Free Translation

The Brazilians shot Kawi Yife, my father's companion, my father's cousin. He died. They went after the others, and they came running back. They got their bows and arrows and went running on the trail, chasing the Brazilians. The log broke on them, and they fell in the water. They came upon them as they were swimming. They went away. If they had been near they could have caught up with them. They were in canoes.

They left off following them. They came back. They arrived back. They dug graves for them the next day, and they buried them. They came back, and they moved to another place. They went to the other side at Hato Fa. They went to Hato Fa, and lived out there. They came back, my father used to say. They came back, and arrived back.

They were hungry. They came upon unripe corn – haven't you seen unripe corn that grows – and they ate the corn, my father used to say. They broke off the corn ears and ate it, because the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet. They arrived back when the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet. They ate only corn, but then the peach palm fruits got ripe. Then they ate ripe peach palm fruits.

"They killed my cousin Kawi Yife, and his grave is there."

But my father's father, Bono Wiyo, escaped, because he had gone fishing. Bono Wiyo went fishing, and he shot an *aba* fish with an arrow. He hit the *aba* fish on the head. He came back. He arrived back.

"There is only one *aba* fish. I only shot one *aba* fish. I have brought it. There aren't any fish."

"They shot your nephew."

"They shot my nephew. They shot my nephew as if he were an animal." My grandfather was upset. "Come get me, too. Kill me, too. I am here. I won't run away. I am here," my grandfather said.

Then my grandfather slept angry. He ate. He ate the fish, and slept.

My father and mother went out into the forest, and slept out there. My grandfather was left alone.

He waited for the Brazilians to come back. They didn't come back, so they moved away. They moved, and they came over this way. They came this way, and arrived. It is Bosao. They arrived at Bosao, and they caught fish, my father used to say, with something that was not a hook, the metal of a pot.

They ate. They ate fish. They caught fish, and ate fish. They lived there. It is Bosao. They lived there, and ate. They planned to make gardens. A little upstream from Bosao there are old gardens. They cleared the forest for gardens. They cleared the forest. They cut down trees, my father used to say. The trees were all cut down.

Then they went again to the Curiá River. They grated manioc, and they took manioc mash, and went to the Curiá. They went to the Curiá, and lived out there. They came upon some Jamamadis. They lived together with the Jamamadis. They ate there.

They came back to burn the gardens. They burned the gardens. They planted the gardens, my father used to say. They caught fish, the fish of the Faha Biri stream. Then the ones who had

stayed behind came. They were carrying roasted fish that they had caught, my father used to say. They arrived carrying the roasted fish.

"You eat the fish. We already ate many of them. We are tired of eating them."

They took out the fish, and they ate the fish, with no manioc meal, just fish. They ate them by themselves. They ate fish by itself. They ate it with sweet manioc, roasted sweet manioc. They ate fish, my father used to say.

"I didn't eat fish by itself. I roasted two pieces of manioc, and ate a fish," my father said. "My older brother also ate manioc. We lived there a long time. We planted gardens. We finished planting the gardens, and our crops grew. We lived with the fish, there were many of them. We ate many *aba* fish."

"My father made them disappear. My father sent spirits against them, to get revenge for my younger brother. They died. The sound of fighting came upstream, the sound of fighting against the fish. Many trees fell into the stream, oooo, botororoo, but there was no lightning. There was no lightning, there was fighting."

They were fighting them, and the fighting of them was finished. Dawn came. They went out fishing. The *aba* fish had disappeared. There weren't any *aba* fish. There weren't going to be *aba* fish. They fished, but didn't catch any *aba* fish. But the *tawi* fish didn't die, or the *sako fana* fish, or the *ote* fish. They ate small fish. They ate fish.

"What happened to the *aba* fish?"

"Who knows? I guess my grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish. Wait, I will ask my grandfather."

So he went to ask his grandfather. He asked his grandfather. "Grandpa."

"Huh?"

"Grandpa, did the *aba* fish disappear because you sent spirits against them?"

"Because the *aba* fish hurt my son, I sent spirits against the *aba* fish, and they disappeared. They could have lived here, but I sent spirits against them, and they ate them."

Another day, some people who lived somewhere else came, and arrived.

"What happened to the *aba* fish that they disappeared?"

"I know about the *aba* fish. We think that the *aba* fish disappeared when the sound of the wind came upstream. They say my grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish, in revenge for his son."

"Let them die. We will eat sako fana fish."

So they shot *sako fana* fish with arrows, and ate them. *Kiramato* fish. The *kiramato* fish doesn't die. It revives when we put *kona* poison in the water.

Interlinear Presentation

1 Kawi Yife Kawi Yif (man's n npropm		Yife 's name)	' Ka (m	wwwi Yife wi Yife an's nam cropm	, ne)	yara yara Brazi nprop	-	me me 3PL.S pron	tao tao shoot vt
hinematamona hi- na -hi OC AUX FP.	mata -mona N+M REP+N			, <i>okobi</i>	ka OSS POS	abi			
aux okobi	NTM KEFTI	sec DEC sec <i>okobi</i>	Tı±M	nm	owa	os lau	okobi		
o- ka 1SG.POSS PC nm	abi SS father	o- 1SG.POSS nm	ka POSS	abi father	owa other- adj	, +M	0-	ka OSS PC	abi SS father

anoti

anoti

3SG.POSS older parallel cousin

nm

'The Brazilians shot Kawi Yife, my father's companion, my father's cousin.'

2 Yara tao hinematamonaha mρ hi- na -himata -mona -ha vara me tao Brazilian 3PL.S shoot OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP pron npropm vt aux

'The Brazilians shot him.'

3 Abematamona amaka
ahaba -himata -mona ama -ka
die FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
vi sec

'He died.'

4 Manakobisa hinakamakia kana me me me manakobisa me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F kana me then 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.S conj pron vi pron ni me wati kayaba kama me me kayaba+F na.NFIN ka -ma+F me wati me me AUX qo/come back 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S COMIT take out 3PL.S aux vi pron pron pron nm vt kana ni tokomakemetemoneke hawi ya -hemete -mone -ke na.NFIN to- ka -makT hawi kana ya away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F XIIA trail ADJU run aux nf 77 i 77 i prt ahi yara me me kiyoa mati ahi kiyo+F mati yara me me 3PL.O 3PL.S 3PL.S t.hen Brazilian chase dem npropm pron pron vt pron

'They went after the others, and they came running back. They got their bows and arrows and went running on the trail, chasing the Brazilians.'

5	Me	baka	toke	anani			me	!	kabok	ani			me
	me	baka	to-	- ka-	na	-hani	me		ka-	bok	a	-hani	me
	3PL.S	break	СН	COMIT	AUX	IP.N+F	3P	L.S	COMI	T ent	er water	IP.N+F	3PL.S
	pron	vt	aux	ζ			pr	on	vi				pron
tao	ri	tonan	i		me	me		hiwas	simakia			me	
ta	o -ri	to-	na	-hani	me	me		hi-	to-	wasi	-makI+F	me	
hi	t DISTR	CH	AUX	IP.N+F	3PL	.O 3PL	.S	OC	away	find	followin	g 3PL.S	
vi		aux			pro	n pro	n	vt				pron	

tokomemetemone

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

νi

'The log broke on them, and they fell in the water. They came upon them as they were swimming. They went away.'

6	Aya	me	totoa	totoa		neme	enehe	me	toem			
	aya	me	to-	to-	ha	na	-hemenehe	me	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone
	here	3PL.S	DUP	СН	be	AUX	HYPOTH+F	3PL.S	СН	be	FP.N+F	REP+F
	dem	pron	VC			aux		pron	VC			

kanawa ya ahi
kanawa ya ahi
canoe ADJU then
nf prt dem

'If they had been near [they could have caught up with them]. They were in canoes.'

Kanawa va toa mρ mρ mρ sa ha+F kanawa ya tome me me saa canoe ADJU СН be 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S leave off prt pron pron nf VC. pron hisamake me me me sa hi- to- na -kosa -makI me me me saa 3PL.S OC CH AUX middle following 3PL.O 3PL.O leave off pron aux pron pron vt. hisamakemetemoneke hi- to- na -kosa -makI -hemete -mone -ke OC CH AUX middle following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'They were in canoes. They left off following them.'

Me me hisamake me sa hi- to--kosa me me saa na -makI me 3PL.S leave off OC СН AUX middle following 3PL.S pron vt aux pron kobo kama me kama me me nama me ka -ma+F ka -ma+F me kobo -ma+F me me na me AUX back go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back pron vi pron 77 i vi aux pron pron me kobo namemetemoneke kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke me AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S arrive pron νi aux

'They left off following them. They came back. They arrived back.'

9	Me		kob	0	nama	!		me		faya	me	2	me		tamebone	!
	me		kok	00	na	-ma	+F	me	,	faya	a me)	me		tame	-bone
	3PL.	S	arı	rive	AUX	bac	k	3PL.S	3	so	3 F	PL	3PL.	POSS	grave+I	INT+F
	pron		vi		aux			pron		con	j pr	on	pron		pn	
me		wi		nami	na		me		faya	m	ie	m	e	kamoh	a me	
me		wii	i .	na	-mina-	ŀF	me	,	fay	a m	е	me	€	kamo+	·F me	,
3P	L.S	dig	g .	AUX	morni	ng	3PL	.S	so	3	PL.O	31	PL.S	bury	3PL	.S
pr	on	vt		aux			pro	n	con	j p	ron	рі	ron	vt	pro	n
me		kan	na			me		bana		me		toki	imeten	ione		
me		ka		-	-ma+F	me		bana+	⊦F	me		to-	- ka	a.NOM+F	-mete	-mone
3P	L.S	go/	/cor	me k	oack	3PI	J.S	move	away	3P	L.S	awa	ay go	o/come	FP.N+	F REP+F
pr	on	vi				pro	n	vi		pr	on	vi				
am	ake		1	kowa	ni	y	ra	ahi	_	Hato	Fa			ya		
am	a -ke)		kowa	ani	Σ	7a	ahi	,	Hat	o Fa			ya		
be	DEC	CL+E	?	othe	er side	e Z	ADJU	ther	n n	(vi	llage	na	.me)	ADJU		
VC			:	nf		p	ort	dem		npr	opf			prt		

'They arrived back. They dug graves for them the next day, and they buried them. They came back, and they moved to another place. They went to the other side at Hato Fa.'

10 <i>Hato Fa</i>	ya	me	toka	me,	me
Hato Fa	ya	me	to- ka+F	me	me
(village name)	ADJU	3PL.S	away go/come	3PL.S	3PL.S
npropf	prt	pron	vi	pron	pron

totowinawiti	toa	me ka	ımimetemone	
to- to- wina -w	itI to- ha+F	me ka	a -ma.NOM+E	-mete -mone
DUP away live ou	it CH AUX	3PL.S go	o/come back	FP.N+F REP+F
vi	aux	pron vi	Ĺ	
okobi	aati	toemari	amake	ahi .
o- ka ab	i a- ati	to- ha.NOM+N	M −mari ama −:	ke ahi
1SG.POSS POSS fa	ther DUP say	CH AUX	FP.E+M be D	ECL+F then
nm	vt	aux	VC	dem
		_ , ,	2 .1 7 .	

'They went to Hato Fa, and lived out there. They came back, my father used to say.'

11	Me	kama		me	kobo	nama	me ,	me	fimiha
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	kobo	na -ma+F	me	me	fimi+F
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	arrive	AUX back	3PL.S	3PL.S	be hungry
	pron	vi		pron	vi	aux	pron	pron	vi
ma	ti								

mati

mati

3PL.S

pron

'They came back, and arrived back. They were hungry.'

me f	miha , imi+F e hungry i	kimi kimi corn nm	kimi kimi corn nm	sonari sonari unripe pn		
yanahari yana -haari grow IP.E+M vi wasima wasi -ma+F find back vt toemarine to- ha -hi CH AUX FP.	that one+M dem kimi me kimi me corn 3PL.S nm pron mari -ne	nm kabemete kaba -	n unri pn	ri pe	kimi sonari corn unripe	me, me 3PL.S pron aati abi a- ati father DUP say vt

'They were hungry. They came upon unripe corn -- haven't you seen unripe corn that grows -- and they ate the corn, my father used to say.'

13 <i>Kin</i>		kaba	me ,	kimi	me	baka	na	kimi	me
kir	ni me	kaba+F	me	kimi	me	baka	na+F	kimi	me
CO	n 3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	corn	3PL.S	break	AUX	corn	3PL.S
nm	pron	vt	pron	nm	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron
kaba	temoneke -hemete -m FP.N+F RE	none -ke P+F DECL	<i>ahi</i> ahi +F then dem	-	ita ita ch palm	<i>yawita</i> yawita peach nm		<pre>hatare hata be rip vi</pre>	-ra.NOM+M pe NEG
<i>ya</i> ya ADJU prt	mata mata for now prt								

'They are corn. They broke off the corn ears and ate it, because the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet.'

14	Yawita	hatare	ya	me	kobo	namemetemone
	yawita	hata -ra.NOM+N	И уа	me	kobo	na -ma -hemete -mone
	peach palm	be ripe NEG	ADJU	3PL.S	arrive	AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
	nm	vi	prt	pron	vi	aux

me

faya

yawita

'They arrived back when the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet.'

kaba

me

15 *Kimi*

ta

```
kimi
          taa
                      me
                              kaba+F
                                       me
                                                   faya
                                                          yawita
          contrast
                      3PL.S
                              eat
                                       3PL.S
                                                   so
                                                          peach palm
                                                   conj
                     pron
                              vt
                                       pron
hatematamona
                                fahi
                          ama
         -himata -mona
                          ama
be ripe FP.N+M REP+M
                          SEC
                           sec
                                dem
'They ate only corn, but then the peach palm fruits got ripe.'
16 Faya
          yawita
                        hate
                                              kakaba
                                  me
                                                          toimetemone
                                              ka- kaba
                                                          to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
                        hata+M
   faya
          yawita
                                  me
                                              DUP eat
                                                          CH AUX
                                                                         FP.N+F REP+F
                       be ripe
                                  3PL.S
          peach palm
                        vi
                                  pron
                                              vt
                                                          aux
   conj
          nm
amake
ama -ke
be DECL+F
'Then they ate ripe peach palm fruits.'
17 Ee
                okobi
                                          ka
                                                 Okovo
                                                                                   me
                           ka
                                 abi
                                          ka
                                                 0-
                                                            ka
                                                                  ayo
                                                                                   me
   (pause)
                 1SG.POSS POSS father
                                          POSS
                                                 1SG.POSS POSS older brother
                                                                                   3PL
   interj
                nm
                                          prt
                                                 nm
                                                                                   pron
   Kawi Yife
                           hikatomenoho
                                                                                  ha
                   me
                                                         temene
                                                                    ita
   Kawi Yife
                           hi- katoma -hino
                                                                    ita.CONT+M
                   me
                                                -ho
                                                         temene
                                                                                  haa
   (man's name)
                   3PL.S
                           OC attack IP.N+M DUP
                                                         grave+M
                                                                    sit
                                                                                  DEM
                   pron
                                                                    vi
                                                                                  dem
   npropm
                           vt
                                                         pn
"They killed my cousin Kawi Yife, and his grave is there."
18 Okobi
                             okobi
                                                      bati
                                                                          ta
   0-
             ka
                   abi
                             0-
                                       ka
                                             abi
                                                      bati
                                                                          taa
                            1SG.POSS POSS father
   1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                      3SG.POSS.father
                                                                          contrast
   nm
                            nm
```

nematamonaka bati tokahari

na -himata -mona -ka bati to- ka -haari faha escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.father away go/come IP.E+M water vi aux vi

Bono Wivo ki nebonaha kii na -hibona -ha Bono Wivo AUX INT+M (man's name) DUP aux npropm

'But my father's father, Bono Wiyo, escaped, because he had gone fishing.'

19 Bono Wiyo hasi nematamonaka Bono Wiyo hasi na -himata -mona -ka (man's name) AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M escape npropm vi aux 'Bono Wiyo escaped.'

20 Bono Wiyo hasi nematamona Bono Wiyo hasi na -himata -mona (man's name) escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M npropm νi aux

'Bono Wiyo escaped.'

21 Bono Wi	yo .	fa	ki	nebona		toke			aba	•
Bono W	iyo	faha	kii	na -h	nibona	to-	ka+M	,	aba	,
(man's	name)	water	look at	AUX I	M+TV	away	go/come		fish sp	
npropm		nf	vt	aux		vi			nm	
aba	sa		kane		aba		aba	sa		
aba	saa		ka-	na+M	aba	,	aba	saa	a	
fish sp	shoot w	ith arr	ow COMIT	AUX	fish s	sp	fish sp	sh	oot with	arrow
nm	vt		aux		nm		nm	vt		

kanematamonaka

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

'Bono Wiyo went fishing, and he shot an aba fish with an arrow.'

22	Aba	sa		kane		aba		, tati	ba	
	aba	saa		ka-	na+M	aba		' tati	baa	
	fish sp	shoot wi	th arrow	COMIT	AUX	fish	sp	head	hit	
	nm	vt		aux		nm		pn	vt	
nar	re		kame		, kame	ematam	onaka			
na	-rI		ka	-ma+M	ka		-ma	-himata	-mona	-ka
AU:	X raised :	surface	go/come	back	go/d	come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
~ 111			***		771					

'He shot an aba fish. He hit the aba fish on the head. He came back.'

23	Kame		kame		kobo	2		Aba		
	ka	-ma+M	ka	-ma+M	kobo	na	-ma+M	,	aba	
	go/come	back	go/come	back	arrive	AUX	back		fish	sp
	vi		vi		vi	aux			nm	

ohariare

ohari -hare be one IP.E+M

'He came back. He arrived back. "There is only one aba fish."'

24	Aba	sa	kani	owarihara	0
	aba	saa	ka- na.NFIN	o- ohari -hara	0-
	fish sp	shoot with arrow	COMIT AUX	1SG.S be only IP.E+F	1SG.S
	nm	vt	aux	vi	prt

"I only shot one aba fish."

25 Owakamine o ka- ka -ma -ne o1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S vt prt

"I have brought it."

26	Aba	me	watararake								
	aba	me	wata	-ra	-hara	-ke					
	fish	3PL.S	exist	NEG	IP.E+F	DECL+F					
	nm	pron	vi								
"There aren't any fish."											

27 <i>Tikatao</i> tikatao 2SG.POSS.nephew nm "They shot your nephew.'	pron vt	noot AUX	ahi DM+F ahi then dem	•	
28 Okatao me okatao me my nephew 3PL.S nm pron "They shot my nephew."	tao n shoot A	na me na+F me AUX 3PL.; aux pron		-ni BKG+F	
29 Okatao me okatao me my nephew 3PL.S nm pron ""They shot my nephew.""	tao r	na me na+F me AUX 3PL.: aux pron		-ni BKG+F	
30 Bani memakoni bani me -mak animal 3PL for nm pron ninihi na.NOM+F -ni -hi AUX IP.N+F DUF aux "They shot my nephew as	this reaso	nm	ao me	tao tao shoot vt	nine na -ne AUX CONT+F aux
31 <i>Okiti</i> o- ka it 1SG.POSS POSS gr nm 'My grandfather was upse	andfather	yawematama yawa be upset vi	<i>onaka</i> -himata - FP.N+M R		
32 Faya okiti faya o- k so 1SG.POSS P conj nm nakama na- ka -ma CAUS go/come back vt 'My grandfather was upse		father be vi	va+M upset	Owa owa 1SG.O pron	te tee 2PL.S pron
	si niha cape CAUS	a- na -ra	-yahi DIST.IMP4	· -F	
34 <i>Owinaro</i> o- wina -haar 1SG.S live look+		· ne+F			

vi

"I am here."

dem

35 Kana

kana

run

okere ∘-

na

-ke

1SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F

-re

```
aux
"I won't run awav."
36 Kana
          orini
   kana
          0-
                 na
                     -ra -ni
   run
          1SG.S AUX NEG BKG+F
   vi
          aux
"I won't run away."
37 Owinaro
                         haro
                                          okiti
                                                                          ati
         wina -haaro
                         haaro
                                          \circ
                                                    ka
                                                          iti
                                                                          ati
   1SG.S live look+F
                         that one+F
                                          1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                                         say
   77 i
                         dem
                                          nm
                                                                          vt
nematamona
na -himata -mona
AUX FP.N+M REP+M
aux
"I am here," my grandfather said.'
38 Fava
          okiti
                                                                    kane
                                            faya
                                                   vawa
                                                            amo
                          iti
                                                                           na+M
   faya
          0-
                    ka
                                             faya
                                                   vawa
                                                            amo
                                                                    ka-
          1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
   so
                                            so
                                                            sleep
                                                                    COMIT AUX
                                                   anger
   conj
                                            conj
                                                   nf
                                                            vi
                                                                    aux
tafe
         aba
                kabe
                             aba
                                    kabe
                                             amo
                                                     nematamonaka
                             aba
                                    kaba+M
                                                     na -himata -mona -ka
tafe
         aha
                kaba+M
                                             amo
         fish
                             fish
                                             sleep
                                                     AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
food+F
                                    eat
                eat.
                                    vt
         nm
                vt
                             nm
                                             77 i
                                                     aux
'Then my grandfather slept angry. He ate. He ate the fish, and slept.'
39 Okobi
                            mati
                                   okomi
                                                                okobi
             ka
                   abi
                            mati
                                              ka
                                                    ami
                                                                0-
                                                                           ka
                                                                                 abi
   1SG.POSS POSS father
                                   1SG.POSS POSS mother
                                                                1SG.POSS POSS father
                            3PL
                            pron
                                   nf
                          yama kabani
                                                         toka
                                                                                 amo
me
     ta
                 me
                                         va
                                                me
                                                                         me
                                                              ka+F
me
     taa
                 me
                          yama kabani
                                         ya
                                                me
                                                         to-
                                                                         me
                                                                                 amo
     contrast
                 3PL
                          forest
                                         ADJU
                                                 3PL.S
                                                         away qo/come
                                                                         3PL.S
                                                                                 sleep
pron prt
                 pron
                          nf
                                         prt
                                                pron
                                                         vi
                                                                         pron
towiti
                           okiti
                                                          ohari
                                                                     towinakose
to- na -witI.LIST
                           0-
                                      ka
                                          iti
                                                           ohari+M
                                                                     to- wina -kosa+M
away AUX out
                           1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                          be one
                                                                     CH live middle
aux
                           nm
                                                           vi
                                                                     vi
           noki
   mera
                      ne
                                 me
                                         kamarimakoni
           noki
                                                  -ma -ra -makoni
   mera
                      na+M
                                         ka
                                 me
   3PL.O
           wait for
                      AUX
                                 3PL.S
                                         go/come back NEG for this reason+F
   pron
                                 pron
                                         vi
           vt
                       aux
        banawemetemone
me
        bana
                   -waha -hemete -mone
       move away change FP.N+F REP+F
3PL.S
'My father and mother went out into the forest, and slept out there. My grandfather was left alone. He waited
for them. They didn't come back, so they moved away.'
```

40 <i>Me</i>	bana	me	,	amimetemo				amake	
me 3PL.S	bana+F move away	me 3PL.S		ta - go/come k		F -mete - FP.N+F F	-mone REP+F	ama -ke be DECL+H	7
pron	vi	pron	_	7i				VC	
ahi .		-							
ahi									
then dem									
	, and they can	ne over th	is way.'						
41 <i>Me</i>	kama		ie	kama		me	kobo		
me			ie	ka	-ma+F	me ,	kobo		
3PL.S	go/come ba		PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	arrive	е	
pron namimetemon	vi na	р	ron	vi		pron	vi		
	OM+F -mete	-mone	•						
AUX back	FP.N+	F REP+F	,						
aux									
"They came t	his way, and a	rrived.'							
42 <i>Bosao</i>		amake		ahi .					
Bosao		ama -k		ahi					
	of place)		CL+F	there					
npropf 'It is Bosao.'		VC		dem					
it is bosao.									
43 Bosao		•	me	kobo	nama	aba	me	,	me
Bosao	of place)	-	me 3PL.S	kobo arrive	na -r AUX ba	na+F aba ack fish	me 3PL		me 3PL.O
npropf	or prace,		pron	vi	aux	nm	pron		pron
	wasimetemone	1	_	oko			aati		1 -
me na				mone o-		ka abi	a-	ati	
3PL.S CA pron vt	US get cau	ght FP.	N+F R	EP+F 1S nm	G.POSS 1	POSS fathe	r DUP vt	say	
toemari		ama	ahi	00		kabikana	amara	ya ya	
to- ha.NO	M+F -mari	ama	ahi	, ee	,	kabikana		-ra+F ya	,
CH AUX	FP.E+M	be	then	(pau		fish hook	be 1	NEG ADJ	U
aux	1	VC	dem	inte	=	nf	VC	prt	
	<i>banera</i> , banera		<i>feho</i> feho	, <i>haro</i> haaro		•			
(n		iron		one+F				
interj		_	nf	dem					
	l at Bosao, and	l they cau	ıght fish	, my father	used to sa	ay, with some	thing tha	it was not a ho	ok, the
metal of a po	ot.								
44 Faya	me , me		emetemo		fahi	i .			
-	me me			emete -mo					
	3PL 3PI			.N+F REI					
conj 'They ate.'	pron pro	on vi			den	II.			
They are.									
45 <i>Me</i>	tafa m	,	me		temoneke			•	
me 3PL.S	tafa+F me eat 31	e PL.S	me 3PL.		-hemete	e -mone -ke REP+F DE			
pron		ron	pror		TT • IN L	MALIE DE	, L		
'They ate.'	r		<u> </u>						

nm pro	3PL.0 pron me me L.0 3PI on pro	me ka 3PL.S ea pron vt kabem kaba L.S eat	pro etemoneke -hemete - FP.N+F R	.S n	aba r fish 3 nm p ke ECL+F	me 3PL.O pron ahi ahi then dem	me me 3PL.S pron		si+F t caught
faya faya so conj They lived	3PL.S pron	<pre>wiwina wi- wina DUP live vi</pre>	toimetemon to- ha.N CH AUX aux	OM+F -n	nete -r P.N+F RI	mone EP+F			
48 Bosao Bosao (name npropf 'It is Bosao.		amake ama - e) be D vc		i ere					
wati wati think abo	3PL.S pron hika hi- out OC aux	wina+F r live 3 vi p nnemetemone - ka- na COMIT AU	BPL.S DUP pron vi	tafa eat -mone REP+F	toa to- ha CH AU aux .		L.S	<i>awa</i> awa garden nf	me me 3PL.S pron
npropf awa l awa l garden c nf a	bote si bote si old st adj vi	ka e) LOC prt tone ii to- tand CH i aux	vi ke	-ke F DECL-	-tim me upst faro faa +F tha dem	ream . ro	<i>ni</i> na.NOM AUX aux	ka I+F ka which prt	,
51 Awa awa tree nf 'They cleare	3PL.S pron	bore na	JX FP.N+F	-mone REP+F	<i>fahi</i> fahi then dem				
52 Awa awa tree nf toimetemone to- ha.NO CH AUX aux	me 3PL.S pron OM+F -me	clear AU vt au	a+F awa UX tree ux nf okobi	me me 3PL.S pron ka S POSS	kaka ka- k DUP c vt abi father	hop <i>aati</i>	ati t say C	emari o- ha.NOM H AUX ux	+M -mari FP.E+M

ama

ama be

VC

'They cleared the forest. They cut down trees, my father used to say.'

53	Awa	me me	bore	na	me	,	awa	me	ka	na	me
	awa	me	bore	na+F	me		awa	me	kaa	na+F	me
	tree	3PL.S	clear	AUX	3PL.S		tree	3PL.S	chop	AUX	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron		nf	pron	vt	aux	pron
(714)	a ma	ka	n am atar	nonaka							

awa me ka nemetemoneke
awa me kaa na -hemete -mone -ke
tree 3PL.S chop AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf pron vt aux

'They cleared the forest. They cut down trees.'

54 Awa me ka na awa awa me kaa na+F awa ahaba+F awa tree 3PL.S chop AUX tree end tree nf pron vt aux nf vi nf

abemetemoneke

ahaba -hemete -mone -ke end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

'They cut down trees. The trees were all cut down.'

aba 55 Awa faya tokawemetemone me ahaba+F -waha -hemete -mone to- ka awa faya me 3PL.S away go/come change FP.N+F tree end SO vi pron nf conj vi Koriwa ya ahi

Koriwa ya ahi Koriwa ya ahi Curiá ADJU then npropf prt dem

'The trees were all cut down. Then they went again to the Curiá River.'

56	Iyawa	me,	fowa	me	hiti	na	me	,	iyawa
	iyawa	me	fowa	me	hiti	na+F	me		iyawa
	manioc mash	3PL	manioc	3PL.S	grate	AUX	3PL.S		manioc mash
	nf	pron	nm	pron	vt	aux	pron		nf
me	towaka		me	tokim	etemone				Koriwa ya

to- kaka+F me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone Koriwa va away go/come FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S Curiá ADJU pron vt pron vi npropf prt

ahi

ahi

then dem

'They grated manioc, and they took manioc mash, and went to the Curiá.'

57	Koriwa	ya	me	toka		me ,	towina	witia		me	,
	Koriwa	ya	me	to-	ka+F	me	to-	wina	-witI+F	me	
	Curiá	ADJU	3PL.S	away	go/come	3PL.S	away	live	out	3PL.S	
	npropf	prt	pron	vi		pron	vi			pron	

wati	me	me	towasiwitia	wati	me	me
wahati	me	me	to- wasi -witI+F	wahati	me	me
Jamamadi	3PL.O	3PL.S	away find out	Jamamadi	3PL.O	3PL.S
npropm	pron	pron	vt	npropm	pron	pron
kakawina		tohemetem	one .			
ka- ka-	wina	to- ha	-hemete -mone			
DUP COMIT	live	CH AUX	FP.N+F REP+F			
vt		aux				

'They went to the Curiá, and lived out there. They came upon some Jamamadis. They lived together with the Jamamadis.'

4	8 Faya	me	tatafa		toa		,	awa	me	sari	nabo	ne	me
	faya	me	ta- t	afa	to-	ha+F	,	awa	me	sari	na	-habone	me
	so	3PL.S	DUP e	eat	СН	AUX		tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX	INT+F	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi		aux			nf	pron	vt	aux		pron
Ì	kama		me	awa	m	e	sari	nam	imetemone	e			
]	ка	-ma+F	me	awa	me	Э	sar	i na	-ma.NO	M+F-m	ete	-mone	
(go/come	back	3PL.S	tree	31	PL.S	bur	n AUX	back	FP	.N+F	REP+F	
7	<i>γ</i> i		pron	nf	g	ron	vt	aux					

'They ate there. They came back to burn the gardens. They burned the gardens.'

```
59 Awa
                sari
                                 me
        me
                      nama
                                           awa
                                                  me
                                                         sari
                                                               nama
                sari
                      na -ma+F
                                                               na -ma+F
  awa
        me
                                 me
                                           awa
                                                  me
                                                         sari
        3PL.S
               burn AUX back
                                 3PL.S
                                           tree
                                                  3PL.S
                                                         burn
                                                               AUX back
        pron
  nf
                vt
                      aux
                                 pron
                                           nf
                                                  pron
                                                         vt
                                                               aux
            nanatafa
                            toimetemone
      me
awa
             na- na- tafa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
      me
awa
      3PL.S DUP CAUS eat
                            CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
tree
nf
                            aux
      pron
             vt
okobi
                                                                 ahi
                      aati
                               toemari
                                                     amake
                                                     ama -ke
                      a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari
         ka
              abi
                                                                 ahi
                      DUP say CH AUX
1SG.POSS POSS father
                                            FP.E+M
                                                         DECL+F
                                                                 then
                                                    be
                      vt
                               aux
                                                                 dem
```

'They came back and burned the gardens. They planted the gardens, my father used to say.'

60	Bese	yama	tai	karima			tinahi				
	bese	yama	tai	ka-	na	-rima	ti-	na	-hi		
	son	thing	step on	COMIT	AUX	NEG.IMP+F	2SG.S	AUX	IMP+F		
	VOC	nf	vt	aux			aux				
'So	'Son, don't step on that.'										

61 <i>Ee</i>			, faya	aba	me	me,	na	nanawasima					
	\in	ee		faya	aba	me	me	na	- na-	wasi	Ĺ	-ma	
	(paus	se)	so	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	DU	P CAUS	get	caught	back	
	i	nter	ij	conj	nm	pron	pron	vt					
hiemetemone			ne			me	amake		haro		Fa Bir	i	
	hi-	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone	me	ama -ke		haaro		Faha	Biri	
	OC	СН	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.O	SEC DEC	L+F	that o	one+F	(name	e of s	tream)
	aux					pron	sec		dem		nprop	of	

ka mati
ka mati
of 3PL
prt pron

'They caught fish, the fish of the Fa Biri stream.'

62 *Fava* me towinakosa kamakia me me me to- wina -kosa+F faya me me me ka -makI+F me CH live middle so 3PL 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S pron vi vi conj pron pron pron aba nawasiani aha me kai mρ mρ mρ kaha.NFIN aba me me na- wasi -hani aba me CAUS get caught IP.N+F 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S fish 3PL.S be toasted pron nm pron vt pron vi pron okobi aati weve nemetemone toemari -hemete -mone ka abi to- ha.NOM+M -mari weye na \circ a **–** ati СН AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father AUX FP.E+M carry DUP say nm vt aux vt allx ama me vetene ama me yetene be young men VC nf

'Then the ones who had stayed behind came. They were carrying roasted fish that they had caught, my father used to say.'

63 Faya kai kobo aba me me weve na me kaha.NFIN kobo faya aba me me weye na+F me 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive fish carry AUX pron vi conj nm pron vi vt aux pron namakia Aba kakaba aha te me me na -makI+F aba aba tee ka- kaba me me AUX following fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP eat nm pron nm pron pron vt

"They arrived carrying the roasted fish. "You eat the fish."

64 *Me* kaba ota me amake ama -ke kaba+F otaa me me 1EX.S 3PL.O SEC DECL+F 3PL.O eat pron pron vt pron sec

"We already ate many of them."

65 Me kabi nawaharake
me kaba.NFIN nawaha -hara -ke
3PL.S eat take a long time IP.E+F DECL+F
pron result vi

"We are tired of eating them."

66 *Aba* me me yaba aba me me aba me me yaba+F aba me me fish 3PL.O 3PL.S take out fish 3PL.O 3PL.S pron nm pron vt. nm pron pron

aba kabemetemoneke farina amara *ya* me kaba -hemete -mone -ke aba farina ama -ra+F me ya eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F manioc meal NEG ADJU fish 3PL.POSS be vt nf VC prt nm pron

hinita

hinita alone

pn

'They took out the fish, and they ate the fish, with no manioc meal, just fish.'

67 *Me* hinita me hikabemetemoneke hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke hinita me OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS alone 3PL.S pron pn pron vt 'They ate them by themselves.' 68 *Fava* me hinita me hikaba fowa me hi- kaba+F faya me hinita me me fowa so 3PL.POSS alone 3PL.S OC eat 3PL.O manioc pron pn pron pron conj vt nm fowa kabe fowa kabe kakawi ya me me ka- kawi fowa kabe fowa kabe me ya me 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat with something sweet manioc ADJU sweet manioc pron pron nm nm prt 77 t hinemetemone fowa kabe yokahi va hi- na -hemete -mone fowa kabe yoka+M ya OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F sweet manioc roast on coals ADJU aux nm result 'They ate fish by itself. They ate it with sweet manioc, roasted sweet manioc.' 69 *Fava* aba me me kabimetemone okobi kaba.NOM+F -mete -mone abi faya aba me me 0ka fish 3PL.O 3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father so eat vt coni pron pron toemari ama aati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ati ama DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC allx sec 'They ate fish, my father used to say.' 70 **Owa** okatomaramaro owa oke ha owa o- katoma -ra -hamaro 0owa owa ke haa owa 1SG.S attack NEG FP.E+F 1SG.0 1SG.O 1SG.S DECL+F DEM 1SG vt pron pron prt dem pron "I didn't eat fish by itself." 71 *Oko* fowa fowa obanikima aba ka fowa fowa ibana -kima+F aba 1SG.POSS POSS manioc manioc 1SG.S roast two fish prt nm nm vt okobamaro oke bisa okobi aati o- kaba -hamaro 0ke bisa 0ka abi aati 1SG.S eat FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F also 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say prt prt nm toemarika to- ha -himari -ka CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M "I roasted two pieces of manioc, and ate a fish," my father said." 72 Okovo fowa kaba 0kaba.LIST ka ayo fowa 1SG.POSS POSS older brother manioc eat

vt.

okoyo o- ka ayo 1SG.POSS POSS older brother nm amaka hari ama -ka haari SEC DECL+M that one+M sec dem ""My older brother also ate manioc.""	J		toemari to- ha -himari CH AUX FP.E+M aux	L
73 Faya ota wiwinawa faya otaa wi- wina -w so 1EX.S DUP live ch conj pron vi "We lived there a long time."		a.NOM+F -maro JX FP.E+F		
74 Awa ota nanatafa awa otaa na-na- garden 1EX.S DUP CAUS nf pron vt "We planted gardens.""	toamaro tafa to-ha eat CH AU aux	a -hamaro am	ake haro a -ke haaro C DECL+F that c c dem	one+F
75 Awa ota natafa awa otaa na- tafa- garden 1EX.S CAUS eat nf pron vt	, awa +F awa garde nf			, lba+F
yama otaa tefe ya	naha , aba na+F aba ow fis	n me ota	.S DUP COMIT 1:	ina ive
	-ke ha. DECL+F the der	aro 'mat one+F 3:	e kita+F PL.S be strong ron vi	toa to- ha+F CH be vc
aba tama -bote i fish sp be many very	me ota me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron	ka- kaba t DUP eat C	o- ha -hamaro H AUX FP.E+F ux	me me 3PL.S pron
77 Okobi me o- ka abi me 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PP nm pro	fawa fawa L.O disappe on vi		iha- na -hamaro AUS AUX FP.E+F	-ke DECL+F

. "'My father made them disappear."

⁴⁴⁸

78 <i>Okobi</i> o- ka abi	<i>me</i> me	hikabanemete hi- ka- habana -hemete
1SG.POSS POSS father nm "'My father sent spirits against the	3PL.0 pron	OC COMIT order someone against FP.N+F vt
my father sent spirits against th	ieiii.	
79 <i>Okobi</i>	me	hikahabanemete
o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father	me 3PL.O	hi- ka- habana -hemete OC COMIT order someone against FP.N+F
nm	pron	vt
me amake ok	aniso	manakone
me ama -ke o-		ka niso manakone
3PL.O SEC DECL+F 1S	G.POSS	POSS younger brother revenge
pron sec nm		pn
My father sent spirits against th	iem, to get	t revenge for my younger brother."'
80 Okaniso		manakone okobi me
o- ka niso		manakone o- ka abi me
1SG.POSS POSS younger	brother	r price 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.0
nm		pn nm pron
<i>hikabanemete</i> hi- ka- habana		-hemete
OC COMIT order someone	against.	
vt		
"My father sent spirits against th	nem, to get	t revenge for my younger brother."
81 Me abemete	me	amake .
me ahaba -hemete	me	ama -ke
3PL.S die FP.N+F pron vi	3PL.S	SEC DECL+F sec
"They died."	pron	360
82 Yama mowa ni	moni	katimimaro amake ahi
yama mowa na.NFIN		ka -tima.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi
thing fight AUX	sound	l go/come upstream $ ext{FP.E+F}$ be $ ext{DECL+F}$ then
nf result aux	pn	vi vc dem
,	ii No NETN	moninihi .
	na.NFIN AUX	moni -ni -hi sound IP.N+F DUP
nm pron result a		pn
-		e sound of fighting against the fish."
83 Awa moni awa aw	va foro	oro kanimaro ama fa
_		co -ro ka- na.NOM+F -maro ama faha
		ll DUP COMIT AUX FP.E+F SEC stream
nf pn nf nf		aux sec nf
,		oooo boto botororoo oooo , bahi oooo boto botororoo oooo bahi
1 1		
pn prt dem	Julia SC	ound sound sound lightning nm
· ·	me	ati watari ya .
me bahi	me	ati wata -ra.NOM+F ya
	3PL.POS	
	pron	pn vi prt
many trees ten into the stream,	0000, 000	ororoo, but there was no lightning."'

yama

ya , yama yama ya yama yama ADJU thing thing

84 Bai me ati watari ya , yama bahi me ati wata -ra.NOM+F ya yama lightning 3PL.POSS voice exist NEG ADJU thing

nm	pron	n pn v	'i	prt	nf r	nf					
mowa i	nemetemone	amake									
mowa i	na -hemete	e -mone ama -}	ke								
_	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F SEC DE	ECL+F								
	aux	sec									
"There was no lightning, there was fighting."											
9.5 E			•			•					
85 Faya	me me	,	ina me	, me	mowa	ni na NEIN					
faya	me me 3PL 3PL.		i- na+F me C AUX 3PL	me .O 3PL.:	mowa S fight	na.NFIN					
so conj	pron pror		ux pro								
ahaba			-	amake							
ahaba+F	<i>me</i> me	, yama wah	ia -hemete -mo			•					
end	3PL.POSS		n FP.N+F REI			t one+F					
vi	pron	nf vi	,	sec	dem	C OHC I					
	-	n, and the fighting of	f them was finishe								
They were	e nghting then	i, and the fighting of	i them was minsin	a. Dawn came.	•						
86 Yama	waha	. fa me	ki i	iabone	me t	oka					
yama		faha me		na -habone		to- ka+F					
thing	g dawn	water 3PL.	S look at A	AUX INT+F	3PL.S a	away go/come					
nf	vi	nf pron	vt a	aux		√i					
me	, aba	me fawa	nemetemoi	ie	fahi .	aba					
me	aba	me fawa	na -hei	mete -mone	fahi	aba					
3PL.S	fish sp	3PL.S disapp	ear AUX FP.1	N+F REP+F	then	fish sp					
pron	nm	pron vi	aux		dem	nm					
-	nm <i>watarabani</i>	-				=					
me n	watarabani wata -ra -	-haba -ni n	aux nati nati			=					
me me s	<i>watarabani</i> wata -ra - exist NEG D	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3	aux nati nati 3PL.S			=					
me me 3PL.S pron	<i>watarabani</i> wata −ra − exist NEG I vi	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3	aux nati . nati 3PL.S oron		dem	nm					
me me 3PL.S pron	<i>watarabani</i> wata −ra − exist NEG I vi	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3	aux nati . nati 3PL.S oron	ared. There we	dem	nm					
me me 3PL.S pron 'Dawn can	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG l vi me. They went	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba	aux mati . mati BPL.S pron a fish had disappe		dem ren't any <i>aba</i>	nm fish.'					
me me sapple sap	watarabani wata -ra - exist NEG I vi ne. They went me	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba	aux mati . mati BPL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa	me	dem ren't any <i>aba</i> , <i>fa</i>	nm fish.' me					
me me sapt.S pron 'Dawn can	watarabani wata -ra - exist NEG D vi ne. They went me me	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha	aux mati mati BPL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa aba me f	<i>me</i> aha me	dem ren't any aba , fa faha	nm fish.' me me me					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG D vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT	aux mati nati 3PL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa aba me fa 3PL.S w	<i>me</i> aha me ater 3PL	ren't any aba , fa faha water	nm fish.' me me 3PL.S					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG I vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron	out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT	aux mati nati 3PL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa ba me f 3PL.S pron n	me aha me ater 3PL f pron	dem ren't any aba , fa faha water nf	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron					
me me sa sapt. S or	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG I vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba	aux mati nati 3PL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa ba me f P+F 3PL.S w pron n me me	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me ,					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG I vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba	aux mati nati SPL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa ba me f P+F 3PL.S w pron n me me me me	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra a na -r	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me ,					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG I vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3PI	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp	aux mati mati mati BPL.S pron me fa tha me f T+F 3PL.S w pron n me me me me me me me me me 3PL.O 3PL	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih .S DUP hav	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra .a na -r e AUX NE	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra - exist NEG I vi ne. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3PI aux pro	out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp	aux mati nati 3PL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa ba me f 3PL.S w pron n me me me me 3PL.O 3PL pron pro	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih .S DUP hav	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra a na -r e AUX NE aux	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG I vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3PI	out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp on nm ahabarihi	aux mati nati 3PL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa ba me f 3PL.S w pron n me me me me 3PL.O 3PL pron pro	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih .S DUP hav	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra .a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG l vi ne. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3Pl aux pro ta	out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp	aux mati mati BPL.S pron me fa aba me fa ba me fa ba me tawi tawi tawi	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih S DUP hav n vt sako fana	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra .a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG levi ne. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3Pl aux pro ta taa	haba -ni m FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp on nm ahabarihi ahaba -rihi	aux mati mati BPL.S pron me fa tha me fa the BPL.S w pron n me tawi tawi	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih S DUP hav n vt sako fana sako fana	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra .a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi a tawi	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG levi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3Pl aux pro ta taa contrast	haba -ni m FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp on nm ahabarihi ahaba -rihi die NEG.LIS	aux mati mati BPL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa tha me f the 3PL.S w pron n me me me me 3PL.O 3PL pron pron tawi tawi tawi ST fish sp	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih S DUP hav n vt sako fana sako fana fish sp	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi a tawi fish	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					
me me same same same same same same same	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG levi ne. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3Pl aux pro ta taa contrast prt	haba -ni m FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp on nm ahabarihi ahaba -rihi die NEG.LIS	aux mati mati BPL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa tha me f the 3PL.S w pron n me me me me 3PL.O 3PL pron pron tawi tawi tawi ST fish sp	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih S DUP hav n vt sako fana sako fana fish sp	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi a tawi fish	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					
me m	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG levi ne. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3Pl aux pro ta taa contrast prt mati .	haba -ni m FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp on nm ahabarihi ahaba -rihi die NEG.LIS	aux mati mati BPL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa tha me f the 3PL.S w pron n me me me me 3PL.O 3PL pron pron tawi tawi tawi ST fish sp	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih S DUP hav n vt sako fana sako fana fish sp	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi a tawi fish	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					
me m	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG I vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3PI aux pro ta taa contrast prt mati mati	haba -ni m FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp on nm ahabarihi ahaba -rihi die NEG.LIS	aux mati mati BPL.S pron a fish had disappe me fa tha me f the 3PL.S w pron n me me me me 3PL.O 3PL pron pron tawi tawi tawi ST fish sp	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih S DUP hav n vt sako fana sako fana fish sp	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi a tawi fish	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					
me me me 3PL.S pron 'Dawn can 87 Aba aba fish nm ki kii look at vt tawi tawi tawi fish sp nf ote ote fish sp nm 'There wel	watarabani wata -ra exist NEG I vi me. They went me me sp 3PL.S pron na me na+F me AUX 3PI aux pro ta taa contrast prt mati mati 3PL pron	-haba -ni n FUT+F IP.N+F 3 out fishing. The aba wataraba wata -ra -ha exist NEG FUT vi , aba aba L.S fish sp on nm ahabarihi ahaba -rihi die NEG.LIS vi	aux mati mati mati BPL.S pron me fa mba me f HF 3PL.S w pron n me me me me 3PL.O 3PL pron pron tawi tawi tawi sT fish sp	me aha me ater 3PL f pron kikiha ki- kih .S DUP hav n vt , sako fana sako fana fish sp nf	ren't any aba , fa faha water nf ra a na -r e AUX NE aux , tawi a tawi nf	fish.' me me 3PL.S pron me a+F me G 3PL.S pron ,					

88 Aba me me me kabemetemone aba me me kaba -hemete -mone fish 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F

vt

nm pron pron pron

'They ate [small] fish.'

89 Me	me ,	me	me	hika	ba	me	,	Hibaka	aba	me
me i	me	me	me	hi-	kaba+F	me		hibaka	aba	me
3PL :	3PL	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC	eat	3PL.O		where	fish sp	3PL.S
pron p	pron	pron	pron	vt		pron		interrog	nm	pron
toani		me	fawa		nineri		?	•		
to- ha -	hani	me	fawa		na -ne	-ri				
CH be I	P.N+F	3PL.S	disappe	ar	AUX CON	T+F CQ+F				
VC		pron	vi		aux					

'They ate fish. "What happened to the aba fish?"'

91 *Aba* okiti kabane me 0ka iti kahabana+M me fish sp 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.O COMIT order someone against pron vt

awaka
awa -ka
seem+M DECL+M
sec

"Who knows?"

"I guess my grandfather sent spirits against the aba fish."

92 *Hiba* okiti obe aate na -be hiba iti 0- \circ ka aate 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP ask 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F wait interj nm vt aux

"Wait, I will ask my grandfather."

93 Okiti aate obeya
o- ka iti a- ate o- na -be -ya
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP ask 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
nm vt aux

"I will ask my grandfather."

94 *Okiti* aba me kabane ka iti aba me kahabana+M 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather fish sp 3PL.O COMIT order someone against nm pron vt

awaka
awa -ka
seem+M DECL+M

sec

"I guess my grandfather sent spirits against the aba fish."

95 *Faya* hinakiti nebona tokome iti to- ka faya hinaka a- ate na -hibona DUP ask AUX INT+M 3SG.POSS grandfather SO away go/come back conj vt aux νi

```
hinakiti
                         aate
                                              Iti
                                    ne
                                              iti
hinaka
          iti
                         a-
                              ate
                                    na+M
3SG.POSS grandfather
                         DUP ask
                                    AUX
                                              grandfather
                         vt
                                    aux
                                              nm
'So he went to ask his grandfather. He asked his grandfather. "Grandpa."
96 Haa
   haa
   huh?
   interj
"Huh?"
97 Iti
                     aba
                                           tikahabanani
                                me
   iti
                     aba
                                me
                                           ti- ka-
                                                         habana
                                                                                   -hani
   grandfather
                     fish sp
                                3PL.O
                                           2SG.S COMIT order someone against IP.N+F
   nm
                                pron
                                           vt
           fawa
                        nineni
   me
           fawa
                        na
                             -ne
                                     -ni
   3PL.S
           disappear
                        AUX CONT+F BKG+F
           vi
                        aux
"Grandpa, did the aba fish disappear because you sent spirits against them?"
98 Aba
             me
                      okatao
                               me
                                                  tonihimakoni
                                       no
                                                  to- niha- na -makoni
   aba
             me
                      okatao
                               me
                                        noho
                                                  CH CAUS AUX for this reason+F
   fish sp
             3PL.S
                      my son
                               3PL.S
                                       be hurt
             pron
                      nm
                               pron
                                                  aux
                                        vi
aba
                   okahabana
                                                                             fawa
          me
                                                           me
                                                                    me
                                 habana+F
                         ka-
                                                                             fawa
aba
          me
                                                                    me
                   \circ
                                                           me
                                                                             disappear
                   1SG.S COMIT order someone against
                                                           3PL
                                                                     3PL.S
fish sp
          3PL.O
                                                                             vi
          pron
                   vt.
                                                           pron
                                                                    pron
nineke
            -ke
na
    -ne
AUX CONT+F DECL+F
"Because the aba fish hurt my son, I sent spirits against the aba fish, and they disappeared."
99 Aba
                         winene
                                       aba
                                                  me
                                                          winene
                me
                                                                        me
   aba
                 me
                         wina -hene
                                       aba
                                                  me
                                                          wina -hene
                                                                        me
   fish sp
                 3PL.S
                         live IRR+F
                                       fish sp
                                                  3PL.S
                                                          live IRR+F
                                                                        3PL.O
                 pron
                                       nm
                                                  pron
                                                          vi
                                                                        pron
okahabana
                                        me
                                                          me
                                                                        me
                                                    me
                                                                me
     ka-
             habana+F
                                        me
                                                    me
                                                          me
                                                                me
                                                                        me
1SG.S COMIT order someone against
                                        3PL.O
                                                    3PL
                                                          3PL
                                                                3PL.O
                                                                        3PL.S
                                        pron
                                                    pron pron pron
                                                                        pron
hikabarake
hi- kaba -hara -ke
OC eat IP.E+F DECL+F
"They could have lived here, but I sent spirits against them, and they ate them."
100 Me
                     hikabarani
            me
    me
            me
                    hi- kaba -hara -ni
            3PL.S
                    OC eat
                              IP.E+F BKG+F
    3PL.O
            pron
    pron
```

"They ate them."

101 *Me* me hikaba amake me me me hi- kaba+F me ama -ke OC SEC DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.O pron pron vt pron sec "They ate them." yama 102 *Fava* yama yama mρ we one ya we ya yama faya me yama vama wehe one wehe so 3PL thing thing liaht+F other+F ADJU thing liaht+F pron nf nf adi nf pn prt pn haha haha winabisa one ya me me me me wina -bisa+F haaha one ya me me haaha me me ADJU 3PL this+F 3PL this+F 3PL.S live also other+F 3PL.S prt pron vi pron adj pron dem pron dem kake kobo me nake me Himata aba me ka -kTme kobo na -kI me himata aba me go/come coming 3PL.S arrive AUX coming 3PL.S what? fish sp 3PL.S vi pron vi aux pron interrog nm nineri nani me fawa ? ebe -hani fawa na na me AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F CQ+F happen to vi aux pron aux 'Another day, some people who lived somewhere else came, and arrived. "What happened to the aba fish that they disappeared?" 103 Aba owatoarake me -ke aha \circ wato -hara me 3PL.O 1SG.S know IP.E+F DECL+F fish sp pron vt "I know about the aba fish." 104 *Aba* me aba boni moni katimi ya aba aba me aba boni moni ka -tima.NOM+F ya aba fish sp 3PL fish sp wind sound go/come upstream ADJU fish sp pron nm nf pn vi prt nmnineni me fawa ota ati na otake na -ne -ni otaa ati na+F otaa disappear AUX CONT+F BKG+F 1EX.S say AUX 1EX.S DECL+F pron vt aux pron ""We think that the *aba* fish disappeared when the sound of the wind came upstream."' 105 *Aba* okiti me aba 0iti me ka fish sp 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.O pron nm hikahabanamoneke biti manakone habana biti manakone hi- ka--hamone -ke price OC COMIT order someone against REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS.son nm pn "They say my grandfather sent spirits against the aba fish, in revenge for his son." 106 *Hine* abake

hine

only

pron pr "Let them die."

me

3PL.S

pron

ahaba -ke

DECL+F

die

vi

107 Hine me abi na hine me ahaba.NOM+F na only 3PL.S die AUX pron pron nm aux

"Let them die."

108 Sako fana kababa eke sako fana e ee kaba -haba ee sako fana sako fana -ke eat FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F fish sp 1IN.S fish sp pron nf pron vt nf

"We will eat sako fana fish."

109 *Faya* sako fana tisa hirawa me me tisa sako fana me hi- na -rawa+F faya me so fish sp 3PL.S 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX F.PL vt nf pron conj aux pron

kabarawame, itehenikiramatokaba -rawa+Fmeitehenikiramatoeat F.PL3PL.Swhat's the namefish spvtpronnmnm

'So they shot sako fana fish with arrows, and ate them. Kiramato fish.'

110 Kiramato abatere amaka fari
kiramato ahaba -tee -ra+M ama -ka faari
fish sp die HAB NEG SEC DECL+M that one+M
nm vt sec dem

'The kiramato fish doesn't die.'

111 Wamisamarima te amane

waa -misa -ma -rima na -tee ama -ne
stand up back intermittent AUX HAB SEC BKG+M
vi aux sec

'It revives [when we put *kona* poison in the water].'