

BAKAYONA

Free Translation

They cut down trees, and they fought over women.

"Mother, I'm hungry."

"Eat. Eat bananas."

His [the younger brother's] two wives-to-be came. "Your mother told you to eat."

"Your husband doesn't like me, and you should cook food for him. Boil those *haso* taros in the pot there," he said. "Boil some *haso* taro for him. He's going to come back."

He [the older brother] came back. "Whew, hey, I asked them to boil *haso* taro for me. Didn't I ask the women?"

"Because you disobeyed me, you're going to cause me to suffer. You two go to him. Don't cause me to suffer," [said the younger brother].

"We don't want to go. His rear end smells bad. When he bends over, his rear end smells bad. His rear end is bad."

They didn't want him. He called them constantly. His younger brother was with them in the hammock. He was with his wives-to-be in the hammock, because they desired him sexually.

His older brother was ugly. They didn't like his older brother.

"Whew." He spoke. "Oof, they don't ever cook food for me." He came back. He didn't get water at the port. He called him. He called him as he lay in the hammock with his wives.

"Bakayona, Bakayona."

"Yes?"

"Come here. I'm going to make lines on you. Come here. Stand over here."

It was a saw. He got the saw.

"Where should I stand?"

"Stand here."

He intended evil for his younger brother.

His younger brother spoke to his wives. "Don't be upset. I don't think I'll die. I think I'll live. You get water for my mother at the port. Get water ready for my mother."

They filled drums with water. They got water in a container. They filled the drum, because there wasn't going to be any water.

"You take out my heart. You take it out. You cut out my liver, my intestines, my penis, and my scrotum, right," he said. "You cut out my penis well. Don't leave them by the fire. Leave them in a cool place. You wait for me. You two stay here. When you have stayed here, if you stay here, I will start up."

Then his older brother roasted him on a grill. His fat was dripping and sizzling on the fire. His brother roasted him. His brother ate him. He boiled him. He was on the roasting grate, roasted.

"Are you going to eat? Women, are you going to eat?"

"I guess we are going to eat. You go ahead and eat. I guess we are going to eat," she said.

"You two come here. I want to eat with you," he said.

He started up, and his voice started up. He turned him over. He turned him over again.

"Tiii," he went. He started up.

His wife took his penis. She took his heart, too.

BAKAYONA

He picked the women up, to take them away up the stream.

Bakayona ate, thinking he had water; but it was about to disappear. The stream disappeared. The water didn't stay. The stream was bare. Bakayona ate, eating his younger brother.¹⁵²

"Oh man, I'm thirsty. Mother."

His mother was crying. She stopped crying, as she lay in her hammock.

"Your son said you shouldn't cry. Don't cry. You heard your son tell you."

He called his mother. "Wait a minute. Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, don't you have water?"

"I could have gone to get water, but I'm lying here. Did you eat instead of going to get water?"

The stream had already disappeared. He came back and ate.

"Just a minute, let me drink some water."

He ate, and then left.

"Just a minute, I'm going to drink some water."

He grabbed a brand from the fire. He waved the brand in front of him [to show the way]. He went waving the brand. There was no water.

"The stream seems to have disappeared."

He waved the brand to illuminate the stream. He went along slowly.

"There is no water."

He went upstream. His brand went out, and he came back. He went downstream waving the brand. He waved the brand on the stream, and then came back.

"Whew, look how thirsty I am. I'm thirsty. Look how thirsty I am. Mother, where is water? Mother, water. I don't have any water."

"Why does he keep calling me? You were eating and you didn't go get water. There is no water here. The stream disappeared."

"I went waving a brand, and there wasn't any water, not even a little. Just a minute."

He got ready to leave again. He picked up a bigger piece of firewood. He took the piece of firewood to the water.

"Look at how thirsty I am," he said as he went. He left. He went downstream. There was no water. The water was gone. He looked all over at the empty streambed. He came back.

"I want to drink water, and it is going to rain like it always does."

The sound of the approaching rain could be heard, botoririri. He opened his mouth, so the rain would go into it. The rain stopped.

"Oh, no, the rain stopped and I am still thirsty."

He came back. He came back for the time being.

"Look at how thirsty I am." He began to cry. "I'm thirsty. I'm going to be thirsty. Mother, give me some water."

"There is no water, so endure your thirst. You messed with my son. You ate my son, so endure your thirst," she said. "I never eat what you kill. I don't eat what you kill, but you cut up my son."

Then her son [the younger brother] took the water upstream and lived upstream. He lived there.

He had told his younger brothers to do something [when he was still alive]. "When my mother's water is all gone, when there is just this much left, you two come, come upstream."

¹⁵² There is confusion on which brother is named Bakayona. In the beginning Bakayona was the younger brother, but now he is the older brother.

BAKAYONA

The two of them went upstream. They shot arrows. Their older brother was sitting there. As he sat there an arrow hit the water. He was living where there were many fish. The arrow came.

They slept. They ate. He had made a riverboat, and it was big. The riverboat was there in the water.

"Younger brothers, put the things there inside. Let's go downstream. Put the things inside."

They carried the things, to put them inside.

"Release the water. When you(pl) pick up the rock, throw it over there, downstream. Don't throw the rock into the water here. Throw the rock over there. Pull it hard this way. Pull the rock this way, as you sit in the canoe," he said.

They were going to go downstream and change into something else. The ones who were going to change into something else started up. They released the water. The sound of the rushing water could be heard. The water made a big rushing sound as it went downstream. The water went downstream. The alligator [the older brother] lay dead in the place where he had gone back and forth. The high water came to him as he lay there.

His father spoke. It was his real father. "My sons appear to have released the water. That's the sound of their water coming downstream."

The water came downstream making noise. The water came downstream with a rushing sound. They came after [the water]. They paddled. They arrived in the boat. They came onto the bank.

He called to his mother. "Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, is your water all gone?"

"My water is all gone. When my water is gone you are coming downstream. He didn't listen to me. The water is all gone. The vessel is there."

"We brought the water downstream, now."

The water flowed to where the alligator, the one who had eaten his younger brother and had changed into an animal, and who had gone around [searching for water], had died and was lying. He drank lots of water and his voice started up. "Obe, obe oo," he said, croaking, right where he always lay, because of the water. They turned into something else. They turned into something else when there were no Brazilians.

They went downstream. They are the ones who became the people of the governor. He went downstream. They were ready to leave. He put his father and the others on the boat. His father, his younger brothers, his grandmother, his nieces. It was all of them. He put them all on board. He took them downstream. They didn't live there [anymore]. All of them [left].

"Let's look at the place that will be our village. Let's go downstream. I don't want to live in this place here. I'm going to live far away, downstream. I'm going to live downstream," he said.

He put his father and the others on board. He was ready to leave, in the boat. His brothers and their group went downstream. The riverboat was big. There were canoes. His younger brothers paddled the small canoes. He included all the women. He took them downstream. They were Brazilians now. The one who would become the governor went downstream. Everything was empty. The villages were left alone, because everyone went downstream. Their manioc was not eaten. They went downstream.

He visited some people far away. He came. He came upon their village. He went back.

"They are gone. Our affinal relative, who lived there, is gone. Our affinal relative is gone. Where is our affinal relative? I called out, and now I have come back. Let's go away, too. They went away. Let's us move away, too. Our affinal relative is gone. I think they crossed [the river]."

The river which was always there disappeared, and the people, too. The river that would

BAKAYONA

become the Purus disappeared. Another stream is there. The water flows there. Where does the water come from? The water flowed this way. It had a rock. The water has a rock. They drank the water that set in the rock as in a pot. The water didn't dry up even though many people took water out. They always drank the water that lay in the rock, that was always renewed. They put it in vessels and drank it. They drank the water that was in [the rock].

They cooked food. They ate food, when they woke up. They also slept.

"There is no river, no big Purus River. There is no big river," the women said. "They went to get water, but there was no river, so they came [to the place where the water is in the rock] and drank water. We are always chasing water. The bare streambed is going downstream."

"I am drinking the water which sits [in the rock] and has a rock, because I am always thirsty. I ate meat, but didn't drink water, but now I have come and am drinking water here."

So they were ready to go.

"I think our relatives who were going to come are coming. They decided to come because they were suffering from thirst, and they heard about the water in [the rock]."

They got water with vessels. They bathed with water that was in vessels. They bathed. When they were done bathing, they drank water.

He drank water. "Glug, glug, glug, glug. Nyaa, they are drinking really good water."

"It's water from the rock. We are drinking water which was held back long ago by the rock. If it were earth, it would leak out."

The water was in something that was not earth. They drank water that was in the depths of the rock, my grandfather said, my father said. They drank water.

"Don't use too much of our water, when you are bathing. Put water in a vessel and bathe away [from the spring]."

There were lots of people, but it didn't matter. It was never all used up. Where was it? Who knows? Isn't that what is now Bosao?

They came. They drank water. They cut *matafo* vine. They let the water drip from the *matafo* into a vessel. They drank the water of the *matafo* vine, the water of a vine. They drank the water of a vine. There was never water.

"I have come, because I always drink the water of a vine."

They always drank water of a vine. They came and drank the water of the spring. The river will appear. The peach palm [nut] is what they ate. He brought peach palm nuts. He boiled the peach palm nuts.

"I always roast the peach palm nuts, because there is no water [to boil them]. I always roast the peach palm nuts. Roasted they are very good to eat."

He always roasted peach palm nuts. He brought the peach palm nuts. Now he boiled the peach palm nuts. He boiled them and they ate them. They ate peach palm nuts with meat. One of them went for water. He cut off a *bihi* bract where it was attached to the palm. If the end is sliced right, it becomes their vessel for water. The *hawa* palm sheath, which is long, which opens, and splits. He got water in the vessel. He put it on the ground. He covered his water with his wild banana leaf. He ate.

"My water is covered, it's going to leak out."

"The water won't leak out. The water is covered. The sheath is thick. We are going to be thirsty. We have been thirsty. We have always been thirsty, it's great to have this spring. The bit of water wets our insides. Why did the river disappear? If it all disappeared, what would we drink? I am drinking a little of the water that they found here. The water is not big, but it never is used up. They are gone, and I am seeing the trees that they cut down lying on the ground here, and there is nothing planted." They exclaimed. They could be heard exclaiming. "Where did they go? They

BAKAYONA

must have gone across to the other side [of the river]. They must be living on the other side."

"They don't live on the other side," one of them said, because he saw their paddle stuff.

"There are pieces of broken paddles scattered on the ground, and other paddles stuck in the rafters. I think they went downstream."

"They went downstream," they said. "That's it. This happened to them because of Bakayona, the younger brother whose older brother killed him. The others blew snuff into Bakayona [to make him a shaman] and his older brother slit his back and roasted him, and he made the water go away. I know him. Now I know him. The women caused him to suffer. His older brother slit his back. His saw is hanging there where his grill is. There are no old pieces of his charred meat."

He came. He wanted to see them, and he came upon their village.

"This is their village. They aren't here, they are gone. They took all their things, and their old things are scattered on the ground: broken paddles, pots, and other things that were made. Pots, cooking pots. Pieces of broken pots are on the ground. There is also a stick on top. They left. I'm saying this because I see what they made. I saw the pieces of their paddles. The red pieces of stuff they made are scattered on the ground because they wanted them to be seen. Something thin like new leaves is scattered on the ground. They turned into something else because of Bakayona. Bakayona changed them, after they blew snuff into him. I say he changed them. People can change into something else that way. He changed them into something else, because they killed him. They killed him. His saw, its blade red with blood, is hanging there, the one he used to slash his younger brother's back. His wives caused him to suffer. Let him die. The voice of the one they made can be heard, the alligator, with the long jaw. He is in the water, and his voice can be heard. He says, 'Obe.' 'They went downstream,' he says. I heard him. His younger brother, who he ate, changed him. He lives there because he told him to."

Dear, what is the name of the alligator? Right, Bakayona. Right, it was Makayona.

Makayona slit his younger brother's back, and the people changed into something else.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Ha	me	one		me	oneba		awa	kaka	toaha		
	haa	me	one	,	me	one	-ba	awa	ka-	kaa	to-	ha+F
	DEM	3PL	other+F		3PL	other+F	FUT	tree	DUP	chop	CH	AUX
	dem	pron	adj		pron	adj		nf	vt		aux	

awa	me	kaka	toemetemone		faro		me		me fanawi	
awa	me	ka-	kaa	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone	faaro	me	me fanawi
tree	3PL.S	DUP	chop	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	that+F	3PL	women
nf	pron	vt		aux				dem	pron	nf

ya	me	abe	tokatowiaba		mati	
ya	me	abe	to-	katowi	-haba	mati
ADJU	3PL.POSS	RECIP	CH	fight	FUT+F	3PL.POSS
prt	pron	pn	vt			pron

'Others of them, their descendents, cut down trees. They cut down trees, and they fought over women.'

2	Awa	me	kaka	toa	me		awa	me	ka	na	me	
	awa	me	ka-	kaa	to-	ha+F	me	awa	me	kaa	na+F	me
	tree	3PL.S	DUP	chop	CH	AUX	3PL.S	tree	3PL.S	chop	AUX	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt		aux		pron	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron

awa	me	yobi		kana	me		awa	ka	ne
awa	me	yobi		ka-	na+F	me	awa	kaa	na+M
tree	3PL.S	go back and forth		COMIT	AUX	3PL.S	tree	chop	AUX
nf	pron	vi		aux		pron	nf	vt	aux

BAKAYONA

winame
wina -ma+M , **Oof** **ami** , **ami** **ofimi**
lie in hammock back oof ami , ami o- fimi
vi hoo mother mother 1SG.S be hungry
interj nf nf vi

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

"They cut down trees. He cut down trees. He came back and lay in his hammock. "Mother, I'm hungry."

3 **Titafahi**
ti- tafa -hi
2SG.S eat IMP+F
vi

"Eat."

4 **Yifari** **yome** **tinahi**
yifari yome ti- na -hi
banana swallow 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nf vt aux

"Eat bananas."

5 **Fati** , **fatiterawabone**
fati fati -tee -rawa -bone
3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife HAB F.PL INT+F
nf nf

kakamarawaha , **Titafibone** **ami** **ati**
ka- ka -ma -rawa -ha , ti- tafa.NOM+F -bone ami ati
COMIT go/come back F.PL DUP 2SG.S eat INT+F mother say
vi vi nf vt

kene
na -ke -ne
AUX DECL+F IRR+F
aux

'His two wives-to-be came. "Your mother told you to eat."

6 **Te** **ka** **yibote** , **te** **ka** **yibote** **owa** **kako** **nofe**
tee ka yibote , tee ka yibote owa kaako nofa+M
2PL POSS husband 2PL POSS husband 1SG.O be angry with recently
pron prt nm pron prt nm pron vt prt
, **owa** **kako** **nofe** **tefeba** **te** **wasihi** , **hinaka**
owa kaako nofa+M tefe -ba tee wasi -hi , hinaka
1SG.O be angry with recently food FUT 2PL.S cook IMP+F 3SG.POSS
pron vt prt pn pron vt pron

haso **te** **kawari** **kawitarehari**
haso tee ka- waa -rI ka- ita -rI -haari
taro sp 2PL.S COMIT cook raised surface COMIT sit raised surface IP.E+M
nm pron vt vi

hari **ati** **nematamona**
haari ati na -himata -mona
that one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
dem vt aux

"Your husband doesn't like me, and you should cook food for him. Boil those haso taros in the pot there," he said.'

BAKAYONA

7 **Haso** , **hinaka** **hasoba** **te**
 haso , hinaka haso -ba tee
 taro sp 3SG.POSS taro sp FUT 2PL.S
 nm pron nm pron

kawariyaho

ka- waa -rI -yaho
 COMIT cook raised surface DIST.IMP+M
 vt

"Boil some haso taro for him."

8 **Kamaba** **amani**
 ka -ma.NOM+M -ba ama -ni
 go/come back FUT be BKG+F
 vi vc

"He's going to come back."

9 **Kame** **kamabano** **ya** , **kame**
 ka -ma+M ka -ma.NOM+M -ba -no ya , ka -ma+M
 go/come back go/come back FUT IP.N+M ADJU go/come back
 vi vi prt vi

kamematamonaka

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

'He came back.'

10 **Kame** **Oof** , **hoo** , **oko** **hasobona** **me**
 ka -ma+M oof , hoo , o- ka haso -bona me
 go/come back hoo humph 1SG.POSS POSS taro sp INT+M 3PL.S
 vi interj interj prt nm pron

kawariabone

ka- waa -rI -habone me **narabi** **nima**
 COMIT cook raised surface INT+F 3PL.POSS ear+F nima
 vt pron pn vt communicate to

oni **ama** **ahi**
 o- na.NOM+F ama ahi
 1SG.S AUX be then
 aux vc dem

'He came back. "Whew, hey, I asked them to boil haso taro for me."

11 **Me fanawi** **narabi** **nima** **oriya** ?
 me fanawi narabi nima o- na -ra+F -ya
 women ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX NEG now
 nf pn vt aux

"Didn't I ask the women?"

12 **Owati** **te** **kasawaria** **te** **owa** **te**
 o- ati tee ka- sawari+F tee owa tee
 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT frustrate 2PL 1SG.O 2PL.S
 pn pron vt pron pron pron

yokohaba

yoko -haba tee **ama** -ke
 bring misfortune on FUT+F 2PL.S SEC DECL+F
 vt pron sec

"Because you disobeyed me, you're going to cause me to suffer."

BAKAYONA

21 *Faya me hinofare* , *mera ha nifako* , *me* ,
 faya me hi- nofa -ra+M , mera haa na -fako+M , me ,
 so 3PL.S OC want NEG 3PL.O call AUX constantly 3PL
 conj pron vt pron vt aux pron

mera ha nifakohimatamonaka
 mera haa na -fako -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O call AUX constantly FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

'They didn't want him. He called them constantly.'

22 *Mera ha nifako* , *nisori* *wine*
 mera haa na -fako+M , nisori wina+M
 3PL.O call AUX constantly 3SG.POSS.younger brother lie in hammock
 pron vt aux nm vi

me hikatakora , *me* , *me*
 me hi- ka- takora+F me me
 3PL.O OC COMIT be in hammock with 3PL.O 3PL.O
 pron vt pron pron

hikatakoremetemoneke
 hi- ka- takora -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT be in hammock with FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He called them constantly. His younger brother was with them in the hammock.'

23 *Fatirwabonehe* *kakatorarawe* , *fare*
 fati -rawa -bone -he ka- takora -rawa+M , fare
 3SG.POSS.wife F.PL INT+F DUP COMIT be in hammock with F.PL same+M
 nf vt dem

noko me hinihi *hinofari* *ahi*
 noko me hi- to- niha- ha hi- nofa -haari ahi
 attraction 3PL.S OC CH CAUS be OC recently IP.E+M then
 pn pron vt prt dem

'He was with his wives-to-be in the hammock, because they desired him sexually.'

24 *Anoti* *hiyare* , *anoti* *me*
 anoti hiya -ra+M , anoti me
 3SG.POSS older brother be bad NEG 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S
 nm vi nm pron

hinofarahi , *Hoo ati yana tonematamona*
 hi- nofa -ra+M , hoo ati yana to- na -himata -mona
 OC like NEG whew voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt interj pn vi aux

'His older brother was ugly. They didn't like his older brother. "Whew." He spoke.'

25 *Oof* , *otefeba* *me wasi nofara* *rama ahi*
 oof , o- tefe -ba me wasi nofa -ra+F rama ahi
 hoo 1SG.POSS food FUT 3PL.S cook recently NEG unusual then
 interj pn pron vt prt prt dem

'"Oof, they don't ever cook food for me."'

26 *Kame* , *fa kabi kamatamako*
 ka -ma+M , faha kabi ka- na -mata -mako
 go/come back water dip out COMIT AUX short time for this reason+M
 vi nf vt aux

'He came back. He didn't get water at the port.'

BAKAYONA

27 **Kamematamonaka**

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

'He came back.'

28 **Kame** , **haha** **hinematamonaka**

ka -ma+M ha- haa hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back DUP call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vt aux

'He came back. He called him.'

29 **Fati** **kakatorarawe** **wine** **ra ha**
 fati ka- takora -rawa+M wina+M ra haa
 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT be in hammock with F.PL lie in hammock O call
 nf vt vi prt vt

nematamonane

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

'He called him as he lay in the hammock with his wives.'

30 **Bakayona** , **Bakayona**
 Bakayona Bakayona
 (man's name) (man's name)
 npropm npropm

""Bakayona, Bakayona.""

31 **Hoo**
 hoo
 huh?
 interj

""Yes?""

32 **Tikama**
 ti- ka -ma
 2SG.S go/come back
 vi

""Come here.""

33 **Tika** **hano** **onawaibe**
 ti- ka hano o- na- waa -be
 2SG.POSS POSS line 1SG.S CAUS be located IMMED+F
 prt pn vt

""I'm going to make lines on you.""

34 **Tika** **hano** **onawaibe**
 ti- ka hano o- na- waa -be
 2SG.POSS POSS line 1SG.S CAUS be located IMMED+F
 prt pn vt

""I'm going to make lines on you.""

35 **Tikamahi** **ahi**
 ti- ka -ma -hi ahi
 2SG.S go/come back IMP+F here
 vi dem

""Come here.""

BAKAYONA

51 *Kaborao mo kaniharawa fa fa*
 kaborao moo ka- niha- na -rawa+F , faha , faha
 steel drum be full COMIT CAUS AUX F.PL water water
 nf vi aux nf nf

wataribone ya makoni
 wata -ra -bone ya makoni
 exist NEG INT+F ADJU for this reason
 vi prt conj

"They filled the drum, because there wasn't going to be any water."¹⁵³

52 *Oka oka korasao te oka korasao*
 o- ka , o- ka korasao tee , o- ka korasao
 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS heart 2PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS heart
 prt prt nf pron prt nf

te kakitih haro ahi
 tee ka- iti -hi haaro ahi
 2PL.S COMIT take out IMP+F that one+F here
 pron vt dem dem

"You take out my heart."

53 *Te kakiti*
 tee ka- iti
 2PL.S COMIT take out
 pron vt

"You take it out."

54 *Oka wahati oka oka yoto*
 o- ka wahati , o- ka , o- ka yoto ,
 1SG.POSS POSS liver 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS intestines
 prt pn prt prt pn

oka sowi oka sowi otene te
 o- ka sowi , o- ka sowi , o- tenehe tee
 1SG.POSS POSS penis 1SG.POSS POSS penis 1SG.POSS scrotum 2PL.S
 prt pn prt pn pn pron

bobi kasi forima niyahi ati
 bobi ka- na -kosa.NFIN forima na -yahi , ati
 slit COMIT AUX middle do properly AUX DIST.IMP+F say
 vt aux vi aux vt

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

"You cut out my liver, my intestines, my penis, and my scrotum, right," he said.'

55 *Oko sowi te bobi nakosi amosiya*
 o- ka sowi tee bobi na -kosa.NFIN amosa -yahi
 1SG.POSS POSS penis 2PL.S slit AUX middle be good DIST.IMP+F
 prt pn pron vt aux vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

"You cut out my penis well."

¹⁵³ It should be *wataribonemakoni*, without *ya*.

BAKAYONA

56 *Yama te* , *yama hiwe ya yama te*
 yama tee , yama hiwe ya yama tee
 thing 2PL.S thing heat+F ADJU thing 2PL.S
 nf pron nf pn prt nf pron

kawatareriyahi

ka- wata -rI -ra -yahi
 COMIT put raised surface NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vt

"Don't leave them by the fire."

57 *Yama siri ya yama te kawatariya*
 yama siri.NOM ya yama tee ka- wata -rI -yahi
 thing be cold ADJU thing 2PL.S COMIT put raised surface DIST.IMP+F
 nf vi prt nf pron vt

"Leave them in a cool place."

58 *Owa te noki na*
 owa tee noki na
 1SG.O 2PL.S wait for AUX
 pron pron vt aux

"You wait for me."

59 *Te te yoro niyahi*
 tee , tee yoro na -yahi
 2PL.S 2PL.S stay AUX DIST.IMP+F
 pron pron vi aux

"You two stay here."

60 *Te yoro naro ee te yoro ni ya*
 tee yoro na -haaro , ee , tee yoro na.NOM+F ya ,
 2PL.S stay AUX PFUT+F (pause) 2PL.S stay AUX ADJU
 pron vi aux interj pron vi aux prt

yana onaba owa awine oni
 yana o- to- na -haba owa awine o- ni
 start 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi aux pron sec prt

"When you have stayed here, if you stay here, I will start up."

61 *Faya anoti* , *anoti* *tabasi*
 faya anoti , anoti tabasi
 so 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother roast on grill
 conj nm nm vt

hinematamonaka

ahi
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'Then his older brother roasted him on a grill.'

62 *Sai nematamonaka*
 sai na -himata -mona -ka
 sizzle AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'His fat was dripping and sizzling on the fire.'

BAKAYONA

71 **Faya tika tafi tai toahi**
 faya ti- ka tafa.NFIN tai to- ha -hi
 so 2SG.POSS POSS eat be ahead CH AUX IMP+F
 conj prt vi vi aux

"You go ahead and eat."

72 **Ota tafaba ota awineni**
 otaa tafa -haba otaa awine -ni
 1EX.S eat FUT+F 1EX.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron sec

"I guess we are going to eat."

73 **Te kakamahi**
 tee ka- ka -ma -hi
 2PL.S COMIT go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

"You two come here."

74 **Tera okatafibeya**
 tera o- ka- tafa -be -ya
 2PL.O 1SG.S COMIT eat IMMED+F now
 pron vt

"I want to eat with you."

75 **Tera okatafibeya ati nematamonaka**
 tera o- ka- tafa -be -ya ati na -himata -mona -ka
 2PL.O 1SG.S COMIT eat IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt vt aux

"I want to eat with you," he said.'

76 **Ati yana tonematamona , yana tonehinoho**
 ati yana to- na -himata -mona , yana to- na -hino -ho
 voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M start CH AUX IP.N+M DUP
 pn vi aux vi aux

'He started up, and his voice started up.'

77 **Yana toneno ati yana tonematamonaka**
 yana to- na -hino ati yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 start CH AUX IP.N+M voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux pn vi aux

'He started up, and his voice started up.'

78 **Faya behe hikawematamonaka**
 faya behe hi- ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka
 so turn over OC COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vt aux

'He turned him over.'

79 **Behe hikawame , behe**
 behe hi- ka- na -waha -ma+M , behe
 turn over OC COMIT AUX change back turn over
 vt aux vt

hikawame ati yana tone , Tiü
 hi- ka- na -waha -ma+M ati yana to- na+M , tiü
 OC COMIT AUX change back voice start CH AUX (high pitched sound)
 aux pn vi aux sound

BAKAYONA

ati nematamonaka ahi
 ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem

'He turned him over again. "Tiii," he went.'

80 **Yana tone , fati , sowiri fati**
 yana to- na+M , fati , sowiri fati
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.wife penis 3SG.POSS.wife
 vi aux nf pn nf

hiwakiti , hinaka korasao tabaha , me , mera
 hi- ka- iti+M , hinaka korasao taba+F , me , mera
 OC COMIT take out 3SG.POSS heart be together 3PL 3PL.O
 vt pron nf vi pron pron

towakitikosematamonane ahi , faha ya ahi ,
 to- ka- iti -kosa -himata -mona -ne ahi , faha ya ahi ,
 CH COMIT pick up middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M then stream ADJU there
 vt dem nf prt dem

mera towakebana ahi
 mera to- ka- ka -hibana ahi
 3PL.O away COMIT go/come FUT+M then
 pron vt dem

'He started up. His wife took his penis. She took his heart, too. He picked them up, to take them away up the stream.'

81 **Faya Bakayona , Bakayona tafe Bakayona**
 faya Bakayona , Bakayona tafa+M Bakayona
 so (man's name) (man's name) eat (man's name)
 conj npropm npropm vi npropm

tafematamonaka fa kihemonaha , fa fawa
 tafa -himata -mona -ka faha kiha -himona -ha , faha fawa
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M water have REP+M DUP water disappear
 vi nf vt nf vi

nabanihi
 na -haba -ni -hi
 AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 aux

'Bakayona ate. Bakayona ate, thinking he had water; but it was about to disappear.'

82 **Fa fawa nemetemone amake**
 faha fawa na -hemete -mone ama -ke
 stream disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf vi aux sec

'The stream disappeared.'

83 **Fa fawa na , fa iita remetemone**
 faha fawa na+F , faha i- ita na -ra -hemete -mone
 stream disappear AUX water DUP stay AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi aux nf vi aux

'The stream disappeared. The water didn't stay.'

84 **Fa kori toemetemoneke ahi**
 faha kori to- ha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 stream naked+F CH be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pn vc dem

'The stream was bare.'

BAKAYONA

85 *Fa kori toa* , *Bakayona tafematamonaka*
 faha kori to- ha+F , Bakayona tafa -himata -mona -ka
 stream naked+F CH be (man's name) eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pn v npropm vi
ahi nisori , *nisori kabahari*
 ahi nisori nisori kaba -haari
 then 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother eat IP.E+M
 dem nm nm vt
ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem
 'The stream was bare. Bakayona ate, eating his younger brother.'

86 *Nisori kabe* , *Hoo bakasi owa*
 nisori kaba+M , hoo bakasi o- awa
 3SG.POSS.younger brother eat humph thirst 1SG.S feel
 nm vt interj nf vt
oke .
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt
 'He ate his younger brother. "Oh man, I'm thirsty."'

87 *Bakasi owini* .
 bakasi o- awa -ni
 thirst 1SG.S feel BKG+F
 nf vt
 "'I'm thirsty.'"

88 *Ami* .
 ami
 mother
 nf
 "'Mother.'"

89 *Mati ohi na oi ni fawa na wina* ,
 mati ohi na+F ohi na.NFIN fawa na+F wina+F
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX cry AUX stop AUX lie in hammock
 nf vi aux vi aux vi aux vi
Ohi tirabone tikatao ati nare .
 ohi ti- na -ra -habone tikatao ati na -hare
 cry 2SG.S AUX NEG INT+F 2SG.POSS.son say AUX IP.E+M
 vi aux nm vt aux
 'His mother was crying. She stopped crying, as she lay in her hammock. "Your son said you shouldn't cry.'"

90 *Ohi rima tinahi* .
 ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux
 "'Don't cry.'"

91 *Oi rima tinahi* .
 ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux
 "'Don't cry.'"

BAKAYONA

92 **Tikatao** **tinarabo** **nima** **ne** **ati**
tikatao ti- narabo nima na+M ati
2SG.POSS.son 2SG.POSS ear communicate to AUX voice
nm pn vt aux pn

timitara **tike**
ti- mita -hara ti- ke
2SG.S hear IP.E+F 2SG.S DECL+F
vt prt
"\"You heard your son tell you.\""

93 **Faya** **mati** **ha** **ne** , **Hiba** , **ami** , **ami** ,
faya mati haa na+M , hiba , ami , ami ,
so 3SG.POSS.mother call AUX wait mother mother
conj nf vt aux interj nf nf

ami
ami
mother
nf

"\"He called his mother. \"Wait a minute. Mother.\""

94 **Haa** ?
haa
huh?
interj

"\"What?\""

95 **Ami** **fa** **tikihirini** ?
ami faha ti- kiha -ra -ni
mother water 2SG.S have NEG BKG+F
nf nf vt

"\"Mother, don't you have water?\""

96 **Fa** **kabi** **ona** **owinini**
faha kabi o- na+F o- wina -ni
water dip out 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S lie in hammock BKG+F
nf vt aux vi

"\"I could have gone to get water, but I'm lying here.\""

97 **Titafa** **fa** **kabi** **tira** **tiwa** **awine** **tini**
ti- tafa+F faha kabi ti- na -ra+F tiwa awine ti- ni
2SG.S eat water dip out 2SG.S AUX NEG 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F
vi nf vt aux pron sec prt

?

"\"Did you eat instead of going to get water?\""

98 **Fa** , **fa** **hibati** **fawa** **nemetemoneke**
faha , faha hibati fawa na -hemete -mone -ke
stream stream long time ago disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf nf nf vi aux

"\"The stream had already disappeared.\""

99 **Fa** **fawa** **na** , **fa** **fawa** **nemetemoneni**
faha fawa na+F , faha fawa na -hemete -mone -ni
stream disappear AUX stream disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
nf vi aux nf vi aux

"\"The stream had disappeared.\""

BAKAYONA

100 **Fa** **fawa** **na** , **tafame** **Hiba** , **fa**
 faha fawa na+F , tafa -ma+M hiba , faha
 water disappear AUX eat back wait water
 nf vi aux vi interj nf

ofamatibeya

o- fawa -mata -be -ya
 1SG.S drink short time IMMED+F now
 vt

'The stream had disappeared. He came back and ate. "Just a minute, let me drink some water.'

101 **Faya** **tafe** **yana** **tone** , **Hiba** , **fa**
 faya tafa+M yana to- na+M , hiba , faha
 so eat start CH AUX wait water
 conj vi vi aux interj nf

ofamatibeya

o- fawa -mata -be -ya
 1SG.S drink short time IMMED+F now
 vt

'He ate, and then left. "Just a minute, I'm going to drink some water.'

102 **Yifo** **witi** **itikabote** **yifo** **witi** **karikari**
 yifo witi iti -kabote yifo witi kari- kari
 fire coal take out quickly fire coal DUP wave
 nf pn vt nf pn vt

nematamonaka

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

'He grabbed a brand from the fire. He waved the brand in front of him [to show the way].'

103 **Yifo** **witi** **kari** **ne** **tokome** , **fa** , **fa**
 yifo witi kari na+M to- ka -ma+M , faha , faha
 fire coal wave AUX away go/come back water water
 nf pn vt aux vi nf nf

wataremetemoneke

wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He went waving the brand. There was no water.'

104 **Fa** **watara** , **Fa** , **fa** **fawa** **na** **awineni**
 faha wata -ra+F , faha , faha fawa na+F awine -ni
 water exist NEG stream stream disappear AUX seem+F BKG+F
 nf vi nf nf vi aux sec

'There was no water. "The stream seems to have disappeared.'

105 **Fa** **kari** **nematamona** **ahi**
 faha kari na -himata -mona ahi
 stream wave AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He waved the brand to illuminate the stream.'

106 **Tokomake** **tonamakehite**
 to- ka -makI to- na -makI -hitI
 away go/come following away AUX following along the way
 vi aux

BAKAYONA

tokomake , **yama** , **Fa watakere**
 to- ka -makI , yama , faha wata -ke -re
 away go/come following thing water exist DECL+F NEG+F
 vi nf nf vi

'He went along slowly. "There is no water."'

107 **Tokatimamake** **hinaka** **yifo** **witi** **owiha**
 to- ka -tima -makI hinaka yifo witi owi+F
 away go/come upstream following 3SG.POSS fire coal go out
 vi pron nf pn vi

kame , **yama** **kari** **ni** **tokisamaki** **yama**
 ka -ma+M , yama kari na.NFIN to- ka -risa -makI+M yama
 go/come back thing wave AUX away go/come down following thing
 vi nf vt aux vi nf

kari **ne** **ya** , **kamematamona** **fahi**
 kari na.NOM+M ya , ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 wave AUX ADJU go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt aux prt vi dem

'He went upstream. His brand went out, and he came back. He went downstream waving the brand. He waved the brand on the stream, and then came back.'

108 **Kame** , **Hoo** **bakasi** **owa** **owa** **tiwa**
 ka -ma+M , hoo bakasi owa o- awa ti- awa
 go/come back humph thirst 1SG.O 1SG.S feel 2SG.S see
 vi interj nf pron vt vt

'He came back. "Whew, look how thirsty I am."'

109 **Bakasi** **owa** -- **tiwati** **watari**
 bakasi o- awa ti- ati wata -ra.NFIN
 thirst 1SG.S feel 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG
 nf vt pn vi

tiwitare **tiwa** -- **bakasi** **owa** **oke**
 ti- ita -rI tiwa bakasi o- awa+F o- ke
 2SG.S sit raised surface 2SG.S thirst 1SG.S feel 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi pron nf vt prt

"I'm thirsty." Be quiet as you sit there.¹⁵⁴

110 **Bakasi** **owa** **owa** **tiweheye**
 bakasi owa o- awa+F ti- awa -heye
 thirst 1SG.O 1SG.S feel 2SG.S see
 nf pron vt vt

"Look how thirsty I am."

111 **Ami** **fahara** ?
 ami faha -ra
 mother water NPQ
 nf nf

"Mother, where is water?"

112 **Ami** **faha**
 ami faha
 mother water
 nf nf

"Mother, water."

154 Siko was talking to a child who was present.

BAKAYONA

113 *Fa okiharini*

faha o- kiha -ra -ni
water 1SG.S have NEG BKG+F
nf vt

"I don't have any water."

114 *Fara owa haha nabanane*

fara owa ha- haa na.NOM+M -bana -ne
same+F 1SG.O DUP call AUX FUT BKG+M
dem pron vt aux

"Why does he keep calling me?"

115 *Titafa fa kabi tira tiwa awine tini*

ti- tafa+F faha kabi ti- na -ra+F tiwa awine ti- ni
2SG.S eat water dip out 2SG.S AUX NEG 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F
vi nf vt vt pron sec prt

"You were eating and you didn't go get water."

116 *Fa watararake haro*

faha wata -ra -hara -ke haaro
water exist NEG IP.E+F DECL+F that one+F
nf vi dem

"There is no water here."

117 *Fa fawa narake*

faha fawa na -hara -ke
stream disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
nf vi aux

"The stream disappeared."

118 *Fa iitabite ra yifo witi kari ni*

faha i- ita -bite na -ra+F yifo witi kari na.NFIN
water DUP sit a little AUX NEG fire coal wave AUX
nf vi aux nf pn vt aux

okomake

o- to- ka -makI faha wata -ra -hara ahi
1SG.S away go/come following water exist NEG IP.E+F then
vi nf vi dem

"I went waving a brand, and there wasn't any water, not even a little."

119 *Hiba*

hiba
wait
interj

"Just a minute."

120 *Yana totasematamona*

yana to- na -tasa -himata -mona
start CH AUX again FP.N+M REP+M
vi aux

'He got ready to leave again.'

121 *Yana totase yifo nanafi nama na*

yana to- na -tasa+M yifo nanafi nama na
start CH AUX again firewood DUP be big AUX SUPER AUX
vi aux nf vi aux aux

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iti **yifo** , **towakifewame** **Bakasi**
 iti+M yifo , to- ka- ka -fI -waha -ma+M bakasi
 take out firewood away COMIT go/come water change back thirst
 vt nf vt nf

owa **owa** **tiwa** **ati** **tokomematamona**
 o- awa+F owa ti- awa ati to- ka -ma -himata -mona
 1SG.S feel 1SG.O 2SG.S see voice away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vt pron vt pn vi

'He got ready to leave again. He picked up a bigger piece of firewood. He took the piece of firewood to the water. "Look at how thirsty I am," he said as he went.'

122 **Tokome** , **tokisamaki** ,
 to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -risa -makI+M ,
 away go/come back away go/come down following
 vi vi

tokisamaki **fa** **wataremetemoneke**
 to- ka -risa -makI+M faha wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come down following water exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi nf vi

'He left. He went downstream. There was no water.'

123 **Fa** **aahaba** , **fa** **kori** , **fa** **kori** **ki**
 faha a- ahaba , faha kori , faha kori kii
 water DUP end stream naked+F stream naked+F look at
 nf vi nf pn nf pn vt
nawahare , **fa** **kori** **ki** **nawaharematamonaka**
 na -wahaI , faha kori kii na -wahaI -himata -mona -ka
 AUX all over stream naked+F look at AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux nf pn vt aux

'The water was gone. He looked all over at the empty streambed.'

124 **Kame** , **Fa** **ofabone** , **fa** , **fa** **moni**
 ka -ma+M , faha o- fawa -habone , faha , faha moni
 go/come back water 1SG.S drink INT+F water water sound
 vi nf vt nf nf pn

kakemetemone **moni** **kaki** **nofa** **amake**
 ka -kI -hemete -mone moni ka -kI nofa+F ama -ke
 go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F sound go/come coming recently SEC DECL+F
 vi pn vi prt sec

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

'He came back. "I want to drink water, and it is going to rain like it always does."'

125 **Fa** **moni** **o** **tona** **moni** **kake**
 faha moni oo to- na+F moni ka -kI
 water sound rumble CH AUX sound go/come coming
 nf pn prt aux pn vi

botoririri , **awa** **tomisematamonaka**
 botoririri , awa to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka
 (sound of approaching rain) be open CH AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 sound vi aux

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ahi , **hinaka** **fa** **tokiyomabonehe**
 ahi hinaka faha to- ka -yoma -habone -he
 then 3SG.POSS water away go/come through INT+F DUP
 dem pron nf vi

'The sound of the approaching rain could be heard, botoririri. He opened his mouth, so the rain would go into it.'

126 **Fa** **ahabemetemoneke**
 faha ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 water end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'The rain stopped.'

127 **Oo** , **bakasi** **owarimakoni** **ahabine**
 oo bakasi o- awa -ra -makoni ahaba -ne
 oh no thirst 1SG.S see NEG for this reason+F end CONT+F
 interj nf vt vi

haro , **fa** **kakeraro**
 haro faha ka -kI -ra -haaro
 that one+F water go/come coming NEG IP.E+F
 dem nf vi

''Oh, no, the rain stopped and I am still thirsty.''

128 **Faya** **kame** **kamamatematamonaka**
 faya ka -ma+M ka -ma -mata -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come back go/come back short time FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi

'He came back. He came back for the time being.'

129 **Kame** , **kame** **Bakasi** **owa** **owa** **tiwaheye**
 ka -ma+M ka -ma+M bakasi owa owa ti- awa -heye
 go/come back go/come back thirst 1SG.O 1SG.O 2SG.S feel
 vi vi nf pron pron vt

'He came back. "Look at how thirsty I am.''

130 **Oi** **ni** **yana** **tonematamona**
 ohi na.NFIN yana to- na -himata -mona
 cry AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux vi aux

'He began to cry.'

131 **Bakasi** **owini**
 bakasi o- awa -ni
 thirst 1SG.S feel BKG+F
 nf vt

''I'm thirsty.''

132 **Bakasi** **owibana**
 bakasi o- awa+F -bana
 thirst 1SG.S feel FUT
 nf vt

''I'm going to be thirsty.''

BAKAYONA

133 *Bakasi owibana*

bakasi o- awa+F -bana
thirst 1SG.S feel FUT
nf vt

"I'm going to be thirsty."

134 *Ami oko fabana*

ami o- ka faha -bana
mother 1SG.POSS POSS water FUT
nf prt nf

"Mother, give me some water."

135 *Ami oko fabana*

ami o- ka faha -bana
mother 1SG.POSS POSS water FUT
nf prt nf

"Mother, give me some water."

136 *Fa watakerene*

faha wata -ke -re -ne
water exist DECL+F NEG+F IRR+F
nf vi

"There is no water."

137 *Fa watari ya bakasi tikasawarihi*

faha wata -ra.NOM+F ya bakasi ti- ka- sawari -hi
water exist NEG ADJU thirst 2SG.S COMIT frustrate IMP+F
nf vi prt nf vt

"There is no water, so endure your thirst."

138 *Okatao te ai nofa teni*

okatao tee ahi na nofa+F tee -ni
my son 2PL.S mess with AUX recently 2PL.S BKG+F
nm pron vt aux pron

"You messed with my son."

139 *Okatao te , okatao tikabara tikene okatao*

okatao tee , okatao ti- kaba -ra ti- ke -ne okatao
my son 2PL my son 2SG.S eat NEG 2SG.S DECL+F IRR+F my son
nm pron nm vt prt nm

tikaba , *bakasi* *tikasawarihi* *ati* *nemetemone*
ti- kaba+F , bakasi ti- ka- sawari -hi ati na -hemete -mone
2SG.S eat thirst 2SG.S COMIT frustrate IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
vt nf vt vt aux

"You ate my son, so endure your thirst," she said.'

140 *Te ene okobi onofara oni*

tee ehene o- kaba o- nofa -ra+F o- ni
2PL.POSS victim of 1SG.S eat 1SG.S recently NEG 1SG.S BKG+F
pron pn vt prt prt

"I never eat what you kill."

141 *Te ene okobi onofa , okatao te ,*

tee ehene o- kaba o- nofa+F , okatao tee ,
2PL.POSS victim of 1SG.S eat 1SG.S recently my son 2PL.S
pron pn vt prt nm pron

BAKAYONA

bobobi toineni
 bo- bobi to- ha -ne -ni
 DUP slit CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F
 vt aux

"I don't eat what you kill, but you cut up my son."

142 **Faya biti fa towakitime fa** ,
 faya biti faha to- ka- ka -tima+M faha
 so 3SG.POSS.son water away COMIT go/come upstream water
 conj nm nf vt nf
towakitime wiwina toematamona nakani ya
 to- ka- ka -tima+M wi- wina to- ha -himata -mona nakani ya
 away COMIT go/come upstream DUP live CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M upstream ADJU
 vt vi aux nf prt

'Then her son took the water upstream and lived upstream.'

143 **Faya wiwina toe nisori me narabi**
 faya wi- wina to- ha+M nisori me narabi
 so DUP live CH AUX 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.POSS ear+F
 conj vi aux nm pron pn

nima namatematamonaka
 nima na -mata -himata -mona -ka
 communicate to AUX short time FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'He lived there. He had told his younger brothers to do something [when he was still alive].'

144 **Nisori me narabi nima ne** ,
 nisori me narabi nima na+M
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.POSS ear+F communicate to AUX
 nm pron pn vt aux

Okomi ka okomi ka faha ,
 o- ka ami ka o- ka ami ka faha
 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS water
 nf prt nf prt nf

okomi ka fa ahabi ya fa aya
 o- ka ami ka faha ahaba.NOM+F ya faha aya
 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS water end ADJU water this
 nf prt nf vi prt nf dem

totoha ni ya te kakamake te
 to- to- ha na.NOM+F ya tee ka- ka -makI tee
 DUP CH be AUX ADJU 2PL.S COMIT go/come following 2PL.S
 vc prt pron vi pron

kakatimamakiya
 ka- ka -tima -makI -yahi
 COMIT go/come upstream following DIST.IMP+F
 vi

'He had told his younger brothers to do something. "When my mother's water is all gone, when there is just this much left, you two come, come upstream."'

145 **Te kakatima**
 tee ka- ka -tima
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

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146 *Te kakatima*
 tee ka- ka -tima
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

147 *Te kakatima*
 tee ka- ka -tima
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

148 *Te kakatimamakiya*
 tee ka- ka -tima -makI -yahi
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream following DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

149 *Faya me towakamakia me , yama me*
 faya me to- ka- ka -makI+F me , yama me
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S thing 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron nf pron

tisa nemetemoneke ahi
 tisa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 shoot with bow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

'The two of them went upstream. They shot arrows.'

150 *Yama me tisa na me , yama me*
 yama me tisa na+F me , yama me
 thing 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

tisa nemetemoneke ahi
 tisa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 shoot with bow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

'They shot arrows.'

151 *Arakawa ati kamatase*
 arakawa ati ka -ma -tasa+M
 chicken voice go/come back again
 nm pn vi

'The rooster came back and crowed.'¹⁵⁵

152 *Yama me tisa na wati me yaba wati me*
 yama me tisa na+F wati me yaba+F wati me
 thing 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX arrow 3PL.S take out arrow 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nm pron vt nm pron

tisa na , me towakatimamakia
 tisa na+F , me to- ka- ka -tima -makI+F
 shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come upstream following
 vt aux pron vi

wati me tisa tonamakehite , wati
 wati me tisa to- na -makI -hitI , wati
 arrow 3PL.S shoot with bow away AUX following along the way arrow
 nm pron vt aux nm

155 This is a comment by Siko.

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me tisa na me towakamakiwai
 me tisa na+F me to- ka- ka -makI -waha.NOM+F
 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following change
 pron vt aux pron vi

ya wati me tisa tasa wati me
 ya wati me tisa na -tasa+F wati me
 ADJU arrow 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX again arrow 3PL.S
 prt nm pron vt aux nm pron

tisa na me anoti
 tisa na+F me anoti
 shoot with bow AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS older brother
 vt aux pron nm

itarimatamonane

ita -rI -himata -mona -ne
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'Their older brother was sitting there.'

153 **Itari ni ya wati bokehimatamonaka**
 ita -rI+M ni ya wati boka -himata -mona -ka
 sit raised surface to ADJU arrow enter water FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi prt prt nm vi

aba me aba me kawini nofehinoho
 aba me aba me ka- wina nofa -hino -ho
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.S COMIT live recently IP.N+M DUP
 nm pron nm pron vt prt

'As he sat there an arrow hit the water. He was living where there were many fish.'

154 **Wati kamakimata awaka ahi**
 wati ka -makI -himata awa -ka ahi
 arrow go/come following FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M then
 nm vi sec dem

'The arrow came.'

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

'They slept.'

156 **Me amo na me tafemetemoneke ahi**
 me amo na+F me tafa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux pron vi dem

'They slept. They ate.'

157 **Me tafa me me ka baterao baterao yayama**
 me tafa+F me me ka baterao baterao ya- yama
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL POSS riverboat riverboat DUP make
 pron vi pron pron prt nf nf vt

hiani nafihemetemoneni ahi
 hi- to- ha -hani nafi -hemete -mone -ni ahi
 OC CH AUX IP.N+F be big FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F then
 aux vi dem

'They ate. He had made a riverboat, and it was big.'

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158 *Baterao itemetemoneke ahi*
 baterao ita -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 riverboat sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 nf vi dem

'The riverboat was there in the water.'

159 *Yama me , Niso yama te te kana*
 yama me , niso yama tee tee ka- na
 thing 3PL younger brother thing 2PL.S put inside COMIT AUX
 nf pron nm nf pron vt aux

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'"Younger brothers, put the things there inside."'

160 *E tokisibeya*
 ee to- ka -risa -be -ya
 1IN.S away go/come down IMMED+F now
 pron vi

'"Let's go downstream."'

161 *Yama te te kanahi*
 yama tee tee ka- na -hi
 thing put inside 2PL.S COMIT AUX IMP+F
 nf vt pron aux

'"Put the things inside."'

162 *Yama , yama me te kanabone me , yama me*
 yama yama me tee ka- na -habone me yama me
 thing thing 3PL.S 2PL COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL thing 3PL.S
 nf nf pron pron aux pron nf pron

iso nemetemoneke
 iso na -hemete -mone -ke
 carry off AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'They carried the things, to put them inside.'

163 *Yama me iso na me , yama me iso na*
 yama me iso na+F me , yama me iso na+F
 thing 3PL.S carry off AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S carry off AUX
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux

me , yama iso ni ahaba , Fa te naha
 me yama iso na.NFIN ahaba+F , faha tee naha
 3PL.S thing carry off AUX end water 2PL.S open
 pron nf result aux vi nf pron vt

kana
 ka- na
 COMIT AUX
 aux

'They carried the things. "Release the water."'

164 *Betira te , betira te itimisa te koro*
 betira tee , betira tee iti -misa+F tee koro
 rock 2PL.S rock 2PL.S pick up up 2PL.S throw
 nf pron nf pron vt pron vt

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, **fa me naha kanemetemoneni**
 faha me naha ka- na -hemete -mone -ni
 water 3PL.S open COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf pron vt aux

'The ones who were going to change into something else started up. They released the water.'

170 **Fa moni so tonemetemone**
 faha moni soo to- na -hemete -mone
 water sound lie CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pn vi aux

'The sound of the rushing water could be heard.'

171 **Oooo me fa tokisemetemoneke**
 oooo me faha to- ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 (sound of water) 3PL water away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 sound pron nf vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The water made a big rushing sound as it went downstream.'

172 **Fa tokisa hahi inohowe fare**
 faha to- ka -risa+F haahi inohowe fare
 water away go/come down this one+M alligator sp same+M
 nf vi dem nm dem

yobi nofe ya inowe abowi homa
 yobi nofa.NOM+M ya inohowe abohi homa.LIST
 go back and forth recently ADJU alligator sp dead body lie on ground
 vi prt prt nm pn vi

faya inohowe abowi home homahi ni ya
 faya inohowe abohi homa+M homa+M ni ya
 so alligator sp dead body lie on ground lie on ground to ADJU
 conj nm pn vi vi prt prt

fa fowe kisemetemoneke
 faha fowe ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 flood go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'The water went downstream. The alligator lay dead in the place where he had gone back and forth. The alligator lay dead. The high water came to him as he lay there.'

173 **Fa fowe kisa fa kisemetemoneke**
 faha fowe ka -risa+F faha ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 flood go/come down water go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi nf vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The high water came.'

174 **Bati ati yana tone bati**
 bati ati yana to- na+M bati
 3SG.POSS.father voice start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.father
 nm pn vi aux nm

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kakisamineni

ka- ka -risa -ma -ne -ni
COMIT go/come down back CONT+F BKG+F
vi

"When my water is gone you are coming downstream."

190 **Owati**

o- ati ka- sawari -hare
1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate IP.E+M
pn vt

kasawarihare

"He didn't listen to me."

191 **Fa**

faha faha ahaba -ke
water water end DECL+F
nf nf vi

fa abake

"The water is all gone."

192 **Fa**

faha ahaba -hara -ni
water end IP.E+F BKG+F
nf vi

abarani

"The water is all gone."

193 **Wiye**

wiye waa -ne haa
container+F stand CONT+F DEM
pn vi dem

waine

ha

"The vessel is there."

194 **Fa**

faha otaa ka- ka -risa -ma -ke waha
water 1EX.S COMIT go/come down back DECL+F waha
nf pron vt prt

kakisamake

waha

"We brought the water downstream, now."

195 **Fare**

fare inohowe nisori kakaba hie
same+M alligator sp 3SG.POSS.younger brother DUP eat OC CH AUX
dem nm nm vt aux

tohiye

to- hiya+M
CH be different
vi

fare

fare inohowe
same+M alligator sp
dem nm

inohowe

yobi

yobi
go back and forth
vi

kani

ka- na
COMIT AUX
aux

nofahi

nofa+M
recently
prt

ahabe

ahaba+M
die
vi

home

homa.NOM+M
lie on ground
vi

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

fa

faha
water
nf

kisa

ka -risa+F
go/come down
vi

fa

faha
water
nf

mahika

mahika
consume a lot
vt

nen

na -hino
AUX IP.N+M
aux

inohowe

inohowe
alligator sp
nm

fa

faha
water
nf

mahika

mahika
consume a lot
vt

nen

na -hino
AUX IP.N+M
aux

ati

ati yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pn vi aux

yana tonematamonaka

"The water flowed to where the alligator, the one who had eaten his younger brother and had changed into an

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202 *Yara me watari ya , yara me*
 yara me wata -ra.NOM+F ya , yara me
 Brazilian 3PL.S exist NEG ADJU Brazilian 3PL.S
 npropm pron vi prt npropm pron

watari ya me toiyemetemone
 wata -ra.NOM+F ya me to- hiya -hemete -mone
 exist NEG ADJU 3PL.S CH be different FP.N+F REP+F
 vi prt pron vi

'They turned into something else when there were no Brazilians.'

203 *Me tokisimetemone amake ahi*
 me to- ka -risa.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
 pron vi sec dem

'They went downstream.'

204 *Afa memetemone kofenato me tohineke*
 afa me -mete -mone kofenato me to- ha -ne -ke
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F governor 3PL.S CH be CONT+F DECL+F
 dem pron nm pron vc

'They are the ones who became the people of the governor.'

205 *Tokisamatamona ahi*
 to- ka -risa.NOM+M -mata -mona ahi
 away go/come down FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'He went downstream.'

206 *Me yana tona me bati mera , bati*
 me yana to- na+F me bati mera bati
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.O 3SG.POSS.father
 pron vi aux pron nm pron nm

mera te ne , bati me te
 mera tee na+M , bati me tee
 3PL.O put inside AUX 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.O put inside
 pron vt aux nm pron vt

nematamona , bati , nisori mati
 na -himata -mona , bati nisori mati
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL
 aux nm nm pron

hinakaki , hinakaki , hinaka bitimirawaha
 hinaka aki , hinaka aki , hinaka bitimi -rawa -ha
 3SG.POSS grandmother 3SG.POSS grandmother 3SG.POSS niece F.PL DUP
 nf nf pron nf

'They were ready to leave. He put his father and the others on the boat. His father, his younger brothers, his grandmother, his nieces.'

207 *Me nafimetemoneke*
 me nafi -mete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS all FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn

'It was all of them.'

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222 *Yara me , yara me , yara me*
 yara me , yara me , yara me
 Brazilian 3PL Brazilian 3PL Brazilian 3PL.S
 npropm pron npropm pron npropm pron

tohawaineke

to- ha -waha -ne -ke
 CH be change CONT+F DECL+F
 vc

'They were Brazilians now.'

223 *Yara me tohawaineke waha*
 yara me to- ha -waha -ne -ke waha
 Brazilian 3PL.S CH be change CONT+F DECL+F now
 npropm pron vc prt

'They were Brazilians now.'

224 *Kofenatoteba , kofenatoteba tokisematamona*
 kofenato -tee -ba , kofenato -tee -ba to- ka -risa -himata -mona
 governor HAB FUT governor HAB FUT away go/come down FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nm vi

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'The one who would become the governor went downstream.'

225 *Yama honaremetemone amake*
 yama hona -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke
 thing have something NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf vi sec

'Everything was empty.'

226 *Yama tabori towakosarawemetemoneni , me*
 yama tabori to- ha -kosa -rawa -hemete -mone -ni , me
 thing place+F CH be left middle F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS
 nf pn vi prt pron

nafi tokisa

nafi to- ka -risa+F mati
 all away go/come down 3PL.S
 pn vi pron

'The villages were left alone, because everyone went downstream.'

227 *Me ka fowa kabarihi*
 me ka fowa kaba -rihi
 3PL POSS manioc eat NEG.LIST
 pron prt nm result

'Their manioc was not eaten.'

228 *Me ka fowa kabarematamonaka*
 me ka fowa kaba -ra -himata -mona -ka
 3PL POSS manioc eat NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron prt nm result

'Their manioc was not eaten.'

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229 *Me tokisa me , bara me , hikehike ka*
 me to- ka -risa+F me , bara me , hike- hike ka
 3PL.S away go/come down 3PL.S other+F 3PL DUP far of
 pron vi pron adj pron nf prt

me yaka nabise kake me tabori wasiki
 me yaka na -bisa+M ka -kI me tabori wasi -kI+M
 3PL.O visit AUX also go/come coming 3PL.POSS place+F find coming
 pron vt aux vi pron pn vt

wete tonama , wete tonamematamona fahi
 wete to- na -ma.LIST , wete to- na -ma -himata -mona fahi
 return away AUX back return away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux vi aux dem

'They went downstream. He visited some people far away. He came. He came upon their village. He went back.'

230 *Me fawa narake*
 me fawa na -hara -ke
 3PL.S disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

""They are gone.""

231 *Ota owa , ota owa winate*
 ota owa , ota owa wina -tee
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative 1SG.POSS.affinal relative live HAB
 nm nm vi

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

""Our affinal relative, who lived there, is gone.""

232 *Ota owa fawa narene*
 ota owa fawa na -hare -ne
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative disappear AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 nm vi aux

""Our affinal relative is gone.""

233 *Ota owa hibaka toemata ?*
 ota owa hibaka to- ha -himata
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative where CH be FP.N+M
 nm interrog vc

""Where is our affinal relative?""

234 *Ha ona okomawaine o waha*
 haa o- na+F o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- waha
 call 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S now
 vi aux vi prt prt

""I called out, and now I have come back.""

235 *E tokabisa ahi*
 ee to- ka -bisa ahi
 1IN.S away go/come also then
 pron vi dem

""Let's go away, too.""

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236 *Me tokimetemone amake ahi*
 me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 pron vi vc dem

"They went away."

237 *Me tokimetemone ama ahi*
 me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama ahi
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be then
 pron vi vc dem

"They went away."

238 *Me toka me e banabisahi*
 me to- ka+F me ee bana -bisa -hi
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 1IN.S move away also IMP+F
 pron vi pron pron vi

"They went away. Let's us move away, too."

239 *Ota owa fawa nareka*
 ota owa fawa na -hare -ka
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux

ota owa

ota owa
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative
 nm

"Our affinal relative is gone."

240 *Me kariwa me awine me*
 me ka -riwaha+F me awine me
 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S seem+F 3PL.O
 pron vi pron sec pron

onarake

ati o- na -hara -ke
 say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt

"I think they crossed [the river]."

241 *Fa fa fawa nofara fa fawa*
 faha , faha fawa na nofa -ra+F faha fawa
 water water disappear AUX recently NEG water disappear
 nf nf vi prt nf vi

nofa haha me me one bisa me one bisa
 na nofa+F , haaha me , me one bisa , me one bisa
 AUX recently this+F 3PL 3PL other+F also 3PL other+F also
 prt dem pron pron adj prt pron adj prt

fa fawa na Foro Foroteba fawa na fa
 faha fawa+F na+F , Foro , Foro -tee -ba fawa+F na+F , faha
 water drink AUX Purus Purus HAB FUT drink AUX water
 nf vt aux npropf npropf vt aux nf

kawanabisa fa kawanabisa
 ka- wana -bisa+F , faha ka- wana -bisa+F ,
 COMMIT be attached also water COMMIT be attached also
 vi nf vi

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hiemetemone

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

'They put it in vessels and drank it.'

247 *Faya betira me , me fa kawina me fawa ,*
 faya betira me , me faha ka- wina+F me fawa+F ,
 so rock 3PL 3PL water COMIT be inside 3PL.S drink
 conj nf pron pron nf vi pron vt
yamata me waware toa me , yamata me
 yamata me wa- waa -rI to- ha+F me , yamata me
 food 3PL.S DUP cook raised surface CH AUX 3PL.S food 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

waware toemetemone fahi
 wa- waa -rI to- ha -hemete -mone fahi
 DUP cook raised surface CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt aux dem

'They drank the water that was in [the rock]. They cooked food.'

248 *Yamata me ware yamata me kaba , me*
 yamata me waa -rI yamata me kaba+F , me
 food 3PL.S cook raised surface food 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 nf pron vt nf pron vt pron

tafi ya
 tafi.NOM ya
 wake up ADJU
 vi prt

'They cooked food. They ate food, when they woke up.'

249 *Yamata me kaba me tafi ya*
 yamata me kaba+F me tafi.NOM ya
 food 3PL.S eat 3PL.S wake up ADJU
 nf pron vt pron vi prt

'They ate food, when they woke up.'

250 *Me amo , fa , fa wati nofaramone*
 me amo.LIST , faha , faha wata nofa -ra -hamone
 3PL.S sleep water water exist recently NEG REP+F
 pron vi nf nf vi prt

haro , Foro ka fa ebote
 haaro , Foro ka faha ehebote
 that one+F Purus POSS water big
 dem npropf prt nf adj

'They also slept. "There is no river, no big Purus River."'

251 *Fa ebote wati nofaramoneni , me fanawi ati*
 faha ehebote wata nofa -ra -hamone -ni , me fanawi ati
 water big exist recently NEG REP+F BKG+F women say
 nf adj vi prt nf vt

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

'"There is no big river," the women said.'

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252 *Fa me tonaka fa me*
 faha me to- na- ka+F faha me
 water 3PL.S away CAUS go/come water 3PL.O
 nf pron vt nf pron

hikasawariamone me kamakia fa me
 hi- ka- sawari -hamone , me ka -makI+F faha me
 OC COMIT frustrate REP+F 3PL.S go/come following water 3PL.S
 vt pron vi nf pron

fawamakine haro
 fawa -makI -ne haaro
 drink following CONT+F that one+F
 vt dem

"They went to get water, but there was no river, so they came [to the place where the water is in the rock] and drank water."

253 *Fa ota kiyo nofa amake*
 faha otaa kiyo nofa+F ama -ke
 water 1EX.S chase recently SEC DECL+F
 nf pron vt prt sec

"We are always chasing water."

254 *Fa kori fa kori tokisineke*
 faha kori , faha kori to- ka -risa -ne -ke
 stream naked+F stream naked+F away go/come down CONT+F DECL+F
 nf pn nf pn vi

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

"The bare streambed is going downstream."

255 *Ha betira fa kiemete itaha te fawi nofani*
 haa betira faha kiha -hemete ita+F tee fawa nofa -hani
 DEM rock water have FP.N+F sit 2PL.S drink recently IP.N+F
 dem nf nf vt vi pron vt prt

ofawaine oke bakasi owi
 o- fawa -waha -ne o- ke , bakasi owi
 1SG.S drink change CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F thirst 1SG.S feel
 vt prt nf vt

onofa owa
 na o- nofa+F owa
 AUX 1SG.S recently 1SG.S
 aux pron

"I am drinking the water which sits [in the rock] and has a rock, because I am always thirsty."

256 *Bakasi owi onofa ama oke*
 bakasi o- awa o- nofa+F ama o- ke
 thirst 1SG.S feel 1SG.S recently SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt prt sec prt

"I am always thirsty."

257 *Fa ofi onofara bani me okoba*
 faha o- fawa o- nofa -ra+F bani me o- kaba+F
 water 1SG.S drink 1SG.S recently NEG animal 3PL.O 1SG.S eat
 nf vt prt nm pron vt

BAKAYONA

'They got water with vessels. They bathed with water that was in vessels. They bathed.'

262 *Aafi onofa ama o*
 a- afi na o- nofa+F ama o-
 DUP bathe AUX 1SG.S recently SEC 1SG.S
 vi aux sec prt

"It's been a long time since I bathed."

263 *Me afi nemetemoneke*
 me afi na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They bathed.'

264 *Me afi na me , me afi na me , me afi*
 me afi na+F me , me afi na+F me , me afi
 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron vi
ni abi ya , fa me fawa , fa
 na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya , faha me fawa+F , faha
 AUX end ADJU water 3PL.S drink water
 aux vi prt nf pron vt nf

fawematamonaka

fawa -himata -mona -ka
 drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'They bathed. When they were done bathing, they drank water. He drank water.'

265 *Betoto betoto betoto betoto nyaa fa*
 betoto betoto betoto betoto nyaa faha
 glug glug glug glug (expression of drinking pleasure) water
 sound sound sound sound interj nf
fawi etoraba ra me fafawa toine
 fawa.NFIN eheto -raba na -ra+F me fa- fawa to- ha -ne
 drink be good a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX CONT+F
 result vi aux pron vt aux

nini

na.NOM+F -ni
 AUX IP.N+F
 aux

"Glug, glug, glug, glug. Nyaa, they are drinking really good water."

266 *Yati fehe amani , yati fehe*
 yati fehe ama -ni , yati fehe
 stone water+F be BKG+F stone liquid+F
 nf pn vc nf pn

"It's water from the rock."

267 *Yati itaha fehe ota fawi nofa fa , fa bari*
 yati ita+F fehe otaa fawa nofa+F faha , faha bari
 stone sit water+F 1EX.S drink recently water water impede
 nf vi pn pron vt prt nf nf vt

kanemete

ka- na -hemete , sai -hene -he , wamimenehe
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F leak out IRR+F DUP soil HYPOTH+F
 aux vi nf

"We are drinking water which was held back long ago by the rock. If it were earth, it would leak out."

BAKAYONA

268 **Wami amara ya fa iita toemetemoneke**
 wami ama -ra+F ya faha i- ita to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 soil be NEG ADJU water DUP sit CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vc prt nf vi aux

'The water was in something that was not earth.'

269 **Yati tori kokowi nisaha ya fa itaha ra me**
 yati tori ko- kowi na -risa+F ya faha ita+F ra me
 stone inside+F DUP be deep AUX down ADJU water sit O 3PL.S
 nf pn vi aux prt nf vi prt pron

fafawa toemetemone , okiti aati
 fa- fawa to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka iti a- ati
 DUP drink CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP say
 vt aux nm vt

toematamona okobi aati toemari ama
 to- ha -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari ama
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC
 aux nm vt aux sec

'They drank water that was in the depths of the rock, my grandfather said, my father said.'

270 **Faya fa me fawa me E ka fa te**
 faya faha me fawa+F me ee ka faha tee
 so water 3PL.S drink 3PL.S 1IN POSS water 2PL.S
 conj nf pron vt pron pron prt nf pron

katomarima nahi , te afi na te
 katoma -rima na -hi tee afi na tee
 damage NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F 2PL.S bathe AUX 2PL.S
 vt aux pron vi aux pron

'They drank water. "Don't use too much of our water, when you are bathing."'

271 **Fa te kabi na te afi towiti na**
 faha tee kabi na tee afi to- na -witI.LIST na+F
 water 2PL.S dip out AUX 2PL.S bathe away AUX out AUX
 nf pron vt aux pron vi aux aux

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'"Put water in a vessel and bathe away [from the spring]."'

272 **Faya me hikanatama hikene aati**
 faya me hi- ka- na- tama hi- ke -ne a- ati
 so 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be many OC DECL+F IRR+F DUP say
 conj pron vt prt vt

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

'There were lots of people, but it didn't matter.'

273 **Aaba na toaremetemone**
 a- ahaba.LIST na to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 DUP end AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux aux

'It was never all used up.'

BAKAYONA

274 *Hibaka itariya* ?
 hibaka ita -ri -ya
 where sit CQ+F now
 interrog vi
 'Where was it?'

275 *E awara awineke*
 ee awa -ra+F awine -ke
 1IN.S see NEG seem+F DECL+F
 pron vt sec
 'Who knows?'

276 *Afa amaremete Bosao tohawaine*
 afa ama -ra -hemete Bosao to- ha -waha -ne
 this+F be NEG FP.N+F (name of place) CH be change CONT+F
 dem vc npropf vc

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

'Isn't that what is now Bosao?'

277 *Faya me kamakia me fa me fawamake*
 faya me ka -makI+F me , faha me fawa -makI
 so 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S water 3PL.S drink following
 conj pron vi pron nf pron vt
 , *hoo matafo me matafo me ti na yama*
 hoo matafo me , matafo me tii na+F , yama
 whew vine sp 3PL vine sp 3PL.S cut through AUX thing
 interj nm pron nm pron vt aux nf
wiye ya matafo me nowi niha matafo fene
 wiye ya , matafo me nowi niha- na+F , matafo fehene
 container+F ADJU vine sp 3PL.S drip CAUS AUX vine sp liquid+M
 pn prt nm pron vi aux nm pn
me fawa mato fehe mato fe me fawa faha
 me fawa+F , mato fehe , mato fe me fawa+F , faha
 3PL.S drink vine liquid+F vine liquid+F 3PL.S drink water
 pron vt nf pn nm pn pron vt nf
 , *fa watawata ri*
 faha wata- wata na -ra.NOM+F
 water DUP exist AUX NEG
 nf vi aux

'They came. They drank water. They cut *matafo* vine. They let the water drip from the *matafo* into a vessel. They drank the water of the *matafo* vine, the water of a vine. They drank the water of a vine. There was never water.'

278 *Mato fe ofi onofa*
 mato fehe o- fawa o- nofa+F ,
 vine liquid+F 1SG.S drink 1SG.S recently
 nf pn vt prt
okomakine oke
 o- ka -makI -ne o- ke
 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt
 "'I have come, because I always drink the water of a vine.'"

BAKAYONA

279 *Mato fe me fawawa toa me , fa bite*
 mato fehe me fa- fawa to- ha+F me , faha bite
 vine liquid+F 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX 3PL.S water small+F
 nf pn pron vt aux pron nf adj

me fawamake me , Fa fotoba amake
 me fawa -makI me , faha foto -haba ama -ke
 3PL.S drink following 3PL.S water appear FUT+F SEC DECL+F
 pron vt pron nf vi sec

"They always drank water of a vine. They came and drank the water of the spring. "The river will appear."

280 *Fa fotoba amani*
 faha foto -haba ama -ni
 water appear FUT+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"The river will appear."

281 *Efe me hikabematamona ama hari , yawita*
 efe me hi- kaba -himata -mona ama hari
 this+M 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M SEC that one+M
 dem pron vt sec dem yawita
 peach palm nm

"The peach palm [nut] is what they ate."

282 *Yawita kakamake yawita*
 yawita ka- ka -makI yawita
 peach palm COMIT go/come following peach palm
 nm vt nm

kawari , yawita
 ka- waa -rI+M , yawita
 COMIT cook raised surface peach palm
 vt nm

kawarimatamona
 ka- waa -rI -himata -mona
 COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

"He brought peach palm nuts. He boiled the peach palm nuts."

283 *Oof yawita fene watare oyoki*
 oof yawita fehene wata -ra+M o- yoka
 hoo peach palm water+F exist NEG 1SG.S roast on coals
 interj nm pn vi vt

onofe , yawita oyoki onofe
 o- nofa+M , yawita o- yoka o- nofa+M
 1SG.S recently peach palm 1SG.S roast on coals 1SG.S recently
 prt nm vt prt

amaka
 ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

"I always roast the peach palm nuts, because there is no water [to boil them]. I always roast the peach palm nuts."

284 *Yoke kabi eto nofe amaka*
 yoka+M kaba.NFIN eheto nofa+M ama -ka
 roast on coals eat be good recently SEC DECL+M
 result result vi prt sec

"Roasted they are very good to eat."

BAKAYONA

285 **Faya yawita yoki nofe yawita**
 faya yawita yoka nofa+M yawita
 so peach palm roast on coals recently peach palm
 conj nm vt prt nm

kakamake yawita
 ka- ka -makI yawita
 COMIT go/come following peach palm
 vt nm

kawariwahematamonane
 ka- waa -rI -waha -himata -mona -ne
 COMIT cook raised surface change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'He always roasted peach palm nuts. He brought the peach palm nuts. Now he boiled the peach palm nuts.'

286 **Faya hikaware me hikabematamona fahi**
 faya hi- ka- waa -rI me me hi- kaba -himata -mona fahi
 so OC COMIT cook raised surface 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vt pron vt dem

'He boiled them and they ate them.'

287 **Yawita me kaba bani me me kakawi**
 yawita me kaba+F bani me me ka- kawi
 peach palm 3PL.S eat animal 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat with something
 nm pron vt nm pron pron vt

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

'They ate peach palm nuts with meat.'

288 **Oof owa , owa fa tonakame , bi ,**
 oof owa owa faha to- na- ka -ma+M bihi
 hoo one+M one+M water away CAUS go/come back palm sp
 interj adj adj nf vt nf

bi boni , bi boni wareha ti
 bihi boni bihi boni waa -rI+F tii
 palm sp fruit+F palm sp fruit+F stand raised surface cut through
 nf pn nf pn vi vt

nakosa , noki bobi nakosi amosa ya me ka
 na -kosa.LIST noki bobi na -kosa.NFIN amosa+F ya me ka
 AUX middle end+F slit AUX middle be good ADJU 3PL POSS
 aux pn result aux vi prt pron prt

fa wiye toha hawa , hawa boni hawa
 faha wiye to- ha+F hawa hawa hawa boni hawa
 water container+F CH AUX palm sp palm sp fruit+F palm sp
 nf pn vc nf nf pn nf

boni yaboha , hawa , hawa fa kanaha , yara
 boni yabo+F hawa hawa faa ka- na+F yara
 fruit+F be long palm sp palm sp open COMIT AUX split
 pn vi nf nf vi aux vi

kanaha , fa kabi kane , fa kakiba
 ka- na+F faha kabi ka- na+M faha ka- iba.LIST
 COMIT AUX water dip out COMIT AUX water COMIT set down
 aux nf vt aux nf vt

BAKAYONA

hinaka honofe ya fa yoto kane ahi ,
 hinaka honofe ya faha yoto ka- na+M ahi
 3SG.POSS plant sp ADJU water cover COMMIT AUX then
 pron nm prt nf result aux dem

tafehimatamonaka

tafa -himata -mona -ka
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'One of them went for water. He cut off a *bihi* bract where it was attached to the palm. If the end is sliced right, it becomes their vessel for water. The *hawa* palm sheath, which is long, which opens, and splits. He got water in the vessel. He put it on the ground. He covered his water with his wild banana leaf. He ate.'

289 **Tafe** , **Oko** **fa** **yoto** **kana** **oko** **fa**
 tafa+M o- ka faha yoto ka- na+F o- ka faha
 eat 1SG.POSS POSS water cover COMMIT AUX 1SG.POSS POSS water
 vi prt nf result aux prt nf

saibe

sai -be
 leak out IMMED+F
 vi

'He ate. "My water is covered, it's going to leak out."'

290 **Fa** **sairaba** **awinekene**
 faha sai -ra -haba awine -ke -ne
 water leak out NEG FUT+F seem+F DECL+F IRR+F
 nf vi sec

""The water won't leak out.""

291 **Fa** **yoto** **kanakene**
 faha yoto ka- na -ke -ne
 water cover COMMIT AUX DECL+F IRR+F
 nf result aux

""The water is covered.""

292 **Yama** **boni** **atari** **bayia** **aware** **awane**
 yama boni atari bayi+F awa -ra+M awa -ne
 thing fruit+F nail+F be thick see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 nf pn vi result sec

""The sheath is thick.""

293 **Bakasi** **e** **awibe**
 bakasi ee awa -be
 thirst 1IN.S feel IMMED+F
 nf pron vt

""We are going to be thirsty.""

294 **E** **aawa** **nofara** **ama**
 ee a- awa na nofa -ra+F ama
 1IN.S DUP feel AUX recently NEG SEC
 pron vt prt sec

""We have been thirsty.""

295 **Bakasi** **e** **awi** **nofarake** , **fa** **bite** **kaya**
 bakasi ee awa nofa -hara -ke faha bite kaya
 thirst 1IN.S feel recently IP.E+F DECL+F water small+F lie
 nf pron vt prt nf adj vi

BAKAYONA

nimetenari

na -mete -naari
 AUX FP.N+F ?
 aux

"We have always been thirsty, it's great to have this spring."

296 *Fa bite e bako se namakineke*
 faha bite ee bako see na -makI -ne -ke
 water small+F 1IN.POSS chest open AUX following CONT+F DECL+F
 nf adj pron pn vt aux

"The bit of water wets our insides."

297 *Himatabiyo fa fawa nemete ?*
 himatabiyo faha fawa na -hemete
 why water disappear AUX FP.N+F
 interrog nf vi aux

"Why did the river disappear?"

298 *Nafi fawa ni ya himata e fawene e*
 nafi fawa na.NOM+F ya himata ee fawa -hene ee
 all disappear AUX ADJU what? 1IN.S drink IRR+F 1IN.S
 pn vi aux prt interrog pron vt pron

amari ?

ama -ri
 SEC CQ+F
 sec

"If it all disappeared, what would we drink?"

299 *Fa me wasihemete me ka fa isi ni*
 faha me wasi -hemete me ka faha isi ni
 water 3PL.S find FP.N+F 3PL POSS water little bit
 nf pron vt pron prt nf pn

ofamakine o
 o- fawa -makI -ne o-
 1SG.S drink following CONT+F 1SG.S
 vt prt

"I am drinking a little of the water that they found here."

300 *Faha nafira aaba tera*
 faha nafi -ra+F a- ahaba na -tee -ra+F
 water be big NEG DUP end AUX HAB NEG
 nf vi vi aux

"The water is not big, but it never is used up."

301 *Me fawa ni ya aba me , awa me kaka*
 me fawa na.NOM+F ya aba me , awa me kaka
 3PL.S disappear AUX ADJU fish 3PL tree 3PL.S DUP chop
 pron vi aux prt nm pron nf pron vt

toemete me ka awa owama si
 to- ha -hemete me ka awa o- awa -ma+F sii
 CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL POSS tree 1SG.S see back stand
 aux pron prt nf vt vi

tonarake tafe wawata raro
 to- na -hara -ke , tafe wawata na -ra -haaro
 CH AUX IP.E+F DECL+F crops+F DUP exist AUX NEG IP.E+F
 aux pn vi aux

"They are gone, and I am seeing the trees that they cut down lying on the ground here, and there is nothing

BAKAYONA

planted."

302 *Faya me hora na me , me hora*
 faya me hora na+F me , me hora
 so 3PL.S exclam AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S exclam
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke

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

"They exclaimed.'

303 *Me hora na me me hora ni saiha me*
 me hora na me me hora na.NFIN sai+F me
 3PL.S exclam AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S exclam AUX be heard 3PL.POSS
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux vi pron

, *Hibaka me tokarimeteya*

hibaka me to- ka -ri -mete -ya
 where 3PL.S away go/come CQ+F FP.N+F now
 interrog pron vi

"They could be heard exclaiming. "Where did they go?"

304 *Me tokariwahemete me awine kowani ka ya*
 me to- ka -riwaha -hemete me awine kowani ka ya
 3PL.S away go/come across FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F other side LOC ADJU
 pron vi pron sec nf prt prt

."They must have gone across to the other side [of the river]."

305 *Me wina me awine kowani ya*
 me wina+F me awine kowani ya
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F other side ADJU
 pron vi pron sec nf prt

."They must be living on the other side."

306 *Kowani me winihinihini , me ka , me ka koyari*
 kowani me wina -hinihini , me ka , me ka koyari
 other side 3PL.S live NEG+F 3PL POSS 3PL POSS paddle
 nf pron vi pron prt pron prt nm

koyari yama ni awemako

koyari yama na.NFIN awa+M -mako
 paddle work on AUX see for this reason+M
 nm result aux vt voice be BKG+M
 pn vc

."They don't live on the other side," one of them said, because he saw their paddle stuff.'

307 *Koyari yama ni so kanikime ibe waka ni*
 koyari yama na.NFIN soo na -kanikima+M ibe waka na.NFIN
 paddle work on AUX lie AUX scattered piece break AUX
 nm result aux vi aux pn vi aux

ahi , koyari owa hetete nari ahi
 ahi , koyari owa hete -te na -haari ahi
 then paddle other+M be stuck DUP AUX IP.E+M then
 dem nm adj vi aux dem

."There are pieces of broken paddles scattered on the ground, and other paddles stuck in the rafters."

BAKAYONA

308 *Me tokisemete me onarake*
 me to- ka -risa -hemete me ati o- na -hara -ke
 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vt

ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

"I think they went downstream."

309 *Me tokisimete amake ahi , me ati*
 me to- ka -risa.NOM+F -mete ama -ke ahi , me ati
 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F be DECL+F there 3PL.S say
 pron vi vc dem pron vt

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

"They went downstream," they said.'

310 *Afa ama faro* .
 afa ama faaro
 this+F be that+F
 dem vc dem

"That's it."

311 *Nisori , anoti* ,
 nisori anoti
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS older brother
 nm nm

anoti fare kakatoma na hiemata
 anoti fare ka- katoma.LIST na hi- to- ha -himata
 3SG.POSS older brother same+M DUP attack AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+M
 nm dem vt aux aux

ehene me tohate me awineke , fari ,
 ehene me to- ha -tee me awine -ke , faari ,
 result of+M 3PL.S CH be HAB 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F that one+M
 pn pron vc pron sec dem

ee , Bakayona .
 ee Bakayona
 yes (man's name)
 interj npropm

"This happened to them because of Bakayona, the younger brother whose older brother killed him."

312 *Bakayona ehene me toha me awineke*
 Bakayona ehene me to- ha+F me awine -ke
 (man's name) result of+M 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 npropm pn pron vc pron sec

fari .
 faari
 that one+M
 dem

"This happened to them because of Bakayona."

BAKAYONA

313	Bakayona Bakayona (man's name) npropm	,	Bakayona Bakayona (man's name) npropm	,	me me 3PL.S pron	aafo a- afo DUP blow snuff into vt			
	hiemata hi- to- ha -himata OC CH AUX FP.N+M aux		anoti anoti 3SG.POSS older brother nm		bobi bobi slit vt	hikanise hi- ka- na -risa+M OC COMIT AUX down aux			
	anoti anoti 3SG.POSS older brother nm		tabasi tabasi roast on grill vt		hine hi- na+M OC AUX aux	,	fa faha water nf		

nasaikenoho
na- sai -ke -no -ho
CAUS be empty DECL+F IP.N+M DUP
vt

"The others blew snuff into Bakayona [to make him a shaman] and his older brother slit his back and roasted him, and he made the water go away."

314	Owato o- wato 1SG.S know vt	,	oka o- ka 1SG.S DECL+M prt
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"I know him."

315	Owato o- wato 1SG.S know vt	,	owaha o- na -waha.LIST 1SG.S AUX change aux
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"Now I know him."

316	Me fanawi me fanawi women nf	,	yoyoko yo- yoko DUP bring misfortune on vt	,	hiematamona hi- to- ha -himata -mona OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux
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"The women caused him to suffer."

317	Anoti anoti 3SG.POSS older brother nm	,	bobi bobi slit vt	,	hikanisematamona hi- ka- na -risa -himata -mona OC COMIT AUX down FP.N+M REP+M aux
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"His older brother slit his back."

318	Hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	,	sehoti sehoti saw nf	,	wina wina+F hang vi	,	hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	,	sehoti sehoti saw nf	,	wina wina+F hang vi	,	amake ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec	,	fara fara same+F dem
	,	fa faa that dem	,	tenenemata tenene -mata grill+M FP.N+M pn	,	wai waa.NOM stand vi	,	ya ya ADJU prt							

"His saw is hanging there. His saw is hanging there where his grill is."

319	Kai kaha.NFIN be toasted vi	,	bote bote old adj	,	itaririhi ita -rihi sit raised surface NEG.LIST vi
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BAKAYONA

""There are no old pieces of his charred meat.""

320	Faya	kamaki		mera	awebona	me	tabori
	faya	ka	-makI+M	mera	awa -hibona	me	tabori
	so	go/come	following	3PL.O	see INT+M	3PL.POSS	place+F
	conj	vi		pron	vt	pron	pn

wasimakematamona

wasi -makI -himata -mona
find following FP.N+M REP+M
vt

'He came. He wanted to see them, and he came upon their village.'

321	Me	tabori	toarake			
	me	tabori	to- ha -hara -ke			
	3PL.POSS	place+F	CH be IP.E+F DECL+F			
	pron	pn	vc			

""This is their village.""

322	Me	tabori	toa	me	,	me	awara	me
	me	tabori	to- ha+F	me		me	awa -ra+F	me
	3PL.POSS	place+F	CH be	3PL.POSS		3PL.S	see NEG	3PL.S
	pron	pn	vc	pron		pron	result	pron

fawa nineke

fawa na -ne -ke
disappear AUX CONT+F DECL+F
vi aux

""This is their village. They aren't here, they are gone.""

323	Me	ka	yama	bote	so	kanikimamone		tinani
	me	ka	yama	bote	soo	na -kanikima -hamone	ati ti-	na -hani
	3PL	POSS	thing	old	lie	AUX scattered REP+F	say 2SG.S	AUX IP.N+F
	pron	prt	nf	adj	vi	aux	vt	

yama nafi me towakisemete me ka yama
yama nafi me to- ka- ka -risa -hemete me ka yama
thing all 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come down FP.N+F 3PL POSS thing
nf pn pron vt pron prt nf

koyari waka ni yama yiwaha yama yama
koyari waka na.NFIN yama yiwaha yama yama
paddle break AUX thing pot thing work on
nm vi aux nf nf nf result

tehanihi

na -tee -hani -hi
AUX HAB IP.N+F DUP
aux

""They took all their things, and their old things are scattered on the ground: broken paddles, pots, and other things that were made.""

324	Yiwaha	,	yiwaha	,	yiwaha	yokana	,	yiwaha	yokana	,	yiwaha	yokana
	yiwaha		yiwaha		yiwaha	yokana		yiwaha	yokana		yiwaha	yokana
	pot		pot		pot	true		pot	true		pot	true
	nf		nf		nf	adj		nf	adj		nf	adj

waka nani	ibe	ita	,	yiwa tebe	,	yiwa tebeba	yama
waka na -hani	ibe	ita.LIST		yiwaha tebe		yiwaha tebe -ba	yama
break AUX IP.N+F	piece	sit		ceramic pot		ceramic pot FUT	make
vi aux	pn	vi		nf		nf	result

BAKAYONA

nemete , **nabowanihi** **ita** **awa** **fore** ,
na -hemete na- aboha -hani -hi ita.LIST awa forI.LIST ,
AUX FP.N+F CAUS die IP.N+F DUP sit tree lie on top
aux vt vi nf vi

narake
na -hara -ke
AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
aux

"Pots, cooking pots. Pieces of broken pots are on the ground. There is also a stick on top."

325 **Me yana tonemete fahi** .
me yana to- na -hemete fahi
3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F then
pron vi aux dem

"They left."

326 **Me ihi owimakoni owati**
me ihi o- awa -makoni o- ati
3PL.POSS result of+F 1SG.S see for this reason+F 1SG.POSS voice
pron pn vt pn

amake
ama -ke
be DECL+F
vc

"I'm saying this because I see what they made."

327 **Me me ka koyari yama ni owahareka** .
me me ka koyari yama na.NFIN o- awa -hare -ka
3PL 3PL POSS paddle work on AUX 1SG.S see IP.E+M DECL+M
pron pron prt nm result aux vt

"I saw the pieces of their paddles."

328 **Yama yama tehani ibe so so** ,
yama yama na -tee -hani ibe soo soo
thing work on AUX HAB IP.N+F piece lie lie
nf result aux pn vi vi

kanikimarani , **ibe awahabonehe me**
na -kanikima -hara -ni , ibe awa -habone -he me
AUX scattered IP.E+F BKG+F piece see INT+F DUP 3PL.S
aux pn result pron

hinehete , **ee** , **yama ibe mawawa naro ahi**
ati hi- na -hete , ee , yama ibe mawa -wa na -haaro ahi
say OC AUX RP.N+F yes thing piece be red DUP AUX IP.E+F then
vt interj nf pn vi aux dem

"The red pieces of stuff they made are scattered on the ground because they wanted them to be seen."

329 **Ibe mawawa na yama tehanihi** , **ibe so**
ibe mawa -wa na+F , yama na -tee -hani -hi , ibe soo
piece be red DUP AUX make AUX HAB IP.N+F DUP piece lie
pn vi aux result aux pn vi

kanikimarake
na -kanikima -hara -ke
AUX scattered IP.E+F DECL+F
aux

"Red pieces of stuff they made are scattered on the ground."

BAKAYONA

330 *Waso* , *waso* , *waso* , *waso* *kini* *nima* , *waso* *kini* *nima* *yama*
 waso , waso , waso , waso kini nima , waso kini nima yama
 leaf leaf leaf leaf green like leaf green like thing
 nf nf nf nf adj prt nf adj prt nf
 , *yama* *ni* *na* *bayira* , *so* *kanikimarake*
 yama na.NFIN na+F bayi -ra+F , soo na -kanikima -hara -ke
 make AUX AUX be thick NEG lie AUX scattered IP.E+F DECL+F
 result aux aux vi vi aux

"Something thin like new leaves is scattered on the ground."

331 *Me* *toiya* , *me* *toiya* *me* *awineke*
 me to- hiya+F , me to- hiya+F me awine -ke
 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi pron sec
 , *Bakayona* *ehene* *Bakayona*
 Bakayona ehene Bakayona
 (man's name) because of+M (man's name)
 npropm post npropm

"They turned into something else because of Bakayona."

332 *Bakayona* , *Bakayona* *mera* *tonahiye*
 Bakayona , Bakayona mera to- na- hiya+M
 (man's name) (man's name) 3PL.O CH CAUS be different
 npropm npropm pron vt
awaka *me* *aafo* *hiemata*
 awa -ka me a- afo hi- to- ha -himata
 seem+M DECL+M 3PL.S DUP blow snuff into OC CH AUX FP.N+M
 sec pron vt aux

"Bakayona changed them, after they blew snuff into him."

333 *Mera* *tonahiye* *awaka* , *owati* *ati*
 mera to- na- hiya+M awa -ka , o- ati ati
 3PL.O CH CAUS be different seem+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS voice say
 pron vt sec pn vt
nara *oni*
 na -hara o- ni
 AUX IP.E+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 aux prt

"I say he changed them."

334 *Yama* *era* *totonahiya* *amake*
 yama era to- to- na- hiya ama -ke
 thing 1IN.O DUP CH CAUS be different be DECL+F
 nf pron pn vc

"People can change into something else that way."

335 *Mera* *tokanahiyeno* *awaka* , *me*
 mera to- ka- na- hiya -hino awa -ka , me
 3PL.O CH COMIT CAUS be different IP.N+M seem+M DECL+M 3PL.S
 pron vt sec pron
hinabowahari
 hi- na- aboha -haari
 OC CAUS die IP.E+M
 vt

"He changed them into something else, because they killed him."

BAKAYONA

- 336 *Me hinabowe hinaka sehoti ini amaama*
 me hi- na- aboha+M , hinaka sehoti ini ama- ama
 3PL.S OC CAUS die 3SG.POSS saw blade+F DUP be bloody
 pron vt pron nf pn vi
- na winarake ahi anoti*
 na+F wina -hara -ke ahi , anoti
 AUX hang IP.E+F DECL+F there 3SG.POSS older brother
 aux vi dem nm
- nisori bobi kanisano karo*
 nisori bobi ka- na -risa.NOM+M -no karo
 3SG.POSS.younger brother slit COMIT AUX down IP.N+M which+F
 nm vt aux prt
- "They killed him. His saw, its blade red with blood, is hanging there, the one he used to slash his younger brother's back."
- 337 *Fati hiyokorawa hika*
 fati hi- yoko -rawa.LIST hi- ka
 3SG.POSS.wife OC bring misfortune on F.PL OC DECL+M
 nf vt prt
- fati fatirawaha*
 fati fati -rawa -ha
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife F.PL DUP
 nf nf
- "His wives caused him to suffer."
- 338 *Fatirawa hiyokorawa hine*
 fati -rawa hi- yoko -rawa.LIST hi- na+M
 3SG.POSS.wife F.PL OC bring misfortune on F.PL OC AUX
 nf vt aux
- "His wives caused him to suffer."
- 339 *Hiwa hiwa abaka*
 hiwa hiwa ahaba -ka
 only.M only.M die DECL+M
 pron pron vi
- "Let him die."
- 340 *Faya me yama hineno ati saihare ahi*
 faya me yama hi- na -hino ati sai -hare ahi
 so 3PL.S make OC AUX IP.N+M voice be heard IP.E+M then
 conj pron vt aux pn vi dem
- "The voice of the one they made can be heard."
- 341 *Me yama hineno ati saiareka ahi*
 me yama hi- na -hino ati sai -hare -ka ahi
 3PL.S make OC AUX IP.N+M voice be heard IP.E+M DECL+M then
 pron vt aux pn vi dem
- inohowe inohowe enete kayaboari*
 inohowe inohowe enete ka- yabo -haari
 alligator sp alligator sp jaw+M COMIT be long IP.E+M
 nm nm pn vi
- "The voice of the one they made can be heard, the alligator, with the long jaw."
- 342 *Hofe ati saiharene*
 hofa+M ati sai -hare -ne
 be in water voice be heard IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi pn vi

BAKAYONA

"He is in the water, and his voice can be heard."

343 Obe	obe	obe	ati
obe	obe	obe	ati
(call of alligator)	(call of alligator)	(call of alligator)	say
sound	sound	sound	vt

nareka

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

"He says, 'Obe.'"

344 Me	tokisaroni	ati	narene	ati
me	to- ka -risa -haro -ni	ati	na -hare -ne	ati
3PL.S	away go/come down RP.E+F BKG+F	say	AUX IP.E+M BKG+M	voice
pron	vi	vt	aux	pn

omitari

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

"'They went downstream,' he says. I heard him."

345 Nisori	hinahiyemata
nisori	hi- to- na- hiya -himata
3SG.POSS.younger brother	OC CH CAUS be different FP.N+M
nm	vt

nisori	kabahi	nisori
nisori	kaba+M	nisori
3SG.POSS.younger brother	eat	3SG.POSS.younger brother
nm	vt	nm

hinahiyemata	,	winabisebona	ati	ne
hi- to- na- hiya -himata	,	wina -bisa -hibona	ati	na+M
OC CH CAUS be different FP.N+M		live also INT+M	say	AUX
vt		vi	vt	aux

winareka

wina -hare -ka
live IP.E+M DECL+M
vi

"His younger brother, who he ate, changed him. He lives there because he told him to."

346 Hiba	,	ebe	,	ebe	inohowe	ino	?
hiba	,	ebe	,	ebe	inohowe	ino	
wait		dear		dear	alligator sp	name+M	
interj		voc		voc	nm	pn	

'Wait a minute. Dear, what is the name of the alligator?'

347 Ee	,	Bakayona
ee	,	Bakayona
yes		(man's name)
interj		npropm

'Right, Bakayona.'

348 Ee	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona
ee	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona
yes		(man's name)		(man's name)		(man's name)		(man's name)
interj		npropm		npropm		npropm		npropm

