getting dark.

They came and arrived back.

"Don't say anything. Don't cause a problem for us. If he hears you, you will cause a problem for us."

She was mashing the manioc juice in the mortar, without speaking. She mashed the manioc juice with her hands. They drank the manioc juice.

They came. They cooked the fish. They ate the fish. After he had had sex with them, he ate with them back in the village.

"Is it good?"

"It is good. Hey, give me a vessel."

He took the vessel. He dipped out some manioc juice, and drank a little.

"Yum, it is good. It's good to drink *hawa* fruits in manioc juice."

They ate. They finished eating. They slept. He had sex with his wives all night long. They quickly got pregnant. They were pregnant.

He went away, and didn't come back right away. They waited for him. When the younger boy was big, when he was somewhat big, he appeared again. He brought them back.

They stayed there. Then they went away.

They came back. They were still married. They stayed there a long time. When their children grew up, they went away. They live in heaven.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Bahi* , *me me winemetemone* .
 Bahi me me wina -hemete -mone
 (man's name) 3PL 3PL.S live FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm pron pron vi

'They were living there.'

2 *Me winaha me* , *me wina me ni ya Bahi*
 me wina+F me me wina+F me ni ya Bahi
 3PL.S live 3PL.S 3PL.S live 3PL to ADJU (man's name)
 pron vi pron pron vi pron prt prt npropm

kakehinoho kakehimatamonaka
 ka -kI -hino -ho , ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come coming IP.N+M DUP go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'As they were living there, Bahi came to them.'

3 *Kakehino* , *ahi yama yabo ya ahi* ,
 ka -kI -hino , ahi yama yabo.NOM ya ahi ,
 go/come coming IP.N+M there thing be far ADJU there
 vi dem nf vi prt dem

Bahi kakehino me wina mera wasiki ,
 Bahi ka -kI -hino me wina+F mera wasi -kI+M ,
 (man's name) go/come coming IP.N+M 3PL.S live 3PL.O find coming
 npropm vi pron vi pron vt

BAHI (2)

mera	mera	firi		kasematamonaka	
mera	mera	firi		ka- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka	
3PL.O	3PL.O	shine light on		COMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
pron	pron	vt		aux	

'Bahi came from far away, and they didn't see him coming. He came upon them as they were living there, and he shined a light on them briefly.'

4	Sori	yama	nemetemone	ama	
	sori	yama	na -hemete -mone	ama	
	(shock)	make sound	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	SEC	
	sound	vi	aux	sec	

'It was like a shock.'

5	Ee	ee			
	ee	ee			
	(crying out)	(crying out)			
	interj	interj			

""Ee, ee.""

6	Me	me	eri	kawemetemoneke	
	me	me	ee -ri	ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke	
	3PL	3PL.S	yell DISTR	COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	
	pron	pron	vi	aux	

'They were all crying out.'

7	Hinamati	kake			
	hinamati	ka	-kI		
	someone	go/come	coming		
	nm	vi			

""There is someone coming.""

8	Haa		te	winini	?
	haa		tee	wina -ni	
	(expression of exhaustion)		2PL.S	live BKG+F	
	interj		pron	vi	

""Hoo, are you living here?""

9	Ota	winini			
	otaa	wina -ni			
	1EX.S	live BKG+F			
	pron	vi			

""We are living here.""

10	Ota	winake			
	otaa	wina -ke			
	1EX.S	live DECL+F			
	pron	vi			

""We are living here.""

11	Ota	wina	ota	winineke	ahi
	otaa	wina+F	otaa	wina -ne -ke	ahi
	1EX.S	live	1EX.S	live CONT+F DECL+F	here
	pron	vi	pron	vi	dem

""We are living here.""

BAHI (2)

12 *Oof* , *te* *winakeni* *na* .
 oof , tee wina -ke -ni na
 hoo 2PL.S live DECL+F IP.N+F AUX
 interj pron vi aux

"Whew, I didn't know you were living here."

13 *Ofimi* *oke* .
 o- fimi o- ke
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I'm hungry."

14 *Titafani* *ama tini* ?
 ti- tafa -hani ama ti- ni
 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 vi sec prt

"Did you eat where you came from?"

15 *Tiwa me natafarini* ?
 tiwa me na- tafa -ra -ni
 2SG.O 3PL.S CAUS eat NEG BKG+F
 pron pron vt

"Didn't they feed you?"

16 *Owa me natafarahara* *o* .
 owa me na- tafa -ra -hara o-
 1SG.O 3PL.S CAUS eat NEG IP.E+F 1SG.O
 pron pron vt prt

"They didn't feed me."

17 *Me fiya osa me winahara hike ya* .
 me fiya o- na -kosa+F me wina -hara hike ya
 3PL.O pass 1SG.S AUX middle 3PL.S live IP.E+F far ADJU
 pron vt aux pron vi nf prt

"I passed by them, they live far away."

18 *Bai biti ya kobo one oke* .
 bahi biti ya kobo o- na -ne o- ke
 sun small+M ADJU arrive 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm adj prt vi aux prt

"I have arrived late in the day."

19 *Baitebana*
 Bahi -tee -bana
 (man's name) HAB FUT
 npropm

'It was Bahi.'

20 *Baitebamatamonane* ,
 Bahi -tee -ba -mata -mona -ne
 (man's name) HAB FUT FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm

tohiyatehinoho

to- hiya -tee -hino -ho
 CH be different HAB IP.N+M DUP
 vi

'It was Bahi, someone had turned into Bahi.'

BAHI (2)

21 *Faya kakehino* *Amo amo tibana* ?
 faya ka -kI -hino amo amo ti- na -bana
 so go/come coming IP.N+M sleep sleep 2SG.S AUX FUT
 conj vi vi vi aux

'He came. "Are you going to sleep here?'"

22 *Ee hiba bai tokaka* *hari*
 ee hiba bahi to- ka -ka haari
 yes wait sun away go/come DECL+M that one+M
 interj interj nm vi dem

""Yes, it's late.""

23 *Amo onabana* *oke* *mata*
 amo o- na -habana o- ke mata
 sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F for now
 vi aux prt prt

""I will sleep a while.""

24 *Amo onabana* *oni* , *te taboro ya*
 amo o- na -habana o- ni tee taboro ya
 sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F 2PL.POSS place ADJU
 vi aux prt pron pn prt

""I will sleep at your village.""

25 *Te taboro ya amo onaharo* , *amo*
 tee taboro ya amo o- na -haaro amo
 2PL.POSS place ADJU sleep 1SG.S AUX PFUT+F sleep
 pron pn prt vi aux vi
onabana *oke* *mata*
 o- na -habana o- ke mata
 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F for now
 aux prt prt

""After I sleep...I will sleep a while.""

26 *Faya amo nebona* , *me hikayawehi* *me*
 faya amo na -hibona me hi- ka- yawa+M me
 so sleep AUX INT+M 3PL.S OC COMMIT be upset 3PL.S
 conj vi aux pron vt pron

hinatafematamonaka

hi- na- tafa -himata -mona -ka
 OC CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'They wanted him to sleep there. They wanted him to stay, and they fed him.'

27 *Me hinatafe* , *tafematamonaka*
 me hi- na- tafa+M tafa -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S OC CAUS eat eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt vi

'They gave him food, and he ate.'

28 *Tafe* , *tafe* , *tafematamona*
 tafa+M tafa+M tafa -himata -mona
 eat eat wrap FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vi vt

'He ate.'

BAHI (2)

29 *Tafe* , *faya* , *amo* *nebona* , *fare* , *rifi* , *rifi*
 tafafa+M , faya , amo na -hibona , fare , rifi , rifi
 eat so sleep AUX INT+M same+M rifle rifle
 vi conj vi aux dem nf nf

nawineno *ati* *yana* *tonematamonaka* *ahi* , *awi*
 na- wina -hino ati yana to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi , awi
 CAUS hang IP.N+M voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there tapir
 vt pn vi aux dem nm

hawine *kaoinoho*
 hawine kaho -hino -ho
 trail+M tie IP.N+M DUP
 pn vt

'He ate. He was going to sleep. He had suspended the rifle. He spoke. He had tied [the rifle] by the tapir's trail.'

30 *Awi* *hawine* *kaoino* , *awi* *hawine* *kaoino* *ati* *yana*
 awi hawine kaho -hino , awi hawine kaho -hino ati yana
 tapir trail+M tie IP.N+M tapir trail+M tie IP.N+M voice start
 nm pn vt nm pn vt pn vi

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

'He had tied [the rifle] near the tapir's trail, and he spoke.'

31 *Ati* *yana* *tone* *ya* , *Aa* *rifi* *onawina*
 ati yana to- na.NOM+M ya , aa rifi o- na- wina+F
 voice start CH AUX ADJU (pause) rifle 1SG.S CAUS hang
 pn vi aux prt interj nf vt

winarake *awi* *hawine* *ya*
 wina -hara -ke awi hawine ya
 hang IP.E+F DECL+F tapir trail+M ADJU
 vi nm pn prt

'He spoke. "Aa, I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended by the tapir's trail.'"

32 *Awi* *yobi* *nenono* *hawine* *ya* *rifi*
 awi yobi na -hino hawine ya rifi
 tapir go back and forth AUX IP.N+M trail+M ADJU rifle
 nm vi aux pn prt nf

onawina *winarake*
 o- na- wina+F wina -hara -ke
 1SG.S CAUS hang hang IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt vi

'"I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended near the trail the tapir goes back and forth on.'"

33 *Yama* *te* *kamitahi*
 yama tee ka- mita -hi
 thing 2PL.S COMIT hear IMP+F
 nf pron vt

'"Listen.'"

34 *Yama* *moni* *yana* *naba* *amake* , *ati*
 yama moni yana na -haba ama -ke , ati
 thing sound start AUX FUT+F SEC DECL+F say
 nf pn vi aux sec vt

BAHI (2)

nematamonaka

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

aux

"It's sound will start," he said.'

35 **Hiyara kamine** , **Awi e kabibeya**
hiyara kamina+M , awi ee kaba -be -ya
story tell tapir 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
nf vt nm pron vt

'He was telling the story. "Let's eat tapir."'

36 **Awi okobatere amaka**
awi o- kaba -tee -ra+M ama -ka
tapir 1SG.S eat HAB NEG SEC DECL+M
nm vt sec

"I have never eaten tapir."

37 **Awi isi ni okobabana oke** , **ati**
awi isi ni o- kaba -habana o- ke , ati
tapir little bit 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say
nm pn vt prt vt

nematamonaka

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

aux

"I will eat a little bit of tapir," he said.'

38 **Faya amo ne** , **me tafihemetemoneke**
faya amo na+M , me tafi -hemete -mone -ke
so sleep AUX 3PL.S wake up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
conj vi aux pron vi

'He slept. They woke up.'

39 **Me tafiha me** , **Hibaka ya tika rifi**
me tafi+F me , hibaka ya ti- ka rifi
3PL.S wake up 3PL.S where ADJU 2SG.POSS POSS rifle
pron vi pron interrog prt prt nf

winarini

wina -ri -ni
hang CQ+F IP.N+F
vi

"They woke up. "Where is your rifle suspended?"

40 **Rifi rifi onawina wini ama ahi**
rifi rifi o- na- wina+F wina.NOM+F ama ahi
rifle rifle 1SG.S CAUS hang hang be there
nf nf vt vi vc dem

"The rifle which I suspended is suspended there."

41 **Faha haha kakiha** , **kowani ya rifi wina**
faha haaha ka- ka -kI+F , kowani ya rifi wina+F
water this+F COMIT go/come coming other side ADJU rifle hang
nf dem vi nf vi prt nf vi

BAHI (2)

amake

ama -ke
SEC DECL+F
sec

"The rifle is suspended on the other side of the stream that comes this way."

42 **Rifimone** , **hibeke** **owa** **yofi** **karabaya** ?
rifi -mone , hibeke owa yofi ka- na -ra -ba -ya
rifle REP+F who+M 1SG.O show COMIT AUX CQ+M IMMED+M now
nf nm pron vt aux

"Who will show me the rifle?"

43 **Aki** **aki** **e** **famahi**
aki aki ee fama -hi
grandmother grandmother 1IN.S be two IMP+F
nf nf pron vi

"Grandmother, let's go together."

44 **E** **famahi** **aki**
ee fama -hi aki
1IN.S be two IMP+F grandmother
pron vi nf

"Let's go together, Grandmother."

45 **Owa** **hima** **ne** **ati** **amane** , **kitakita**
owa hima na+M ati ama -ne , kita- kita
1SG.O call to go AUX voice be BKG+M DUP be strong
pron vt aux pn vc vi

onofara **owa**
o- na nofa -ra+F owa
1SG.S AUX recently NEG 1SG.S
aux pron

"He is calling me to go along, even though I move slowly."

46 **Tikitara** **yayaka** **raba** **yayaka** **raba** **yayaka**
ti- kita -ra+F ya- yaka na -raba ya- yaka na -raba ya- yaka
2SG.S be strong NEG DUP walk AUX a bit DUP walk AUX a bit DUP walk
vi vi aux vi aux vi

raba , **tini** **ya** , **yama** **yofi**
na -raba , ti- na.NOM+F ya , yama yofi
AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX ADJU thing show
aux aux prt nf vt

tikaniya
ti- ka- na -yahi
2SG.S COMIT AUX DIST.IMP+F
aux

"You move slowly. Just walk slowly, and show it."

47 **Rifi** **owi** **ya** , **Awi** **home** **awaka**
rifi o- awa.NOM+F ya , awi homa+M awa -ka
rifle 1SG.S see ADJU tapir lie on ground seem+M DECL+M
nf vt prt nm vi sec

"When I see the rifle... There is a tapir lying there.""

BAHI (2)

48 *Faya me yana tokana kirabote , kirabote*
 faya me yana to- ka- na+F kirabote , kirabote
 so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX old woman old woman
 conj pron vi aux nf nf

hinakanoti fama tokemetemoneke
 hinaka noti fama+F to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS grandson be two away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vi vi

'So they left. The old woman went with her grandson.'

49 *Toka , tokemetemoneni*
 to- ka+F , to- ka -hemete -mone -ni
 away go/come away go/come FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi vi

'She went into the forest.'

50 *Toka , Hibaka ya ?*
 to- ka+F , hibaka ya ?
 away go/come where ADJU
 vi interrog prt

'She went. "Where?"'

51 *Rifi winimone awi hawine ama hari*
 rifi wina.NFIN -mone awi hawine ama haari
 rifle hang REP+F tapir trail+M be that one+M
 nf vi nm pn vc dem

""There is the rifle suspended. There is the tapir's trail.""

52 *Awi hawine ama hari rifi wini ya wahari*
 awi hawine ama haari rifi wina.NOM+F ya waa -haari
 tapir trail+M be that one+M rifle hang ADJU stand IP.E+M
 nm pn vc dem nf vi prt vi

""There is the tapir's trail." He was standing where the rifle was suspended.'

53 *Aki kakama awi hawine ya*
 aki ka- ka -ma awi hawine ya
 grandmother DUP go/come back tapir trail+M ADJU
 nf vi nm pn prt

""Grandma, come here on the tapir's trail.""

54 *Awi hawine tikama ahi*
 awi hawine ti- ka -ma ahi
 tapir trail+M 2SG.S go/come back here
 nm pn vi dem

""Come here on the tapir's trail.""

55 *Tikama ahi*
 ti- ka -ma ahi
 2SG.S go/come back here
 vi dem

""Come here.""

56 *Tikama ahi*
 ti- ka -ma ahi
 2SG.S go/come back here
 vi dem

""Come here.""

BAHI (2)

"Taasei," it went.'

66 *Kiya karemetemoneni*
 kiya ka- na -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 yell COMMIT AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi aux

'She didn't even yell.'

67 *Ahabemetemoneke ahi*
 ahaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'She died.'

68 *Hine ahaba*
 hine ahaba
 only die
 pron vi

"Let her die."

69 *Faya abi ya Awi te iso niya*
 faya ahaba.NOM+F ya awi tee iso na -yahi
 so die ADJU tapir 2PL.S carry off AUX DIST.IMP+F
 conj vi prt nm pron vt aux

'When she died...'Carry the tapir.'

70 *Ota tokibone*
 otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone
 1EX.S away go/come INT+F
 pron vi

"We are going out into the forest."

71 *Ota tokibonehe*
 otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he
 1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP
 pron vi

"We are going out into the forest."

72 *Awi te iso niya*
 awi tee iso na -yahi
 tapir 2PL.S carry off AUX DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron vt aux

"You carry the tapir."

73 *Awi tani moni amaka*
 awi tani moni ama -ka
 tapir weapon against sound be DECL+M
 nm pn pn vc

"That was a weapon killing a tapir."

74 *Fara , fara me ka ami , me ka ami tani*
 fara fara me ka ami me ka ami tani
 same+F same+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL POSS mother weapon against
 dem dem pron prt nf pron prt nf pn

BAHI (2)

moninihi **Bai** **ehene** , **Bai** **tao**
 moni -ni -hi , Bahi ehene , bahi tao
 sound IP.N+F DUP (man's name) because of+M sun shoot
 pn npropm post nm vt

hikanaro
 hi- ka- na -haaro
 OC COMIT AUX IP.E+F
 aux

'It was the weapon that killed their own mother, because of Bahi, because Bahi shot her.'

75 **Faya** **Bai** **tao** **hikana** **ahaba** , **awi**
 faya Bahi tao hi- ka- na+F ahaba+F , awi
 so (man's name) shoot OC COMIT AUX die tapir
 conj npropm vt aux vi nm

hinihemetemoneke **ahi**
 hi- to- niha- ha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 OC CH CAUS be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vd dem

'Bahi shot her and she died. He turned her into a tapir.'

76 **Awi** **hiniha** , **awi** **hinihemetemone**
 awi hi- to- niha- ha+F , awi hi- to- niha- ha -hemete -mone
 tapir OC CH CAUS be tapir OC CH CAUS be FP.N+F REP+F
 nm vd nm vd

'He turned her into a tapir.'

77 **Awi** **toa** , **mera** **nakame** **mera** **nakame**
 awi to- ha+F , mera na- ka -ma+M mera na- ka -ma+M
 tapir CH be 3PL.O CAUS go/come back 3PL.O CAUS go/come back
 nm vc pron vt pron vt

mera **towakame** **Awi** **abareka**
 mera to- ka- ka -ma+M awi ahaba -hare -ka
 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back tapir die IP.E+M DECL+M
 pron vt nm vi

'She was a tapir. He came back for them. He took them there. "The tapir died."'

78 **Faya** **awimona** **bobi** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
 faya awi -mona bobi na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so tapir REP+M slit AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj nm vt aux dem

'He cut the "tapir" in pieces.'

79 **Hinakaki** **bobi** **ne** , **hinakaki** **bobi** **ne**
 hinaka aki bobi na+M , hinaka aki bobi na+M
 3SG.POSS grandmother slit AUX 3SG.POSS grandmother slit AUX
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

hinakaki **iso** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
 hinaka aki iso na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.POSS grandmother carry off AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He cut up his grandmother. He carried the pieces of his grandmother.'

80 **Iso** **ne** **Tana** **te** **yama** **nahi** , **tana**
 iso na+M tana tee yama na -hi tana
 carry off AUX grill 2PL.S make AUX IMP+F grill
 vt aux nf pron vt aux nf

'He carried her. "Make a grill."'

BAHI (2)

81 **Tana** , **tana** **te** **yama** **nahi** .
 tana , tana tee yama na -hi
 grill grill 2PL.S make AUX IMP+F
 nf nf pron vt aux

"A grill, make a grill."

82 **Tana** **me** **yama** **nemetemoneke** .
 tana me yama na -hemete -mone -ke
 grill 3PL.S make AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt aux

"They made a grill."

83 **Tana** **me** **yama** **na** **me** , **yifo** **me** **one** **awa** ,
 tana me yama na+F me , yifo me one awa.LIST ,
 grill 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S firewood 3PL other+F see
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron adj vt

tabasi **hinemetemoneke** **ahi** .
 tabasi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 roast on grill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

"They made the grill. Others went after firewood. They roasted her on the grill."

84 **Tabasi** **hina** , **me** **ha** **me** **biti** **me**
 tabasi hi- na+F , me haa me biti me
 roast on grill OC AUX 3PL DEM 3PL 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S
 vt aux pron dem pron nm pron

tokaha **me** **kama** **me** **hikabamemetemoneni**
 to- ka+F me ka -ma+F me hi- kaba -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 away go/come 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S OC eat back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi pron vi pron vt

"They roasted her on the grill. Her sons that had gone out into the forest came back, and they ate her back in the village."

85 **Awi** **ahabenoka** .
 awi ahaba -hino -ka
 tapir die IP.N+M DECL+M
 nm vi

"The tapir died."

86 **Tani** **moni** **yana** **reya** **hibayata** ?
 tani moni yana na -ra+M -ya hibayata
 weapon against sound start AUX NEG now just now
 pn pn vi aux adv

"Didn't I hear the sound of the gun that killed it going off a little while ago?"

87 **Ee** **bosa** **nenone** .
 ee bosa na -hino -ne
 yes get up early AUX IP.N+M BKG+M
 interj vi aux

"Yes, it came early."

88 **Onokosi** **ya** **tani** **moni** **yana**
 o- nokosi ya tani moni yana
 1SG.POSS in front of ADJU weapon against sound start
 pn prt pn pn vi

BAHI (2)

tonareka

to- na -hare -ka
 CH AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 aux

"The sound of the gun that shot it went off in front of me."

89 **Okomira**

o- ka ami -ra ?
 1SG.POSS POSS mother NPQ
 nf

"Where is my mother?"

90 **Ami**

tokara	bara	me	ya	ahi
ami to- ka -hara bara me ya ahi	2SG.POSS.mother away go/come IP.E+F other+F 3PL ADJU there			
nf vi adj pron prt dem				

"Your mother went to the other people."

91 **Ami**

tokara	mera	tonakabonehe	
ami to- ka -hara mera to- na- ka -bone -he	2SG.POSS.mother away go/come IP.E+F 3PL.O away CAUS go/come INT+F DUP		
nf vi pron vt			

"Your mother went to get them."

92 **Tokara**

to- ka -hara
 away go/come IP.E+F
 vi

"She went."

93 **Mera**

mera	mera	tonaka	tokara	me	tafa	me
mera mera to- na- ka+F to- ka -hara me tafa+F me	3PL.O 3PL.O away CAUS go/come away go/come IP.E+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S					
pron pron vt vi pron vi pron						

tafabone **mati**
 tafa -habone mati
 eat INT+F 3PL.S
 vi pron

"She went after them, she went so they could eat."

94 **Awimona**

me	kabehemetoneke	fara	me	ka	ami
awi -mona me kaba -hemete -mone -ke fara me ka ami	tapir REP+M 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F same+F 3PL POSS mother				
nm pron vt dem pron prt nf					

'They ate the supposed tapir, which was their own mother.'

95 **Fara**

me	ka	ami	me	kabehemetemoneni	
fara me ka ami me kaba -hemete -mone -ni	same+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F				
dem pron prt nf pron vt					

'They ate their own mother.'

BAHI (2)

96 *Fara me ka ami me kabi ya , me*
 fara me ka ami me kaba.NOM+F ya , me
 same+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL.S eat ADJU 3PL.S
 dem pron prt nf pron vt prt pron

tafemetemoneke

tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They ate, eating their own mother."

97 *Me tafa me amo na , amo rematamonaka*
 me tafa+F me amo na+F , amo na -ra -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX sleep AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vi pron vi aux vi aux

Bahi

Bahi
 (man's name)
 npropm

"They ate and then slept. Bahi didn't sleep."

98 *Bahi amo rematamonane*
 Bahi amo na -ra -himata -mona -ne
 (man's name) sleep AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm vi aux

"Bahi didn't sleep."

99 *Yama kamiti wine , Okomi*
 yama ka- mita.NFIN wina+M , o- ka ami
 thing COMMIT hear lie in hammock 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nf vt vi nf

kakama ri
 ka- ka -ma na -ra.NOM+F
 DUP go/come back AUX NEG
 vi aux

"He lay in his hammock listening. "My mother didn't come home."

100 *Ami kamaba awineke , yama haro*
 ami ka -ma -haba awineke -ke , yama haro.NOM
 2SG.POSS.mother go/come back FUT+F seem+F DECL+F thing be boiled
 nf vi sec nf vi

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

"Your mother will come when the meat is boiled."

101 *Kamaba , me tafaminaba mera amo*
 ka -ma -haba , me tafa -mina -haba mera amo
 go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S eat morning FUT+F 3PL.O sleep
 vi pron vi pron vi

kamatineke mera kakaminabana
 ka- na -mata -ne -ke mera ka- ka -mina -habana
 COMMIT AUX short time CONT+F DECL+F 3PL.O COMMIT go/come morning FUT+F
 aux pron vt

"She will come. She is sleeping with them for now, and will bring them tomorrow so they will eat."

BAHI (2)

102 *Me* , *weye* *obe*
 me weye o- na -be
 3PL wear 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 pron vt aux
 'I will wear it.'⁹⁵

103 *Yama* *wemetemoneke*
 yama waha -hemete -mone -ke
 thing dawn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi
 'The day came.'

104 *Yama* *we* , *yama* *sirimaki* *ya* *yana*
 yama wehe yama siri -makI.NOM ya yana
 thing light+F thing be cold following ADJU start
 nf pn nf vi prt vi

tonematamonaka *ahi*
 to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem
 'Before daylight he was ready to leave.'

105 *Yama* *sirimaki* *ya* *yana* *tone* *hinaka* *yifo*
 yama siri -makI.NOM ya yana to- na+M hinaka yifo
 thing be cold following ADJU start CH AUX 3SG.POSS hammock
 nf vi prt vi aux pron nm

katabo , *yifo* *katabomatamonaka*
 ka- tabo+M yifo ka- tabo -himata -mona -ka
 COMMIT roll up hammock COMMIT roll up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt nm vt

'He was ready to leave before daylight. He rolled up his hammock.'

106 *Yifo* *katabo* *yana* *tonematamona*
 yifo ka- tabo+M yana to- na -himata -mona
 hammock COMMIT roll up start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt vi aux

'He rolled up his hammock, and he was ready to leave.'

107 *Yoa* *me* , *yoa* *me* *fafawa* *toemete* , *me* *ka*
 yoha me yoha me fa- fawa to- ha -hemete me ka
 breast 3PL breast 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL POSS
 nf pron nf pron vt aux pron prt

ami *me* *kabine* *owatino* *ati* *nematamonaka*
 ami me kaba -ne owatino ati na -himata -mona -ka
 mother 3PL.S eat CONT+F exclamation say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pron vt interj vt aux

'"The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, wow," he said.'

108 *Me* *ka* , *yoa* *me* *fafawa* *tohemete* *yoa* , *me*
 me ka yoha me fa- fawa to- ha -hemete yoha me
 3PL POSS breast 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX FP.N+F breast 3PL
 pron prt nf pron vt aux nf pron

ka *ami* *me* *kaba* *me* *amo* *nine* *owatino* *ati*
 ka ami me kaba+F me amo na -ne owatino ati
 POSS mother 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX CONT+F exclamation say
 prt nf pron vt pron vi aux interj vt

95 Maybe this was Siko talking about the microphone.

BAHI (2)

nematamonaka , **yana tonenoho**
na -himata -mona -ka , yana to- na -hino -ho
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M start CH AUX IP.N+M DUP
aux vi aux

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, and they are sleeping, wow," he said, as he was ready to leave.'

109 **Faya fawa nematamonaka fahi**
faya fawa na -himata -mona -ka fahi
so disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
conj vi aux dem

'Then he disappeared.'

110 **Faya fawa ne tokehino taboro me**
faya fawa na+M to- ka -hino taboro me
so disappear AUX away go/come IP.N+M place+M 3PL.S
conj vi aux vi pn pron

hikatafi Bai ati te mitini ?
hi- ka- tafi+M , Bahi ati tee mita -ni
OC COMIT wake up (man's name) voice 2PL.S hear BKG+F
vt npropm pn pron vt

'He disappeared. After he went, they woke up and looked where he had been. "Did you hear Bahi speak?"'

111 **Fara , yoa me fafawa toemete me ka ami**
fara , yoha me fa- fawa to- ha -hemete , me ka ami
same+F breast 3PL.S DUP drink CH be FP.N+F 3PL POSS mother
dem nf pron vt vc pron prt nf

me kabine owatino Bai ati nareka ati
me kaba -ne owatino Bahi ati na -hare -ka ati
3PL.S eat CONT+F exclamation (man's name) say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M voice
pron vt interj npropm vt aux pn

omitari
o- mita -haari
1SG.S hear IP.E+M
vt

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their own mother, wow,' Bahi said. I heard him."

112 **Fawa nareka**
fawa na -hare -ka
disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
vi aux

"He disappeared."

113 **Fawa nareka**
fawa na -hare -ka
disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
vi aux

"He disappeared."

114 **Toke awaka**
to- ka+M awa -ka
away go/come seem+M DECL+M
vi sec

"He must have gone into the forest."

BAHI (2)

128 **Kekero** **obeya**
 ke- kero o- na -be -ya
 DUP make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vt aux

"I want to smooth it a little."

129 **Oko** **yiwa** **hohowe** **raba** **tinahi**
 o- ka yiwa ho- howe na -raba ti- na -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS pot DUP wipe AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 prt nf vt aux aux

"Wipe my clay pot carefully."

130 **Howe** **ni** **kitaraba** **awine**
 howe na.NFIN kita -ra -haba awine
 wipe AUX be strong NEG FUT+F seem+F
 result aux vi sec

"It shouldn't be wiped hard."

131 **Owatoha** **hiwara** **awine**
 o- wato+F hi- awa -ra+F awine
 1SG.S know OC see NEG seem+F
 vt vt sec

"I know how to do it."

132 **Yiwa** **kerō** **nematamonaka** **kasiro** **ya**
 yiwa kero na -himata -mona -ka kasiro ya
 pot make with circular motion AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M a lot ADJU
 nf vt aux nf prt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He smoothed the clay pot really hard.'

133 **Yiwa** **ifi** **tamatama** **towiti** **ne** **yiwa** **waka**
 yiwa ifi tama- tama to- na -witI+M na+M yiwa waka
 pot edge+F DUP hold onto away AUX out AUX pot break
 nf pn vt aux nf vi

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

'He held onto the opposite edge of the clay pot really hard, and the pot broke apart.'

134 **Ooo** **aki** **yiwa** **waka** **ke**
 ooo aki yiwa waka na -ke
 oh no grandmother pot break AUX DECL+F
 interj nf nf vi prt

"Oh no, Grandma the clay pot broke."

135 **Oko** **yiwa** **katome** **ati** **amane**
 o- ka yiwa katoma+M ati ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS pot damage voice be BKG+M
 prt nf vt pn vc

"He is saying he damaged my clay pot."

BAHI (2)

tokawematamonaka

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

'Then he was ready to leave, and went into the forest again.'

142 *Tokawe* , *tokawe* , *karaboa* *karaboa*
 to- ka -waha+M , to- ka -waha+M , karaboha karaboha
 away go/come change away go/come change blowgun blowgun
 vi vi nf nf
kawa *nenō* *towasiwitibano* , *onatebana*
 kawa na -hino to- wasi -witI -hiba -no , ona -tee -bana
 thrust AUX IP.N+M away find out FUT+M IP.N+M alligator sp HAB FUT
 vt aux vt nm

'He went into the forest again. He came upon the one who was ramming out the inside of a new blowgun, who was going to be the first *ona* alligator.'

143 *Karaboa* *kawa* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 karaboha kawa na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He was ramming out the inside of the blowgun.'

144 *Hiii* , *hiii* , *hiii*
 hii hii hii
 (sound of friction) (sound of friction) (sound of friction)
 sound sound sound

hinaka *karaboa* *kawa* *ni* *atimetemoneke* *ahi*
 hinaka karaboha kawa na.NFIN ati -mete -mone -ke ahi
 3SG.POSS blowgun thrust AUX voice FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron nf vt aux pn dem

'"Hiii, hiii, hiii." It was the sound of the ramming of his blowgun.'

145 *Karaboa* *kawa* *nematamonaka* *kasiro* *ya* *iso* *ma*
 karaboha kawa na -himata -mona -ka kasiro ya iso maa
 blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M a lot ADJU leg+M stop
 nf vt aux nf prt pn vi

tonahari *ahi*
 to- na -haari ahi
 CH AUX IP.E+M then
 aux dem

'He was ramming the blowgun forcefully, bracing himself with his leg.'

146 *Yebe*
 yebe
 (sound of shocking)
 sound

'There was a sound of a shock.'

147 *Ee*
 ee
 (crying out)
 interj

'"Hey."'

BAHI (2)

148 *Kaa*
 kaa
 wow
 interj
 "Wow."

149 *Faya toke karaboa kawa ne* , *karaboha kawa ne*
 faya to- ka+M karaboha kawa na+M , karaboha kawa na+M
 so away go/come blowgun thrust AUX blowgun thrust AUX
 conj vi nf vt aux nf vt aux
karaboha kawa ne , *Hiya iti* , *iti kakawa*
 karaboha kawa na+M , hiya iti , iti ka- kawa
 blowgun thrust AUX come on grandfather grandfather DUP thrust
 nf vt aux interj nm nm vt
obeya kakawa obeya owa
 o- na -be -ya , ka- kawa o- na -be -ya , owa
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now DUP thrust 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now 1SG.O
 aux vt aux pron
kakakawa
 ka- ka- kawa
 DUP COMIT give something to
 vt

'He went. He was ramming the inside of the blowgun. "Here Grandpa, let me ram it a little. Hand it to me.'"⁹⁶

150 *Kakawa obeya*
 ka- kawa o- na -be -ya
 DUP thrust 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vt aux

"I want to ram it a little."

151 *Awe owa tekawa*
 awe owa ti- ka- kawa
 wood+F 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to
 pn pron vt

"Give me the stick."

152 *Oka karaboa kakawa raba tinahi*
 o- ka karaboha ka- kawa na -raba ti- na -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS blowgun DUP thrust AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 prt nf vt aux aux

"Don't ram my blowgun too hard."

153 *Karaboa karaboa kawa nematamonaka*
 karaboha , karaboha kawa na -himata -mona -ka
 blowgun blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf nf vt aux

'He rammed the blowgun.'

154 *Karaboa Bahi kawa nematamonaka*
 karaboha Bahi kawa na -himata -mona -ka
 blowgun (man's name) thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf npropm vt aux

'Bahi rammed the blowgun.'

96 Siko said something to a child, that was unclear.

BAHI (2)

155 **Karaboa** **kawa** **ne** **karaboa** , **karaboa** **kawa**
karaboha kawa na+M karaboha , karaboha kawa
blowgun thrust AUX blowgun blowgun thrust
nf vt aux nf nf vt

nematamonaka

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

'He rammed the blowgun.'

156 **Karaboa** **baka** **tonihematamonane**
karaboha baka to- niha- na -himata -mona -ne
blowgun break CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nf vt aux

'He broke the blowgun.'

157 **Karaboa** **baka** **tonemetemoneke** **ahi**
karaboha baka to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
blowgun break CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nf vt aux dem

'The blowgun broke.'

158 **Ooo** **iti** **karaboa** **baka** **tonake**
ooo iti karaboha baka to- na -ke
oh no grandfather blowgun break CH AUX DECL+F
interj nm nf vt aux

""Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke.""

159 **Oka** **karaboa** **baka** **tonihe** **ati** **amane**
o- ka karaboha baka to- niha- na+M ati ama -ne
1SG.POSS POSS blowgun break CH CAUS AUX voice be BKG+M
prt nf vt aux pn vc

""He is saying that he broke the blowgun.""

160 **Iti** **owa** **kakorima** **tinahi**
iti owa kaako -rima ti- na -hi
grandfather 1SG.O be angry with NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nm pron vt aux

""Grandpa, don't be angry with me.""

161 **Hiba** **kakanaware** **omate**
hiba ka- ka- na- waa -rI o- na -mate
wait DUP COMIT CAUS stand raised surface 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
interj vt aux

""Wait, let met put it back together.""

162 **Hinaka** **karaboa** **kanawaremebona**
hinaka karaboha ka- na- waa -rI -ma -hibona
3SG.POSS blowgun COMIT CAUS stand raised surface back INT+M
pron nf vt

karaboa **kanawaremihinarimakoni**

karaboha ka- na- waa -rI -ma -hina -ra -makoni
blowgun COMIT CAUS stand raised surface back can NEG for this reason+F
nf result

BAHI (2)

168 **Faya** , **ona** **koro** **nife** , **Ona**
 faya , ona koro na -fI , ona
 so alligator sp throw AUX water alligator sp
 conj nm vt aux nm

tihatehaba **ama** **ti**
 ti- to- ha -tee -haba ama ti-
 2SG.S CH be HAB FUT+F SEC 2SG.S
 vc sec prt

'He threw the alligator into the water. "You are going to be the first *ona* alligator.''

169 **Bai** **aawa** **Bai**
 bahi a- awa bahi
 sun DUP see sun
 nm vt nm

'Bahi looked at the sun.'

170 **Hiba** **Bai** **tokematamonaka**
 hiba Bahi to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 wait (man's name) away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 interj npropm vi

""Wait." Bahi went into the forest.'

171 **Toke** , **tokematamonaka**
 to- ka+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He went away.'

172 **Toke** **toke** **ya** **toke** **ya** , **toke**
 to- ka+M to- ka.NOM+M ya to- ka.NOM+M ya , to- ka+M
 away go/come away go/come ADJU away go/come ADJU away go/come
 vi vi prt vi prt vi

me , **me** **moni** **towasiwitibano** , **hawa** **me**
 me me moni to- wasi -witI -hiba -no hawa me
 3PL 3PL.POSS sound away find out FUT+M IP.N+M palm sp 3PL.S
 pron pron pn vt nf pron

ka **nani** **mati** , **teo** **teo**
 kaa na -hani mati , teo teo
 chop AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
 vt aux pron sound sound

'He went. Then he came upon the sound of people cutting down a *hawa* palm, "Teo, teo.''

173 **Kokoriba** , **kokoribanoho**
 kokori -ba , kokori -ba -no -ho ,
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law FUT 3SG.POSS.father-in-law FUT IP.N+M DUP
 nm nm

kokoribano , **hawa** **ka** **nematamona**
 kokori -ba -no hawa kaa na -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law FUT IP.N+M palm sp chop AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nf vt aux

honofene **tehenebona** **honofene**
 honofene tehene -bona honofene
 manioc juice additive+M INT+M manioc juice
 nm pn nm

'His future father-in-law was cutting down a *hawa* palm, to mix the fruits with manioc juice.'

BAHI (2)

174 *Aba me , aba me waka nemetemoneke*
 aba me , aba me waka na -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.S kill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron nm pron result aux

oterawaha
 ote -rawa -ha
 fish sp F.PL DUP
 nf

'Fish were killed, *ote* fish.'

175 *Ote ya , tabasi ya ote*
 ote ya tabasi ya ote
 fish sp ADJU makeshift basket ADJU fish sp
 nf prt nf prt nf

warawemetemoneke ahi
 waa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 stand F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'The *ote* fish were in the makeshift basket on the ground.'

176 *Aba me me boyo nani me aba me me waka*
 aba me me boyo na -hani me aba me me waka
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S feel AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S kill
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron vt

nani me , aba me me waka nani aba me ,
 na -hani me , aba me me waka na -hani aba me ,
 AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S kill AUX IP.N+F fish 3PL
 aux pron nm pron pron vt aux nm pron

tabasi ya me ihemetemoneke
 tabasi ya me iha -hemete -mone -ke
 makeshift basket ADJU 3PL.S be located FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf prt pron vi

'They had felt for the fish, and they had killed the fish. They were in the makeshift basket.'

177 *Haa aba me amani ?*
 haa aba me ama -ni
 huh? fish 3PL.S be BKG+F
 interj nm pron vc

""Are those fish?""

178 *Aba me amani*
 aba me ama -ni
 fish 3PL.S be BKG+F
 nm pron vc

""They are fish.""

179 *Aba me waka ona me waine*
 aba me waka o- na+F me waa -ne
 fish 3PL.O kill 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S stand CONT+F
 nm pron vt aux pron vi

""The fish that I killed are in there.""

180 *Oof , hawa ka okomate*
 oof hawa kaa o- ka- na -mate
 hoo palm sp chop 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F
 interj nf vt aux

BAHI (2)

187 *Hawa ka kanematamonaka*
 hawa kaa ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 palm sp chop COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He chopped at the *hawa* palm.'

188 *Ka nemata kasiro ya ahi*
 kaa na -himata kasiro ya ahi
 chop AUX FP.N+M a lot ADJU then
 vt aux nf prt dem

'He chopped at it really hard.'

189 *Hawa towaketemoneke ahi*
 hawa to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 palm sp away COMMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi dem

'The *hawa* palm fell.'

190 *Towaketemoneke*
 to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'It fell.'

191 *Fatiterwabani yoro narawa Te afi*
 fati -tee -rawa -ba -ni yoro na -rawa+F tee afi
 3SG.POSS.wife HAB F.PL FUT BKG+F stand AUX F.PL 2PL.S bathe
 nf vi aux pron vi

kanahi

ka- na -hi
 COMMIT AUX IMP+F
 aux

'The two women who were going to be his wives were standing there. "You two go bathe."'

192 *Te afi kana*
 tee afi ka- na
 2PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX
 pron vi aux

""Go bathe.""

193 *Hawa ka okomatibe ati ne hawa*
 hawa kaa o- ka- na -mata -be ati na+M hawa
 palm sp chop 1SG.S COMMIT AUX short time IMMED+F say AUX palm sp
 nf vt aux vt aux nf

ka tokanamaki hawa towaki ya
 kaa to- ka- na -makI+M hawa to- ka- ka.NOM+F ya
 chop away COMMIT AUX following palm sp away COMMIT go/come ADJU
 vt aux nf vi prt

kame me afi kana me ni ya
 ka -ma+M me afi ka- na+F me ni ya
 go/come back 3PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX 3PL to ADJU
 vi pron vi aux pron prt prt

tokomake tokomakematamonaka
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

BAHI (2)

"I'm going to cut down a *hawa* palm," he said. He went and cut down a *hawa* palm. When the *hawa* palm fell, he came back. He went to the two women who were bathing.'

194 *Te afi kini* ?
 tee afi ka- na -ni
 2PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX BKG+F
 pron vi aux

"Are you bathing?"

195 *Ota afi kana otani* .
 otaa afi ka- na+F otaa -ni
 1EX.S bathe COMMIT AUX 1EX.S BKG+F
 pron vi aux pron

"We are bathing."

196 *Afi obisamateya* .
 afi o- na -bisa -mate -ya
 bathe 1SG.S AUX also short time.IMP+F now
 vi aux

"I'm going to bathe, too."

197 *Oka tanakone tokake* .
 o- ka tanakone to- ka -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS sweat away go/come DECL+F
 prt pn vi

"I'm sweating."

198 *Faya afi ne afi ne me afi naro me* ,
 faya afi na+M afi na+M me afi na -haaro me
 so bathe AUX bathe AUX 3PL.S bathe AUX PFUT+F 3PL.S
 conj vi aux vi aux pron vi aux pron

afi na me yayafa me akama me me ,
 afi na+F me yayafa me aka -ma+F me me
 bathe AUX 3PL.S breach cloth 3PL.S wear back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vi aux pron nm pron vt pron pron

akama me towakama me me ,
 aka -ma+F me to- ka- ka -ma+F me me
 wear back 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vt pron vi pron pron

towakamemetemoneke

to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He bathed. After they bathed, they put their breechcloths back on. The two women went back.'

199 *E towakamahi* .
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -hi
 1IN.S away COMMIT go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let's go back."

200 *Faya me towakama me nowati ya*
 faya me to- ka- ka -ma+F me nowati ya
 so 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.POSS behind ADJU
 conj pron vi pron pn prt

BAHI (2)

209 *Faya* *mera* *yabebona* *mera* *kayawe* *mera*
 faya mera yaba -hibona mera ka- yawa+M mera
 so 3PL.O marry INT+M 3PL.O COMIT be upset 3PL.O
 conj pron vt pron vt pron

towakame *mera* *towakame* *mera* *kobo*
 to- ka- ka -ma+M , mera to- ka- ka -ma+M mera kobo
 away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O arrive
 vt pron vt pron vi

tokaname *Aba* *me* *te*
 to- ka- na -ma+M , aba me tee
 away COMIT AUX back fish 3PL.O 2PL.S
 aux nm pron pron

kawarikabote *na*
 ka- waa -rI -kabote na
 COMIT cook raised surface quickly AUX
 vt aux

'He wanted them to marry them. He took them back. He arrived back with them. "Cook the fish quickly.'

210 *Aba* *me* *okobibeya*
 aba me o- kaba -be -ya
 fish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat IMMED+F now
 nm pron vt

'"I want to eat fish."

211 *Faya* *aba* *me* *me* *kawariemetemone* *fahi*
 faya aba me me ka- waa -rI -hemete -mone fahi
 so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj nm pron pron vt dem

'So they cooked the fish.'

212 *Aba* *me* *me* *kawaria* *me* *aba* *me*
 aba me me ka- waa -rI+F me , aba me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface 3PL.S fish 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron

kawari *ahabi* *ya* *me* *ha* *hine*
 ka- waa -rI.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya me ha hi- na+M
 COMIT cook raised surface end ADJU 3PL.S call OC AUX
 result vi prt pron vt aux

iyawa *me* *sira* *iyawa* *me* *siremetemoneke*
 iyawa me sira+F , iyawa me sira -hemete -mone -ke
 manioc mash 3PL.S toast manioc mash 3PL.S toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt nf pron vt

'They cooked the fish. When the cooking of the fish was done, they called him. They toasted manioc mash.'

213 *Mati* *honofene* *kawa* *nati*
 mati honofene kawa na -nati
 3SG.POSS.mother manioc juice thrust AUX only one
 nf nm vt aux

toemetemone
 to- ha -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'Her mother mashed the manioc juice in the mortar.'

BAHI (2)

214 *Hawa* *hawa* *kabofa* , *hawa* *kawa* *nisa*
 hawa hawa ka- ibofa+F , hawa kawa na -risa+F
 palm sp palm sp COMIT put in water palm sp thrust AUX down
 nf nf vt

honofene , *tabo* *na* , *Fera* *akare* *awane* ?
 honofene , tabo na+F , fee -ra akara+M awa -ne
 manioc juice mash AUX that+M NPQ be satiated seem+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux dem vi sec

'She put the *hawa* fruits in water. She mashed the *hawa* fruits in the mortar. She mixed the manioc juice with her hands. "Well, is he full?"

215 *Ee* *owakara* *oke* *aso* .
 ee o- akara o- ke aso
 yes 1SG.S be satiated 1SG.S DECL+F father's sister
 interj vi prt nf

"Yes, I'm full, Mother-in-law."

216 *Owakara* *oke* .
 o- akara o- ke
 1SG.S be satiated 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I'm full."

217 *Aba* *me* *okoba* *oke* .
 aba me o- kaba o- ke
 fish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm pron vt prt

"I ate fish."

218 *Aba* *me* *okobini* .
 aba me o- kaba -ni
 fish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat BKG+F
 nm pron vt

"I ate fish."

219 *Honofene* *tifaribana* ?
 honofene ti- fawa -ra+F -bana
 manioc juice 2SG.S drink NEG FUT
 nm vt

"Aren't you going to drink manioc juice?"

220 *Hiba* , *otefe* *ahabake* *haro* .
 hiba , o- tefe ahaba -ke haaro
 wait 1SG.POSS food end DECL+F that one+F
 interj pn vi dem

"Wait, my food is almost gone."

221 *Honofene* *fawebona* *hinakaso* *ha* *hine* ,
 honofene fawa -hibona hinaka aso haa hi- na+M
 manioc juice drink INT+M 3SG.POSS mother-in-law call OC AUX
 nm vt nf vt aux

honofene *kabi* *kanematamonaka* .
 honofene kabi ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 manioc juice dip out COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux

'His mother-in-law called him for him to drink manioc juice. He dipped out some manioc juice with a cup.'

BAHI (2)

- 222 **Hiba** , **kakabi** **kana** **omataba**
 hiba , ka- kabi ka- na o- na -mata -ba
 wait DUP dip out COMIT AUX 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M
 interj vt aux aux
 "Wait, I will dip out a little."
- 223 **Totomi** **omataba**
 to- tomi o- na -mata -ba
 DUP try 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M
 vt aux
 "I will try a little."
- 224 **Sinatehino** **ama** ?
 sina -tee -hino ama
 be sweet HAB IP.N+M SEC
 vi sec
 "Is it sweet?"
- 225 **Sinate** **amane**
 sina -tee ama -ne
 be sweet HAB SEC BKG+M
 vi sec
 "It is sweet."
- 226 **Honofene** **kabi** **kaniha** **honofene** **fawa**
 honofene kabi ka- niha- na.LIST honofene fawa.LIST
 manioc juice dip out COMIT CAUS AUX manioc juice drink
 nm vt aux nm vi
nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux
 'He got some manioc juice, and he drank the manioc juice.'
- 227 **Inaa** , **amosake**
 inaa amosa -ke
 hmmm be good DECL+F
 interj vi
 "Yumm, it's good."
- 228 **Hawa** **amosini** **honofene** **karo**
 hawa amosa -ni honofene karo
 palm sp be good BKG+F manioc juice LOC
 nf vi nm prt
 "Hawa fruits are good with manioc juice."
- 229 **Faya** , **kame** , **kamematamonaka**
 faya ka -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi
 'So he came back.'
- 230 **Kame** , **yana** **tone** **Okabone**
 ka -ma+M yana to- na+M o- to- ka -habone
 go/come back start CH AUX 1SG.S away go/come INT+F
 vi vi aux vi

BAHI (2)

ona , **owa** **te** **kayawa** **teke**
 ati o- na+F , owa tee ka- yawa+F tee -ke
 say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT be upset 2PL.S DECL+F
 vt pron pron vt pron
 'He came back. He was ready to leave. "I want to leave, but you won't let me."

231 **Okabone** **onara** **oke**
 o- to- ka -habone ati o- na -hara o- ke
 1SG.S away go/come INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vt prt
 "I'm going to leave."

232 **Fara** **tiwati** **nima** **tiwa** **ota** **kayawi**
 fara ti- ati nima tiwa otaa ka- yawa.NFIN
 same+F 2SG.POSS voice like 2SG.O 1EX.S COMIT be upset
 dem pn prt pron pron vt
nineni **ota** **tiyababone** **tina** **tiwa**
 na -ne -ni otaa ti- yaba -habone ati ti- na+F tiwa
 AUX CONT+F BKG+F 1EX.O 2SG.S marry INT+F say 2SG.S AUX 2SG.S
 aux pron vt vt pron
 "We won't let you leave because of what you said, when you said you would marry us."

233 **Ee** , **te** **oyababana** **oke**
 ee , tee o- yaba -habana o- ke
 yes 2PL.O 1SG.S marry FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj pron vt prt
 "Yes, I will marry you."

234 **Ota** **tikeyeriyahi**
 otaa ti- keyeha -ra -yahi
 1EX.O 2SG.S deceive NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt
 "Don't deceive us."

235 **Ota** **tikeyeriyahi**
 otaa ti- keyeha -ra -yahi
 1EX.O 2SG.S deceive NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt
 "Don't deceive us."

236 **Ota** , **Te** **oyababana** **oke**
 otaa , tee o- yaba -habana o- ke
 1EX 2PL.O 1SG.S marry FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron pron vt prt
 "I will marry you."⁹⁷

237 **Oka** **koko** **oka** **koko** **amaka**
 o- ka koko o- ka koko ama -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS father-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS father-in-law be DECL+M
 prt nm prt nm vc
hari
 haari
 that one+M
 dem
 "He is my father-in-law."

97 *Ota* is a false start.

BAHI (2)

238 *Faya me , mera yabebona mera amo kane mera ,*
 faya me , mera yaba -hibona mera amo ka- na+M mera ,
 so 3PL 3PL.O marry INT+M 3PL.O sleep COMMIT AUX 3PL.O
 conj pron pron vt pron vi aux pron

amo karehibanoho mera ahi
 amo ka- na -ra -hiba -no -ho mera ahi
 sleep COMMIT AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL.O have sex with
 vi aux pron vt

nabebana
 na nahaba -hibana
 AUX at night FUT+M
 aux

'He was going to marry them, and he slept with them. He didn't sleep with them, he had sex with them all night.'

239 *Mera ai nabematamonaka fahi*
 mera ahi na nahaba -himata -mona -ka fahi
 3PL.O have sex with AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt aux dem

'He had sex with them all night.'

240 *Mera ahi nabe Totoka*
 mera ahi na nahaba+M , to- to- ka
 3PL.O have sex with AUX at night DUP away go/come
 pron vt aux vi

onahabone onara oke
 o- na -habone ati o- na -hara o- ke
 1SG.S AUX INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 aux vt prt

'He had sex with them all night. "I'm going now."'

241 *Hibaka , yama abatehani tohari ?*
 hibaka , yama ahaba -tee -hani to- ha -ri
 where thing die HAB IP.N+F CH be CQ+F
 interrog nf vi vc

""Where is there forest that has game?""

242 *Yama abate hawi tokine haro*
 yama ahaba -tee hawi to- ka -ne haaro
 thing die HAB trail+F away go/come CONT+F that one+F
 nf vi pn vi dem

""There is a path going that way that has game.""

243 *Wafa me winine haro*
 wafa me wina -ne haaro
 woolly monkey 3PL.S live CONT+F that one+F
 nm pron vi dem

""There are woolly monkeys living there.""

244 *Hima , e tabahi*
 hima , ee taba -hi
 let's go 1IN.S be together IMP+F
 interj pron vi

""Come on, let's go together.""

BAHI (2)

245 **Wafa** **me** **te** **weye** **nibe**
 wafa me tee weye na -be
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 2PL.S carry AUX IMMED+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"You will carry the woolly monkeys."

246 **Faya yana tonematamonaka**
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux

'He was ready to leave.'

247 **Yana tone** , **fati** **yana tokarawa**
 yana to- na+M , fati yana to- ka -rawa+F
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.wife start away go/come F.PL
 vi aux nf vi vi

kayotorawemetemoneke

ka- yoto -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT follow F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He was ready to leave, and his two wives were ready to leave. They came on behind.'

248 **Karaboa tiwa kana** **wati tama kana**
 karaboha tiwa ka- na.LIST wati tama ka- na.LIST
 blowgun carry COMIT AUX arrow hold onto COMIT AUX
 nf vt aux nm vt aux

tokematamonaka

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

'He went into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder, and holding onto arrows.'

249 **Toke** , **toke** **toke** **toke** **ya**
 to- ka+M , to- ka+M to- ka+M to- ka.NOM+M ya
 away go/come away go/come away go/come away go/come ADJU
 vi vi vi vi prt

wafa **me** **ati** **saimetemoneke** **ahi**
 wafa me ati sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pn vi dem

Siya **siya** **siya**
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

siya **siya** **siya**
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

'He went into the forest. As he went, the voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. "Siya, siya."'

250 **Wafa** **me** **ati** **saihani** **me** **ati** **mite**
 wafa me ati sai -hani me ati mita+M
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice be heard IP.N+F 3PL.POSS voice hear
 nm pron pn vi pron pn vt

BAHI (2)

sare	sare	rofi	nematamonane
sarehe	sarehe	rofi	na -himata -mona -ne
blowgun dart	blowgun dart	twirl in mouth	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nf	nf	vt	aux

'The voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. As he listened to their voices, he twirled darts in his mouth.'

251 Sare	sare	rofi	nematamonaka
sarehe	sarehe	rofi	na -himata -mona -ka
blowgun dart	blowgun dart	twirl in mouth	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf	nf	vt	aux

'He twirled darts in his mouth.'

252 Sare	rofi	ne	wafa	me	wati
sarehe	rofi	na+M	wafa	me	wati
blowgun dart	twirl in mouth	AUX	woolly monkey	3PL.O	plan against
nf	vt	aux	nm	pron	vt

kane	wafa	me	tokematamonaka
ka- na+M	wafa	me	to- ka -himata -mona -ka
COMIT AUX	woolly monkey	3PL	away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux	nm	pron	vi

'As he twirled the darts in his mouth, he went along planning against the monkeys.'⁹⁸

253 Te	yoyoro	karahama	nahi
tee	yo- yoro	na -karahama	na -hi
2PL.S	DUP stay	AUX only do	AUX IMP+F
pron	vi	aux	aux

""You stay here.""

254 Te	yoyoro	karahama	niyahi
tee	yo- yoro	na -karahama	na -yahi
2PL.S	DUP stay	AUX only do	AUX DIST.IMP+F
pron	vi	aux	aux

""You stay here.""

255 Fito	onamabana	oke	te	ati
fito	o- na -ma -habana	o- ke	tee	ati
rush	1SG.S AUX back FUT+F	1SG.S DECL+F	2PL.POSS	voice
vi	aux	prt	pron	pn

omiti	ya
o- mita.NOM+F	ya
1SG.S hear	ADJU
vt	prt

""I will come back quickly if I hear your voices.""

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

'He went into the forest.'

257 Toke	wafa	me	
to- ka+M	wafa	me	
away go/come	woolly monkey	3PL.O	
vi	nm	pron	

98 The second occurrence of the string *wafa me* is a false start.

BAHI (2)

karaboematamonaka
karaboha -himata -mona -ka ahi , fai saki
shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of blowgun arrow)
vt dem sound
'He went, and he shot some monkeys, "Fai saki."'

258 **Aaa** **aaa** **wafa** **kiya**
aaa aaa wafa kiya
(cry of pain) (cry of pain) woolly monkey yell
interj interj nm vi

kanemetemoneke **ahi**
ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem
'"Aaa, aaa." A female monkey cried out.'

259 **Wafa** **me** **kayawemetemoneke** **ahi**
wafa me ka- yawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
woolly monkey 3PL.S COMIT be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm pron vi dem
aa **aa** **aa**
aa aa aa
(call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
sound sound sound
aa **aa** **aa**
aa aa aa
(call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
sound sound sound
aa **aa** **me** **fora**
aa aa me fora
(call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) 3PL.O shoot with blowgun
sound sound pron vt

hinaba **mati** **ahi**
hi- na -haba mati ahi
OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.O then
aux pron dem
'The monkeys got excited. "Aa, aa, aa." They were going to be hit with darts.'

260 **Wafa** **me** **fora** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
wafa me fora na -himata -mona -ka ahi
woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
nm pron vt aux dem

'He shot monkeys with the blowgun.'

261 **Wafa** **me** **fora** **ne** **ya** **wafa**
wafa me fora na.NOM+M ya wafa
woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX ADJU woolly monkey
nm pron vt aux prt nm

me **fora** **nematamonaka**
me fora na -himata -mona -ka
3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pron vt aux
'He shot monkeys with the blowgun.'

BAHI (2)

283	Wafa	me	wete	ne	,	fati		one	me	
	wafa	me	wete	na+M		fati		one	me	
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	tie	AUX		3SG.POSS.wife		other+F	3PL.O	
	nm	pron	vt	aux		nf		adj	pron	
	weye	,	fati			one		me	weye	
	weye.LIST		fati			one		me	weye.LIST	
	carry		3SG.POSS.wife			other+F		3PL.O	carry	
	vt		nf			adj		pron	vt	
	fama	me	weye	hikana	,	kame		kame		
	fama+F	me	weye	hi- ka-	na.LIST	ka	-ma+M	ka	-ma+M	
	be two	3PL.O	carry	OC	COMIT AUX	go/come back		go/come back		
	vi	pron	vt	aux		vi		vi		
	kame		kame		me	kamemetemoneke				
	ka	-ma+M	ka	-ma+M	me	ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	go/come back		go/come back		3PL.S	go/come back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
	vi		vi		pron	vi				

'He tied up the monkeys. His one wife carried some, and his other wife carried some, and he carried two. He came back. They came back.'

284	Me	kama		me	,	faya	mera	mera	yor	ne
	me	ka	-ma+F	me		faya	mera	mera	yor	na+M
	3PL.S	go/come back		3PL.S		so	3PL.O	3PL.O	have sex with	AUX
	pron	vi		pron		conj	pron	pron	vt	aux
	mera	yor		nematamonaka		fahi	wafa		me	
	mera	yor		na -himata	-mona -ka	fahi	wafa		me	
	3PL.O	have sex with		AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DECL+M	then	woolly monkey		3PL.O	
	pron	vt		aux		dem	nm		pron	
	fora		ne	ya						
	fora		na.NOM+M	ya						
	shoot with blowgun		AUX	ADJU						
	vt		aux	prt						

'They came back. He had sex with them where he had shot the monkeys.'

285	Mera	yor		nematamonaka					
	mera	yor		na -himata	-mona -ka				
	3PL.O	have sex with		AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DECL+M				
	pron	vt		aux					

'He had sex with them.'

286	Hiya	,	ehene		kabateba		yama
	hiya		ehene		kaba -tee	-hiba	yama
	come on		victim of+M		eat HAB	FUT+M	make
	interj		pn		result		vt

omateya
o- na -mate -ya
1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
aux

'''Here, I will make people that will eat game.'''

287	Faya	mera	yor		ne	me	yor	ni
	faya	mera	yor		na+M	me	yor	na.NFIN
	so	3PL.O	have sex with		AUX	3PL.S	have sex with	AUX
	conj	pron	vt		aux	pron	result	aux
	abi	ya	kamematamona		fahi			
	ahaba.NOM+F	ya	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	fahi	
	end	ADJU	go/come back	FP.N+M	REP+M		then	
	vi	prt	vi				dem	

BAHI (2)

'He had sex with them. When the sex with them was over, he came back.'

288 *Me kakama me , Hima me te weye*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , hima me tee weye
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S let's go 3PL.O 2PL.S carry
 pron vi pron interj pron pron vt
nikima , te me yooka mati
 na -kima , tee me yoko+F mati
 AUX two 2PL.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on 3PL.S
 aux pron pron vt pron

'They came back. "Come on, you two carry them, the ones who made you suffer."'

289 *Me te kabibeya*
 me tee kaba -be -ya
 3PL.O 2PL.S eat IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt

'"It's so you can eat them."'

290 *Faya me , yana tone me yana tona me*
 faya me , yana to- na+M me yana to- na+F me
 so 3PL start CH AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

kama me , me kama me kobo
 ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma+F me kobo
 go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 vi pron pron vi pron vi

namemetemoneke
 na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'He was ready to leave. They were ready to leave. They came back, and arrived back.'

291 *Tiwahiye tokomake fari*
 ti- wahiya+M to- ka -makI faari
 2SG.S hide from away go/come following that one+M
 vt vi dem

'The [child] you hid from went away.'

292 *Me kama me kokori*
 me ka -ma+F me kokori
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.father-in-law
 pron vi pron nm

kokori wafa me
 kokori wafa me
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law woolly monkey 3PL.O
 nm nm pron

tokematamonaka ahi
 toka -himata -mona -ka ahi
 partially burn FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'When they came back, his father-in-law singed the hair off the monkeys.'

293 *Me toke wafa me toke*
 me toka+M wafa me toka+M
 3PL.O partially burn woolly monkey 3PL.O partially burn
 pron vt nm pron vt

BAHI (2)

wafa **me** , **bobi** **ne** **wafa** **me** **tana** , **yama**
wafa me , bobi na+M wafa me tana , yama
woolly monkey 3PL.O slit AUX woolly monkey 3PL grill make
nm pron vt aux nm pron nf vt

niha , **tana** **ya** **me** **were**
niha- na.LIST , tana ya me were
CAUS AUX grill ADJU 3PL.O throw
aux nf prt pron vt

hikanemetemoneke **ahi** .
hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem

'He singed the hair off them. He singed the hair off the monkeys. He cut up the monkeys. He made a grill, too. He threw them onto the grill.'

294 **Manakobote** **me** , **tafemetemone** **fahi** **wafa** **me** ,
manakobote me , tafa -hemete -mone fahi wafa me
then 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then woolly monkey 3PL.POSS
conj pron vi dem nm pron

wahati **me** **yoti**
wahati me yoti
liver 3PL.POSS intestines+F
pn pron pn

'Then they ate, the monkeys' livers, their intestines.'

295 **Me** **tafemetemoneke** **ahi** **wabori** **mati** .
me tafa -hemete -mone -ke ahi wabori mati
3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL
pron vi dem nm pron

'They ate, his brothers-in-law.'

296 **Faya** **me** **tafa** **me** , **me** **tafi**
faya me tafa+F me , me tafa.NFIN
so 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat
conj pron vi pron pron vi

abemetemoneke **fahi** .
ahaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi
end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vi dem

'They ate, and they finished eating.'

297 **Sina** **me** **hisi** **na** , **sina** **me** **hisi** **na** **me** **amo**
sina me hisi na+F , sina me hisi na+F me amo
snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S sleep
nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron vi

na **me** , **me** **amo** **nemetemoneke** .
na+F me , me amo na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux pron pron vi aux

'They took snuff, and slept.'

298 **Me** **amo** **na** **me** , **yana** **tonaminatase** , **Aa**
me amo na+F me , yana to- na -mina -tasa+M , aa
3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX morning again (pause)
pron vi aux pron vi aux interj

BAHI (2)

yama yete onabone oke
yama yete o- na -habone o- ke
thing hunt 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
nf vt aux prt

"They slept. He was ready to go again the next morning. "I'm going out hunting."

299 **Yama yete tiyahi**
yama yete ti- na -yahi
thing hunt 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
nf vt aux

"Go hunting."

300 **Yama tiwahara tini**
yama ti- awa -hara ti- ni
thing 2SG.S see IP.E+F 2SG.S BKG+F
nf vt prt

"You have seen the forest."

301 **Fara e toki ka yama tiwahara tini**
fara ee to- ka.NOM+F ka yama ti- awa -hara ti- ni
same+F 1IN.S away go/come which thing 2SG.S see IP.E+F 2SG.S BKG+F
dem pron vi prt nf vt prt

"You have seen where we go."

302 **Oko wabo me oko wabo me**
o- ka wabo me o- ka wabo me
1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law 3PL
prt nm pron prt nm pron

ya otatabana oke
ya o- taba -habana o- ke
ADJU 1SG.S be together FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
prt vi prt

"I want my brothers-in-law to go with me."

303 **Wabori me ya tabematamonane**
wabori me ya taba -himata -mona -ne
3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL ADJU be together FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nm pron prt vi

wabori mati
wabori mati
3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL
nm pron

'His brothers-in-law went with him.'

304 **Wabori me ya tabe toke**
wabori me ya taba+M to- ka+M
3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL ADJU be together away go/come
nm pron prt vi vi

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

'His brothers-in-law went with him as he went out into the forest.'

BAHI (2)

- 305 **Toke** , **moni** **yana** **tonematamona**
to- ka+M , moni yana to- na -himata -mona
away go/come sound start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vi pn vi aux
'As he went, it started making noise.'
- 306 **Awi** **amaka**
awi ama -ka
tapir be DECL+M
nm vc
'"It's a tapir."
- 307 **Te** **awaraba** **nahi**
tee awaraba na -hi
2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F
pron vi aux
'"Be quiet."
- 308 **Te** **awaraba** **nahi**
tee awaraba na -hi
2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F
pron vi aux
'"Be quiet."
- 309 **Sa** **okobaya** **ha** **owa** **ta**
saa o- ka- na -ba -ya haa owa taa
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+M now DEM 1SG contrast
vt aux dem pron prt
'"I will hit it with an arrow."
- 310 **Hibare** **mata** **owa** **te** **kakatomamatahi**
hibare mata owa tee ka- katoma -mata -hi
wait for now 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT look at short time IMP+F
interj prt pron pron vt
'"Wait, watch me."
- 311 **Yama** **tani** **oha** **owa** **awine** **oke**
yama tani o- to- ha+F owa awine o- ke
thing killer 1SG.S CH be 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F
nf pn vc pron sec prt
'"I'm a hunter."
- 312 **Awa** **baka** **ne** **wahi** **me** **yete** **hikane** , **owa** **wati**
awa baka na+M waa+M me yete hi- ka- na+M , owa wati
wood break AUX stand 3PL.S hunt OC COMIT AUX one+M arrow
nf vt aux vi pron vt aux adj nm
yori **tonematamona**
yori to- na -himata -mona
insert CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vt aux
'They crept toward it as it stood, breaking twigs. One of them inserted an arrow in his bow.'
- 313 **Hoka** **kabote** **nebonaha** **ra** **yama**
hoka na -kabote na -hibona -ha ra yama
yank AUX quickly AUX INT+M DUP O do before
antip nm aux prt vt

BAHI (2)

nimatamonane

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

'[His brother-in-law] was going to shoot quickly, but he went first.'

314 *Takai wa* *awi* *yora*
takai waa awi yora
(sound of arrow hitting) tapir jump
sound nm vi

kamisematamonaka *ahi*
ka- na -misa -himata -mona -ka ahi
COMIT AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

""Takai wa." The tapir jumped up.'

315 *Towakame* *soni* *kerewe* *rebana*
to- ka- ka -ma+M , soni.NFIN kerewe na -ra -hibana
away COMIT go/come back fall be slow AUX NEG FUT+M
vi vi vi aux

'It went a ways, hurt, and soon fell.'

316 *Fariboti* *sa* *hikane* *rama* *ahi*
fariboti saa hi- ka- na+M rama ahi
armpit shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX unusual then
pn vt aux prt dem

'He hit it right in the armpit with the arrow.'⁹⁹

317 *Hima* , *okatomeba* *ama* *tafenoho*
hima o- katoma -hiba ama tafa -hino -ho
let's go 1SG.S damage FUT+M SEC eat IP.N+M DUP
interj vt sec vi

""Come on, I killed it as it was eating.""

318 *Hoka* *karaba* *omako* *amane*
hoka ka- na -raba o- na -mako amane
yank COMIT AUX a bit 1SG.S AUX for this reason+M SEC BKG+M
vt aux aux sec

""I really pulled the arrow hard on it!""

319 *Wati* *ino* *foyahari* *hari* , *hari* *ino*
wati ino foya -haari haari haari ino
arrow point+M be inside look+M that one+M that one+M point+M
nm pn vi dem dem dem pn

nokomisamari *hari*
noko -misa -ma -haari haari
point up back IP.E+M that one+M
vi dem

""The arrow point went inside, and turned up.""

320 *Wati* *kote* , *wabori* *bete* *name* , *Wati* ,
wati kote wabori bete na -ma+M wati
arrow piece 3SG.POSS brother-in-law pull AUX back arrow
nm pn nm vt aux nm

99 The next sentence in the recording is unclear.

BAHI (2)

ino fawa tonaka
ino fawa to- na -ka
point+M disappear CH AUX DECL+M
pn vi aux

'His brother-in-law pulled out the arrow. "The arrow point stayed in.''

321 **Tiwa sa okana ayata oko sowi**
tiwa saa o- ka- na+F , ayata o- ka sowi
2SG.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX near 1SG.POSS POSS penis
pron vt aux nf prt nf

foya ama o asima ya
foya+F ama o- asima ya
be inside SEC 1SG.S 2SG.POSS.younger sister ADJU
vi sec prt nf prt

'"I hit you with an arrow. My penis went in all the way in your younger sisters.''

322 **Ati kakasiro raba re ati ama**
ati ka- kasiro na -raba na -ra+M ati ama
voice DUP persist AUX a bit AUX NEG voice be
pn vi aux aux pn vc

'He was talking naughty.'

323 **Me awi me bobi nemetemoneke**
me , awi me bobi na -hemete -mone -ke
3PL tapir 3PL.S slit AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron nm pron vt aux

'They cut up the tapir.'

324 **AWi me bobi na awi watakeno me bobi na**
awi me bobi na+F awi , wataka -hino me bobi na+F
tapir 3PL.S slit AUX tapir be fatty IP.N+M 3PL.S slit AUX
nm pron vt aux nm vi pron vt aux

awi me weye nemetemoneke ahi
awi me weye na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
tapir 3PL.S carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm pron vt aux dem

'They cut up the tapir. They cut up the fat tapir. They carried the tapir.'

325 **Haha homa haro**
haaha homa.LIST haaro
this+F lie on ground that one+F
dem vi dem

'"The head will stay here on the ground.''

326 **Haa tati homarama naho**
haa tati homa -rama na -ho
DEM head lie on ground unusual AUX IMP+M
dem pn vi aux

'"Let it's head stay here on the ground.''

327 **Tati okoso hikabeba amane**
tati o- ka aso hi- kaba -hiba ama -ne
head 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law OC eat FUT+M SEC BKG+M
pn nf vt vt sec

'"My mother-in-law will eat its head.''

BAHI (2)

- 328 **Tati weye tinaho**
 tati weye ti- na -ho
 head carry 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
 pn vt aux
 "You carry its head."
- 329 **Tati weye oreba ama**
 tati weye o- na -ra -hiba ama
 head carry 1SG.S AUX NEG FUT+M SEC
 pn vt aux sec
 "I will carry its head."
- 330 **Owa tiwibeya hiba**
 owa ti- awa -be -ya hiba
 1SG.O 2SG.S see IMMED+F now wait
 pron vt interj
 "You will see me, wait."
- 331 **Awī tati nemesematamonane**
 awi tati na- meseha -himata -mona -ne
 tapir head CAUS lie on top FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm pn vt
 'He put the tapir's head on top of the full basket.'
- 332 **Awī me nafi weye nemetemoneke ahi**
 awi me nafi weye na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 tapir 3PL.POSS all carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pn vt aux dem
 'They all carried the tapir.'
- 333 **Teme kaomarayaho**
 teme ka- homa -ra -yaho
 foot+M COMIT lie on ground NEG DIST.IMP+M
 pn vi
 "Don't let the feet stay there on the ground."
- 334 **Teme kabeba amaka**
 teme kaba -hiba ama -ka
 foot+M eat FUT+M SEC DECL+M
 pn result sec
 "The feet will be eaten."
- 335 **Teme kabeba amane**
 teme kaba -hiba ama -ne
 foot+M eat FUT+M SEC BKG+M
 pn result sec
 "The feet will be eaten."
- 336 **Me , nafi , nafi e towakamaho**
 me , nafi , nafi ee to- ka- ka -ma -ho
 3PL all all 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back DUP
 pron pn pn pron vt
 "Let's take it all."

BAHI (2)

- 337 *Me hiwakamematamonaka*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt
 'They took it.'
- 338 *Me hiwakame kobo hikaname*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , kobo hi- ka- na -ma+M ,
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back arrive OC COMIT AUX back
 pron vt vi aux
- Bani me me weye na me kamini*
 bani me me weye na+F me ka -ma -ni
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S go/come back BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi
 'They brought it, and arrived with it. "They are coming back carrying game."'
- 339 *Faya Sawihi ene kakaba tohemate*
 faya , sawi+M ehene ka- kaba to- ha -mata+M
 so be present victim of+M DUP eat CH be short time
 conj vi pn vt vc
 "'While he is here, we are eating the game he kills.'"
- 340 *Fati naba toniharawe naba*
 fati naba to- niha- ha -rawa+M , naba
 3SG.POSS.wife pregnant CH CAUS be F.PL pregnant
 nf adj vt adj
toharawemetemoneke
 to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 CH be F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vc
 'He had impregnated his wives, they were pregnant.'
- 341 *Me nabati weye ni ya faya ati yana*
 me nabati weye na.NOM+F ya , faya ati yana
 3PL.POSS stomach carry AUX ADJU so voice start
 pron pn vt aux prt conj pn vi
tonematamona fahi
 to- na -himata -mona fahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem
 'He spoke to his pregnant wives.'
- 342 *Himata nima te naba te amari ?*
 himata nima tee na -haba tee ama -ri
 what? like 2PL.S AUX FUT+F 2PL.S SEC CQ+F
 interrog prt pron aux pron sec
 "'What are you going to do?'"
- 343 *Tera owakamibana ?*
 tera o- to- ka- ka -ma+F -bana
 2PL.O 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back FUT
 pron vt
 "'Shall I take you away?'"

BAHI (2)

344 *E awarini*
 ee awa -ra -ni
 1IN.S see NEG BKG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

345 *Te owakamaba hiba*
 tee o- to- ka- ka -ma -haba hiba
 2PL.O 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+F wait
 pron vt interj

"I will take you, wait."

346 *Okomi okomi ati omiti ya*
 o- ka ami o- ka ami ati o- mita.NOM+F ya
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice 1SG.S hear ADJU
 nf nf pn vt prt
 , *okomi ati omiti ya okomi*
 o- ka ami ati o- mita.NOM+F ya o- ka ami
 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice 1SG.S hear ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nf pn vt prt nf

ati omitami ya okomi ati
 ati o- to- mita -ma.NOM+F ya o- ka ami ati
 voice 1SG.S away hear back ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice
 pn vt prt nf pn

amosi ya , tera onakamabana oke
 amosa.NOM+F ya , tera o- na- ka -ma -habana o- ke
 be good ADJU 2PL.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt pron vt prt

"When I hear what my mother says, when I go there and hear what my mother says, if my mother agrees, I will come back to get you."

347 *Tera onakamabana oni*
 tera o- na- ka -ma -habana o- ni
 2PL.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt prt

"I will come back to get you."

348 *Tera onakamaharo , e tokomaro*
 tera o- na- ka -ma -haaro , ee to- ka -ma -haaro
 2PL.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S away go/come back PFUT+F
 pron vt pron vi

, *amo onamiba ama ahi*
 amo o- to- na -ma.NOM+F -ba ama ahi
 sleep 1SG.S away AUX back FUT be then
 vi vi vc dem

"When I have come back to get you, and we have gone...I will sleep here."

349 *Oko amo ni , owatoahaba owa awine*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN , o- wato -haba owa awine
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX 1SG.S know FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F
 prt vi aux vt pron sec

oke
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"I will know what day it will be."

BAHI (2)

350 *Mate ihaha ihi owasimi ya , ma*
 matehe iha+F ihi o- wasi -ma.NOM+F ya , maa
 children be born result of+F 1SG.S find back ADJU stop
 nf vi pn vt prt vi

owahama , onabana oke mata
 o- na -waha -ma , o- na -habana o- ke mata
 1SG.S AUX change back 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F for now
 aux aux prt prt

"If the babies are growing up when I come back, I will not leave."

351 *Mate fotamisi forima ni ya e*
 matehe fota -misa.NFIN forima na.NOM+F ya ee
 children be big up do properly AUX ADJU 1IN.S
 nf vi vi aux prt pron

tokomawahaba ereke
 to- ka -ma -waha -haba ere -ke
 away go/come back change FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
 vi pron

"When the children are finished growing up, we will leave."

352 *Okomi aate kani forima ,*
 o- ka ami a- ate ka- na.NFIN forima ,
 1SG.POSS POSS mother DUP ask COMMIT AUX do properly
 nf vt aux vi

onabana oke ahi
 o- na -habana o- ke ahi
 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F then
 aux prt dem

"I will ask my mother properly about it."

353 *Okomi aate kani forima oni*
 o- ka ami a- ate ka- na.NFIN forima o- na.NOM+F
 1SG.POSS POSS mother DUP ask COMMIT AUX do properly 1SG.S AUX
 nf vt aux vi aux

ya okobi , okobi aate
 ya o- ka abi , o- ka abi a- ate.LIST
 ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP ask
 prt nm vt

"When I ask my mother properly about it, I will also ask my father."

354 *Yama yofinara awineni ?*
 yama yofina -ra+F awine -ni ?
 place cause fear NEG seem+F BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"Is it scary?"

355 *Yama yofinara fara nima na ya e*
 yama yofina -ra+F fara nima na+F ya ee
 place cause fear NEG same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S
 nf vi dem prt aux prt pron

naoneke
 naho -ne -ke
 stay CONT+F DECL+F
 vi

"It's not scary, it's just like where we are now."

BAHI (2)

356 *Fara nima na ya e naoneni*
 fara nima na+F ya ee naho -ne -ni
 same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F BKG+F
 dem prt aux prt pron vi

"It's just like where we are now."

357 *Okoma ahi tasi owitia*
 o- to- ka -ma+F ahi tasi o- to- na -witI+F
 1SG.S away go/come back there emerge 1SG.S away AUX out
 vi dem vi aux

okoma ama o ahi
 o- ka -ma+F ama o- ahi
 1SG.S go/come back SEC 1SG.S here
 vi sec prt dem

"I went out again and came out at another place, and then I came back here."

358 *Okoma ama ahi*
 o- ka -ma+F ama ahi
 1SG.S go/come back SEC here
 vi sec dem

"I came here."

359 *Okomi winineke haro*
 o- ka ami wina -ne -ke haaro
 1SG.POSS POSS mother live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

"My mother lives there."

360 *Okomine ahi*
 o- ka -ma -ne ahi
 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F here
 vi dem

"I came back here."

361 *Okoma ama ahi*
 o- ka -ma+F ama ahi
 1SG.S go/come back SEC here
 vi sec dem

"I came here."

362 *Yama yofina awineni*
 yama yofina+F awine -ni
 place cause fear seem+F BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"It's scary."

363 *Yama owati tokomi nonofa ra*
 yama o- ati to- ka -ma.NFIN no- nofa na -ra+F
 thing 1SG.POSS voice away go/come back DUP want AUX NEG
 nf pn vi vt aux

"I don't think I want to go there."

364 *Yama fara nima na ya e naoneni*
 yama fara nima na+F ya ee naho -ne -ni
 place same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F BKG+F
 nf dem prt aux prt pron vi

"It's just like where we are now."

BAHI (2)

365 **Te te awabana**
 tee tee awa -habana
 2PL 2PL.S see FUT+F
 pron pron vt

"You will see it."

366 **Te awibe**
 tee awa -be
 2PL.S see IMMED+F
 pron vt

"You will see it."

367 **Owati te kasawari**
 o- ati tee ka- sawari.NOM
 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT frustrate
 pn pron vt

"You don't believe me."

368 **Fara nima na ya e naoneke**
 fara nima na+F ya ee naho -ne -ke
 same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F DECL+F
 dem prt aux prt pron vi

"It's just like where we are now."

369 **Faya yana tonematamonaka**
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux

'He was ready to leave.'

370 **Yana tonebona ma nawahame amo name**
 yana to- na -hibona , maa na -waha -ma+M , amo na -ma+M ,
 start CH AUX INT+M stop AUX change back sleep AUX back
 vi aux vi aux vi aux

inamatewe komene yana neno inamatewe komene yana ne
 inamatewe komene yana na -hino , inamatewe komene yana na+M
 child pain+M start AUX IP.N+M child pain+M start AUX
 nm pn vi aux nm pn vi aux

komene ehene ma nawahame faya inamatewe ihe
 komene , ehene maa na -waha -ma+M , faya inamatewe iha+M
 pain+M because of+M stop AUX change back so child be born
 pn post vi aux conj nm vi

Maki ama ?
 maki ama
 male be
 nm vc

'He was ready to leave, but he turned back and slept there. He turned back because her labor had started. The baby was born. "Is it a boy?"'

371 **Maki amane**
 maki ama -ne
 male be BKG+M
 nm vc

"It's a boy."

BAHI (2)

372 *Maki amakenoho*

maki ama -ke -no -ho
male be DECL IP.N+M DUP
nm vc

"What do you know, it's a boy."

373 *Ene tikabateba amane*

ehene ti- kaba -tee -hiba ama -ne
victim of+M 2SG.S eat HAB FUT+M SEC BKG+M
pn vt sec

"You will eat his game."

374 *Owa tiwarini* ?

owa ti- awa -ra -ni
1SG.O 2SG.S see NEG BKG+F
pron vt

"Didn't you see me?"

375 *Ene tikabateba amaka*

ehene ti- kaba -tee -hiba ama -ka
victim of+M 2SG.S eat HAB FUT+M SEC DECL+M
pn vt sec

"You will eat his game."

376 *Owa tiwa tike haro bati owa*

owa ti- awa ti- ke haaro bati owa
1SG.O 2SG.S see 2SG.S DECL+F that one+F 3SG.POSS.father 1SG
pron vt prt dem nm pron

"You have seen me, his father."

377 *Awi sa okana wafa me*

awi saa o- ka- na.LIST wafa me
tapir shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O
nm vt aux nm pron

fora

fora.LIST
shoot with blowgun
vt

"I have killed a tapir with bow and arrow, and have killed woolly monkeys with a blowgun."

378 *Faya kamematamonaka*

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

'So he came back.'

379 *Faya , ma nawame yama yete nebona toka*

faya , maa na -waha -ma+M yama yete na -hibona to- ka.LIST
so stop AUX change back thing hunt AUX INT+M away go/come
conj vi aux nf vt aux vi

'So he turned back. He went out hunting.'¹⁰⁰

100 At the beginning Siko said something to a child, which is not clear.

BAHI (2)

380 *Yama yete omate* , *hiba*
 yama yete o- na -mate hiba
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F wait
 nf vt aux interj

"I'm going hunting, wait."

381 *Okatao ihaka*
 okatao iha -ka
 my son be born DECL+M
 nm vi

"My son has been born."

382 *Okatao okatao okatao ihare ya*
 okatao okatao okatao iha -ra.NOM+M ya
 my son my son my son be born NEG ADJU
 nm nm nm vi prt

tikamariyahi mata
 ti- to- ka -ma -ra -yahi mata
 2SG.S away go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F for now
 vi prt

"Since my son hasn't been born yet, you shouldn't go now."

383 *Owa noki tinahi mata*
 owa noki ti- na -hi mata
 1SG.O wait for 2SG.S AUX IMP+F for now
 pron vt aux prt

"Wait for me."

384 *Ee tiwa noki onabana o*
 ee tiwa noki o- na -habana o-
 yes 2SG.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S
 interj pron vt aux prt

"Yes, I will wait for you."

385 *Inamatewe owa komene yana namakiba amane*
 inamatewe owa komene yana na -makI -hiba ama -ne
 child other+M pain+M start AUX following FUT+M SEC BKG+M
 nm adj pn vi aux prt sec

"The labor of the other baby will start."

386 *Inamatewe owa ihamaki ya*
 inamatewe owa iha -makI.NOM ya
 child other+M be born following ADJU
 nm adj vi prt

okomabana oke okomi
 o- to- ka -ma -habana o- ke o- ka ami
 1SG.S away go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 vi prt nf

narabi nima onaba owa
 narabi nima o- na -haba owa
 ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S
 pn vt aux prt

"When the other baby is born, I will go to speak to my mother."

BAHI (2)

387 *Faya yana yana toneba inamatewe owa ihamaki*
 faya yana yana to- na -hiba inamatewe owa iha -makI.NOM
 so start start CH AUX FUT+M child other+M be born following
 conj vi vi aux nm adj vi

ya , yana tone , yana tone Inamatewe owa
 ya , yana to- na+M , yana to- na+M inamatewe owa
 ADJU start CH AUX start CH AUX child other+M
 prt vi aux vi aux nm adj

ihamake maki amaka
 iha -makI maki ama -ka
 be born following male be DECL+M
 vi nm vc

'He was going to be ready to leave. When the other baby was born, he was ready to leave. "The other baby who was born is a boy.'"

388 *Maki me faminekeni*
 maki me fama -ne -ke -ni
 male 3PL.S be two CONT+F DECL+F BKG+F
 nm pron vi

"What do you know, there are two boys."

389 *Okomi narabi nima*
 o- ka ami narabi nima
 1SG.POSS POSS mother ear+F communicate to
 nf pn vt

onamamatibe aso
 o- to- na -ma -mata -be aso
 1SG.S away AUX back short time IMMED+F mother-in-law
 aux nf

"I will go and speak to my mother, Mother-in-law."

390 *Aso okomi narabi nima*
 aso o- ka ami narabi nima
 mother-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS mother ear+F communicate to
 nf nf pn vt

onamamatibe okobi
 o- to- na -ma -mata -be o- ka abi
 1SG.S away AUX back short time IMMED+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 aux nm

"Mother-in-law, I will go and speak to my mother."

391 *Faya yana tone , tokomematamonaka*
 faya yana to- na+M , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 so start CH AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux vi

'He was ready to go, and he went.'

392 *Warematamonaka*
 waa -ra -himata -mona -ka
 stay NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He didn't stay.'

393 *Okomabana oke ahi*
 o- ka -ma -habana o- ke ahi
 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F here
 vi prt dem

BAHI (2)

"I will come back here."

394 *Okomabana* *oni*
 o- ka -ma -habana o- ni
 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt

"I will come back."

395 *Inamatewe* *bowara* *namise* *ya* , *okomaba*
 inamatewe bowara na -misa.NOM+M ya o- ka -ma -haba
 child nurse well AUX up ADJU 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F
 nm vi aux prt vi

owa *awine* *oke*
 owa awine o- ke
 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron sec prt

"When the baby is nursing well, I will come back."¹⁰¹

396 *Okomi* *narabi* *nima* *onaharo*
 o- ka ami narabi nima o- na -haaro
 1SG.POSS POSS mother ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX PFUT+F
 nf pn vt vt

"When I have spoken to my mother...."¹⁰²

397 *Faya* *tokometatamona* *fahi*
 faya to- ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi dem

'So he went.'

398 *Tokome* *fawa* *tosame* , *Hahi*
 to- ka -ma+M fawa to- na -kosa -ma+M haahi
 away go/come back disappear CH AUX middle back this one+M
 vi vi aux dem

taboro *Bahi* *taboro* *yofine* *awane*
 taboro Bahi taboro yofina+M awa -ne
 place+M (man's name) place+M cause fear seem+M BKG+M
 pn npropm pn vi sec

'He went, and disappeared in the forest. "That village of Bahi is scary."

399 *Osawirabana* *oni*
 o- sawi -ra -habana o- ni
 1SG.S be present NEG FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt

"I'm not going along."

400 *Yama* *fara* *toamone* *ati* *nareka*
 yama fara to- ha -hamone ati na -hare -ka
 place same+F CH be REP+F say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 nf dem vc vt aux

"He said it's the same as here."

101 There is a clause at the beginning that is unclear.

102 Siko didn't finish the sentence.

BAHI (2)

401 *Ati te mitare awane ?*
 ati tee mita -ra+M awa -ne
 voice 2PL.S hear NEG seem+M BKG+M
 pn pron vt sec

"Didn't you hear what he said?"

402 *Yama faramone ya e winineke haro , ati*
 yama fara -mone ya ee wina -ne -ke haaro , ati
 place same+F REP+F ADJU 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F say
 nf dem prt pron vi dem vt
nematamona me ka , ayo ati nematamonaha
 na -himata -mona me ka ayo ati na -himata -mona -ha
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3PL POSS older brother say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux pron prt nm vt aux

"He said it's just like the place we live in here," their older brother said.'

403 *E tababa eke hinakasima*
 ee taba -haba ee -ke hinaka asima
 1IN.S be together FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F 3SG.POSS younger sister
 pron vi pron nf

Yori onabana , bisa
 yori o- na -habana , bisa
 have sex with 1SG.S AUX FUT+F also
 vt aux prt

"We will go together, so I can have sex with his younger sister, too."

404 *Hiba aate oba*
 hiba a- ate o- na -ba
 wait DUP ask 1SG.S AUX IMMED+M
 interj vt aux

"Wait, I'll ask him."

405 *Kamamata*
 ka -ma -mata
 go/come back short time
 vi

"Let him come back."

406 *Faya , yana tonebona fawa tosame*
 faya yana to- na -hibona fawa to- na -kosa -ma+M
 so start CH AUX INT+M disappear CH AUX middle back
 conj vi aux vi aux

fawa ne , fawa ne noki hine , me
 fawa na+M , fawa na+M noki hi- na+M , me
 disappear AUX disappear AUX wait for OC AUX 3PL.S
 vi aux vi aux vt aux pron

nonoki hie , abariko towitamaki abariko
 no- noki hi- to- ha+M , abariko to- ita -makI.LIST abariko
 DUP wait for OC CH AUX moon away sit following moon
 vt aux nm vi nm

towitamaki abariko towitamaki ne ya , faya
 to- ita -makI.LIST abariko to- ita -makI.LIST na.NOM+M ya , faya
 away sit following moon away sit following AUX ADJU so
 vi nm vi aux prt conj

BAHI (2)

tasi namematamona fahi
 tasi na -ma -himata -mona fahi
 emerge AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux dem

'He was ready to go, and he disappeared in the forest. He disappeared. He waited for him. They waited for him. After three full moons, he finally appeared again.'

407 **Tasi namematamonaka**
 tasi na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 emerge AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He appeared again.'

408 **Tasi name , Bahi kame Bahi**
 tasi na -ma+M , Bahi ka -ma+M Bahi
 emerge AUX back (man's name) go/come back (man's name)
 vi aux npropm vi npropm

kame
 ka -ma+M
 go/come back
 vi

'He appeared again. "Bahi has come back. Bahi has come back."'

409 **Faya kame kobo name , Oof , mate , mate**
 faya ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , oof , matehe , matehe
 so go/come back arrive AUX back hoo children children
 conj vi vi aux interj nf nf

yanakeni , haro
 yana -ke -ni , haaro
 grow DECL+F IP.N+F that one+F
 vi dem

'He came back, and arrived. "Hoo, the children have grown."'

410 **Mate okihaba ama okanani , na**
 matehe o- kiha -haba ama o- ka na -hani , na
 children 1SG.S have FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL AUX IP.N+F AUX
 nf vt sec aux aux

ohite
 o- to- ha.NOM+F -te
 1SG.S CH AUX RP.N+F
 aux

""Now I finally have children.""

411 **Okatao me owakamabone , okatao me**
 okatao me o- to- ka- ka -ma -habone , okatao me
 my son 3PL.O 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back INT+F my son 3PL.O
 nm pron vt nm pron

owakamabone me ka aki ati
 o- to- ka- ka -ma -habone me ka aki ati
 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back INT+F 3PL POSS grandmother say
 vt pron prt nf vt

narake
 na -hara -ke
 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

""My sons' grandmother said I should take them there.""

BAHI (2)

- 412 *Himata nima te ribeya* ?
 himata nima tee na -ri -be -ya
 what? like 2PL.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F now
 interrog prt pron aux
 "What are you going to do?"
- 413 *Owa te abiyoni* ?
 owa tee abiyoni -ni
 1SG.O 2PL.S want the presence of BKG+F
 pron pron vt
 "Do you want to stay with me?"
- 414 *E awara awine* .
 ee awa -ra+F awine
 1IN.S see NEG seem+F
 pron vt sec
 "I don't know."
- 415 *Bahi yama yofinara awineni* ?
 Bahi yama yofina -ra+F awine -ni
 (man's name) place cause fear NEG seem+F BKG+F
 npropm nf vi sec
 "Bahi, isn't it scary?"
- 416 *Yama yofinakere* .
 yama yofina -ke -re
 place cause fear DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vi
 "It's not scary."
- 417 *Fara yama ya e nahoneke haro* .
 fara yama ya ee naho -ne -ke haaro
 same+F place ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem nf prt pron vi dem
 "It's the same as where we are now."
- 418 *Ha nima na awineke* .
 haa nima na+F awine -ke
 DEM like AUX seem+F DECL+F
 dem prt aux sec
 "It's just like here."
- 419 *Ha nima na awineke haro* .
 haa nima na+F awine -ke haaro
 DEM like AUX seem+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem prt aux sec dem
 "It's just like here."
- 420 *Fara fara yama ya e nahoneni* .
 fara fara yama ya ee naho -ne -ni
 same+F same+F place ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F BKG+F
 dem dem nf prt pron vi
 "It's just like where we are now."

BAHI (2)

421 *Bahi* *bani* *me* *tama* *me* *awineni* ?
 Bahi bani me tama+F me awine -ni
 (man's name) animal 3PL.S be many 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 npropm nm pron vi pron sec

"Bahi, is there plenty of game there?"

422 *Bani* *me* *tamaramone* *ati* *ne* *bani* *fara* *me*
 bani me tama -ra -hamone ati na+M bani fara me
 animal 3PL.S be many NEG REP+F say AUX animal same+F 3PL.S
 nm pron vi vt aux nm dem pron

toha *nineke* , *fara* *e* *wini* *nima* .
 to- ha.LIST na -ne -ke , fara ee wina.NFIN nima
 CH be AUX CONT+F DECL+F same+F 1IN.S live like
 vc aux dem pron vi prt

"She is saying there isn't much game, but the game there are the same as where we live."

423 *Me* *yana* *tona* *me* *yana* *tonabone* *me* , *amo*
 me yana to- na+F me yana to- na -habone me , amo
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F 3PL.S sleep
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron vi

nama *me* *amo* *nama* *me* , *Hiba*
 na -ma+F me amo na -ma+F me , hiba
 AUX back 3PL.S sleep AUX back 3PL.S wait
 aux pron vi aux pron interj

okoso *ka* , *okoso* *ka*
 o- ka aso ka , o- ka aso ka
 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law POSS 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law POSS
 nf prt nf prt

bani *meba* *me* *fora* *omatibe*
 bani me -ba me fora o- na -mata -be
 animal 3PL FUT 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"They were ready to leave. When they were about ready to leave, they slept there some more. "Wait, I will kill some game for my mother-in-law with my blowgun."

424 *Bani* *me* *fora* *oni* *ya* *bani* *me*
 bani me fora o- na.NOM+F ya bani me
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX ADJU animal 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux prt nm pron

okoso *tabasi* *hinaba* *oka*
 o- ka aso tabasi hi- na -haba , o- ka
 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law roast on grill OC AUX FUT+F 1SG.POSS POSS
 nf vt aux prt

koko *me* *tabasi* *hinaba* *mati*
 koko me tabasi hi- na -haba mati
 father-in-law 3PL.O roast on grill OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux pron

"When I kill game with my blowgun, my mother-in-law and father-in-law will roast them on a grill."

425 *Okoto* *tiwakamarawibamakoni*
 okoto ti- to- ka- ka -ma -rawa -ba -makoni
 my daughter 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back F.PL FUT for this reason+F
 nf vt

tiwati *ama* ?
 ti- ati ama
 2SG.POSS voice be
 pn vc

BAHI (2)

"Are you saying you are going to take my daughters away?"

426 *Yama yofinara awine ?*
 yama yofina -ra+F awine
 place cause fear NEG seem+F
 nf vi sec

"Isn't it scary there?"

427 *Koko yama yofinakere*
 koko yama yofina -ke -re
 father-in-law place cause fear DECL+F NEG+F
 nm nf vi

"Father-in-law, it's not scary."

428 *Fara yama nima yama na ya e naoneke*
 fara yama nima yama na+F ya ee naho -ne -ke
 same+F place like place AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F DECL+F
 dem nf prt nf aux prt pron vi

"It's the same as the place where we are."

429 *Yama fara tohineni*
 yama fara to- ha -ne -ni
 place same+F CH be CONT+F BKG+F
 nf dem vc

"The places are the same."

430 *Fara yama tohineni*
 fara yama to- ha -ne -ni
 same+F place CH be CONT+F BKG+F
 dem nf vc

"The places are the same."

431 *Fara yama toaha ya e winineke haro*
 fara yama to- ha+F ya ee wina -ne -ke haaro
 same+F place CH be ADJU 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem nf vc prt pron vi dem

"It's the same as the place we're living."

432 *E yana tona e tokomaro e*
 ee yana to- na+F ee to- ka -ma -haaro ee
 1IN.S start CH AUX 1IN.S away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron
tokomaro e kobo tonamaro e
 to- ka -ma -haaro ee kobo to- na -ma -haaro ee
 away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S arrive away AUX back PFUT+F 1IN.S
 vi pron vi aux pron
tokoma e tokoma e kobo naba
 to- ka -ma+F ee to- ka -ma+F ee kobo na -haba
 away go/come back 1IN.S away go/come back 1IN.S arrive AUX FUT+F
 vi pron vi pron vi aux
ereke
 ere -ke
 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron

"When we are ready to leave, and we go, and we arrive somewhere, we will go and go and will arrive."

BAHI (2)

433 *E bosa ni ya yama yaboraba*
 ee bosa na.NOM+F ya yama yabo -ra -haba
 1IN.S get up early AUX ADJU thing be far NEG FUT+F
 pron vi aux prt nf vi

awineke

awine -ke
 seem+F DECL+F
 sec

"If we get up early, it won't be far."

434 *Ai okoma amo onamiro*
 ahi o- to- ka -ma+F amo o- to- na -ma.NOM+F -ro
 then 1SG.S away go/come back sleep 1SG.S away AUX back RP.E+F
 dem vi vi aux

ka oko yobe ware e amo naro
 ka o- ka yobe waa -rI ee amo na -haaro
 POSS 1SG.POSS POSS house stand raised surface 1IN.S sleep AUX PFUT+F
 prt prt nm vi pron vi aux

e bosa naro e tokomaro e
 ee bosa na -haaro ee to- ka -ma -haaro ee
 1IN.S get up early AUX PFUT+F 1IN.S away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

tokomaro e kobo naba ereke ati
 to- ka -ma -haaro ee kobo na -haba ere -ke ati
 away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S arrive AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F say
 vi pron vi aux pron vt

nematamonaka

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

"When we have slept in the house I slept in when I went before, when we have gotten up early and gone and gone, we will arrive," he said.'

435 *Bahi ati kakasiro raba re*
 Bahi ati ka- kasiro na -raba na -ra+M
 (man's name) voice DUP persist AUX a bit AUX NEG
 npropm pn vi aux aux

"Bahi really talks."

436 *Kokori kokori ati mite ati*
 kokori kokori ati mita+M ati
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law 3SG.POSS.father-in-law voice hear voice
 nm nm pn vt pn

fawa ne Ee koko oko oko yibote
 fawa na+M ee koko o- ka o- ka yibote
 stop AUX yes father-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS wife
 vi aux interj nm prt prt nf

owakamarawaboneke

o- to- ka- ka -ma -rawa -habone -ke
 1SG.S away COMMIT go/come back F.PL INT+F DECL+F
 vt

'He listened to his father-in-law, and his father-in-law stopped speaking. "Yes, Father-in-law, I'm going to take my wives there."

BAHI (2)

- 437 *Tiwa tiwa owamabana oke tasa*
 tiwa tiwa o- awa -ma -habana o- ke tasa
 2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S see back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F again
 pron pron vt prt prt
 "I come back and see you again."
- 438 *Okoto tiwakamarawa , otaboro*
 okoto ti- to- ka- ka -ma -rawa+F o- taboro
 my daughter 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back F.PL 1SG.POSS place
 nf vt pn
amara
 ama -ra+F
 be NEG
 vc
 "If you take my daughters to a place that is not my village...."
- 439 *Otaborobisa amake*
 o- taboro -bisa ama -ke
 1SG.POSS place also be DECL+F
 pn vc
 "It's my village."
- 440 *Otaborobisamakoni , oko yibote*
 o- taboro -bisa -makoni o- ka yibote
 1SG.POSS place also for this reason+F 1SG.POSS POSS wife
 pn prt nf
onakamarawine oke ahi
 o- na- ka -ma -rawa -ne o- ke ahi
 1SG.S CAUS go/come back F.PL CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F here
 vt prt dem
 "Because it is my village there, I have come here to get my wives."
- 441 *Okobi okobi okomi*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi o- ka ami
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nm nm nf
me tabori amake
 me tabori ama -ke
 3PL.POSS place+F be DECL+F
 pron pn vc
 "It is my father and mother's village."
- 442 *Faya mera towakamematamona fahi*
 faya mera to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vt dem
 'So he took them away.'
- 443 *Me hiwakama Hine me*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F hine me
 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back only 3PL.O
 pron vt pron pron
hiwakami na
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F na
 OC away COMIT go/come back AUX
 vt aux
 'He took them away. "Let him take them away."'

BAHI (2)

444 **Me ka aki me hiwabone mera**
 me ka aki me hi- awa -habone mera
 3PL POSS grandmother 3PL.O OC see INT+F 3PL.O
 pron prt nf pron vt pron

towakamane
 to- ka- ka -ma.CONT+M -ne
 away COMIT go/come back BKG+M
 vi

"He is taking them so their grandmother can see them."

445 **Me ahabaraba me awineni**
 me ahaba -ra -haba me awine -ni
 3PL.S die NEG FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron sec

"They won't die."

446 **Ota kami ya ota kama ota**
 otaa ka -ma.NOM+F ya otaa ka -ma.LIST otaa
 1EX.S go/come back ADJU 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S
 pron vi prt pron vi pron

kamari ya ota kamarihi oko
 ka -ma -ra.NOM+F ya otaa ka -ma -rihi o- ka
 go/come back NEG ADJU 1EX.S go/come back NEG.LIST 1SG.POSS POSS
 vi prt pron vi prt

yibote yama awarawi ya yama nofarawa narawaba
 yibote yama awa -rawa.NOM+F ya yama nofa -rawa na -rawa -haba
 wife place see F.PL ADJU place like F.PL AUX F.PL FUT+F
 nf nf vt prt nf vt aux

amake
 ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

"I don't know if we will come back soon or not. I don't know if my wives will like the place when they see it."

447 **Faya me , faya me , tokoma me**
 faya me faya me to- ka -ma+F me
 so 3PL so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 conj pron conj pron vi pron

tokoma me amo tonama me
 to- ka -ma+F me amo to- na -ma+F me
 away go/come back 3PL.S sleep away AUX back 3PL.S
 vi pron vi aux pron

tokomamina me wabori aate
 to- ka -ma -mina+F me wabori a- ate
 away go/come back morning 3PL.S 3SG.POSS brother-in-law DUP ask
 vi pron nm vt

nebona wabori aate nebona
 na -hibona wabori a- ate na -hibona
 AUX INT+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law DUP ask AUX INT+M
 aux nm vt aux

wabori , Okasima titihaba
 wabori o- ka asima ti- iti -haba
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister 2SG.S marry FUT+F
 nm nf vt

BAHI (2)

titihaba

ti- iti -haba
2SG.S marry FUT+F
vt

tinahani

ati ti- na -hani
say 2SG.S AUX IP.N+F
vt

'So they went. They slept on the way, and went on again in the morning. He wanted to ask his brother-in-law. "You said you wanted to marry my younger sister."

448 **Okasima**

o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
nf

manakonerawa

manakone -rawa
price F.PL
pn

ta

taa
give
vt

tinahabone

ti- na -habone
2SG.S AUX INT+F
aux

ona

ati o- na+F
say 1SG.S AUX
vt

aya

aya
this
dem

sawibisabana

sawi
be present
vi

-bisa -habana
also FUT+F

ahi

ahi
here
dem

"I want you to pay for my sisters to live here."

449 **Aa**

aa
(pause)
interj

sawirima

sawi -rima
be present NEG.IMP+F
vi

nahi

na -hi
AUX IMP+F
aux

"No, I don't want her to live over there."

450 **Fara**

fara
same+F
dem

otaboro

o- taboro
1SG.POSS place
pn

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

sawihabanake

sawi -habana -ke
be present FUT+F DECL+F
vi

"I want her to live in my village."

451 **Fara**

fara
same+F
dem

otaboro

o- taboro
1SG.POSS place
pn

fara

fara
same+F
dem

otaboro

o- taboro
1SG.POSS place
pn

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

tisawibeya

ti- sawi -be -ya
2SG.S be present IMMED+F now
vi

"You live in my village."

452 **Yama**

yama
place
nf

yofina

yofina+F
cause fear
vi

awineke

awine -ke
seem+F DECL+F
sec

"It's scary."

453 **Yama**

yama
place
nf

yofinakere

yofina -ke -re
cause fear DECL+F NEG+F
vi

"It's not scary."

454 **Owati**

o- ati
1SG.POSS voice
pn

timita

ti- mita+F
2SG.S hear
vt

fara

fara
same+F
dem

yama

yama
forest
nf

ama

ama
be
vc

haro

haaro
that one+F
dem

e

ee
1IN.POSS
pron

BAHI (2)

yayaka haro
 ya- yaka haaro
 DUP walk that one+F
 pn dem
 "You heard me, it's the same forest."

455 **Fara hawi tohineke haro**
 fara hawi to- ha -ne -ke haaro
 same+F trail CH be CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem nf vc dem
 "It's the same trails."

456 **Yama tonokomisamone tina amani**
 yama to- noko -misa -hamone ati ti- na+F ama -ni
 thing away point up REP+F say 2SG.S AUX SEC BKG+F
 nf vi vt sec
 "You said the trail goes up."

457 **Yama tonokomisakere**
 yama to- noko -misa -ke -re
 thing away point up DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vi
 "It doesn't go up."

458 **Yama yaka ni amosa aware awane**
 yama yaka na.NFIN amosa+F awa -ra+M awa -ne
 thing walk AUX be good see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 nf vi aux vi result sec
 "It's good to walk there."

459 **Tokoma tokoma tokoma aya awa**
 to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F aya awa
 away go/come back away go/come back away go/come back this tree
 vi vi vi dem nf
wawata na awineke ahi totokomisama karo
 wa- wata na+F awine -ke ahi to- to- ka -misa -ma karo
 DUP grow AUX seem+F DECL+F there DUP away go/come up back which
 vi aux sec dem vi prt
 "The trees are not high, they are like steps."

460 **Awa nemeha towatamisineni**
 awa nemeha+F to- wata -misa -ne -ni
 tree be high away stand up CONT+F BKG+F
 nf vi vi
 "There are tall trees."

461 **Fara toha awineke**
 fara to- ha+F awine -ke
 same+F away be seem+F DECL+F
 dem vc sec
 "It's the same."

462 **Fara toha awineke**
 fara to- ha+F awine -ke
 same+F away be seem+F DECL+F
 dem vc sec

BAHI (2)

"It's the same."

463 *Wete onisamibe*
 wete o- na -risa -ma -be
 return 1SG.S AUX down back IMMED+F
 vi aux

"I will slide back down."

464 *Wete nisame*
 wete na -risa -ma+M
 return AUX down back
 vi aux

"He slides back down."

465 *Inamatewe tohe tere ne awane*
 inamatewe to- ha+M tere na+M awa -ne
 child CH be crawl AUX seem+M BKG+M
 nm vc vi aux sec

"He crawls because he is a baby."

466 *E tere naba watakere*
 ee tere na -haba wata -ke -re
 1IN.S crawl AUX FUT+F exist DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vi aux vi

"People don't crawl."

467 *Faya , me , tokoma me*
 faya , me , to- ka -ma+F me
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron

tokometemoneke

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They went."

468 *Wabori hinasawimake*
 wabori hi- to- na- sawi -makI
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law OC away CAUS be present following
 nm vt

tokomake , tokomake tokomake
 to- ka -makI , to- ka -makI to- ka -makI
 away go/come following away go/come following away go/come following
 vi vi vi

me tokoma , me tokoma me
 me to- ka -ma+F me to- ka -ma+F me ,
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

tokoma , me , kobo nemetemoneke bahi
 to- ka -ma+F me , kobo na -hemete -mone -ke bahi
 away go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F sun
 vi pron vi aux nm

fawa nise ya
 fawa na -risa+M ya
 disappear AUX down ADJU
 vi aux prt

'His brother-in-law made him go along. They went and went, and arrived at sundown.'

BAHI (2)

469	Bahi		owa	,	Bahi		owa		tohawe								
	Bahi		owa		Bahi		owa		to- ha -waha+M								
	(man's name)		in-law		(man's name)		other+M		CH be change								
	npropm		nm		npropm		adj		vc								
	kamaki		bahi		toke		ya		me		kobo		na		me		
	ka		bahi		to-		ka.NOM+M		ya		me		kobo		na+F		me
	go/come		following		sun		away go/come		ADJU		3PL.S		arrive		AUX		3PL.S
	vi				nm		vi		prt		pron		vi		aux		pron
	,		me		kobo		nemetemoneke										
	me		kobo		na		-hemete -mone -ke										
	3PL.S		arrive		AUX		FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F										
	pron		vi		aux												

'He had become Bahi's brother-in-law. He came. They arrived at sundown.'

470	Me		kobo		na		me		,	amo		na		me		,	faya
	me		kobo		na+F		me			amo		na+F		me			faya
	3PL.S		arrive		AUX		3PL.S			sleep		AUX		3PL.S			so
	pron		vi		aux		pron			vi		aux		pron			conj
	hinakasima				haha		ne			Asima							asima
	hinaka		asima		ha-		haa			na+M		asima					asima
	3SG.POSS		younger		DUP		call			AUX		younger					younger
	nf		sister		vt		aux			nf		sister					sister
																	nf

'They arrived. They slept. He called his younger sister. "Sister, Sister."'

471	Hoo	
	hoo	
	huh?	
	interj	

""Huh?""

472	Asima		tikama		mata
	asima		ti-		ka
	younger		-ma		mata
	sister		2SG.S		go/come
	nf		vi		back
					for now
					prt

""Sister, come here a minute.""

473	Owati		timitibe
	o-		ati
	1SG.POSS		voice
	pn		ti-
			mita
			-be
			2SG.S
			hear
			IMMED+F
			vt

""Listen to me.""

474	Yama		tama		ona		tiwibeya		ahi
	yama		tama		o-		na+F		ti-
	thing		hold		1SG.S		AUX		2SG.S
	nf		vt		aux		vt		awa
									-be
									IMMED+F
									now
									-ya
									ahi
									here
									dem

""Look at what I have in my hand.""

475	Aya		yama		okanika		tama		one		haro
	aya		yama		o-		ka-		nika+F		tama
	this		thing		1SG.S		COMIT		buy		hold
	dem		nf		vt		vt		hold		onto
									1SG.S		AUX
									CONT+F		that
									one+F		dem

""I am holding something in my hand that I bought.""

BAHI (2)

476 *Ayo* *himata* *amariya* ?
 ayo himata ama -ri -ya
 older brother what? be CQ+F now
 nm interrog vc

"Brother, what is it?"

477 *Yama* *tama* *ona* *tiwa* *ha*
 yama tama o- na+F ti- awa haa
 thing hold onto 1SG.S AUX 2SG.S see DEM
 nf vt aux vt dem

"Look at what I am holding in my hand."

478 *Aabata* , *okoyo* *yokana* *hiwa* *tama*
 aabata o- ka ayo yokana hiwa tama
 fat 1SG.POSS POSS older brother true 3SG.REFL.M hold onto
 nm adj pron vt

ne *ati* *ama* *nanoho*
 na+M ati ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX voice be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux pn vc aux

"He is fat. The one my brother is holding looks just like him."

479 *Okoyo* *hiwa* *tama* *ne* *ati* *ama*
 o- ka ayo hiwa tama na+M ati ama
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 3SG.REFL.M hold onto AUX voice be
 nm pron vt aux pn vc

nanoho
 na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux

"He looks just like my brother."

480 *Ayo* *hibeke* *bitemete* *tama*
 ayo hibeke bite -mete tama
 older brother who+M 3SG.POSS.daughter FP.N+F hold onto
 nm nm nf vt

tine *tiriya* ?
 ti- na -ne ti- ri -ya
 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S CQ+F now
 aux prt

"Brother, whose daughters' hands are you holding?"

481 *Hibeke* *bitemete* *tiyabarawine*
 hibekete bite -mete ti- yaba -rawa -ne
 who+M 3SG.POSS.daughter FP.N+F 2SG.S marry F.PL CONT+F
 nm nf vt

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

"Whose daughters did you marry?"

482 *Ino* *ino* *owato*
 ino ino o- wato
 name+M name+M 1SG.S know
 pn pn vt

"I don't know his name."

BAHI (2)

483 *Ino* *omiti* *onofare* *amaka*
ino o- mita o- nofa -ra+M ama -ka
name+M 1SG.S hear 1SG.S recently NEG SEC DECL+M
pn vt prt sec

"I haven't heard his name."

484 *Ino* *omiti* *onofare* *amane* *ama*
ino o- mita o- nofa -ra+M ama -ne ama
name+M 1SG.S hear 1SG.S recently NEG SEC BKG+M SEC
pn vt prt sec sec

"I haven't heard his name."

485 *Hiba* , *ino* *omitawahebanaka*
hiba ino o- mita -waha -hibana -ka
wait name+M 1SG.S hear change FUT+M DECL+M
interj pn vt

"Wait, I will hear his name now."

486 *Me* *owamaboneke*
me o- to- awa -ma -habone -ke
3PL.O 1SG.S away see back INT+F DECL+F
pron vt

"I will go and see them again."

487 *Ayo* *e* *famaba* *ereni* ?
ayo ee fama -haba ere -ni
older brother 1IN.S be two FUT+F 1IN.S BKG+F
nm pron vi pron

"Brother, can we go together?"

488 *Ee* , *e* *famaba* *ereke*
ee ee fama -haba ere -ke
yes 1IN.S be two FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
interj pron vi pron

"Yes, we will go together."

489 *Te* *famibone* *itarika* *hari* , *sowi*
tee fama.NOM+F -bone ita -rI -ka haari , sowi
2PL.S be with INT+F sit raised surface DECL+M that one+M penis
pron vi vi dem

keye *tiwa* *nari*
keyeha.NFIN tiwa na -haari
have an erection hold AUX IP.E+M
vi vt aux

"Your partner is sitting there, holding his hard penis."

490 *Asima* *tika* *yibotebona* *amaka*
asima ti- ka yibote -bona ama -ka
younger sister 2SG.POSS POSS husband INT+M be DECL+M
nf prt nm vc

"Sister, he is your future husband."

491 *Ai* *tisawiba* *ahi* ?
ahi ti- sawi.NOM -ba ahi
here 2SG.S be present FUT there
dem vi dem

BAHI (2)

"Are you going to stay here?"

492 *E awarini*
 ee awa -ra -ni
 1IN.S see NEG BKG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

493 *Osawi osawi ya osawi*
 o- sawi.NOM o- sawi.LIST ya o- sawi.LIST
 1SG.S be present 1SG.S be present ADJU 1SG.S be present
 vi vi prt vi

osawi okoma fare taboro ya
 o- sawi.LIST o- to- ka -ma.LIST fare taboro ya
 1SG.S be present 1SG.S away go/come back same+M place+M ADJU
 vi vi dem pn prt

osawima onahaba
 o- to- sawi -ma.LIST o- na -haba
 1SG.S away be present back 1SG.S AUX FUT+F
 vi aux

"I don't want to go to his village and stay there."

494 *Me me me mera me tabori ya kobo ne*
 me me me mera me tabori ya kobo na+M
 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU arrive AUX
 pron pron pron pron pron pn prt vi aux

yayaha toharematamonaka
 ya- yaha to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka
 DUP be kind CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'When he arrived at their village, he wasn't kind.'

495 *Me fanawi nahabihi mera nahabi mera nahabi*
 me fanawi na- ahaba+M , mera na- ahaba+M , mera na- ahaba.NOM
 women CAUS die 3PL.O CAUS die 3PL.O CAUS die
 nf vt pron vt pron vt

ya kakewahe ya me one
 ya ka -kI -waha.NOM+M ya me one
 ADJU go/come coming change ADJU 3PL other+F
 prt vi prt pron adj

wasikitase ya me one nahabitasa na
 wasi -kI -tasa.NOM+M ya me one na- ahaba -tasa.LIST , na
 find coming again ADJU 3PL other+F CAUS die again AUX
 vt prt pron adj vt aux

tohematamona
 to- ha -himata -mona
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

'He killed the women. He killed people. When he came again and came upon others, he killed the others, too.'

496 *Faya kake kaki ya me ni ya kobo*
 faya ka -kI ka -kI.NOM ya me ni ya kobo
 so go/come coming go/come coming ADJU 3PL to ADJU arrive
 conj vi vi prt pron prt prt vi

BAHI (2)

naki **ya** , **me** **ni** **ya** **kobo** **nake** , **kobo**
na -kI.NOM ya , me ni ya kobo na -kI , kobo
AUX coming ADJU 3PL to ADJU arrive AUX coming arrive
aux prt pron prt prt vi aux vi

nakematamonaka , **me** **ni** **ya** .
na -kI -himata -mona -ka , me ni ya
AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL to ADJU
aux pron prt prt pron prt prt

'He came to them. He arrived where they were.'¹⁰³

497 **Ami** , **ami** **oka** **oka** **taokana** ,
ami , ami o- ka o- ka taokana
mother mother 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS shotgun
nf nf prt prt prt nf

oko **taokana** **tekitimakiya**
o- ka taokana ti- to- ka- iti -makI -yahi
1SG.POSS POSS shotgun 2SG.S away COMIT take out following DIST.IMP+F
prt nf vt

"Mother, get my gun again."

498 **Taokana** **winahara** **awi** **hawine** **ya** .
taokana wina -hara awi hawine ya
shotgun hang IP.E+F tapir trail+M ADJU
nf vi nm pn prt

"My gun is suspended at the tapir's trail."

499 **Taokana** **winarake** **ahi**
taokana wina -hara -ke ahi
shotgun hang IP.E+F DECL+F there
nf vi dem

"The gun is suspended there."

500 **Ota** **tokibonehe**
otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he
1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP
pron vi

"We are going out in the forest."

501 **Ota** **tokibonehe**
otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he
1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP
pron vi

"We are going out."

502 **Me** **tokemetemoneke** **me** **nafi** **ahi**
me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke me nafi ahi
3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all then
pron vi pron pn dem

'They went out, all of them.'

503 **Aw** **ahabe** **ya** **awi** **bobi** , **tiya**
awi ahaba.NOM+M ya awi bobi.LIST , ti- na -yahi
tapir die ADJU tapir slit 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
nm vi prt nm vt aux

¹⁰³ Amoro says something at the beginning.

BAHI (2)

ami , **ota** **tokabone** **ota** .
ami otaa to- ka -habone otaa
mother 1EX.S away go/come INT+F 1EX.S
nf pron vi pron
"'If a tapir dies, you cut it up, Mother. We are going out.'"

504 **Me** **nafi** **tokemetemoneke** .
me nafi to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.POSS all away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron pn vi
"'They all went out.'

505 **Me** **nafi** **toka** , **ee** **iyawa** **siraha**
me nafi to- ka+F , ee iyawa siraha+F
3PL.POSS all away go/come (pause) manioc mash toast
pron pn vi interj nf vt
iyawa **kaba** **ita** , **Aki** , **aki** **himata**
iyawa kaba+F ita+F , aki , aki himata
manioc mash eat sit grandmother grandmother what?
nf vt vi nf nf interrog
tikaba ?
ti- kaba
2SG.S eat
vt
"'They all went out. She toasted some manioc mash and was sitting on the ground eating it. "Grandma, what are you eating?"'

506 **Iyawa** **okobine** **oni** **iyawa** .
iyawa o- kaba -ne o- ni iyawa
manioc mash 1SG.S eat CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F manioc mash
nf vt prt nf
"'I'm eating manioc mash.'"

507 **Himata** **kakawi** **tiri** ?
himata ka- kawi ti- na -ri
what? DUP eat with something 2SG.S AUX CQ+F
interrog vt aux
"'What are you eating with it?"'

508 **Bani** , **bani** **kakawi** **one** **oni**
bani , bani ka- kawi o- na -ne o- ni
animal animal DUP eat with something 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
nm nm vt aux prt
okatao **bani** **me** **fora** **hinani** **mati** .
okatao bani me fora hinani mati
my son animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O
nm nm pron vt aux pron
"'Meat. I'm eating game that my son killed with his blowgun.'"

509 **Okatao** **bani** **me** **fora** **hinani** **me**
okatao bani me fora hinani me
my son animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O
nm nm pron vt aux pron
kakawi **one** **oni** , **okobari**
ka- kawi o- na -ne o- ni , o- kaba -haari
DUP eat with something 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F 1SG.S eat IP.E+M
vt aux prt vt

BAHI (2)

ati nemetemoneke

ati na -hemete -mone -ke
say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt aux

'I'm eating the game that my son killed with his blowgun. I ate one animal,' she said.'

510 **Faya he noki ne , tafi ahaba , tafi ahaba**
faya hee noki na+M , tafa.NFIN ahaba+F , tafa.NFIN ahaba+F
so 3SG.O wait for AUX eat end eat end
conj pron vt aux vi vi vi vi

ra nabowematamonaka

ra na- aboha -himata -mona -ka
O CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
prt vt

'He waited for her. He killed her when she was done eating.'

511 **Fa fawabone , fa fawabone fa kakitia ra**
faha fawa -habone , faha fawa -habone faha ka- iti+F ra
water drink INT+F water drink INT+F water COMIT pick up O
nf vt nf vt nf vt prt

nabowematamonane

na- aboha -himata -mona -ne
CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vt

'When she picked up a bowl of water to drink, he killed her.'

512 **Hinabowa , faya ati hiyawe toke taokana**
hi- na- aboha+F , faya ati hiyawa+M to- ka+M taokana
OC CAUS die so voice have an idea away go/come shotgun
vt conj pn vi vi nf

towakitiwite kame , kame taokana
to- ka- iti -witI ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M , taokana
away COMIT take out out go/come back go/come back shotgun
vt vi vi nf

basa toname , taokana basa
basa to- na -ma+M , taokana basa
protrude CH AUX back shotgun protrude
vi aux nf vi

tonamematamonaka

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

'He killed her. Then he had an idea. He went into the forest, and got the gun. He came back and stuck the gun under the roof.'

513 **Basa hinama , yimawa yimawa soba nake**
basa hi- to- na -ma+F , yimawa yimawa soba na -kI
protrude OC CH AUX back knife knife pull out AUX coming
vi aux nf nf vt aux

yimawa , yohari , haha , yohari bobi hikasa
yimawa , yoha -ri , haaha , yoha -ri bobi hi- ka- na -kosa+F
knife breast PN this+F breast PN slit OC COMIT AUX middle
nf pn dem pn vt aux

yohari bobi hikasa , awi nima
yoha -ri bobi hi- ka- na -kosa+F , awi nima
breast PN slit OC COMIT AUX middle tapir like
pn vt aux nm prt

BAHI (2)

'He stuck it under the roof. He pulled out a knife, and cut off her breasts, like a tapir.'

514 *Awī nima nemetemoneke*
 awi nima na -hemete -mone -ke
 tapir like AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm prt aux

'She was like a tapir.'

515 *Tati he hiwaha tati fare awi tati ya tati*
 tati hee hi- na -waha+F tati fare awi tati ya tati
 head heat OC AUX change head same+M tapir head ADJU head
 pn vt aux pn dem nm pn prt pn

tohemetemonehe tati he hiwaharo
 to- ha -hemete -mone -he tati hee hi- na -waha -haaro
 CH be FP.N+F REP+F DUP head heat OC AUX change IP.E+F
 vc pn vt aux

'He burned her hair. Her head was just like the head of a tapir, after he burned her hair.'

516 *Faya bobi hinemetemoneke*
 faya bobi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 so slit OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj vt aux

'Then he cut her in pieces.'

517 *Bobi hina tame tame biti me*
 bobi hi- na+F tame tame biti me
 slit OC AUX foot+F foot+F 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S
 vt aux pn pn nm pron

hiwaremetemone
 hi- awa -ra -hemete -mone
 OC see NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'He cut her up. Her sons didn't see her legs.'

518 *Tame kaforiemetemone ha ya ahi*
 tame ka- forI -hemete -mone haa ya ahi
 foot+F COMIT lie on top FP.N+F REP+F DEM ADJU there
 pn vi dem prt dem

'Her legs were lying over on the other side.'

519 *Tame biti me hiwara bobi hina*
 tame biti me hi- awa -ra+F bobi hi- na+F
 foot+F 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S OC see NEG slit OC AUX
 pn nm pron vt vt aux

hikawaremetemoneke
 hi- ka- waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'Her sons didn't see her legs. He cut her up, and cooked her.'

520 *Hikaware hikaware wiro*
 hi- ka- waa -rI hi- ka- waa -rI wiro
 OC COMIT cook raised surface OC COMIT cook raised surface boil
 vt vt vi

BAHI (2)

hikaniha
 hi- ka- niha- na+F , me me ati kami
 OC COMIT CAUS AUX 3PL 3PL.POSS voice go/come back
 aux pron pron pn vi

mitematamona *ahi* *Hee* *hee* *hee* .
 mita -himata -mona ahi hee hee hee
 hear FP.N+M REP+M then hey hey hey
 vt dem interj interj interj

'He cooked her. He boiled her. He heard their voices as they came back, "Hey, hey, hey."'

521 *Me* *kama* , *aya* , *yohari* *yohari*
 me ka -ma+F , aya , yoha -ri yoha -ri
 3PL.S go/come back this breast PN breast PN
 pron vi dem pn pn

hikanawana *ahi* , *hinaka* *yama noko* *bote*
 hi- ka- na- wana+F ahi , hinaka yama noko bote
 OC COMIT CAUS be attached then 3SG.POSS vagina old
 vt dem pron nm adj

hinawana , *faya* , *yohari* *hikanawani*
 hi- na- wana.LIST , faya , yoha -ri hi- ka- na- wana.NOM+F
 OC CAUS be attached so breast PN OC COMIT CAUS be attached
 vt conj pn vt

ya *winehimatamonaka* *wete* *tonahari* *ahi* .
 ya wina -himata -mona -ka wete to- na -haari ahi
 ADJU lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M return CH AUX IP.E+M then
 prt vi vi aux dem

'They came back. He put her breasts on himself. He also put her old vagina on himself. When he had put her breasts on himself, he lay in the hammock, with his head down.'

522 *Wete* *tone* *wine* *hinaka* *hinaka* *yoari* *fara*
 wete to- na+M wine+M hinaka hinaka yoha -ri fara
 return CH AUX lie in hammock 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS breast PN same+F
 vi aux vi pron pron pn dem

fara *noki* *nima* , *noko* *nematamonane*
 fara noki nima , noko na -himata -mona -ne
 same+F face+F like face+M AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 dem pn prt pn aux

'He lay in the hammock with his head down. His face was just like her face.'

523 *Fara* *kirabote* *noki* *nima* *noko* *nematamonane* .
 fara kirabote noki nima noko na -himata -mona -ne
 same+F old woman face+F like eye+M AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 dem nf pn prt pn aux

'His face was just like the face of the old woman.'

524 *Noko* *tai* *tokahamaki* *noko* *awemata* .
 noko tai to- ka- ha -makI+M noko awa -himata
 eye+M be ahead CH COMIT AUX following eye+M see FP.N+M
 pn vi aux pn vi

'He looked ahead and saw something.'

525 *Yee* , *awi* *ahabaremonaha* .
 yee , awi ahaba -ra -himona -ha
 (sound of yelling) tapir die NEG REP+M DUP
 interj nm vi

'"Yeh, the tapir really did die!"'

BAHI (2)

526 *Oof* , *kawari* *wiro* *kane*
 oof ka- waa -rI+M wiro ka- na+M
 hoo COMIT cook raised surface boil COMIT AUX
 interj result vi aux

kawari *rama* *ahi*
 ka- waa -rI+M rama ahi
 COMIT cook raised surface unusual there
 result prt dem

"Hoo, it has been cooked. It has boiled and has been cooked."

527 *Me* *kama* *me* *wanamemetemoneke*
 me ka -ma+F me wana -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S start right away back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

"They came back, and started in right away."

528 *Ami* *awi* ?
 ami awi
 mother tapir
 nf nm

"Mother, is it tapir?"

529 *Ee* *awi* *amane*
 ee awi ama -ne
 yes tapir be BKG+M
 interj nm vc

"Yes, it's a tapir."

530 *Aw* *bobi* *one* , *tabasi* *one* *oni*
 awi bobo o- na+M , tabasi o- na -ne o- ni
 tapir slit 1SG.S AUX roast on grill 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vt aux vt aux prt

"I cut up the tapir, and I am roasting it."

531 *Okoware* *kawari* *fari*
 o- ka- waa -rI ka- waa -rI+M faari
 1SG.S COMIT cook raised surface COMIT cook raised surface that one+M
 vt result dem

kirabote *amararo* , *fara* *Bahi* , *Bai* , *Bai*
 kirabote ama -ra -haaro , fara Bahi , bahi , Bahi
 old woman be NEG IP.E+F same+F (man's name) sun (man's name)
 nf vc dem npropm nm npropm

wine *ati* *nematamona*
 wina+M ati na -himata -mona
 lie in hammock say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vt aux

"I boiled it, and it is boiled there," Bahi said. It was not an old woman, it was Bahi."

532 *Faya* , *Ami* *iyawara* ?
 faya ami iyawa -ra
 so mother manioc mash NPQ
 conj nf nf

BAHI (2)

"Mother, where is the manioc mash?"

533 *Iyawa* *kawitine* *faro* *osiraro*
 iyawa ka- ita -ne faaro o- sira -haaro
 manioc mash COMMIT sit CONT+F that+F 1SG.S toast IP.E+F
 nf vi dem vt

"There is manioc mash in the container, that I toasted."

534 *Iyawa* *ya* *me* *wanama* *me*
 iyawa ya me wana -ma+F me
 manioc mash ADJU 3PL.S start right away back 3PL.S
 nf prt pron vi pron

tafehemetemoneke
 tafa -hemete -mone -ke , *fara* *me* *ka* *ami*
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F same+F 3PL POSS mother
 vi dem pron prt nf

'They started in right away on the manioc mash. They ate, eating their own mother.'

535 *Yee* *awi* *watakakeno*
 yee awi wataka -ke -no
 (sound of yelling) tapir be fatty DECL IP.N+M
 interj nm vi

"Wow, the tapir is fat!"

536 *Yehene* *tiwa* *hari*
 yehene ti- awa haari
 fat+M 2SG.S see that one+M
 pn vt dem

"Look at the fat!"

537 *Yene* *tiwa*
 yehene ti- awa
 fat+M 2SG.S see
 pn vt

"Look at the fat!"

538 *Watakaremona* *ota* *ati* *nofahare* , *me* *ati*
 wataka -ra -himona otaa ati na nofa -hare , me ati
 be fatty NEG REP+M 1EX.S say AUX recently IP.E+M 3PL.S say
 vi pron vt aux pron vt

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

"We had said it was not fat," they said.'

539 *Wine* , *fare* *wine* *ya* ,
 wina.NOM+M , fare wina.NOM+M ya
 lie in hammock same+M lie in hammock ADJU
 vi dem vi prt

kisarematamonaka
 ka -risa -ra -himata -mona -ka
 go/come down NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He was in the hammock. He stayed in the hammock, he didn't get out.'

BAHI (2)

540 *Kisare* , *Ami* *tikabe* ?
 ka -risa -ra+M , ami ti- kaba+M
 go/come down NEG mother 2SG.S eat
 vi nf vt

'He didn't get out of the hammock. "Mother, did you eat some?'"

541 *Okobarekana*
 o- kaba -hare -ka -na
 1SG.S eat IP.E+M DECL+M IRR+M
 vt

"I have already eaten some."

542 *Owa* *nakare* *owinine* *oni* ,
 owa na- akara+M o- wina -ne o- ni
 1SG.O CAUS be satiated 1SG.S lie in hammock CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt vi prt

faya , *mati* *aawa* *rari* *ahi* , *Bai*
 faya mati a- awa na -ra -haari ahi , Bahi
 so 3SG.POSS.mother DUP see AUX NEG IP.E+M then (man's name)
 conj nf vt aux dem npropm

aawa *rari*
 a- awa na -ra -haari
 DUP see AUX NEG IP.E+M
 vt aux

"It satisfied me, and I am lying in the hammock." He didn't see that his "mother" was Bahi.'

543 *Tafehimatamonaka*
 tafa -himata -mona -ka
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He ate.'

544 *Tafematamonaka*
 tafa -himata -mona -ka
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He ate.'

545 *Tafematamona*
 tafa -himata -mona
 wrap FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'He ate.'

546 *Awi* *kabi* *amosaka*
 awi kaba.NFIN amosa -ka
 tapir eat be good DECL+M
 nm result vi

"The tapir is good to eat."

547 *Watakamako* *kabi* *amosaka*
 wataka -mako kaba.NFIN amosa -ka
 be fatty for this reason+M eat be good DECL+M
 vi result vi

"It's good to eat, because it's fatty."

BAHI (2)

itari , **itarimatamonaka**
 ita -rI+M , ita -rI -himata -mona -ka
 sit raised surface sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi
 'It was dark. He got out of the hammock and sat down.'

555 **Itari** , **Ami**
 ita -rI+M , ami
 sit raised surface mother
 vi nf
 'He was sitting. "Mother."'

556 **Haa** ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "'What?'"

557 **Ami** **tiwinamahi**
 ami ti- to- wina -ma -hi
 mother 2SG.S away lie in hammock back IMP+F
 nf vi
 "'Mother, go back into your hammock.'"

558 **Owinamahaba** **sina** **hisi**
 o- to- wina -ma -haba sina hisi
 1SG.S away lie in hammock back FUT+F snuff sniff
 vi nf vt

omatabone **owitarine** **oni**
 o- na -mata -habone o- ita -rI -ne o- ni
 1SG.S AUX short time INT+F 1SG.S sit raised surface CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux vi prt
 "'I will go back to my hammock, but I am sitting here so that I can take snuff for a while.'"

559 **Sina** **hisi** **omatabone** **oni**
 sina hisi o- na -mata -habone o- ni
 snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX short time INT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux prt
 "'I'm going to take snuff for a while.'"

560 **Faya** **itari** , **Tika** **amo** **ni** **tai**
 faya ita -rI+M , ti- ka amo na.NFIN tai
 so sit raised surface 2SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be ahead
 conj vi prt vi aux vi

toa **tiwakara** **tiwa** **tika** , **awibona**
 to- ha ti- akara+F tiwa ti- ka , awi -bona
 away AUX 2SG.S be satiated 2SG.S 2SG.POSS POSS tapir INT+M
 aux vi pron prt nm

okoware **owa**
 o- ka- waa -rI owa
 1SG.S COMIT cook raised surface 1SG.S
 vt pron

'He was sitting there. "You go to sleep first, because you are full, while I cook the tapir for you.'"

BAHI (2)

561 *Tika* *amo* *ni* *tai* *toha* *oka* *amo*
 ti- ka amo na.NFIN tai to- ha+F o- ka amo
 2SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be ahead away AUX 1SG.POSS POSS sleep
 prt vi aux vi aux prt vi

ni *yotoabana* *oni*
 na.NFIN yoto -habana o- ni
 AUX follow FUT+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 aux vi prt

"After you go to sleep first, I will sleep afterward."

562 *Faya* , *faya* *itarimatamonaka*
 faya faya ita -rI -himata -mona -ka
 so so sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj conj vi

'So he sat there.'

563 *Itari* , *sina* *hisi* *ne* , *sina* *hisi* *ne*
 ita -rI+M sina hisi na+M , sina hisi na+M
 sit raised surface snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX
 vi nf vt aux nf vt aux

itari , *sina* *hisi* *ne* *itari* ,
 ita -rI+M sina hisi na+M ita -rI+M
 sit raised surface snuff sniff AUX sit raised surface
 vi nf vt aux vi

itarimatamonane
 ita -rI -himata -mona -ne
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'He sat taking snuff.'

564 *Itari* *kawahe* , *faya* *tonoko*
 i- ita -rI ka- na -waha+M faya to- noko
 DUP sit raised surface COMIT AUX change so CH be awake
 pn aux conj vi

mati *awakabote* *ne* , *tonoko* *amo*
 mati awa -kabote na+M , to- noko amo
 3SG.POSS.mother see quickly AUX CH be awake sleep
 nf vt aux vi vi

nisehinaha
 na -risa -hina -ha
 AUX down IRR+M DUP
 aux

'He sat there a while longer. He was watching his mother. He was awake, but he was getting sleepy.'

565 *Amo* *nisematamonaka*
 amo na -risa -himata -mona -ka
 sleep AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He was sleepy.'

566 *Amo* *nise* , *sina* *yoti* *si* *nise* *sina*
 amo na -risa+M sina yoti sii na -risa+M sina
 sleep AUX down snuff mucus+F blow out AUX down snuff
 vi aux nf pn vt aux nf

BAHI (2)

yoti si nise , sina yoti si
 yoti sii na -risa+M , sina yoti sii
 mucus+F blow out AUX down snuff mucus+F blow out
 pn vt aux nf pn vt

nisematamonaka

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

'He was sleepy, and he blew out the mucus from the snuff.'

567 **Sina yoti si nise , faya ati yana**
 sina yoti sii na -risa+M , faya ati yana
 snuff mucus+F blow out AUX down so voice start
 nf pn vt aux conj pn vi

tonematamona

fahi

to- na -himata -mona fahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem

'He blew out the mucus from the snuff. Then he spoke.'

568 **Mi omatabana oni**
 mii o- na -mata -habana o- ni
 defecate 1SG.S AUX short time FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi aux prt

'''I'm going to defecate.'''

569 **Sina hasi na hisi oni ya mi**
 sina hasi na+F hisi o- na.NOM+F ya mii.LIST ,
 snuff be left AUX sniff 1SG.S AUX ADJU defecate
 nf vi aux vt aux prt vi

omatabana

oni

o- na -mata -habana o- ni
 1SG.S AUX short time FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux prt

'''After I have taken the remaining snuff, I will defecate.'''

570 **Te amo nibahi**
 tee amo na -baha -hi
 2PL.S sleep AUX before IMP+F
 pron vi aux

'''You go to sleep before me.'''

571 **Amo onamakeba owa awine o**
 amo o- to- na -makI -haba owa awine o-
 sleep 1SG.S away AUX following FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S
 vi vi pron sec prt

'''I will go to sleep afterward.'''

572 **Mi nebona , ati tohe Okatao okatao amo**
 mii na -hibona , ati to- ha+M okatao okatao amo
 defecate AUX INT+M voice CH be my son my son sleep
 vi aux pn vc nm nm vi

tini

?

ti- na -ni
 2SG.S AUX BKG+F
 aux

'He said he was going to defecate. "My son, are you sleeping?'''

BAHI (2)

573 **Amo tinahi**

amo ti- na -hi
 sleep 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

"Go to sleep."

574 **Mi omateya**

mii o- na -mate -ya
 defecate 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
 vi aux

"I'm going to defecate."

575 **Tokematamonaka**

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

'He went.'

576 **Toke**

to- ka+M
 away go/come
 vi

kamarebanoho

ka -ma -ra -hiba -no -ho
 go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi

tokebana

to- ka -hibana
 away go/come FUT+M
 vi

'He went. He didn't come back. He went away.'

577 **Kamarematamonane**

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

'He didn't come back.'

578 **Kamarematamonane**

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

'He didn't come back.'

579 **Tokehimatamonane**

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

'He went away.'

580 **Toke**

to- ka+M
 away go/come
 vi

me

me 3PL.S
 pron

amo

amo sleep
 vi

na

na+F AUX
 aux

me

me 3PL.S
 pron

me

me 3PL.S
 pron

kake

ka -kI
 go/come coming
 vi

toke

to- ka+M
 away go/come
 vi

Okomi

o- ka ami
 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nf

owa

owa 1SG.O
 pron

nakabeno

na- kaba -hino
 CAUS eat IP.N+M
 vt

fawa

fawa
 disappear
 vi

nane

na.CONT+M -ne
 AUX BKG+M
 aux

BAHI (2)

586 *Ee*
 ee
 (expression of surprise)
 interj

"Hey."

587 *Aa*
 aa
 aha
 interj

"Aha."

588 *Bite* *haha* *narawa* , *bite* *haha*
 bite haahaa na -rawa+F , bite haahaa
 3SG.POSS.daughter laugh AUX F.PL 3SG.POSS.daughter laugh
 nf vi aux nf vi

narawemetemoneni

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

aux

'Her daughters laughed.'

589 *Haha* *narawa* , *kakematamonaka*
 haaha na -rawa+F , ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 this+F AUX F.PL go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 dem aux vi

'As they laughed, he came.'

590 *Kake* , *Aki*
 ka -kI , aki
 go/come coming grandmother
 vi nf

'He came. "Grandma."'

591 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj

"Huh?"

592 *Aki* *yiwa* *kero* *tine* *ti* ?
 aki yiwa kero ti- na -ne ti-
 grandmother pot make with circular motion 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S
 nf nf vt aux prt

"Grandma, are you making a pot?"

593 *Yiwa* *kero* *one* *oni*
 yiwa kero o- na -ne o- ni
 pot make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux prt

oka *iyawa* *sisirabonehe*
 o- ka iyawa si- sira -bone -he
 1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash DUP toast INT+F DUP
 prt nf pn

"I'm making a pot to toast manioc mash on."

BAHI (2)

594 *Aa* , *hiya* *kekero* *obe*
 aa , hiya ke- kero o- na -be
 oh yes come on DUP make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 interj interj vt aux

aki
 aki
 grandmother
 nf

"I see. Here, let me smooth it."

595 *Tani* *owa* *tekawa* *tani* *hiba*
 tani owa ti- ka- kawa tani hiba
 instrument 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to instrument wait
 pn pron vt pn interj

"Give me the smoother, wait."¹⁰⁶

596 *Oka* *yiwa* *kekero* *raba*
 o- ka yiwa ke- kero na -raba
 1SG.POSS POSS pot DUP make with circular motion AUX a bit
 prt nf vt aux

tinahi *ai*
 ti- na -hi ahi
 2SG.S AUX IMP+F then
 aux dem

"Don't smooth my pot too hard."

597 *Aa* *katoma* *hiri* *neba* *yiwa* *kero*
 aa katoma hiri na -hiba yiwa kero
 (pause) violent act make AUX FUT+M pot make with circular motion
 interj nf vt aux nf vt

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

'He started to smooth the pot, and he was about to do it violently.'

598 *Yiwa* *howe* *nematamonaka* *ahi* *sio*
 yiwa howe na -himata -mona -ka ahi sio
 pot wipe AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of scraping)
 nf vt aux dem sound

sio
 sio
 (sound of scraping)
 sound

'He was smoothing the pot, "sio, sio".'

599 *Yiwa* *yara* *kini*
 yiwa yara ka- na -ni
 pot split COMIT AUX BKG+F
 nf vi aux

'The pot split open.'

600 *Yiwa* *yara* *kini*
 yiwa yara ka- na -ni
 pot split COMIT AUX BKG+F
 nf vi aux

106 The smoother would be a hard shell of a *hasabono* coconut, or a *monaki* shellfish shell.

BAHI (2)

'The pot split open.'

601 *Mitarama* *ni* *yiwa* *howehowe* *nematamonaka*
 mita -rama na.NFIN yiwa howe- howe na -himata -mona -ka
 hear unusual AUX pot DUP wipe AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 antip aux nf vt aux

'He didn't pay any attention, he just went on smoothing the pot.'

602 *Ooo* , *ahabake*
 ooo , ahaba -ke
 oh no end DECL+F
 interj vi

""Oh no, it is ruined!""

603 *Yiwa* *ahabini*
 yiwa ahaba -ni
 pot end BKG+F
 nf vi

""The pot is ruined.""

604 *Faya* *hinakaki* *wate* *hinakaki* , *koro*
 faya hinaka aki wata+M hinaka aki , koro
 so 3SG.POSS grandmother catch 3SG.POSS grandmother throw
 conj nf vt nf vt

nifematamonaka

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

'Then he grabbed his grandmother and threw her in the water.'

605 *Mani* *baka* *hisemetemone*
 mani baka hi- na -kosa -hemete -mone
 arm+F break OC AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F
 pn vt aux

'He broke her arms.'

606 *Hinakaki* *nabowe* *ya* *hinakaki* *koro*
 hinaka aki na- aboha.NOM+M ya hinaka aki koro
 3SG.POSS grandmother CAUS die ADJU 3SG.POSS grandmother throw
 nf vt prt nf vt

nife , *Bote* *tihateba* *ama* *tini*
 na -fI , bote ti- to- ha -tee -haba ama ti- ni
 AUX water sting-ray 2SG.S CH be HAB FUT+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 aux nm vc sec prt

'After he killed his grandmother, he threw her in the water. "You will be the first sting-ray."'

607 *Haha* *me* *ka* *ami* *nabowi* *me* *awaha* *me* , *kana*
 haaha me ka ami na- aboha.NFIN me awa+F me , kana
 this+F 3PL POSS mother CAUS die 3PL.S see 3PL.S run
 dem pron prt nf vt pron vt pron vi

ni *towaka* *me* *mera* *fito* *tokanamaki*
 na.NFIN to- ka- ka+F me mera fito to- ka- na -makI+M
 AUX away COMIT go/come 3PL.POSS 3PL.O rush away COMIT AUX following
 aux vi pron pron vi aux

BAHI (2)

mera waka tonamake , **mera**
 mera waka to- na -makI , mera
 3PL.O kill away AUX following 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron

tonahiyamakematamonaka

to- na- hiya -makI -himata -mona -ka
 CH CAUS be different following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'The ones who saw their mother being killed went running away. He went running after them and killed them, and changed them into something else, too.'

608 **Faya kame** , **kamematamonaka**
 faya ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi

'He came back.'

609 **Kame** , **Oof**
 ka -ma+M , oof
 go/come back hoo
 vi interj

'He came back. "Hoo."'

610 **Faya kake** **kakematamonaka**
 faya ka -kI ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come coming go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi

'He came.'

611 **Kake** , **kake** **ni ya karaboa karaboa** , **ati**
 ka -kI , ka -kI ni ya karaboha karaboha , ati
 go/come coming go/come coming to ADJU blowgun blowgun voice
 vi vi prt prt nf nf pn

saihemetemone

sai -hemete -mone
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'He came. As he came, the sound of a blowgun could be heard.'

612 **Karaboa yama neno** **karaboa** , **karaboa yama neno**
 karaboha yama na -hino karaboha , karaboha yama na -hino
 blowgun work on AUX IP.N+M blowgun blowgun work on AUX IP.N+M
 nf vt aux nf nf vt aux

karaboa kawa neno , **ati sai hii**
 karaboha kawa na -hino , ati sai.LIST hii
 blowgun thrust AUX IP.N+M voice be heard (sound of friction)
 nf vt aux pn vi sound

hii , **hii** **hii**
 hii hii hii
 (sound of friction) (sound of friction) (sound of friction)
 sound sound sound

'He was working on a blowgun. Its sound could be heard, "Hii, hii, hii."'

613 **Mama tona** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
 ma- maa to- na na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP stop CH AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

BAHI (2)

623 *Kakawa* *obeya*

ka- kawa o- na -be -ya
 DUP thrust 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vt aux

"Let me clean it a while."

624 *Kakawa* *tina* , *kakawa* *raba* *rebana* *ahi*
 ka- kawa ti- na , ka- kawa na -raba na -ra -hibana ahi
 DUP thrust 2SG.S AUX DUP thrust AUX a bit AUX NEG FUT+M then
 vt aux vt aux aux dem

"Go ahead and clean it a while." He didn't clean it gently.'

625 *Karaboa* *kawa* *nematamona* *kasiro* *ya*
 karaboha kawa na -himata -mona kasiro ya
 blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M a lot ADJU
 nf vt aux nf prt

'He cleaned the blowgun violently.'

626 *Yama* *kawa* *nematamona*
 yama kawa na -himata -mona
 thing thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt aux

'He was cleaning it.'

627 *Oko* *karaboa* , *awe* *baka*
 o- ka karaboha , awe baka
 1SG.POSS POSS blowgun wood+F break
 prt nf pn vt

tinihariyahi

ti- to- niha- ha -ra -yahi
 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 aux

"Don't break the router for my blowgun."

628 *Yama* *kawa* *nematamonaka* *karaboa* , *baka*
 yama kawa na -himata -mona -ka karaboha , baka
 thing thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M blowgun break
 nf vt aux nf vt
tonabana *ahi* , *kawa* *raba* *hira* *rama* *ahi* ,
 to- na -habana ahi , kawa na -raba hi- na -ra+F rama ahi ,
 CH AUX FUT+F then thrust AUX a bit OC AUX NEG unusual then
 vi dem vt aux aux prt dem

taakaa

taakaa
 (sound of breaking)
 sound

'He thrust the stick into the blowgun, and it broke, because he wasn't thrusting gently.'

629 *Ooo* , *iti* *karaboa* *baka* *toni*
 ooo , iti karaboha baka to- na.NOM+F
 oh no grandfather blowgun break CH AUX
 interj nm nf vt aux

"Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke."

BAHI (2)

638 *Faya* , *yana* *totase* *hike* *ya* , *me* *one*
 faya , yana to- na -tasa+M hike ya , me one
 so start CH AUX again far ADJU 3PL other+F
 conj vi aux nf prt pron adj
towasiwiti *me* *one* *nahabitase* , *mera* , *mera*
 to- wasi -witI+M me one na- ahaba -tasa+M , mera , mera
 away find out 3PL other+F CAUS die again 3PL.O 3PL.O
 vt pron adj vt pron pron

nahabitase matamonaka

na- ahaba -tasa -himata -mona -ka
 CAUS die again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He left again. In other places far away he came upon other people and killed them, too.'

639 *Mera* *nahabi* , *mera* *tonahiyematamonaka*
 mera na- ahaba+M , mera to- na- hiya -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O CAUS die 3PL.O CH CAUS be different FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt pron vt

me nafi

me nafi
 3PL.POSS all
 pron pn

'He killed them, and turned them into animals, all of them.'

640 *Mera* *waka* *niha* , *mera* *were*
 mera waka niha- na.LIST , mera were
 3PL.O kill CAUS AUX 3PL.O throw
 pron vt aux pron vt

nifematamonaka

na -fI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX water FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He finished killed them, and threw them in the water.'

641 *Mera* *tonahiye* , *faya* *hinakaki* ,
 mera to- na- hiya+M , faya hinaka aki ,
 3PL.O CH CAUS be different so 3SG.POSS grandmother
 pron vt conj nf

watamatamona

fahi
 wata -himata -mona fahi
 catch FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt dem

'He turned them into animals. He grabbed his grandmother.'

642 *Hinakaki* *wate* *hinakaki* , *mani* *aya* *baka*
 hinaka aki wata+M hinaka aki , mani aya baka
 3SG.POSS grandmother catch 3SG.POSS grandmother arm+F this break
 nf vt nf pn dem vt

hinakosaha , *mani* *yoko* *hinemetemone* *yotohoti* *ya*
 hi- na -kosa+F , mani yoko hi- to- na -hemete -mone yotohoti ya
 OC AUX middle arm+F push OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F rear part ADJU
 aux pn vt aux pn prt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'He grabbed his grandmother, and after he broke off her arm, he stuffed her arm into her anus.'

BAHI (2)

643 *Mani yoko hina koro hifemetemone*
 mani yoko hi- to- na+F koro hi- na -fI -hemete -mone
 arm+F push OC CH AUX throw OC AUX water FP.N+F REP+F
 pn vt aux vt aux

'He stuffed her arm in, and threw her in the water.'

644 *Afametemone amake boto*
 afa -mete -mone ama -ke boto
 this+F FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F dolphin
 dem vc nf

hinakakimetemonehe

hinaka aki -mete -mone -he
 3SG.POSS grandmother FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 nf

'She was the dolphin, his grandmother.'

645 *Boto boto tihateba tiwa koro*
 boto boto ti- to- ha -tee -haba tiwa koro
 dolphin dolphin 2SG.S CH be HAB FUT+F 2SG.O throw
 nf nf vc pron vt

ofine

o- na -fI -ne o-
 1SG.S AUX water CONT+F 1SG.S
 aux prt

'I'm throwing you in the water, so you can be the dolphin.'

646 *Faya yana totase mera tonahiye yana*
 faya yana to- na -tasa+M mera to- na- hiya+M yana
 so start CH AUX again 3PL.O CH CAUS be different start
 conj vi aux pron vt vi

ne tokatase

na+M to- ka -tasa+M
 AUX away go/come again
 aux vi

toke

to- ka+M
 away go/come
 vi

toke

to- ka+M
 away go/come
 vi

hawa

hawa
 palm sp
 nf

hawa

hawa
 palm sp
 nf

me

me
 3PL
 pron

ka

ka
 POSS
 prt

abi

abi
 father
 nm

ya

ya
 ADJU
 prt

me

me
 3PL.S
 pron

tabaha

taba+F
 be together
 vi

mera

mera
 3PL.O
 pron

towasiwiti

to- wasi -witI+M
 away find out
 vt

mera

mera
 3PL.O
 pron

nofematamona

nofa -himata -mona
 like FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'He left again. After he turned them into animals, he left and went again. He came upon them as they were with their father. He liked them.'

647 *Hawa ka ne hawa ka ne Bai*
 hawa kaa na+M hawa kaa na+M Bai
 palm sp chop AUX palm sp chop AUX (man's name)
 nf vt aux nf vt aux npropm

yebe

yebe
 (sound of shocking)
 sound

hikanematamona

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

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

yebe

yebe
 shock
 vi

'As he was cutting down the *hawa* palm, Bai shocked him, "yebe".'

BAHI (2)

648 *Ee*
 ee
 (expression of surprise)
 interj
 "Hey."

649 *Abi* , *abi*
 abi , abi
 father father
 nm nm
 "Father."

650 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "Huh?"

651 *Abi* *himata* *amariya* ?
 abi himata ama -ri -ya
 father what? be CQ+F now
 nm interrog vc
 "Father, what was that?"

652 *Yama* *owa* *yebe* *kanake* *ahi*
 yama owa yebe ka- na -ke ahi
 thing 1SG.O shock COMIT AUX DECL+F then
 nf pron vi aux dem
 "Something shocked me."

653 *Yama* *tai* *tikana* *awineni*
 yama tai ti- ka- na+F awine -ni
 thing step on 2SG.S COMIT AUX seem+F BKG+F
 nf vt aux sec
 "You must have stepped on something."

654 *Yama* *aawa* *tinahi*
 yama a- awa ti- na -hi
 thing DUP see 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux
 "Look at it."

655 *Yama* *tai* *tikana* *awineni* *yama*
 yama tai ti- ka- na+F awine -ni yama
 thing step on 2SG.S COMIT AUX seem+F BKG+F thing
 nf vt aux sec nf
 "You must have stepped on something."

656 *Yama* *owa* *yebe* *kanake* *ahi*
 yama owa yebe ka- na -ke ahi
 thing 1SG.O shock COMIT AUX DECL+F then
 nf pron vi aux dem
 "Something shocked me."

BAHI (2)

657 *Yama amosake*

yama amosa -ke
thing be good DECL+F
nf vi

"There isn't anything."

658 *Yama owa yebe kanake*

yama owa yebe ka- na -ke
thing 1SG.O shock COMIT AUX DECL+F
nf pron vi aux

"Something shocked me."

659 *Bite*

bite ka- ka -makI -rawa+F yama ki na
3SG.POSS.daughter COMIT go/come following F.PL thing look at AUX
nf vi nf vt aux

ni ya tasi

ni ya tasi na -kI -himata -mona
to ADJU (sound of appearing) AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M
prt prt sound aux

nakematamona

'His daughters came to him and looked around. He appeared to them.'

660 *Tasi*

tasi , himata amari ?
(sound of appearing) what? be CQ+F
sound interrog vc

"Tasi." "What was that?"

661 *Oof*

oof , himata ka ?
hoo what? chop
interj interrog vt

"Whew, what are you chopping down?"

662 *Hawa ka okine*

hawa ka o- ka- na -ne o-
palm sp POSS 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S
nf prt aux prt

"I'm chopping down a *hawa* palm with fruits."

663 *Hawa oka*

hawa o- ka o- ka yibote ka hinofene
palm sp 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS wife chop manioc juice
nf prt prt nf vt nm

tehenebona

tehene -bona , hawa ka okine oke
additive+M INT+M palm sp chop 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
pn nf vt aux prt

"I am cutting down a *hawa* palm with fruits to mix with my wife's manioc juice."

664 *Bari owa tekawa*

bari owa ti- ka- kawa
ax 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to
nf pron vt

"Give me the ax."

BAHI (2)

665 **Bari ka oribeya**
 bari ka o- na -rI -be -ya
 ax POSS 1SG.S AUX raised surface IMMED+F now
 nf prt aux

"I will chop on the other side."

666 **Kokori ka bari bete towiti hawa bari**
 kokori kaa bari bete to- na -witI+M hawa bari
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law chop ax pull away AUX out palm sp ax
 nm vt nf vt aux nf nf

ka narematamona
 kaa na -rI -himata -mona
 chop AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

'He pulled the ax away from his father-in-law, and chopped on the other side of the *hawa* palm.'

667 **Taakai taakai taakai**
 taakai taakai taakai
 (sound of chopping) (sound of chopping) (sound of chopping)
 sound sound sound

taakai hawa baka tona
 taakai hawa baka to- na+F
 (sound of chopping) palm sp break CH AUX
 sound nf vt aux

towakemetemoneke
 to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"Taakai, taakai." The *hawa* palm broke, and fell.'

668 **Hima ka raba timakoni tike**
 hima kaa na -raba ti- na -makoni ti- ke
 let's go chop AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX for this reason+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 interj vt aux aux prt

"There, why didn't you chop hard?"

669 **Bari bari bari koro nifematamona**
 bari bari bari koro na -fI -himata -mona
 ax ax ax throw AUX water FP.N+M REP+M
 nf nf nf vt aux

'He threw the ax in the water.'

670 **Okobi ka bari koro tifine**
 o- ka abi ka bari koro ti- na -fI -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS ax throw 2SG.S AUX water CONT+F
 nm prt nf vt aux

tini
 ti- ni
 2SG.S BKG+F
 prt

"You threw my father's ax in the water."

671 **Bari bokarake osomawitiharo**
 bari boka -hara -ke o- to- soma -witI -haaro
 ax enter water IP.E+F DECL+F 1SG.S away let go out IP.E+F
 nf vi vt

"The ax went in the water because I accidentally let it go."

BAHI (2)

672 **Osomawitiha** **bokarake**
 o- to- soma -witI+F boka -hara -ke
 1SG.S away let go out enter water IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt vi

"I accidentally let it go, and it went in the water."

673 **Hine hofake**
 hine hofa -ke
 only be in water DECL+F
 pron vi

"Let it be in the water."

674 **Hitimakeba** **awine**
 hi- to- iti -makI -haba awine
 OC away take out following FUT+F seem+F
 vt sec

"I guess he will get it out."

675 **Hitimakebana**
 hi- to- iti -makI -habana
 OC away take out following FUT+F
 vt

"He will get it out."

676 **Faya** , **hawa** **bite** **te** **na** **Himata** **aba**
 faya , hawa bite tee na+F himata aba
 so palm sp 3SG.POSS.daughter put inside AUX what? fish
 conj nf nf vt aux interrog nm
me **amari** **ha** ?
 me ama -ri haa
 3PL.S be CQ+F DEM
 pron vc dem

'His daughter was putting the *hawa* fruits in the basket. "What fish are those?'"

677 **Ote** **yowarawimetemone** **ote** **isiri** **ya** **ahi**
 ote yowa -rawa.NOM+F -mete -mone ote ote isiri ya ahi
 fish sp reach F.PL FP.N+F REP+F fish sp basket ADJU then
 nm vi nm nf prt dem

'There were *ote* fish up to the top of the basket.'

678 **Ote** , **me** **waka** **nenono** **ote** **me** ,
 ote me waka na -hino ote me
 fish sp 3PL.O kill AUX IP.N+M fish sp 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

wehemetemoneke **ahi**
 waa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'They had caught *ote* fish, and the basket full of the *ote* fish was on the ground.'

679 **Himata** **aba** **me** **amari** ?
 himata aba me ama -ri
 what? fish 3PL.S be CQ+F
 interrog nm pron vc

"What fish are those?"

BAHI (2)

680 *Ote* *me* *amani* *ote* *mati*
 ote me ama -ni ote mati
 fish sp 3PL.S SEC BKG+F fish sp 3PL
 nm pron sec nm pron

"They are *ote* fish."

681 *Ote* *me* *kabibeya*
 ote me kaba -be -ya
 fish sp 3PL.S eat IMMED+F now
 nm pron result

"The *ote* fish should be eaten."

682 *Me* *kabi* *etoa* *me* *amake*
 me kaba.NFIN eheto+F me ama -ke
 3PL.S eat be good 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F
 pron result vi pron sec

"They are good to eat."

683 *Me* *kabibe*
 me kaba -be
 3PL.S eat IMMED+F
 pron result

"They should be eaten."

684 *Hawa* *te* *yabayaba* *kawaha*
 hawa tee yaba- yaba ka- na -waha
 palm sp 2PL.S DUP pick up COMMIT AUX change
 nf pron vt aux

"Go ahead and finish picking up the *hawa* fruits."

685 *Hawa* *me* *yabemetemoneke* *ahi*
 hawa me yaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 palm sp 3PL.S pick up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pron vt dem

"They picked up the *hawa* fruits."

686 *Abi* , *abi* *haro*
 abi , abi haaro
 father father that one+F
 nm nm dem

"Father, here."

687 *Koko* , *oko* *hawa* *tai*
 koko , o- ka hawa tai
 father-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS palm sp be ahead
 nm prt nf vi

tikahamahi

ti- to- ka- ha -ma -hi
 2SG.S CH COMMIT AUX back IMP+F
 aux

"Father-in-law, take my *hawa* fruits on ahead."

688 *Hawa* *tai* *tikahama*
 hawa tai ti- to- ka- ha -ma
 palm sp be ahead 2SG.S CH COMMIT AUX back
 nf vi aux

BAHI (2)

695 **Tokome** , **tokome** , **Okoto** ,
 to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M , okoto ,
 away go/come back away go/come back my daughter
 vi vi nf

okotorawara ?
 okoto -rawa -ra
 my daughter F.PL NPQ
 nf

'He went back. "Where are my daughters?'"

696 **Okotorawara** **tina** **tikoto** , **Bai**
 okoto -rawa -ra ati ti- na+F tikoto , Bahi
 my daughter F.PL NPQ say 2SG.S AUX 2SG.POSS.daughter (man's name)
 nf vt nf npropm

tama **hikarawarake**
 tama hi- ka- na -rawa -hara -ke
 hold onto OC COMMIT AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt aux

""Where are my daughters?' you say. Bahi is holding onto your daughters.""

697 **Bai** **kasiroteмона** **Bai**
 Bahi kasiro -tee -himona , Bahi
 (man's name) be perverse HAB REP+M (man's name)
 npropm vi npropm

kasiroteмона **me** **hite** , **okoto** ,
 kasiro -tee -himona me ati hi- na -tee , okoto
 be perverse HAB REP+M 3PL.S say OC AUX HAB my daughter
 vi pron vt nf

kahabaneno **ati** **amane**
 ka- habana -hino ati ama -ne
 COMMIT order IP.N+M voice be BKG+M
 vt pn vc

""They say Bahi is naughty, why have you handed over my daughters?""

698 **Hora** **rima** **tinahi**
 hora na -rima ti- na -hi
 complain AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux

""Don't complain.""

699 **Tiwati** **watarima** **nahi**
 ti- ati wata -rima na -hi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

""Don't say anything.""

700 **Tiwati** **bata** **kanamakerayaho**
 ti- ati bata ka- na -makI -ra -yaho
 2SG.POSS voice surprise COMMIT AUX following NEG DIST.IMP+M
 pn vt aux

""He will hear you when he comes.""

701 **Era** **tiyokoriyahi**
 era ti- yoko -ra -yahi
 1IN.O 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt

BAHI (2)

"Don't cause a problem for us."

702 *Tiwati* *watarima* *nahi*
 ti- ati wata -rima na -hi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

"Don't say anything."

703 *Yama* *ihi* *iti* *tamamone* *me*
 yama ihi iti.NFIN tama -hamone me
 thing victim of+F exist be many REP+F 3PL.S
 nf pn vi vd pron

hinaharake *mera* *katomari*
 ati hi- na -hara -ke mera katoma -haari
 say OC AUX IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.O attack IP.E+M
 vt pron vt

"People say he killed a lot of people, and was violent with them."

704 *Faya* *hinakaso* *ati* *fawa* , *kokori*
 faya hinaka aso ati fawa.LIST , kokori
 so 3SG.POSS mother-in-law voice drink 3SG.POSS.father-in-law
 conj nf pn vi nm

ati *watarihi* , *faya* *mera* *ahi* *ne* , *mera*
 ati wata -rihi , faya mera ahi na+M , mera
 voice exist NEG.LIST so 3PL.O have sex with AUX 3PL.O
 pn vi conj pron vt aux pron

ahi *ne* *mera* *kakamake* *yama* *sesewehe*
 ahi na+M mera ka- ka -makI yama se- sewehe
 have sex with AUX 3PL.O COMIT go/come following thing DUP get dark
 vt aux pron vi nf vi

raba *ni* *ya* *me* *fotomake* , *kamakia*
 na -raba na.NOM+F ya me foto -makI , ka -makI+F
 AUX a bit AUX ADJU 3PL.S appear following go/come following
 aux aux prt pron vi vi

me *kobo* *namakia* *me* , *Tiwati* *watariyahi*
 me kobo na -makI+F me , ti- ati wata -ra -yahi
 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi aux pron pn vi

'His mother-in-law stopped talking, and his father-in-law wasn't talking, either. He had sex with them, and brought them back. They appeared when it was getting dark. They came and arrived back. "Don't say anything."

705 *Era* *tiyokoriyahi*
 era ti- yoko -ra -yahi
 1IN.O 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt

"Don't cause a problem for us."

706 *Tiwati* *mite* *ya* , *era*
 ti- ati mita.NOM+M ya , era
 2SG.POSS voice hear ADJU 1IN.O
 pn vt prt pron

tiyokoriyahi
 ti- yoko -ra -yahi
 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vt

BAHI (2)

"If he hears you, you will cause a problem for us."

707 *Faya ati watara hinofene* , *hinofene kawa*
 faya ati wata -ra+F hinofene hinofene kawa
 so voice exist NEG manioc juice manioc juice thrust
 conj pn vi nm nm vt

nemetemoneke

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

'She was mashing the manioc juice in the mortar, without speaking.'

708 *Hinofene tabo na* , *hinofene tabo nemetemoneke*
 hinofene tabo na+F hinofene tabo na -hemete -mone -ke
 manioc juice mash AUX manioc juice mash AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

'She mashed the manioc juice with her hands.'

709 *Hinofene tabo na hinofene* , *me fawemetemone*
 hinofene tabo na+F hinofene me fawa -hemete -mone
 manioc juice mash AUX manioc juice 3PL.S drink FP.N+F REP+F
 nm vt aux nm pron vt

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'She mashed the manioc juice with her hands. They drank the manioc juice.'

710 *Me kamakia aba me me kawaria*
 me ka -makI+F aba me me ka- waa -rI+F
 3PL.S go/come following fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface
 pron vi nm pron pron vt

aba me me kabemetemoneke
 aba me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt

'They came. They cooked the fish. They ate the fish.'

711 *Aba me me kaba me* , *faya me ahi*
 aba me me kaba+F me faya me ahi
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so 3PL.O have sex with
 nm pron pron vt pron conj pron vt

hina me me hikatafamaketemoneke
 hi- na+F me me hi- ka- tafa -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O OC COMIT eat following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron pron vt

'They ate the fish. After he had had sex with them, he ate with them back in the village.'

712 *Ee amosateno ama* ?
 ee amosa -tee -hino ama
 (pause) be good HAB IP.N+M SEC
 interj vi sec

"Is it good?"

BAHI (2)

713 *Yama amosate amani*
 yama amosa -tee ama -ni
 thing be good HAB SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"It is good."

714 *Hibaka oko yama wiyeba owa*
 hibaka o- ka yama wiyeba -ba owa
 where 1SG.POSS POSS thing container+F FUT 1SG.O
 interrog prt nf pn pron

kakakawa

ka- ka- kawa
 DUP COMIT give something to
 vt

"Hey, give me a vessel."

715 *Yama wiyeye wara tone faya hinofene kabi*
 yama wiyeye wara to- na+M , faya hinofene kabi
 thing container+F grab CH AUX so manioc juice dip out
 nf pn vt aux conj nm vt

kane hinofene fafawa nematamonaka
 ka- na+M hinofene fa- fawa na -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX manioc juice DUP drink AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux nm vt aux

'He took the vessel. He dipped out some manioc juice, and drank a little.'

716 *Inaa amosaka*
 inaa , amosa -ka
 hmmm be good DECL+M
 interj vi

"Yum, it is good."

717 *Amosatinoho*
 amosa -tee.NOM -no -ho
 be good HAB IP.N+M DUP
 vi

"It's good."

718 *Hawa fawi amosate amani hinofene karo*
 hawa fawa.NFIN amosa -tee ama -ni hinofene karo
 palm sp drink be good HAB SEC BKG+F manioc juice LOC
 nf vt vi sec nm prt

"It's good to drink *hawa* fruits in manioc juice."

719 *Hinofene ka hawa fawi amosake*
 hinofene ka hawa fawa.NFIN amosa -ke
 manioc juice pertaining to palm sp drink be good DECL+F
 nm prt nf vt vi

"It's good to drink *hawa* fruits in manioc juice."

720 *Faya me me tafemetemone fahi*
 faya me me tafa -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pron vi dem

'They ate.'

BAHI (2)

721 *Me tafa me , me tafi aba me , faya*
 me tafa+F me , me tafa.NFIN ahaba+F me , faya
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat end 3PL.POSS so
 pron vi pron pron vi vi pron conj

me tafi aba me amo na me , me amo
 me tafa.NFIN ahaba+F me amo na+F me , me amo
 3PL.S eat end 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep
 pron vi vi pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke

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

aux

'They ate. They finished eating. They slept.'

722 *Me amo na me fati , fati ai*
 me amo na+F me fati , fati ai
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife have sex with
 pron vi aux pron nf nf vt

nabarawe ai hinabarawa me
 na nahaba -rawa+M , ai hi- na nahaba -rawa+F , me
 AUX at night F.PL have sex with OC AUX at night F.PL 3PL.POSS
 aux vt aux pron

nabati kerewe raba me nabati kerewe raba
 nabati kerewe na -ra -haba me nabati kerewe na -ra -haba
 stomach be slow AUX NEG FUT+F 3PL.POSS stomach be slow AUX NEG FUT+F
 pn vi aux pron pn vi aux

mati

mati
 3PL.POSS
 pron

'They slept. He had sex with his wives all night long. They quickly got pregnant.'

723 *Naba toharawemetemoneke*
 naba to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 pregnant CH be F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 adj vc

'They were pregnant.'

724 *Faya tokome kakama toharematamona*
 faya to- ka -ma+M ka- ka -ma to- ha -ra -himata -mona
 so away go/come back DUP go/come back CH be NEG FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi vi vc

mata

mata
 for now
 prt

'He went away, and didn't come back right away.'

725 *Kamare , me noki hine inamatewe hahi*
 ka -ma -ra+M , me noki hi- na+M inamatewe haahi
 go/come back NEG 3PL.S wait for OC AUX child this one+M
 vi pron vt aux nm dem

ihamakehi , nafimaki ya , inamatewe nanafi
 iha -makI+M , nafi -makI.NOM ya , inamatewe na- nafi
 be born following be big following ADJU child DUP be big
 vi vi prt nm vi

