Free Translation

Note: (1) In this story there are various groups attacking various other groups, and it difficult in some cases to determine exactly which group Siko is talking about. (2) Siko mentions the names of some of his relatives at the end, but they do not actually participate in the events of the story, so I have classified it as a traditional story.

Our relatives spoke like us. They spoke the same as us. They fought each other over women. They cut in before others to marry women. They cast spells on each other.

He married. A jaguar bit his wife's head off. He was sleepy. He lay there and had sex with his wife. He slept with his wife. He didn't know it, but he was in the hammock with his headless wife.

He woke up. "Oh no, I have been lying in the hammock with my wife in this state. Something killed my wife." The jaguar had killed someone.

Then her mother cried.

"Yes, something attacked my wife. Someone is responsible for this," he said.

They had formerly been fighting among themselves. They broke off relations with each other and began to fight each other. They used to be many, but they disappeared. They went into the forest. They are the ones who the Banawás found. There are many Banawás today. They were going to fight each other. They argued, and fought each other. They planned against each other. They fought each other. They coated arrows with iha poison. They coated arrows, and fought each other. They killed each other all day long. They shot each other with arrows.

"When my daughter was alive long ago..."¹⁶⁵

The first group arrived.

"I don't know. I guess she escaped. They went running away," said a woman of the man's daughter's village.

Then his daughter appeared. "There comes my daughter."

"Did you escape?"

"I escaped. Father, they killed my husband."

"Oh no."

"They killed my husband, and I went running after the others. I have come here," she said. "I guess they killed my son-in-law. My son-in-law married my daughter."

Then they spoke. "They aren't anymore. They all died," said his daughter.

Others of her village went into the forest and came out at another place, and stayed there. "Weren't you prepared?"

"Yes, we were prepared."

"Me. Go ahead and kill me."¹⁶⁶

Many young men carried bows and arrows. They went there carrying bows and arrows.

¹⁶⁵ The man's daughter's village was attacked, and he thought his daughter had been killed.

¹⁶⁶ The man was making a show of bravery, addressing their enemies, who were not present.

Their voices could be heard. They were many.

"Someone is coming," they said.

They didn't fight at night. They fought during the day, so they could watch out. One of them went there. Right away someone cried out because he had shot him with an arrow.

They shot them with arrows. Tiii, the people of the village were running. The ones who survived pulled out arrows from the dead ones. They also shot the ones who lived in other houses nearby. They shot them with arrows, and they died.

When they had all died, they carried them off. They were in a pile. All the women died. They uncovered the vaginas of the women and the girls. They uncovered their vaginas as they lay on the ground dead.

They spoke. "Father, Father."

"Huh?"

"Father, look at the big vaginas. You shot my vagina with an arrow."¹⁶⁷

"Cut it out. Put it on your penis, so you can be with her. Let it rot."

Some of them survived, and they started out and went to another village. They all got together.

"They are really something. Some of them died. They didn't all die. We will shoot the ones that are left with arrows. We shot them with arrows."

Then they went there again. They came back, and slept. They left in the morning and went there again. They fought again, and some of them died.

They fought many times, because there were many of them. They shot each other with arrows. Half of them died.

They wanted to fight against the same group again. They fought them again. They killed them again. They shot them with arrows again.

Some of them escaped. They escaped because their arrows were all gone.

When they went there, "Let's go. Some of them got away, because the arrows are all gone."

The people of the village went running away. They ran after them. He hit one of them with one arrow. They shot arrows. He said he would be fierce. He hit away the arrows as they shot them. He hit away the arrows, and didn't die.

They started out, and they came home. They arrived back.

"Well, what about them? Did they die?"

"They didn't all die. Some escaped."

"May they not survive. May they die, all of them."

So they went after them again. They wanted to kill them, and they shot them with arrows. They fought each other, and shot each other with arrows. They kept going to them. Finally they died.

"Come on, some of them are still alive. They went running away. They escaped. They will gather themselves together." Some of them escaped.

They came back, and arrived back. The last ones were different than the other ones. They hated each other. They died on many occasions, because they were shooting each other with arrows.

Their women were not small, they were large. They came back, and arrived back.

They fought each other. They went there, and they shot them with arrows again. Some of them escaped again. There were many people. When they left, the Banawás saw them. They didn't die. They fought with each other. They killed each other. They almost all died. Where do their other people live?

They stopped fighting among themselves, and they came back. They arrived back. They

¹⁶⁷ He meant that he had wanted to marry the girl, but his father had shot and killed her.

didn't stop fighting among themselves. We are their descendents. Their older brothers didn't fight much. Not many of them died. Then they stopped fighting. They stopped fighting, and lived together. Then the fighting stopped. They were at peace with each other.

My father wasn't born yet. Before my father was born, my grandfather and the others fought. My grandfather was living there, when he was a teenager, with his father and the others.

The Yiwa Me Fawa Kani people lived there. They caught fish with their hands. They planted gardens. When they were in the stream, they disappeared. The others came and lived in their village. They ate their crops. They ate yams. They didn't come back. They live in the depths of the water. They didn't come back. Their wives went there, too, and they didn't come back either, along with their children. They are there in the pool, at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani. They lived in their village, living by their crops. They lived there, and ate all their crops. They started living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.

The original inhabitants of Yiwa Me Fawa Kani burned their gardens, and planted their gardens, and then they did a bad thing. They planted their gardens, and then did a bad thing. They disappeared. Their wives came after them. "Let's go see them." They wanted to go after them, and they went into the water. They went after them. "Let's all go after them quickly." They all went after them. They would not come back. They were carrying the children in slings. They took them into the depths of the water.

Amoro, Siko's wife: Into the depths of the water?

Yes, into the depths of the water, the small children, the little boys. They were like you. Then the others started living in their village. They lived there.

A spirit told about the ones who disappeared. The spirit told about them. "Some of your relatives disappeared," the spirit said.

"What a thing, they disappeared. We will live here with their crops. We will come here to live. We live in a place that is not good for living."

"Come here. They don't live here anymore. Their crops are there. You eat their crops," the spirit said.

Then they lived there. After that was the time of my father. My father was not yet born. But my grandfather was alive, also my uncle and the others. I am trying to remember his name. Taori, my uncle's name was Taori. Taori was really old. So they lived there in their village, eating aba fish. They lived with the aba fish. Then my father and the others grew up. Also my uncle Kawi Yife, and their younger brother Kabiri, and my father Botehefo.

Interlinear Presentation

1	1 <i>Ee ee</i>		ota one	me me		ati	aamosa					
	ee	ee	otaa one	me	me	ati	a- amosa					
	(pause)	(pause)	our relatives	3pl	3PL.POSS	voice	DUP be good					
	interj	interj	nf	pron	pron	pn	vi					
toe	metemoneke											
to	- ha -he	mete -mon	e -ke									
СН	AUX FP.	N+F REP+	F DECL+F									
au	aux											
'Oι	Our relatives spoke like us.'											

2 Haha ota ati nima me ati na me fara na+F haaha otaa ati nima me ati me fara this+F 1EX.POSS voice 3PL.POSS like voice 3PL.POSS same+F AUX prt dem pron pn pron pn aux pron dem me abe kakako toemetemone me fanawi ka- kaako to- ha -hemete -mone DUP be angry with CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F abe me fanawi me 3PL.POSS RECIP women vt aux nf pron pn ihi . ihi because of+F post

'They spoke the same as us. They fought each other over women.'

3 Me far		,	me fa		me	ka	abe		ka	yibotebo			me	
me fa	anawi		me f	anawi	me	ka	abe		ka	yibote	-bo	ne	me	
womer	r		wome	n	3pi	POSS	S RECI	Р	POSS	wife	INT	+F	3PL.S	3
nf			nf		pro	n prt	pn		prt	nf			pron	
kakahiti			na	me		me	ka ,		me	abe		tokat	owiha	
ka- kah	iti		na	me	,	me	ka Ś		me	abe		to-	katov	√i+F
DUP tak	e firs	st	AUX	3PL.S		3PL	POSS		3PL.PO	SS REC	ΙP	CH	fight	5
vt			aux	pron		pron	prt		pron	pn		vt		
me		me		abe	1	tokatowih	1a	m	ie	abe	,			
me	,	me		abe	1	to- kat	towi+F	m	е	abe	,			
3PL.POS	S	3PI	.POSS	RECIE	P (CH fiq	ght	3	PL.POS	S RECI	Ρ			
pron		pro	n	pn	7	vt		р	ron	pn				
kahabanal	ha		me	ka	. j	fati			hitiha	,	nam	iti	ra	,
ka- h	abana-	+F	me	ka		fati			hi- it		nam	iti	ra	,
COMIT o	rder		3pl	POSS		3SG.POS	SS.wife		OC ma	rry	nec	k	0	
vt			pron	prt	1	nf			vt		pn		prt	
yome	yai		nak	osematam	ional	ka				ahi .				
yomee	yai		na	-kosa	-	himata	-mona	-k	a	ahi				
jaguar	bite	of	E AUX	K middl	e F	P.N+M	REP+M	DE	CL+M	then				
nm	vt		aux	K						dem				

'They cut in before others to marry women. They fought over women. They cast spells on each other. He married. A jaguar bit his wife's head off.'

4	<i>Nokobisa</i> nokobisa sleepiness nf	<i>awahi</i> awa+M feel vt	,	nokobisa nokobisa sleepiness nf		va+M eel		orI Le on t	op	<i>fati</i> fati 3SG.POSS nf	S.wife	
<i>yor</i> yo: ha		ne na+M AUX	,	<i>fati</i> fati 3SG.POSS.wife	е	<i>amo</i> amo sleej	р	kaneno ka- COMIT	na AUX	-hino IP.N+M	,	
vt		aux		nf		vi		aux				
fati		kote	ta	korenoho					,	fati		kote
fa	ti	kote	ta	akora		-h	ind	o -ho	,	fati		kote
3S(G.POSS.wife	piece	b	e in hammock	wi	th IP	.N-	+M DUP		3SG.POSS	S.wife	piece
nf		pn	V	t						nf		pn
tak	orematamonaka					_						
ta	kora	-h	ima	ata -mona -ka								
be	in hammock	with FP	.N+	-M REP+M DEC	L+l	Ν						

vt vt

'He was sleepy. He lay there and had sex with his wife. He slept with his wife. He didn't know it, but he was in the hammock with his headless wife.'

5	Fati	kote	takore	,	tafi	,
	fati	kote	takora+M		tafi+M	
	3SG.POSS.wife	piece	be in hammock with		wake up	
	nf	pn	vt		vi	
taf	ihimatamonaka		·			
ta	fi -himata -	-mona -ka	a			
wa	ke up FP.N+M F	REP+M DE	CL+M			
vt						
1	• • • • •	1 1	1 11 'C TT 1			

'He was in the hammock with his headless wife. He woke up.'

6	Tafi				000	oko			J	yibo	ote .		е		na
	taf	i+M	Ι	<i>,</i>	000	0-		ka		yi]	bote Ó		ee		na+F
	wak	e u	р		oh no	1SC	G.POSS	PO	SS	wi	fe		be simi	lar	AUX
	vi				inter	j prt	5		1	nf			vi		aux
01	takorin	e							onihi						
0	-	tał	kora	a			-ne		0-		na.NOM+	F	-ni	-hi	
1	SG.S	be	in	ha	mmock	with	CONT+1	F	1SG.	S.	AUX		IP.N+F	DUP	
v	t								aux						

'He woke up. "Oh no, I have been lying in the hammock with my wife in this state."

7	Oka		yibote	yama					
	0-	ka	yibote	yama	na-	aboha	-ke	-ni	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	thing	CAUS	die	DECL+F	IP.N+F	
	prt		nf	nf	vt				
"'S	omothing kil	led my v	vifo "						

"Something killed my wife."

8 Fay fay so	ya	<i>yome</i> yomee jaguar nm	<i>ene</i> ehen vict pn	ne cim of	E+M	<i>iti</i> iti+M exist vi	-	ne mee guar	,	<i>ene</i> ehene victim pn	of+M	<i>iti</i> iti+M exist vi	,
<i>faya</i> faya so conj 'The jag	nf	POSS.moth	er (ohi cry vi	na AUX aux		REP+I		J+F	<i>fahi</i> fahi then dem			

9 Faya	mati		ohi	na		Ee	ee		oko	
faya	mati		ohi	na+F	,	ee	ee	,	0-	ka
SO	3SG.PG	OSS.mother	cry	AUX		yes	yes		1SG.POSS	POSS
conj	nf		vi	aux		interj	interj		prt	
yibote	yama	katominihi								
yibote	yama	katoma.NOM	1+F – n	i -	-hi					
wife	thing	attack	IF	.N+F I	DUP					
nf	nf	vt.								

nf nf vt 'Her mother cried. "Yes, something attacked my wife."'

10	Ме	ati	ihi	amake								
	me	ati	ihi	ama -ke								
	3PL.POSS	voice	result of+F	be DECL+F								
	pron	pn	pn	VC								
'''S	"Someone is responsible for this."											

11	Ме	ati	ihi	amani	ati	nematamonaka	
	me	ati	ihi	ama -ni	ati	na -himata -mona -ka	
	3PL.POSS	voice	result of+F	be BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
	pron	pn	pn	VC	vt	aux	
1110	omoono is nos	noncible f	on this " he said !				

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"Someone is responsible for this," he said.'

12 *Me* me abe me abe kakako ka- kaako me me abe me abe DUP be angry with 3pl 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.POSS RECIP pron pron pn pron pn vt. toamatemetemoneke to- ha -mata -hemete -mone -ke CH AUX short time FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'They had formerly been fighting among themselves.'

kakoa 13 *Me* abe abe momowa me me kaako+F me abe me me abe mo- mowa 3PL.POSS RECIP be angry with 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP fight vt vt pron pn pron pron pn nawa toemetemoneni na -waha to- ha -hemete -mone -ni AUX change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux aux

'They broke off relations with each other and began to fight each other.'

14 *Fava* me tatama toemetemone me fawa ta- tama to- ha -hemete -mone faya me me fawa DUP be many CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S disappear so 3PL.S conj pron vi aux vi pron kine na -ne ka-COMIT AUX CONT+F aux 'They used to be many, but they disappeared.' 15 Me tokimetemone amake ahi ama -ke to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone me ahi away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F 3PL.S then pron vi VC dem 'They went into the forest.' 16 Afa mera bato yafi me me wasihemetemoneke afa mera bato yafi me me wasi -hemete -mone -ke this+F 3PL.O Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S find FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron dem pron npropm pron vt 'They are the ones who the Banawás found.' 17 Rato vafi me tama me awineke

1/	Баю уајі	me	iama	me	ашпеке	
	bato yafi	me	tama+F	me	awine	-ke
	Banawá	3PL.S	be many	3PL.S	seem+F	DECL+F
	npropm	pron	vi	pron	sec	
'Th	oro oro mony P	anowóg !				

'There are many Banawás.

18 Faya	me	abe	mowa	naba		me		abe	ati	yana
faya	me	abe	mowa	na -	-haba	me		abe	ati	yana
SO	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX H	FUT+F	3PL.PC	SS	RECI	P voice	start
conj	pron	pn	vt	aux		pron		pn	pn	vi
kana	me		me	abe	mome	owa	toem	etemo	ne	
ka- na	+F me	,	me	abe	mo-	mowa	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone
COMIT AU	X 3PL.PC	DSS	3PL.POSS	RECIP	DUP	fight	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F
aux	pron		pron	pn	vt		aux			

Iml	C. 1. 1 1 1	ml	1 (
I nev were going to	fight each other.	I nev argued, and	d fought each other.'

19 Me me 3PL.POSS pron	abe w RECIP p	v ati Vati Olan agair Vt	kar ka nst COI au:	- na+F MIT AUX	<i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS pron	<i>abe</i> abe RECIP pn	mowa mowa fight vt	na na+F AUX aux
me,	wati n	ne wer	e na	iha	ya	wati	me	were
me	wati m	ne wei	re na+	F iha	уа	wati	me	were
3PL.POSS	arrow 3	PL.S coa	at AUX	i plant	sp ADJU	arrow	3PL.S	coat
pron	nm p	oron vt	aux	nm	prt	nm	pron	vt
na me	, wati	me	were	ni	ya wa	ti,	me	abe
na+F me	wati	me	were	na.NOM+F	ya wa	ti	me	abe
AUX 3PL.S	arrow	/ 3PL.S	coat	AUX	ADJU ar	row	3PL.POS	S RECIP
aux pron	nm	pron	vt	aux	prt nm	L	pron	pn
mowa ,	me	abe	mowa	na to	emetemoneni			
mowa.LIST (me	abe	mowa	na t	o-ha -he	mete -mo	one -ni	
fight	3PL.POS	S RECIP	fight	AUX C	H AUX FP.	N+F REI	P+F BKG+	F
vt	pron	pn	vt	aux a	ux			

'They planned against each other. They fought each other. They coated arrows with iha poison. They coated arrows, and fought each other.'

20 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj	<i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS pron	abe RECIP	<i>mowa</i> mowa fight vt	na na+F AUX aux	<i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS pron	<i>abe</i> abe RECIP pn	nahabi na- al CAUS di vt	haba ie	<i>natiha</i> nahatI+F daytime prt
me me 3PL.POSS pron	abe RECIP pn	<i>tisa</i> tisa shoot wit vt		na na+1	<i>me</i> F me	, <i>m</i> me S 31	е	<i>abe</i> abe RECI pn	-
<i>tisa</i> tisa shoot wi vt	th arrow	<i>ni</i> na.NOM+F AUX aux	ya ya ADJU prt	, oł	koto koto 7 daughter	<i>sawiman</i> sawi.N be pre vi		naro P.E+F	ya . ya ADJU prt

'They fought each other. They killed each other all day long. They shot each other with arrows. "When my daughter was alive long ago..."

21	Inamati	haha	taiti		me	tohan	nakeha	me	kobo
	inamati	haaha	tai	-tee.NOM	me	to-	ha -makI+F	me	kobo
	someone	this+F	be ahead	HAB	3PL.S	CH	be following	3PL.S	arrive
	nm	dem	vi		pron	VC		pron	vi
nan	nakia	E	awara	awinen	ni –				
na	-makI+F	ee	awa -ra	a+F awine	e -ni				
AU	K followin	ng 1IN.	S see NEG	G seem+	F BKG+F				
au	x	pron	vt	sec					
'Th	e first group	arrived. "I	don't know."	•					

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The first group arrived. "I don't know."

22	Hasi	na	awineni		
	hasi	na+F	awine	-ni	
	escape	AUX	seem+F	BKG+F	
	vi	aux	sec		
ШТ	maga aha a	acomed "			

'I guess she escaped.'

23	Me	kana	ni	tokarani						
	me	kana	na.NFIN	to-	ka	-hara	-ni			
	3PL.S	run	AUX	away	go/come	IP.E+F	BKG+F			
	pron	vi	aux	vi						
'''T	hev went i	running	away "'							

They went running away.

24 *Fava* me faya bite faya me faya bite so 3pl so 3SG.POSS.daughter conj pron conj nf fahi

fotomakemetemone foto -makI -hemete -mone appear following FP.N+F REP+F vi

fahi

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then
dem
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'Then his daughter appeared.'

3	ite	OSS.daught	f	ppear	-mak		,	Aa aa (pause) interj	-	<i>to</i> oto daughter
kama	ıkikent	i				haro				
ka		-makI	-ke	-ni		haaro		-		
go/c	come	following	DECL+	F IP.N	1+F	that d	one	⊦F		
vi						dem				
1	1 1	. 1	117771		1	1. "	,			

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'His daughter appeared. "There comes my daughter."'

26 Hasi tini hasi tina -ni escape 2SG.S AUX BKG+F vi aux "Did you escape?"

27	Hasi	onara			oni	
	hasi	0-	na	-hara	0-	ni
	escape	1SG.S	AUX	IP.E+F	1SG.S	BKG+F
	vi	aux			prt	
'''I	escaped."'					

28 Abi abi yibote oko me nabiarani na- ahaba -hara -ni abi abi 0ka yibote me CAUS die IP.E+F BKG+F father father 1SG.POSS POSS husband 3PL.S nm nm prt nm pron vt

"Father, they killed my husband."

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29 Ooo
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000 oh no interj "'Oh no."'

, nabia 30 Oko yibote oko kana me yibote me na- ahaba+F kana 0ka 0ka 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS husband 3PL.S CAUS die run prt nm pron vi vt prt okomakine oni ni tokomake na.NFIN to- ka -makI -makI -ne o- ka 0ni 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F AUX away go/come following 1SG.S BKG+F aux vi νi prt nemetemoneke ati • ati na -hemete -mone -ke say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux vt

"They killed my husband, and I went running after them. I have come here," she said.'

31 Ati ni ati na.NOM+F say AUX vt aux koma me son-in-law 3PL.S nm pron "'I guess they killed my	na- ahaba+F m S CAUS die 3 vt p	nm ne awineke	<i>oko</i> o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt
32 Oka o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt "'My son-in-law marrie	koma ok son-in-law my nm nf	oto itimari oto iti -him daughter marry FP.E vt	
33 Faya me faya me so 3PL.POSS conj pron watamararani wata -ma -ra -h exist back NEG IN vi 'Then they spoke. "The	pn vi nara -ni P.E+F BKG+F	to- na -hiba -no	, <i>Me</i> me M 3PL.S pron
34 Menafimenafi3PL.POSSallpronpn"They all died."		<i>ahabarani</i> ahaba -hara -ni die IP.E+F BKG+F vi	
35 Haha me haaha me this+F 3PL.S dem pron tofotomakia to- foto -maki away appear follo vi	, kana na.NFIN run AUX vi aux <i>me yoro</i> I+F me yoro	<i>tokabisa</i> to- ka -bisa+H away go/come also vi <i>tokanamakia</i> to- ka- na -ma d away COMIT AUX fol aux	3PL.S pron <i>me</i> , kI+F me
Tetekarteeteekar2PL.O2PL.Swarpronpronvt	<i>awatorani</i> rawato -ra -hani it for NEG IP.N+F	te awineni	?

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36	Ee ,	ota	ota	karawatoha	otake	
	ee	otaa	otaa	karawato+F	otaa	-ke
	yes	1EX.O	1EX.S	wait for	1EX.S	DECL+F
	interj	pron	pron	vt	pron	
'''Y	es, we were p	repared."'				

37 Aa	•	ha	owa	•	ha	owara	
aa		haa	owa	,	haa	owa -ra	
(pause)		DEM	1SG		DEM	1SG NPQ	
interj		dem	pron		dem	pron	
'''Me.'''							

38 *Owa te nabibeya* owa tee na- ahaba -be -ya 1SG.O 2PL.S CAUS die IMMED+F now pron pron vt "Go ahead and kill me."

39 M	le yetene	tohaha		me	tamaha	me		wati	me	
m	e yetene	to- h	na+F	me	tama+F	me	,	wati	me	
У	oung men	CH b	e	3PL.S	be many	/ 3PL.S		arrow	3PL.S	
n	f	VC		pron	vi	pron		nm	pron	
tiwari kawahemetemone										
tiwa	-ri	ka-	na	-waha	-hemete	-mone				
carr	y DISTR	COMIT	AUX	change	FP.N+F	REP+F				
vt		aux								
'Mon	'Many young man carried hows and arrows '									

'Many young men carried bows and arrows.'

40	Wati	me	tiwari	kawa	me	me	
	wati	me	tiwa -ri	ka- na -waha+E	me	me	
	arrow	3PL.S	carry DISTR	COMIT AUX change	3PL.S	3PL.S	
	nm	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	

•

tokomakemetemoneke

to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

'They went there carrying bows and arrows.'

41 <i>Me</i>	tokomake		me .	me	tokoma	ike		
me	to- ka	-mal	ςΙ	me	me	to-	ka	-makI
3PL.S	away go/c	ome foll	Lowing	3PL.S	3PL.S	away	go/come	following
pron	vi			pron	pron	vi		
me,	me	ati	saihemet	emoneke			ahi	•
me	me	ati	sai	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi	
3PL.S	3PL.POSS	voice	be hear	rd FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	' then	
pron 'They went.	pron Their voices co	vi ard.'				dem		

42 Tamabote memetemoneni

tama -bote me -mete -mone -ni be many very 3PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F adj pron 'They were many.'

43	Inamati	kamaki									
	inamati	ka	-makI+M								
	someone	go/come	following								
	nm	vi									
"'S	"Someone is coming "										

Someone is coming.

,

44 Inamati kamaki

inamati ka -makI+M someone go/come following nm vi "Someone is coming."

45	Inamati	kamaki		me	ati	neme	etemoneke			ahi	
	inamati	ka	-makI+M	me	ati	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi	
	someone	go/come	following	3PL.S	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then	
	nm	vi		pron	vt	aux				dem	
"Someone is coming," they said.'											

•

46 Yama soki ya yama me momowa toaremetemone yama soki.NOM ya yama me mo-mowa to-ha -ra -hemete -mone thing be dark ADJU thing 3PL.S DUP fight CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F nf vi prt nf pron vt aux

'They didn't fight at night.'

47 Yama yama thir nf	a waha		na.NOM AUX	4	,)JU	yama yama thing nf	<i>wa</i> waha shine vi		na.NOM+E AUX	ya 'ya ADJU prt
yama yama thing nf	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	momowa mo- mov DUP fic vt	wa to ght CH	e metemo D- ha H AUX LX		e -mone REP+F		,	<i>hine</i> hine 3.REFL pron	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron
-	bone katoma.1 look at	-	oone k NT+F t	aro . aro o rt						

'They fought during the day, so they could watch out.'

48 Tokomake	hibati		ene	kiya		
to- ka	-makI hiba	ti	ehene	kiya		
away go/come	following righ	t away	victim of+M	yell		
vi	nf		pn	vi		
kanematamonaka		sa	hika	nari		ahi
ka- na -himat	a -mona -ka	saa	hi-	ka- na	-haari	ahi
COMIT AUX FP.N+M	1 REP+M DECL+M	shoot with	n arrow OC	COMIT AUX	IP.E+M	then
aux		vt	aux			dem

'He went there. Right away someone cried out because he had shot him with an arrow.'

49 M m 31	-	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S	<i>tisa</i> tisa shoot	with	arrc	h	ina 11– 0C	na+F AUX	-	<i>me</i> me 3PL.	0						
p	ron	pron	vt			a	ux			pron	L						
<i>tiii</i> tiii			-		,	<i>wati</i> wati		<i>me</i> me	a	ka-		retemo yaba			hemet		-mone
		many pe	eopie i	runnın	g)	arro	W	3PL.	.s	COM	Т.Т.	take	ou	t Fi	P.N+1	2' ł	REP+F
soun	.d					nm		pron	l	vt							
<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	one one othe adj		one	e ler+F	<i>hasi</i> has esc vi	i	<i>na</i> na AU au	.+F X	ma ma 3P pr	ti L.S	<i>ah</i> ah th de	ii Ien	t 2	<i>fara</i> Eara same dem		<i>me</i> me 3PI pro	.POSS

tabori	karo	ahi
tabori	karo	ahi
place+F	which	then
pn	prt	dem

•

They shot them with arrows. Tiii, the people of the village were running. The ones who survived pulled out arrows.'

50 Me winakanikima ni			ka	me	me	tisa
me	wina -kanikima	na.NOM+F	ka	me	me	tisa
3PL.S	live scattered	AUX	because	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow
pron	vi	aux	prt	pron	pron	vt
hibisemetemo	oneke		ahi .			
hi- na -	bisa -hemete -mc	ne -ke	ahi			
OC AUX a	lso FP.N+F REF	P+F DECL+F	then			
aux			dem			
'They also sh	not the ones who lived					

51 *Me me tisa* me tisa hina me , me hi- na+F me me ahaba me me me IncLisani-na+Fmemeahaba-3PL.03PL.Sshoot with arrowOCAUX3PL.O3PL.Sdiepropprop-------------------ahaba+F me 3PL.S pron pron vt aux pron pron vi pron abemetemoneke me . ahaba -hemete -mone -ke me 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

'They shot them with arrows, and they died.'

52 <i>Me</i>	ahab	a 1	me		me	ahal	bi		fawa		ni		ya	
me	ahak	ba+F r	me	,	me	aha	ba.N	JFIN	fawa		na.1	NOM+F	ya	
3PL.	S die		3PL.S		3PL.S	die			disa	ppear	AUX		AD	JU
pror	n vi	I	pron		pron	vi			vi		aux		pr	t
me	me	iso		hina		me		me	me	ta				
me	me	iso		hi-	na+F	me		me	me	taa	a			
3PL.O	3PL.S	carry	off	OC	AUX	3PL	.0	3pl	3PL.	S be	piled	l up		
pron	pron	vt		aux		pro	n	pron	pron	vi				
torewama	ı					me	2	,	me fan	awi	me far	nawi	naj	fi
to- na	-rI		- 1	waha	-ma+F	m∈	9	,	me fa	nawi	me fa	anawi	na	fi
CH AU	X raise	d surfa	ace cl	hange	e back	ЗE	PL.S		women		women	ı	al	1
aux						pr	on		nf		nf		pn	
ahaba	, m	e fanawi	at	ona	toaha		,	me	ya	_	me	ka		
ahaba+1	∃' me	e fanav	vi at	tona	to-	ha+F		me	ya	2	me	ka		
die	WC	omen	ma	aiden	сн	be		3PI	_ ADJ	U	3pl	POSS		
vi	nf	-	n	f	VC			pro	on prt		pron	prt		
yama nok	ko me	Se	2	hina	,	m	e		abowi		<i>so</i>			
yama no	oko me	S	ee	hi- 1	na+F ´	me	e		abohi		S00			
vagina	3P:	L.S og	pen	OC 2	AUX	31	PL.P	OSS	dead	body	lie			
nm	pro	on v	t	aux		pı	con		pn		vi			
tosa		me	ka		yama nok	<i>.</i> 0	me		se	na	me		,	ati
to- na	-kosa-	+F me	ka		yama no	oko	me		see	na+F	me		,	ati
CH AU	X middle	e 3P	L PO	SS	vagina		3PL	.S	open	AUX	3PL.	POSS		voice
aux		pr	on pr	t	nm		pro	n	vt	aux	pror	l		pn
yana	tonemata	mona												
yana	to- na	-him	ata -	mona										
start	CH AU	X FP.N	+M R	EP+M										
vi	aux													

'They died. When they had all died, they carried them off. They were in a pile. All the women died. They uncovered the vaginas of the women and the girls. They uncovered their vaginas as they lay on the ground

dead. They spoke.'

pron vi

nf '''Let it rot.'''

```
, abi
53 Abi
  abi
             abi
  father
             father
  nm
             nm
"Father, Father."
54 Haa
         ?
  haa
  huh?
  interj
""Huh?""
55 Abi
                      howeteno
                                         tiwa
          yama noko
                      howe -tee -no
  abi
          yama noko
                                         ti-
                                                awa
  father vagina
                      large HAB IP.N+M 2SG.S see
  nm
          nm
                      adj
                                         vt
"Father, look at the big vaginas."
56 Oko
                  yama nokona
                                   sa
                                                      tikanani
  0-
          ka
                  yama noko -na
                                   saa
                                                      ti- ka- na -hani
  1SG.POSS POSS vagina IRR+M shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX IP.N+F
  prt
                  nm
                                   vt
                                                      aux
tike
ti- ke
2SG.S DECL+F
prt
"You shot my vagina with an arrow."
57 Bobi
        tisaho
       ti- na -kosa -ho
  bobi
  slit 2SG.S AUX middle DUP
  vt
        aux
"Cut it out."
58 Bobi
        tisaho
        ti- na -kosa -ho
  bobi
        2SG.S AUX middle DUP
  slit
  vt
        aux
"Cut it out."
59 Tinawanabaya
                                                 famibana
                                          te
                                       ,
                   -ba
                                                 fama+F -bana
  ti- na- wana
                              -ya
                                          tee
   2SG.S CAUS be attached IMMED+M now
                                          2PL.S be two FUT
  vt.
                                          pron
                                                 vi
"Put it on [your penis], so you can be with her."
60 Yama
         hine
                ahabake
  yama
         hine ahaba -ke
   thing only end DECL+F
```

61	Yama	hine	abi	na
	yama	hine	ahaba.NOM+F	na
	thing	only	end	AUX
	nf	pron	vi	aux
'''L	et it rot."'			

62 <i>Me</i>	, faya	me	yana	na	me	tokoma		me	•
me	faya	a me	yana	na+F	me	to- ka	-ma+F	me	
3PL	SO	3PL.S	start	AUX	3PL.S	away go/com	e back	3PL.S	
pron	con	j pron	vi	aux	pron	vi		pron	
haha	me o	nebisa		me	tokomak	e		me	
haaha	me c	one -b	isa ´	me	to- k	a -mak	I	me	
this+F	3PL c	ther+F al	SO	3PL.S	away g	o/come foll	owing	3PL.S	
dem	pron a	dj		pron	vi			pron	
yoro	ta	okowamake				me,	Hine	me	
yoro	t	o- ka-	na -w	aha -	makI	me	hine	me	
be toget	her a	way COMIT	AUX ch	ange f	ollowing	3PL.S	only	3PL.S	
vi	a	ux				pron	pron	pron	
kakasi		raba	ra		me	ama .			
ka- kasi		na -ral	ba na	-ra+F	me	ama			
DUP be n	aughty	AUX a b	it AUX	NEG	3PL.S	SEC			
vi		aux	aux		pron	sec			

•

'Some of them started out and went to another village. They all got together. "They are really something."

•

•

63	Me	bokato	abarake							
	me	bokato	ahaba	-ke						
	3pl	fair amount	die	IP.E+F	DECL+F					
	pron	adj	vi							
"Some of them died."										

64	Me	•		abarara					
	me	,	nafi	ahaba	-ra	-hara	-ni		
	3PL.POSS		all	die	NEG	IP.E+F	BKG+F		
	pron		pn	vi					
'''T	hey didn't all d	lie.'							

65 Me	isi ni	•	ota	me	sa						
me	isi ni	,	otaa	me	saa						
3PL.POSS	little bit		1EX.S	3PL.O	shoot	with	arrow				
pron	pn		pron	pron	vt						
nibanarani		hi	ba .								
na+F -bana	-hara -ni	hi	lba								
AUX FUT	IP.E+F BKG+F	Wa	ait								
aux		ir	nterj								
"We will shoot	"We will shoot the ones that are left with arrows."										

66Meotasanaranimeotaasaana-hara-ni3PL.01EX.Sshoot with arrowAUXIP.E+FBKG+Fpronpronvtaux

"We shot them with arrows."

67 Faya me tokomakewatasametemoneke faya me to- ka -makI -waha -tasa -mete -mone -ke so 3PL.S away go/come following change again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F conj pron vi

'Then they went there again.'

•

68 Me	tok	omak	ewatasa						me			kama	
me	to	- k	a	-makI	-	-waha	-ta	sa+F	me		,	ka	-ma+F
3PL	.S aw	ay g	ro/come	followi	ng (change	aga	in	3PL.	S		go/come	back
proi	n vi								pron	L		vi	
me	amo	na	ıma	me	у	vana	tona	mina			me	?	
me	amo	na	a -ma+1	F me	Σ	yana	to-	na	-mina	+F	me		
3PL.S	sleep	Αl	JX back	3PL.S	5 5	start	СН	AUX	morni	ng	ЗP	L.S	
pron	vi	au	ıх	pron	V	/i	aux				pr	on	
tokomak	eminatas	a						faya	me			abe	mowa
to- k	a	-ma	ıkI	-mina	-ta	asa+F	,	faya	me			abe	mowa
away g	o/come	fol	lowing	morning	ag	ain		so	3PL.	POSS	3	RECIP	fight
vi								conj	pron	L		pn	vt
tasa		,	me	isi ni		a	habat	asa		faro			
na -t	asa+F		me	isi	ni	a	haba	-ta:	sa+F	faa	ro		
AUX ag	ain		3PL.POS	S litt	le]	bit d	ie	aga	in	tha	t+E	ŗ	
aux			pron	pn		v	i			dem			
	1		1	1	1			· · · · ·				1	·]

'They went there again. They came back, and slept. They left in the morning and went there again. They fought again, and some of them died.'

69 <i>Me</i>	tamimakoni	ahi	me	abe	momowa
me	tama -makoni	ahi	me	abe	mo- mowa
3PL.S	be many for this reason+F	then	3PL.POSS	RECIP	DUP fight
pron	vi	dem	pron	pn	vt
toemetemone	ke .				
to- ha -	hemete -mone -ke				
CH AUX F	'P.N+F REP+F DECL+F				
aux		C • 1			

'They fought many times, because there were many of them.'

me, 70 Faya abe tisa me na me tisa na+F me faya me abe me 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.POSS SO conj pron pn vt aux pron pron beri ahaba • beheri ahaba.LIST side die pn vi 'They shot each other with arrows. Half of them died.'

71 Aa	Aa ,		, ,			watarima	nahi		
aa	,	tee	ati	wata -rima	na -hi				
(pause)		2PL.POSS	voice	exist NEG.IMP+F	AUX IMP+F				
interj		pron	pn	vi	aux				
'Do quiet !									

'Be	quiet.'
	1

72	Faya	me		ati	yana		tona		•	fara	me	me		
	faya	me		ati	yana	a	to-	na	+F Ź	fara	me	me		
	SO	3PL.E	POSS	voice	sta	rt	CH	AU	Х	same+F	3PL.O	3PL	.S	
	conj	pron		pn	vi		aux			dem	pron	pror	n	
wat	4		1 .1											
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	ı		hikan	a		те		•	те	те	mowa	hitas	a	
wa			<i>hikan</i> hi-		na+F	me me		,	<i>me</i> me	me me	<i>mowa</i> mowa		a na	-tasa+F
wa		inst	hi-		-	me	L.O	,					na	-tasa+F again

•

me me me mowa hitasemetemoneke , hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ke me me me mowa fight OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron vt aux pron 'They wanted to fight against the same group again. They fought them again.' 73 Me me mowa hina me me hinahabihatasa hi- na+F hi- na- ahaba -tasa+F me me mowa me me 3PL.S fight OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die again 3PL.O pron vt pron vt pron aux pron , me tisa hitasa me me me me , hi- na -tasa+F me me me me tisa me 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX again 3PL.O 3pl 3PL.O pron pron pron pron vt aux pron haro one hasi nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke one hasi haaro escape AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that one+F some+F adj vi aux dem

'They fought them again. They killed them again. They shot them with arrows again. Some of them escaped.'

74 Me	one	hasi	na	me .	me	ka	wati	abe		
me	one	hasi	na+F	me	me	ka	wati	ahaba.NOM+M		
3pl	some+F	escape	AUX	3PL.S	3pl	POSS	arrow	end		
pron	adj	vi	aux	pron	pron	prt	nm	vi		
ka	me	one	hasi	nemetemo	ne					
ka	me	one	hasi	na -hei	mete -m	ione				
because	3pl	some+F	escape	AUX FP.	N+F RE	P+F				
prt	pron	adj	vi	aux						
'They esca	They escaped They escaped because their arrows were all gone '									

They escaped. They escaped because their arrows were all gone.

75	Me	one	hasi	na	me	me .	me	tokom	aki		
	me	one	hasi	na+F	me	me	me	to-	ka	-makI.NOM	
	3pl	some+F	escape	AUX	3PL.S	3PL	3PL.S	away	go/come	following	
	pron	adj	vi	aux	pron	pron	pron	vi			
<i>ya</i> ya	,	<i>Hima</i> hima									
AD	JU	let's d	go								
-	prt interj 'Some of them escaped. When they went there, "Let's go."'										

76	Me	hasihasi		raba		ri		wati	abe	rama	
	me	hasi-	hasi	na	-raba	na	-ra.NOM+F	wati	ahaba+M	rama	
	3PL.S	DUP	escape	AUX	a bit	AUX	NEG	arrow	end	unusual	
	pron	vi		aux		aux		nm	vi	prt	
'''S	"Some of them got away, because the arrows are all gone."										

77 Me	kana	ni		toka			me		, m	ie	kana	ni	
me	kana	na.Nl	FIN	to-	ka+E	r.	me		́ т	e	kana	na	a.NFIN
3PL.S	run	AUX		away	go/c	come	3PL.	POSS	3	PL.S	run	ΑŪ	JX
pron	vi	aux		vi			pron	L	р	ron	vi	aı	хı
toka		те	me	ſ	<i>ito</i>	hikar	namakid	r					wati
to- ka+F	'	me	me	t	Eito	hi-	to-	ka-	na	-makl	[+F	,	wati
away go/c	come	3PL.O	3pl	.S ı	rush	OC	away	COMIT	AUX	follo	owing		arrow
vi		pron	pro	n v	/i	aux							nm

owa	ya	wati	ohari	va	me sa				
owa	ya ya	wati	ohari+M	ya ya	me saa	a			
other+M	ADJU	arrow	be one	ADJU	3PL sho	oot wit	h arrow		
adj	prt	nm	vi	prt	pron vt				
hikanamaki				wati	me	tisa			
hi- to-	ka-	na -ma	akI+M	⁄ wati	me	tisa			
OC away	COMIT	AUX fol	Llowing	arro	w 3PL.S	shoot	: with a	rrow	
aux				nm	pron	vt			
nemetemon	е								
	ete -m								
AUX FP.N	+F REI	P+F							
aux ITI				тт .1			T]	1	. 1
They went	running	away. The	ey ran after t	hem. He	hit him with	n one arro	ow. They s	hot arro	WS.
78 Yawabo	nemakon	i		at	i saiı	matamona	ne		
yawa		ne -mako			ti sa	i	-himata	-mona	-ne
	es INT+	-F for t	his reaso	n+F v	pice be	heard	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M
nf				p	n vi				
'He said he	would b	e fierce.'							
79 <i>Wati</i>	taroro	no	matamonaka	,		ahi	me	tisa	
vati	taro			a -mona	-ka	ahi	me	tisa	
arrow	hit		JX FP.N+M		DECL+M	then	3PL.S		with arrow
nm	vt	aı	ıx			dem	pron	vt	
hinahari							-		
hi- na	-haari	•							
OC AUX	IP.E+M								
aux									
'He hit awa	y the arr	ows as the	y shot them.						
80 Faya	wati	taroro	ne	ab	arematamon	ıa		fari	
faya	wati	taro -	-ro na+M	,	aba -ra		-mona	faari	•
SO	arrow	hit I	DUP AUX	di	e NEG	FP.N+M	REP+M	that	one+M
conj	nm	vt	aux	vi				dem	
'He hit awa	y the arr	ows, and d	lidn't die.'						
01 11 1		. 1							
81 <i>Hasi</i> hasi		<i>tamonaka</i> 	-mona -}	7 2	•				
escape	na AIIX		REP+M DE						
vi	aux	I I • IN / I'I							
'He didn't d									
iie uluii t t	110.								
82 Faya	me	, yana		me	kama		me	, <i>n</i>	ie
faya	me	yan		me	ka ,	-ma+F			e
so .	3PL.S	sta		3PL.S		e back	3PL.S		PL.S
conj	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi		pron	p	ron
<i>kama</i> ka		me	, <i>me</i> me		etemoneke	-homoto		-lto	•
K -	-m - 1 17			ka	-ma	-nemece	e -mone	-ке	
	-ma+F back	Me 3 DI 9				רם עדה	ת⊥תםם		
go/come		3PL.S	3PL.S	go/co	me back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
go/come vi	back	3PL.S pron	3PL.S pron			FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
go/come	back	3PL.S pron	3PL.S pron	go/co		FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
go/come vi	back	3PL.S pron	3PL.S pron	go/co		FP.N+F		DECL+F	ya,

83	Ме	kama		me	me	kobo	namatasi		ya
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me	kobo	na -ma	-tasa.NOM+F	ya
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	arrive	AUX back	again	ADJU
	pron	vi		pron	pron	vi	aux		prt

Fa mera ? -ra faa me 3PL.S NPQ that dem pron 'They came home. They arrived back. "Well, what about them?" abini 84 *Me* ? ahaba -ni me BKG+F 3PL.S die pron vi "Did they die?" 85 Me abi ahaba.NOM+F me 3PL.S die pron vi "They didn't all die." 86 Me hasi narake hasi na -hara -ke me 3PL.S escape AUX IP.E+F DECL+F pron vi aux "They escaped." 87 Me hasi narake na -hara -ke hasi me 3PL.S escape AUX IP.E+F DECL+F pron vi aux "They escaped." , faya 88 Me Me riyahi me me me hasi na -ra -yahi hasi faya me me me me me 3PL 3PL AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F SO 3PL 3PL.S escape 3PL conj pron pron pron pron pron vi aux "May they not survive." 89 Me ahabibeya me nafi ahaba -be -ya me me nafi 3PL.S die IMMED+F now 3PL.POSS all pron vi pron pn "May they die, all of them." 90 Faya me me me hinakamakiemetemone hi- to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone faya me me me OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F so 3pl 3PL.O 3PL.S pron conj pron pron vt fahi me tasa . fahi me tasa then 3PL again dem pron prt 'So they went after them again.' 91 Me hinakamakia me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me me me

,

wati wati hikana me me tisa me wati hi- ka- na+F me me tisa plan against OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow vt aux pron pron vt hitasemetemoneke • hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ke OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'They went after them. They wanted to kill them, and they shot them with arrows.'

9	2 Faya	me	m	е	wat	i		hiwa	tasa				me	me
	faya	a me	me	e	wat	-i		hi-	na	-waha	-t	asa+F	me	me
	SO	3pl	.0 31	PL.S	pla	an agains	t	OC	AUX	change	ag	ain	3PL.O	3PL.S
	con	j pro	n pi	ron	vt			aux					pron	pron
ti	sa			hitas	a		n	ie		me		abe	mowa	
t	isa			hi-	na	-tasa+F	m	e	,	me		abe	mowa	
S	hoot '	with a	rrow	OC	AUX	again	3	PL.O		3PL.POS	SS	RECIP	fight	
v	t			aux			р	ron		pron		pn	vt	
n	emetem	oneke				fahi .								
n	a -h	emete	-mone	-ke		fahi								
Α	UX FP	.N+F	REP+F	DECI	L+F	then								
а	ux					dem								
10	-1	. 1.	1 • 11 • 1		1.1	1 1	• • •			c 1.		1 .1 /		

'They wanted to kill them, and they shot them with arrows. They fought each other.'

93	Faya	me	abe	mowa	na	me		me	abe
	faya	me	abe	mowa	na+I	F me		me	abe
	SO	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX	3PL.	POSS	3PL.POSS	RECIP
	conj	pron	pn	vt	aux	pron	L	pron	pn
tisa	ı		na	me		me	me	yobi	
ti	sa		na+F :	me)	me	me	yobi	
sh	oot wi	th arrow	AUX	3PL.POSS		3PL.O	3PL.S	go back	and forth
vt			aux	pron		pron	pron	vi	
hik	anemete	moneke							
hi	- ka-	na -he	mete -m	one -ke					
OC	COMI	T AUX FP.	N+F RE	P+F DECL-	+F				
au	х								

'They fought each other, and shot each other with arrows. They kept going to them.'

94	Faya	me	•	ahabem		fahi			
	faya	me	,	ahaba	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi	
	SO	3PL.S		die	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then	
	conj	pron		vi				dem	
'Fiı	nally the	y died.'							

95	Me	aba ,	Hima ,	me	one	hasi	ni	
	me	ahaba+F 🥤	hima	me	one	hasi.LIST	na.NOM+F	
	3PL.S	die	let's go	3PL	some+F	escape	AUX	
	pron	vi	interj	pron	adj	vi	aux	
'Tl	wided "	Como on como o	f thom are still ali					

"They died. "Come on, some of them are still alive."

96	Me	kana	ni	tokaha	me	hasi	faro .	me
	me	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka+F	me	hasi.LIST	faaro 🥤	me
	3PL.S	run	AUX	away go/come	3PL.S	escape	that+F	3PL.POSS
	pron	vi	aux	vi	pron	vi	dem	pron

<i>abe</i> abe RECIP pn '''They we	yoro yoro be togeth vi ent running a	er CH C aux	a- ni OMIT CA	US AU	_	е НАВ	FUT+F	<i>mati</i> mati 3PL.POS pron	S
2	me me me me 3PL 3P pron pr them escaped	one L some+F on adj	<i>hasi</i> hasi escap vi	na e AUX	FP.N+F	e -mone REP+F			
98 Me me 3PL pron kobo	one some+F adj <i>namatasi</i>	escape A vi a	a+F me UX 3P ux pr <i>ya</i>	, L.S on ,	<i>faya</i> faya so conj <i>haha</i>	pron bara	vi mel	-ma+F ne back bisa	3PL.S pron <i>me</i> ,
kobo arrive vi	AUX back	-tasa.NO again	AD	JU t	haaha this+F interj		me +F 3PI pro	L also	me 3PL pron
me me 3PL.POS pron memetema me -me	abe abe S RECIP pn oneke	fight A vt a -ke DECL+F	-	yotoha yoto+	me F me w 3PL.	, Poss	<i>barabi</i> bara	isa	1

Some of them escaped. They came back, and arrived back. The last ones were different than the other ones.'

99 <i>Me</i>	abe	kakako		raba		na	toaren	nete	
me	abe	ka- kaal	ko	na	-raba	na	to- i	ha -r	a -hemete
3PL.POS	SS RECI	IP DUP be a	angry wi	ith AUX	a bit	AUX	СН Д	AUX NE	G FP.N+F
pron	pn	vt		aux		aux	aux		
me ,	me	abi	tamatan	na	toemete	moneke	?		
me	me	ahaba.NFIN	tama-	tama	to- ha	a -he	emete	-mone	-ke
3PL.S	3PL.S	die	DUP	be many	CH AU	JX FP	.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
pron	pron	vi	vi		aux				
me	abe	tisa		ni	karo				
me	abe	tisa		na.NOM+E	' karo				
3PL.POSS	RECIP	shoot with	arrow	AUX	becau	ıse			
pron	pn	vt		aux	prt				
1001 1 . 1	1 .1	ml 11 1		• •	. 1		. •	1 .1	

'They hated each other. They died on many occasions, because they were shooting each other with arrows.'

100	Me fanawi	me fanawi	isisi	na	toemetemone				
	me fanawi 🥤	me fanawi	isi	-si	na	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone
	women	women	be small	DUP	AUX	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F
	nf	nf	vi		aux	aux			
'The	ir women were not	small.'							

101	Me fanawi	me fanawi	isisi		na	toemetemon	e	me fanawi
	me fanawi	me fanawi	isi	-si	na	to- ha ·	-hemete -mone	me fanawi
	women	women	be small	DUP	AUX	CH AUX I	FP.N+F REP+F	women
	nf	nf	vi		aux	aux		nf

•

howe . howe large adj 'Their women were not small, they were large.'

fofota toemetemone 102 Me fanawi amake fofotatoemetemoneamakefo- fotato- ha -hemete -moneama -keDUP be bigCHAUXFP.N+FREP+FSECDECL+F . me fanawi women nf vi aux sec

'Their women were large.'

103	<i>Fay</i> fay so con	a me 3PI		<i>kam</i> ka go/ vi		-ma+F back	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>kobo</i> kobo arrive vi		<i>nama</i> na AUX aux	-ma+F back	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>me</i> me 3PL.P pron	OSS
abe		mowa	na		me		me	tokoma	ke				me	me
abe		mowa	na	+F	me	,	me	to-	ka	ı	-mak	I	me	me
REC	ΙP	fight	AU	Х	3PL.	POSS	3PL.S	away	go	/com	ne foll	owing	3PL.O	3PL.S
pn		vt	au	х	pron	1	pron	vi					pron	pron
tisa				hit	taseme	temoneke					ahi			
tis	a			hi	– na	-tasa	-hemete	e -mone	_	ke	ahi			
sho	ot v	with an	row	00	C AU	X again	FP.N+F	REP+F	D	ECL+	F the	n		
vt				au	ıx						dem			
'The agai	• •	ne back,	and a	rrive	ed bac	k. They fo	ught each	other. Th	ey	went	there, an	d they sł	not them v	with arrows

104	<i>Me</i> me 3PL.O pron	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>tisa</i> tisa shoot wi vt	ith arrow	<i>hitasa</i> hi- na -tasa+F OC AUX again aux	,	<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	<i>one</i> one some+F adj	<i>hasi</i> hasi escape vi
na	FP.N+F	e -mone	-ke DECL+F	faro, faaro that+F dem	tasa tasa again prt				
		em with ar	rows again.		m escaped again.'				

They shot them with arrows again. Some of them escaped again.

105 Me					toemetemone					me		
me	ta-	tama	to-	ha	-hemete	-r	none	me	,	me		
3PL.	.S DUP	be many	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	RI	EP+F	3P:	L.S	3P	L.S	
pror	n vi		aux					pr	on	pr	on	
tokimete		J	'a	bato	yafi	•	me		me	awa	nike	
to- ka	.NOM+F	-mete	ya	bat	o yafi	<i>,</i>	me		me	awa	-hani	-ke
away go	/come	FP.N+F A	ADJU	Ban	awá		3PL.	0	3PL.S	see	IP.N+F	DECL+F
vi 'There we	re many p	eople. Whe	prt n they	npr left, tl	-	s sa	pron w then		pron	vt		

106 Faya me , me ahabi wawato toaremetemone faya me me ahaba.NFIN wa-wato to- ha -ra -hemete -mone so 3PL 3PL.S die DUP know CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F conj pron vi vt aux 'They didn't die.'

107	Me		abarene		fara	hine	me	abe	momowa	
	me	,	ahaba	-ra	-hene	fara	hine	me	abe	mo- mowa
	3PL.S		die	NEG	IRR+F	same+F	3.REFL	3PL.POSS	RECIP	DUP fight
	pron		vi			dem	pron	pron	pn	vt

.

toemetemoneke

• to- ha -hemete -mone -ke CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'They didn't die. They fought with each other.'

108	Me	abe	mowa	na	me	me	abe	nanabi	
	me	abe	mowa	na+F	me	me	abe	na- na-	ahaba
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX	3PL.POSS	3PL.POSS	RECIP	DUP CAUS	die
	pron	pn	vt	aux	pron	pron	pn	vt	
toen	ietemone		. /	ne	abarene	ma	ti .		
to-	ha -heme	ete -mor	ie í r	ne	ahaba -ra	-hene ma	ti		
CH	AUX FP.N+	-F REP+	F 3	BPL.S	die NEG	IRR+F 3P	L.S		
aux			P	oron	vi	pr	on		
'The	y fought with	each othe	r They k	illed eacl	h other They a	almost all died	'		

They fought with each other. They killed each other. They almost all died.'

109	Hibaka	ya	me	one	winariya	?					
	hibaka	ya	me	one	wina -ri -ya						
	where	ADJU	3pl	other+F	live CQ+F now						
	interrog	prt	pron	adj	vi						
'Wh	'Where do their other people live?'										

110	<i>Faya</i> faya	<i>me</i> me	,	<i>abe</i> abe	<i>mowa</i> mowa	<i>ni</i> na.NOM+F	<i>ya</i> ya	<i>me</i> me	<i>abe</i> abe	<i>mowa</i> mowa
	so	3PL.	POSS	RECIE) fight	AUX	ADJU	3PL.POSS	S RECIP	fight
	conj	pron		pn	vt	aux	prt	pron	pn	vt
ni		ahaba		, faya	me	kama		, faya	me	
na.	NFIN	ahaba	a.LIST	í faya	a me	ka	-ma+F	faya	me	
AUΣ	Ζ	end		SO	3PL.S	go/come	back	SO	3PL.S	
aux	Z	vi		con	j pron	vi		conj	pron	
kan	nemeten	none			fahi .					
ka		-ma -	hemete	-mone	fahi					
go/	'come	back E	FP.N+F	REP+F	then					
vi					dem					
17		1 (1 1 1		-						

'They stopped fighting among themselves, and they came back.'

111	Me	kama		me	me	kobo	nama	me	,	me
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me	kobo	na -ma+F	me	,	me
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	arrive	AUX back	3PL.S		3PL.S
	pron	vi		pron	pron	vi	aux	pron		pron
koba) n	amemetemon	е							
koh	0 n	a _ma _	homoto	-mone						

kobo na -ma -hemete -mone arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F vi aux

'They came back. They arrived back.'

112	Me	kobo	name	7	me		me	abe	mowa	ni
	me	kobo	na	-ma+F	me	,	me	abe	mowa	na.NFIN
	3PL.S	arrive	AUX	back	3PL.S		3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX
	pron	vi	aux		pron		pron	pn	vt	aux
fafa	wa	toho	iremet	emoneni						
fa-	fawa	to-	• ha	-ra -h	nemete	-mon	e -ni			
DUP	disapp	ear CH	AUX	NEG FE	°.N+F	REP+	F BKG+F			
vi		aux	2							
!T]		ь	4: 44							

They arrived back. They didn't stop fighting among themselves.

kote -mete me 113 Afa me *me* me kotemete ota kote -mete afa me otaa afa me kote -mete me kote -mete otaa this+F 3PL.POSS piece FP.N+F 3PL.POSS piece FP.N+F 1EX.S dem pron pn pron pn pron amake . ama -ke be DECL+F VC 'We are their descendents.' 114 Wete tinakihi

wete ti- na -kI -hi
return 2SG.S AUX coming IMP+F
vi aux
'Turn your head this way.'

, mowa 115 **Me** ka ayo me abe ni me me ka ayo abe mowa na.NFIN 3PL POSS older brother 3PL.POSS RECIP fight AUX pron prt nm pron pn vt aux tamaremetemoneke tama -ra -hemete -mone -ke be many NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'Their older brothers didn't fight much.'

116	Me	abi	tamaremet	tamaremetemone						
	me	ahaba.NFIN	tama	-ra	-hemete	-mone	fahi			
	3PL.S	die	be many	NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F	then			
	pron	vi	vi				dem			
INT		have diad !								

'Not many of them died.'

vi

117	Faya	me	abe	sa	tosen	fahi					
	faya	me	abe	saa	to-	na	-kosa	-hemete	-mone	fahi	
	SO	3PL.POSS	RECIP	release	CH	AUX	middle	FP.N+F	REP+F	then	
	conj	pron	pn	vt	aux					dem	
'Tho	n thav ct	opped fightin	σ'								

'Then they stopped fighting.

118 Me		abe	sa	tosa		me	,	me	faya	me
me		abe	saa	to- na	-kosa+F	me	,	me	faya	me
3pl	.POSS	RECIP	release	CH AUX	K middle	3PL.POSS		3PL	SO	3PL.S
pro	n	pn	vt	aux		pron		pron	conj	pron
wiwinawa		tohe	metemone							
wi- win	a -waha	a to-	ha -hem	nete -mo	ne					
DUP liv	e chang	ge CH	AUX FP.N	I+F REP	+F					
vi		aux								
'They stop	pped fight	ting, and	lived togethe	er.'						

.

 119
 Faya
 abemetemoneke
 fahi

 faya
 ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 fahi

 so
 end
 FP.N+F
 REP+F
 DECL+F
 then

 conj
 vi
 dem

'Then the fighting stopped.'

abe abe totonihawa abe to- to- niha- ha -waha 120 **Me** toemete me to- ha -hemete me me 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP CH CAUS be change CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL.POSS pron pn vt aux pron
 awineke
 okobiteba
 hasihasi

 awine -ke
 o ka
 abi
 -tee
 -ba
 hasi hasi

 seem+F
 DECL+F
 1SG.POSS
 POSS
 father
 HAB
 FUT
 DUP
 escap
 escape sec pn nm watare ya . wata -ra.NOM+M ya exist NEG ADJU vi prt

'They were at peace with each other. My father wasn't born yet.'

121 <i>O</i>	kobi			okobi			watare		ya	
0-	-	ka	abi	0-	ka	abi	wata	-ra.NOM+M	ya	
19	G.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	exist	NEG	ADJU	
nn	n			nm			vi		prt	
okiti				ta		okititeba				
0-	ka	iti		taa	,	0-	ka	iti	-tee	-ba
1SG.P	OSS POS	S gra	ndfather	contras	t	1SG.POSS	S POSS	grandfathe	r HAB	FUT
nm				prt		nm				
yama	me	mon	nowa	tohemete		me	awin	eke		
yama	me	mo-	• mowa	to- ha ·	-hemet	te me	awir	ne -ke		
thing	3PL.S	DUF	, fight	CH AUX I	FP.N+F	5 3PL.S	seen	n+F DECL+F		
nf	pron	vt		aux		pron	sec			
'Before	my father	was b	orn, my gra	andfather and the others fought			t.'			

122	Okititeba					wiwi	na	toh	ematam	ona		ahi
	0-	ka	iti	-tee	-ba	wi-	wina	a to	- ha	-himata	-mona	ahi
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	HAB	FUT	DUP	live	e CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then
	nm					vi		au	ĸ			dem
	yetene	to	oari	bati				me	ya	tabahari		
,	yetene	t	o- ha -haar	i bat	i			me	ya	taba		-haari
	teenage bo	су С	H be IP.E+	4 3SG	.POSS	.fat	her	3pl	ADJU	be tog	ether	IP.E+M
	adj	v	C	nm				pron	prt	vi		

'My grandfather was living there, when he was a teenager, with his father and the others.'

123 <i>Haha</i> , haaha this+F dem	yiwa m pot 3	e Yiwa Me Faw e Yiwa Me F PL (place na ron npropf	awa Kani '	meteba me -tee -b 3PL HAB FU pron		<i>wiwina</i> wi- wina DUP live vi					
toemetemone		amake	aba me	aba me	me	wataha					
to- ha -heme	te -mone	ama -ke	aba me	aba me	me	wata+F					
CH AUX FP.N+	F REP+F	SEC DECL+F	fish 3PL	fish 3PL.O	3PL.S	catch					
aux		sec	nm pron	nm pron	pron	vt					
mati . mati . 3PL.S pron 'The Yiwa Me Fawa Kani people lived there. They caught fish with their hands.'											

124	Faya	awa	me	nanatafa		toha	me ,	fa	me	fa
	faya	awa	me	na- na-	tafa	to- ha+F	me	faha	me	faha
	SO	garden	3PL.S	DUP CAUS	eat	CH AUX	3PL.S	water	3pl	water
	conj	nf	pron	vt		aux	pron	nf	pron	nf

me	afi	na me	me	fawa	kimetemone							
me	afi	na+F me	me	fawa	ka.NOM+F-	na -mete -mone						
3PL.S	bathe in	AUX 3PI	L.S 3PL.S	8 disappear	COMIT	AUX FP.N+F REP+F						
pron	vt	aux pro	on pron	vi	aux							
amake	ahi	fa	me	aafi	toha	mati .						
ama -k	e ahi	faha	me	a- afi	to- ha+F	mati						
be DE	CL+F then	water	3PL.S	DUP bathe in	CH AUX	3PL.S						
VC	dem	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron						
'Thoy ple	They planted gardens. When they were in the stream, they disappeared '											

They planted gardens. When they were in the stream, they disappeared.

125	Faya	me	tabori	ya	me	wiwinama			
	faya	me	tabori	ya	me	wi- wina -ma			
	SO	3PL.POSS	place+F	ADJU	3PL.S	DUP live back			
	conj	pron	pn	prt	pron	vi			

tohemetemone

to- ha -hemete -mone

CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F

aux

'The others came and lived in their village.'

126	Me	tafe	me	kakaba toimetemone					amake		
	me	tafe	me	ka-	kaba	to-	ha.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama	-ke
	3PL.POSS	crops+F	3PL.S	DUP	eat	СН	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DECL+F
	pron	pn	pron	vt		aux				VC	
ahi	biha	bia	me	kabara	wa	n	ati .				
ahi	biha	, biha	me	kaba	-rawa+H	F m	ati				
the	n yam	yam	3PL.S	eat	F.PL	3	PL.S				
dem	nf	nf	pron	vt		р	ron				
'They ate their crops. They ate yams.'											

They ate their crops. They ate yams.'

127 *Me* kamaremetemoneke me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

'They didn't come back.'

128	Me	wina	me	awineke		fa	boti	ya .
	me	wina+F	me	awine	-ke	faha	boti	уа
	3PL.S	live	3PL.S	seem+F	DECL+F	water	inside	ADJU
	pron	vi	pron	sec		nf	pn	prt
'The	y live in th	ne depths o	f the wate	r.'				

129 Me kamaremetemoneke me ka -ma -: ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

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'They didn't come back.'
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130	Me	ka	yibote	me		tokoma	ke			•			
	me	ka	yibote	me		to-	ka	-mal	kΙ	,			
	3pl	POSS	wife	ЗP	L.S	away	go/come	fol	lowing				
	pron	prt	nf	pr	on	vi							
kam	arihi				me	ka	mate		me	taba	l	mati	
ka		-ma	-rihi	,	me	ka	matehe	Э	me	tab	a+F	mati	
go/	'come	back	NEG.LIST		3pl	POSS	child	ren	3PL.S	be	together	3PL.S	
vi					pron	prt	nf		pron	vi		pron	
11						• -							

'Their wives went there, too, and they didn't come back either, along with their children.'

131	Me	kawitineke	Yiwa Me Fawa Kani	karo .								
	me	ka- ita -ne -ke	Yiwa Me Fawa Kani	karo								
	3PL.S	COMIT sit CONT+F DECL+F	(place name)	LOC								
	pron	vi	npropf	prt								
I'The	There are there in the meal at View Me Force Veril											

'They are there in the pool, at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.'

toimetemone	prt pro:	n vi	e change	
to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F REP+H aux mati 3PL.S		me 3PL.POSS	<i>tafe me</i> tafe me food+F 3PL. pn pror	

'They lived in their village, living by their crops.'

133	<i>Me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>wina</i> wina+F live vi	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	, r	ne ne 3PL.P oron	OSS	<i>tafe</i> tafe crops+F pn	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron		
totonafiyo hiemete awineke										
to-	• to- na	a- fiyo		hi-	to-	ha	-hemete	awine	-ke	
DUF	CH CA	AUS be al	FP.N+F	seem+F	DECL+F					
vt aux sec 'They lived there, and ate all their crops.'										

134 Me wiwinawa						etemone			amak	te	ahi
I	me	wi-	wina	-waha	to-	ha.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama	-ke	ahi
	3PL.S	DUP	live	change	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DECL+F	there
l	pron	vi			aux				VC		dem
Yiwa Me Fawa Kani ya											
Yiwa	Me Fav	wa Ka	ani j	ya							
(pla	.ce name	e)	Ĺ	ADJU							
npro	pf]	prt							
'They	started l	iving	at Viws	Me Fawa l	Kani '						

'They started living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.'

135	Faya	me		,	tafe	a	wa	me		sari		na	awa	l	m	е
	faya	me			tafe	a	wa	me		sar	i	na+F	awa	a	me	9
	SO	3PI	L.POSS		crops+F	t	ree	3PI	.S	burr	n	AUX	gaı	rden	31	PL.S
	conj	pro	on		pn	n	f	pro	n	vt		aux	nf		pı	ron
nata	fa		me		me		ihi		hiya	remete	emo	ne				fara
na-	tafa	+F	me	,	me		ihi		hiy	a	-ra	a -hem	ete	-mone	Э	fara
CAU	S eat		3PL.S		3PL.POSS		deed	+F	be	bad	NEC	G FP.N	+F	REP+	F	same+F
vt			pron		pron		pn		vi							dem
mati																
mat	i															
3pl																
pro	n															

'They burned their gardens, and planted their gardens, and then they did a bad thing.'

136 Awa	me	nanatafa	toha	me ,	me	ihi		
awa	me	na- na- ta	fa to- ha+F	me	me	ihi		
garden	3PL.S	DUP CAUS ea	t CH AUX	3PL.S	3PL.POSS	deed+F		
nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	pn		
hiyaraba		mati .						
hiya -ra	-haba	mati						
be bad NEG	FUT+F	3PL.POSS						
vi		pron						
'They planted t	They planted their gardens, and then did a bad thing.'							

faya 137 Me fawa kiteba me me , me fawa kana -tee -haba me faya me 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT AUX HAB FUT+F 3PL.S disappear so pron pron vi pron aux conj yibote kamakia kanemetemone me ka me , ka- na -hemete -mone me ka yibote me ka

COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL POSS wife 3PL.S go/come following aux pron prt nf pron vi Me totowamake nahi me e , me me ee to- toawa -makI na -hi 3PL.S 3PL.POSS 1IN.S DUP away see following AUX IMP+F pron pron pron vt aux

'They disappeared. Their wives came after them. "Let's go see them."

138	Faya	mera	ı	towam	akebo	ne					bokarav	va		
	faya	mer	a	to-	awa	-makI			-habone)	boka		-rawa	a+F
	SO	3pl	.0	away	see	follo	wing	g	INT+F		enter	water	F.PL	
	conj	pro	n	vt							vi			
tokon	nakeraw	a					•	E	E	naj	fi			
to-	ka		-mal	κI	-ra	awa+F	,	е	e	na	fi			
away	/ go/c	ome	fol	lowing	g F.1	PL		1	IN.POSS	al	1			
vi								р	oron	pn				
tokon	nakibote						nal	hi						
to-	ka		-mal	κI	-bo	ote	na		-hi					
away	/ go/c	ome	fol	lowing	g qui	ickly	AU	Х	IMP+F					
vi							au	Х						

'They wanted to go after them, and they went into the water. They went after them. "Let's all go after them quickly."

139 Nafi	tokomi	akerawa	!				kamarawa	bone			
nafi	to-	ka	-1	makI	-rawa	+F	ka	-ma	-rawa	-habone	,
all	away	go/co	me f	ollowin	ıg F.PL		go/come	back	F.PL	INT+F	
pn	vi						vi				
mate	me	san	ari					hira	wa		fa
matehe	me	sar	na				-ri	hi-	na -	-rawa+F 🤇	faha
childrer	n 3PL.	S cai	rry s	trapped	d on sho	ould	er DISTF	OC	AUX F	F.PL	water
nf	pron	vt						aux			nf
boti	me	hekam	akiraw	vemetemo	ne						
boti	me	hi- t	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	kI	-rawa	-hemet	te -mone	
inside	3PL.S	OC a	away	COMIT	go/come	fol	lowing 3	F.PL	FP.N+E	F REP+F	
pn	pron	vt									

'They all went after them. They would not come back. They were carrying the children in slings. They took them into the depths of the water.'

fawa

vi

-makI+F

fawa

disappear

140	Fa	boti	ya	?
	faha	boti	ya	
	water	inside	ADJU	
	nf	pn	prt	
'Into	o the dept	hs of the wa	ter?'	

141 <i>Ee</i> ee yes interj	, <i>fa</i> fah wat nf		1	<i>mate</i> mat chi nf		bite bite small+F adj	,	<i>yetene</i> yetene teenage boy adj	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron
toha to- ha+F CH be vc 'Yes, into the	<pre>mati mati 3PL.S pron depths o</pre>	me me 3PL.S pron f the water	isisi isi be small vi , the small cl		na na+F AUX aux , the littl	<i>mati</i> . mati . 3PL.S pron le boys.'		-	-

142	Те	nima	me	neme	ete	me	awineke		
	tee	nima	me	na	-hemete	me	awine	-ke	
	2PL	like	3PL.S	AUX	FP.N+F	3PL.S	seem+F	DECL+F	
	pron	prt	pron	aux		pron	sec		
'The	y were	like you	.'						

143	Faya	me	me	tabori	ya	, me	tabori	ya	me
	faya	me	me	tabori	ya	me	tabori	ya	me
	SO	3pl	3PL.POSS	place+F	ADJU	3PL.POSS	place+F	ADJU	3PL.S
	conj	pron	pron	pn	prt	pron	pn	prt	pron
wiwi	nawa		toemetem	oneke					
wi-	wina	-waha	to- ha	-hemete	-mone	-ke			
DUP	live	chang	e CH AUX	K FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F			
vi			aux						

'Then they started living in their village.'

144 <i>Me</i>	winaw	a	me	•	те	•	me	fawa	na	me
me	wina	-waha	me	Í	me	,	me	fawa	na+F	me
3PL.S	S live	change	3PL.S		3PL		3PL.S	disappear	AUX	3PL.S
pron	vi		pron		pron		pron	vi	aux	pron
inamati	me	hikamine	metemone				inamati	•		
inamati	me	hi- kan	nina -he	emete	e -mo	ne	inama	ti		
spirit	3PL.O	OC tel	Ll FP.	N+F	REP	+F	spiri	t		
nm	pron	vt					nm			
'They lived	there A s	nirit told a	haut the a	nes M	ho die	ann	eared '			

'They lived there. A spirit told about the ones who disappeared.'

145	Inamati	me	hikan	nina	me	•	Ee	te	ka	one	
	inamati	me	hi-	kamina+F	me	·	ee	tee	ka	one	
	spirit	3PL.O	OC	tell	3PL.S		(pause)	2PL	POSS	relative	
	nm	pron	vt		pron		interj	pron	prt	nf	
me	fawa		kanaran	ni			inamati	ati			
me	fawa		ka-	na -hai	ra -ni		inamati	ati			
3P1	L.S disa	ppear	COMIT	AUX IP.B	E+F BKG+F		spirit	say			
pro	on vi		aux				nm	vt			
nen	ıatamonaka										
na	-himata	-mona	-ka								
AUX	K FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+N	1							
auz	K										
ten 1		11	"0	c	1		1 11 . 1	• •. •			

'The spirit told about them. "Some of your relatives disappeared," the spirit said.'

146 **E E** ee me nimakoni me fawa na -makoni me me fawa 3PL.S AUX for this reason+F like this 3PL.S disappear dem pron aux pron vi ninihi kine na.NOM+F -ni -hi na -ne ka-COMIT AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP aux aux "What a thing, they disappeared."

147	Me	tafe	ota	kawinar	naba		otake		
	me	tafe	otaa	ka-	wina	-ma	-haba	otaa	-ke
	3PL.POSS	crops+F	1EX.S	COMIT	live	back	FUT+F	1EX.S	DECL+F
	pron	pn	pron	vt				pron	
'''We	e will live here	with their c	ops."'						

148 **Ota** kamaba otani ahi ota winamaba , otaa -ni otaa ka -ma -haba ahi otaa wina -ma -haba 1EX.S go/come back FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F here 1EX.S live back FUT+F pron vi pron dem pron vi ota . otaa 1EX.S pron "We will come here to live."

149	Yama	winihina	ra	ota	wini	nofa	ota	amake
	yama	wina -hina		otaa	wina	nofa+F	otaa	ama -ke
	thing	live can	AUX NEG	1EX.S	live	recently	1EX.S	SEC DECL+F
	nf	vi	aux	pron	vi	prt	pron	sec

"We live in a place that is not good for living."

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150 Te kamiyahi
tee ka -ma -yahi
2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
pron vi
"'Come here."'
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151 Me winamakere

me wina -ma -ke -re

3PL.S live back DECL+F NEG+F

pron vi

"They don't live here anymore."
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152 *Me* tafe kawitine haro tafe ka- ita -ne haaro me 3PL.POSS crops+F COMIT sit CONT+F that one+F dem pron pn vi "Their crops are there."

153	Me	tafe	te	kabibeya			ati
	me	tafe	tee	kaba -be -ya	,	inamati	ati
	3PL.POSS	crops+F	2PL.S	eat IMMED+F now		spirit	say
	pron	pn	pron	vt		nm	vt

nematamonaha

na -himata -mona -ha AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP aux "You eat their crops," the spirit said.'

154 Me me wiwinawa toimetemone amake wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke me me DUP live change CH AUX 3pl 3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F pron vi aux VC pron ahi . ahi then dem 'Then they lived there.'

155 Faya okobiteba sasawiwa faya 0ka abi -tee -ba sa- sawi -waha so 1SG.POSS POSS father HAB FUT DUP be present change conj nm vi toemata to- ha -himata CH AUX FP.N+M aux

'After that was the time of my father.'

156	56 Okobi				ıta	toaremata				awaka		
	0-	ka	abi	wa-	wata	to-	ha	-ra	-himata	awa	-ka	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	DUP	exist	CH	AUX	NEG	FP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M	
	nm			vi		aux				sec		
13.6	C 11	1	,									

'My father was not yet born.'

157 Okiti ta sawi ee 0sawi.LIST ka iti taa ee 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather contrast be present (pause) nm prt vi interj okobise okobise okobise mati , 0ka abise 0ka abise 0ka abise mati 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 3PL nm nm nm pron ee siba omakone ino , . ee ino siba o- na -mako -ne 1SG.S AUX for this reason+M BKG+M (pause) name+M look for interj vt aux pn

'But my grandfather was alive, also my uncle and the others. I am trying to remember his name.'

158 Taori	okobise		ino	, Taori	totoa					
Taori	0-	ka abise	ino	Taori	to- to- ha					
(man's name)	1SG.POSS	POSS uncle	name+M	(man's name)	DUP CH be					
npropm	nm		pn	npropm	VC					
toemari	amaka	Taori	bote	bote .						
to- ha -himari	ama -ka	Taori	bote	bote						
CH AUX FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M	(man's name) old	old						
aux	sec	npropm	adj	adj						
Taori my uncle's nam	'Taori my uncle's name was Taori Taori was really old '									

'Taori, my uncle's name was Taori. Taori was really old.'

159 Fay fay so	ya me 3PL.S		va ina -waha ive change	<i>toimetem</i> to- ha CH AUI aux	.NOM+F	-mete FP.N+F	-mone ar	-
<i>ahi</i> ahi there dem 'So they	me Me 3PL.POSS pron lived there in	<i>tabori</i> tabori place+F pn their village ,	ya , ya ADJU prt eating aba fis	<i>aba</i> aba fish sp nm sh.'	<i>me</i> me 3PL.O pron	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	kaba kaba+F eat vt	<i>mati</i> mati 3PL.S pron

160	Faya	aba	me	me	kakawina		hiem	etemo	ne		
	faya	aba	me	me	ka- ka-	wina	hi-	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone
	SO	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP COM	IT live	OC	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F
	conj	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux				
I'The	1:	لا م مأ م مأ لا مأ له أ	C l. !								

'They lived with the aba fish.'

161	Faye	a d	okobi			me	okobi				metel	ba		•
	fay	a	- C	ka	abi	me	0-	k	ca	abi	me	-tee	-ba	
	SO		1SG.POS	S POS	S father	3pl	1SG.P	OSS F	POSS	father	3PL	HAB	FUT	
	con	jı	nm			pron	nm				pror	ı		
me		yaya	na	toimet	e		amak	e		ahi .				
me		ya-	yana	to-	ha.NOM+F	-mete	ama	-ke		ahi				
3pl	.S	DUP	grow	CH .	AUX	FP.N+F	be	DECL	+F	then				
pro	n	vi		aux			VC			dem				

'Then my father and the others grew up.'

162 Okobise o- ka ab: 1SG.POSS POSS und nm	, <i>okobise</i> ise o- ka cle 1SG.POSS PO nm									
okobise	Kawi Yife	toha m	e ka							
o- ka abi:	se Kawi Yife	to- ha.LIST (m	e ka							
1SG.POSS POSS unc	le (man's name)	CH be 3	PL POSS							
nm	npropm	vc p	ron prt							
niso me	Kabiri	toha .	okobi							
niso me	' Kabiri	to- ha.LIST '	o- ka abi							
younger brother 3PL	(man's name)	CH be	1SG.POSS POSS father							
nm pro	n npropm	VC	nm							
Botehefo toha										
Botehefo to-ha	1.LIST									
(man's name) CH be										
npropm vc										
'Also my uncle Kawi Yife, ar	'Also my uncle Kawi Yife, and their younger brother Kabiri, and my father Botehefo.'									

163	Hima	<i>faya</i> faya	amake	
]	hima Ó	faya	ama -ke	
	let's go	enough	be DECL+F	
	interj	adj	VC	
'Let's	go, that's all.'			

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