Free Translation

Some of their relatives lived far away. They lived not far from the place where the Yimas lived. They lived there, a not very large group. They were not very numerous. They lived out there. They also ate *aba* fish.

They lived there. They went out to shoot *aba* fish with arrows. While they were out, some Yimas came. The Yimas came and they didn't see them, because they came back when it was getting dark. The sun went down, and they would come home in the dark.

They arrived home. They ate. They were going to sleep. The others lived in another house. They also ate. They slept. They were going to sleep, and one of them went out to urinate. He opened the door.

"Oh, there's the one I dreamed about. There is a spirit standing there. It's a spirit." But it was a Yima.

"I dreamed about my son. That must be him."

"Are you him?"

"Yes, I am him. Father, it's me. I was standing out here near you as you were about to sleep, and you came out."

"It's my son. I dreamed about you."

"I'm standing here because you dreamed about me."

"Spirit, go away."

"Father, you go back in. Go to sleep. I will stand here watching," he said.

"I'm not going to go back in. You go away."

"All right, I'm going. I will go."

He went. He stopped at a dark place, in the shadow of the branch of a tree.

"Father."

"What?"

"I'm watching you. Father, I am going."

"Fowi," he whistled, as he went. He sat down quickly. He went to where the others of his group were. He spoke to the others there.

"They are going to sleep. I deceived him. I called him 'father."

The man from the house came back. He went in.

"All of you leave. Take down the hammocks. They are strangers. They are Yimas. Come on, all the women leave."

The women rolled up the hammocks. They left through the other door. They went. They all disappeared. They went to the other village. As they went they burned something. They walked during the night with resin torches.

They came. They arrived. It was there. It was Ayawa Homabase. They arrived to where the others lived, at dawn. They walked during the night with resin torches.

One of them came out to urinate. He saw a torch.

"Someone is coming with a torch at the edge of the garden." There were lots of torches. "Someone is coming holding a torch, at dawn. They are coming here. Look at them all in a line.

They must have seen some enemies," they said.

They came. There were many torches in a line at dawn. They walked. They arrived.

"Why did you come?"

"Why did we come? The Yimas came. They were Yimas. I came upon him as he was standing, about to leave. He went after the others. We hid from him and left in the night. He went along bent over. He is still going on the trail. We left him behind. We left. We walked in the night."

"You go and look. Take arrows. Duck. The spear will go past. But an arrow will hit. You go along the trail slowly."

They went. They took arrows. They arrived at the village. They looked around.

"There must be someone inside."

They opened the door. There were footprints all over of the enemies who had been looking for them. If they had kept sleeping, they would have died. They had escaped.

He lay in wait, and I am telling about him.

"You are standing there, and I dreamed about you. I dreamed about my son."

"Father, it is me standing here," he said. "You dreamed about me as I stood here. Father, go back. Go back and sleep. I'm going to stay here watching."

"I saw a Yima," he said.

"I saw you." He deceived him.

"Father, go back. Go back and sleep. I'm going to stand here watching for dangerous animals or spirits."

"You leave. I'm going to sleep, you don't wait for me. You leave."

"Father, I'm leaving. I'm going."

In the shade of a tree, you have seen it...he went to the shade of the tree.

"Father."

"What?"

"I see you. Father, I'm leaving. Fowi."

He sat down quickly. He went along stooped over. He went walking.

"He's a stranger. They are Yimas." He came back in. "Wake up. Wake up. All of you wake up. Let's walk in the night."

So they rolled up their hammocks. They went out the other door. They went. They went around and around on their trail. They came out. The came out far away. They walked at night.

The footprints of the Yimas looking for them were all over.

They went after them. They didn't find anyone to shoot. They had gone. There were their footprints of them going away. They saw the evidence of them.

"Wow, they have gone away! Why didn't he shoot, he was sitting right there."

"Where are you? I almost shot him. I would have shot him with an arrow. I told you to bring my arrows. He would go to the others with arrows in his back."

They looked for them. "They left. They went away. You can see how long their feet are by their footprints in the mud," he said. "They went away. They would have eaten us."

"'I'm going to go back and sleep, so you leave,' I said. He left. He sat down quickly. He got up. He went on, stooping. I watched him. He went into the forest, and I came back in. I came back into the house. Then we moved to another place. We walked through the night. We arrived at the other village. We almost all died. The Yimas almost killed us."

"They went away. I wish they would have died. Let's go after them."

"Wait until they kill someone. I'm going to get my arrows ready. I'm going to shoot them. He's going to come again."

They got arrows ready. They put points on their arrows. They put poison on the arrows.

"Wait a minute. Don't do anything yet. They are going to come here," they said. "We will be ready for them. Go get the arrows and run over there. Go ambush them. He will come. When he comes, you shoot him in the chest. Be careful. If they come here, they will die."

They waited for them a long time. They waited for them, but they didn't come. They never came back.

In the dry season they planted gardens.

"Be vigilant. When one goes, another take his place. When you hear something, don't stay standing. Come running. If you see them in back of you or in front of you, go off the trail. Run away. Run along the stream back to the village. There is a trail along the stream."

"I'm going to look at them."

He went. He stopped out a ways. "It's the Base Kabi stream." He stopped at the Base Kabi stream.

"I guess they didn't come."

He looked for a while and then left. He came back. "I'll go back slowly." He came slowly back. He was looking back along the way.

He came back. He arrived back late in the afternoon.

"Where are they?"

"They didn't come. Could they be afraid? They must be afraid."

"I don't think they are afraid. You said they are afraid. They are going to eat your brains. The Yimas aren't afraid. The footprints of them going away are still there. No one made new footprints."

"I go in the forest, near a stream. I don't walk in the mud."

"You take turns going."

"All right, I will go. I will be the one. I will shoot him quickly, and run. I will shoot him quickly, and they will go running back."

He went again. He went and looked.

"Don't leave the leaves of your rear end on the log. Throw the leaves that you sit on away. Don't leave footprints."

"I didn't leave footprints."

He went. He sat waiting. After sitting for a while, he got up. He came back. There wasn't anyone there again. He came back. He got back, and they slept. Then another one went. They kept going after them. They didn't ever come.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Haha	me	, me	one	hikehike	ya	wiwina
	haaha	me	me	one	hike- hi	ke ya	wi- wina
	this+F	3PL	3PL	other+F	DUP fa	r ADJU	DUP live
	dem	pron	pron	adj	nf	prt	vi
toe	metemone			ahi .			
to	- ha -ŀ	nemete	-mone	ahi			
СН	AUX F	P.N+F	REP+F	then			
au	X			dem			
'So	me of their	r relative	es lived far	away.'			

2	Me	wiwina	toemetemone	yima	me	wini
	me	wi- wina	to- ha -hemete -mone	yima	me	wina.NFIN
	3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	Yima	3PL.S	live
	pron	vi	aux	npropm	pron	vi

yabori ya
yabo -ra.NOM+F ya
be far NEG ADJU
vi prt

'They lived not far from the place where the Yimas lived.'

3	Faya	me	wina	me,	me	tatama	raba	na	mati
	faya	me	wina+F	me	me	ta- tama	na -raba	na+F	mati
	so	3PL.S	live	3PL.S	3PL.S	DUP be many	AUX a bit	AUX	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi	pron	pron	vi	aux	aux	pron

'They lived there, a not very large group.'

4 <i>Me</i>	tatama		raba		na	1	ne	towin	ama		me
me	ta- ta	ama	na	-raba	na+	·F r	ne	to-	wina	-ma+F	me
3PL.S	DUP be	e many	AUX	a bit	AUX	. 3	3PL.S	away	v live	back	3PL.S
pron	vi		aux		aux	ı ı	pron	vi			pron
aba	me	me	kaka	ba	toabi	sa		1	nati		
aba	me	me	ka-	kaba	to-	ha	-bisa	+F r	mati		
fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP	eat	СН	AUX	also	;	3PL.S		
nm	pron	pron	vt		aux]	oron		

'They were not very numerous. They lived out there. They also ate aba fish.'

5 Aba aba fish nm	n sp	me me 3PL.0 pron	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>kakal</i> ka- DUP vt	kaba	toaba to- CH aux	ha AUX	-bisa+F also	me me 3PL.S pron	<pre>winaha wina+F live vi</pre>	<pre>aba aba fish sp nm</pre>
me	me	sa			nabo	ne		me	tokaha	m	ie
me	me	sa	a		na	-ha	bone	me	to- ka	+F m	e
3PL.O	3PL.	S sh	oot with	arrow	AUX	INT	+F	3PL.S	away go	/come 3	PL.POSS
pron	pron	vt			aux			pron	vi	р	ron
nowati	ya		yima i	me .	yima	1	ne	kakemet	emone		
nowati	ya	,	yima r	me ,	yima	ır	ne	ka	-kI	-hemete	e -mone
behind	ADJ	U	Yima :	3PL	Yima	. 3	BPL.S	go/com	ne comino	FP.N+F	REP+F
pn	prt		npropm ;	oron	npro	mq	oron	vi	_		
<i>fahi</i> fahi then	•			_	1						

'They also ate aba fish. They lived there. They went out to shoot aba fish with arrows. While they were out, some Yimas came.'

6	Yima	me	kakehan	i			me	me	hiwa	rani		
	yima	me	ka	-kI	-har	ni	me	me	hi-	awa	-ra	-hani
	Yima	3PL.S	go/com	e coming	IP.1	1+F	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC	see	NEG	IP.N+F
	npropm	pron	vi				pron	pron	vt			
me	,	me	kakayon	arisaba			mati					
me		me	ka-	kayoma -	risa	-hak	oa mat	i				
3P	L.O	3PL.S	COMIT	darken d	lown	FUT+	-F 3PL	.S				
pr	on	pron	vi				pro	n				

'The Yimas came and they didn't see them, because they came back when it was getting dark.'

7	Me	kakayon	kakayomarisaba					fawa	nise		me
	me	ka-	kayoma	-risa	-haba	,	bahi	fawa	na	-risa+M	me
	3PL.S	COMIT	darken	down	FUT+F		sun	disappear	AUX	down	3PL.S
	pron	vi					nm	vi	aux		pron

kobonamametafemetemonekekobona -ma+Fmetafa -hemete -mone -kearriveAUX back3PL.Seat FP.N+FREP+Fviauxpronvi

'The sun went down, and they would come home in the dark. They arrived home. They ate.'

Me tafa faya tafa mρ me me me amo me tafa+F me faya me tafa+F me me amo 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep pron pron pron vi pron vi conj pron haha winabisa tafabisa nabone me me me me wina -bisa+F tafa -bisa+F -habone me haaha me me me AUX INT+F live also 3PL this+F 3PL.S 3PL.S eat also 3PL.S pron dem aux pron 77 i pron vi pron amo nemetemoneke faro amo na -hemete -mone -ke faaro 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F vi aux dem

'They ate. They were going to sleep. The others lived in another house. They also ate. They slept.'

Me amo me me amo nabone na so me amo na+F me me amo na -habone soo sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F 3PL.S urinate vi pron aux pron pron vi aux

nebonasonebonana -hibonasoona -hibonaAUX INT+MurinateAUX INT+Mauxviaux

tokiyomamematamonaka

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

'They slept. They were going to sleep, and one of them went out to urinate.'

10 Nokobi nokobi se kanematamonaka ahi nokobi nokobi see kana -himata -mona -ka ahi door door open COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then vt dem

'He opened the door.'

11 Nokobi se kane Aa efe watari owe ama nokobi see kana+M aa efe wata -ri 0awa+M ama door open COMIT AUX aha this+M dream PN 1SG.S see SEC nf vt. aux interj dem pn vt sec

hari

haari

that one+M

dem

'He opened the door. "Oh, there's the one I dreamed about."'

12 Inamati wari hari
inamati waa -haari haari
spirit stand look+M that one+M
nm vi dem

"There is a spirit standing there."

```
13 Inamati
            wa
                         hari
   inamati waa.CONT+M haari
                         that one+M
   spirit
            stand
            vi
                         dem
"There is a spirit standing there."
14 Inamati
            ama
  inamati
            ama
  spirit
            be
  nm
            VC.
"It's a spirit."
15 Inamati
                         hari
                                     yimanoho
            wa
                                     yima -no -ho
  inamati waa.CONT+M haari
  spirit
            stand
                       that one+M Yima IP.N+M DUP
  nm
            vi
                         dem
                                     nm
"There is a spirit standing there." But it was a Yima.'
16 Yimano
                Inamati
                          waka
  yima -no
                inamati
                          waa
                                -ka
                                         haari
  Yima IP.N+M spirit
                          stand DECL+M that one+M
                nm
                          vi
"There is a spirit standing there." But it was a Yima.'
17 Okatao
                       owa
                                     okatao
                                             okatao
           watari
                                                      watari
  okatao wata -ri o-
                            awa+F
                                     okatao
                                             okatao
                                                      wata -ri
                       1SG.S see
  my son dream PN
                                     my son
                                             my son
                                                      dream PN
                       vt
                                     nm
                                             nm
  nm
           pn
                                                      pn
                   oke
owara
o- awa -hara
                   0-
                         ke
1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
                  prt
"I dreamed about my son."
18 Efe
           amare
                       ama
   efe
           ama -ra+M
                       ama
   this+M be NEG
                       SEC
   dem
           VC
                       sec
"That must be him."
19 Efe
           ama tini
  efe
           ama ti-
                     ni
   this+M be
                2SG.S BKG+F
  dem
           VC
                prt
"Are you him?"
20 Ee
           efe
                           oke
                     ama
            efe
                     ama o-
  ee
                                ke
   yes
            this+M
                     be
                           1SG.S DECL+F
   interj
            dem
                     VC
                           prt
"Yes, I am him."
21 Efe
           ama oni
  efe
           ama o-
                      ni
                1SG.S BKG+F
   this+M be
```

dem

"I am him."

VC

prt

```
, abi , abi abi
22 Abi
                              efe
                                     ama
                                          oke
                              efe
                                          o- ke
  abi
                      abi
                                     ama
           father
                      father
                              this+M
                                     be
                                          1SG.S DECL+F
                      nm
                              dem
                                     VC
            nm
"Father, it's me."
                          amo
        tinabone
23 Amo
                                 tinabone
                                                   tiwa
        ti- na -habone amo ti- na -habone tiwa
  amo
  sleep 2SG.S AUX INT+F sleep 2SG.S AUX INT+F
                                                   2SG.0
  vi aux
                          vi
                                 aux
                                                   pron
okowa
                    tikiyomamine
o- ka- waa+F
                   ti- ka
                                                     t.i-
                                 -yoma -ma -ne
                                                         ke
1SG.S COMIT stand
                    2SG.S go/come through back CONT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
                    vi
"I was standing out here near you as you were about to sleep, and you came out."
24 Okatao
         ama nanoho
  okatao ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
  my son be AUX IP.N+M DUP
         vc aux
"It's my son."
25 Tika ti- ka
                         owara
               watari
                                           oke
                wata -ri o- awa -hara o- ke
  2SG.POSS POSS dream PN 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
                         vt
                                           prt
"I dreamed about you."
26 Owimakoni
                               oko
                               oko
o- ka
                                             watari
                                                       tiwine
                                             wata -ri ti- awa -ne
  o- waa -makoni
  1SG.S stand for this reason+F 1SG.POSS POSS dream PN
                                                       2SG.S see CONT+F
                                                       vt
                               prt
                                             pn
tini
ti- ni
2SG.S BKG+F
"I'm standing here because you dreamed about me."
                                             27 Owimakoni
                               oko
                               oko
○-
                                       ka
  o- waa
             -makoni
                               1SG.POSS POSS dream PN
  1SG.S stand for this reason+F
                                                       2SG.S see CONT+F
                               prt
                                             pn
                                                       vt
tini
ti- ni
2SG.S BKG+F
"I'm standing here because you dreamed about me."
          , tikamahi
28 Inamati
             ti- to- ka -ma -hi
  inamati
            2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
  spirit
"Spirit, go away."
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Abi , abi abi
29 Abi
                    tikamahi
                                                   ha
                    ti- to- ka -ma -hi
                                                   haa
                                                        tiwa
                     2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
            father
  father
                                                   DEM
                                                        2SG
            nm
                     vi
"Father, you go back in."
30 Abi
          tikama
                                   ha
                                        tiwa
          ti- to- ka -ma
                                   haa
                                        tiwa
  father 2SG.S away go/come back
                                   DEM
                                        2SG
          vi
                                       pron
"Father, you go back."
         tibeya
31 Amo
         ti- na -be -ya
  amo
  sleep 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
         aux
"Go to sleep."
32 Yama
         owakatomabone
                                     owine
                                                         oni
                                     o- waa -ne
  yama o- ka- katoma -habone
                                                         o- ni
  thing 1SG.S COMIT look at INT+F
                                     1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
         vt
   nematamonaka
ati na -himata -mona -ka
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt aux
"I will stand here watching," he said.'
33 Yama
         owakatomabone
                                     owine
                                                         oni
         o- ka- katoma -habone o- waa -ne
                                                         0-
                                                              пi
  yama
  thing 1SG.S COMIT look at INT+F
                                     1SG.S stand CONT+F
                                                         1SG.S BKG+F
         vt
                                     77 i
                                                         prt
"I will stay here watching."
          , abi
34 Abi
                    tikiyomamahi
                     ti- to- ka -yoma -ma -hi
  abi
             abi
                     2SG.S away go/come through back IMP+F
  father
            father
"Father, you go back in."
35 Okiyomama
                                      hiba
  o- to- ka -yoma -ma+F
                                      hiba
  1SG.S away go/come through back
                                      wait
                                      interj
okiyomama
                                 ati
                                      ne
o- to- ka -yoma -ma+F
                                ati
                                     na+M
1SG.S away go/come through back
                                 say
                                     AUX
                                 vt
                                      aux
"I'm not going to go back in."
36 Tikamahi
  ti- to- ka -ma -hi
  2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
```

"You go away."

```
, okomiba
37 Ee
            o- to- ka
                          -ma -baha+F
            1SG.S away go/come back before
  yes
  interj
"All right, I'm going."
38 Okomibana
  o- to- ka
                     -ma+F -bana
  1SG.S away go/come back FUT
  vi
"I will go."
39 Tokomematamonaka
                                          ahi
  to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
                                          ahi
  away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                          then
  77 i
                                          dem
'He went.'
40 Tokome
                                               yama
                                                        yama
                         tokome
  to- ka -ma+M
                         to- ka -ma+M
                                               yama
                                                         yama
  away go/come back
                         away go/come back
                                               thing
                                                         thing
sokirine
              iti
                                                 ini
                                  awa
                                            awa
                          ya
                          ya
-
       -rine ita.NOM+F
                                                 ini
                                  awa
                                            awa
             be located ADJU
be dark PN
                                  tree
                                            tree branch+F
                                                              tree
                          prt
              vi
                                  nf
                                           nf
pn
                                                pn
                                           , faya
ini
         kawini
                           yome
                                     ya
                                                    ma
                                                          toname
                          yome
                                     ya
         ka- wina.NOM+F
                                              faya
                                                          to- na -ma+M
ini
                                                    maa
branch+F COMIT hang
                           shadow+F ADJU
                                            so
                                                          away AUX back
                                                    stop
                                                    vi
         vi
                                              conj
                           pn
                                     prt
                                                          aux
Abi
abi
father
'He went. He stopped at a dark place, in the shadow of the branch of a tree. "Father."
41 Haa
  haa
  huh?
  interj
"What?"
42 Tiwa
         owakatoma
                              oke
         o- ka- katoma
  tiwa
                              0-
                                   ke
  2SG.0
         1SG.S COMIT look at
                              1SG.S DECL+F
  pron
         vt
                              prt
"I'm watching you."
43 Abi
          okomibonehe
          o- to- ka
                             -ma.NOM+F -bone -he
  abi
  father 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F DUP
"Father, I am going."
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44 Fowi bono ati tokomemata ati to- ka -ma -himata fowi bono beak+M voice (sound of whistling) away go/come back FP.N+M sound pn vi

"Fowi," he whistled, as he went."

45 Itakahote

Itakabotenematamonaita -kabotena -himata -mona sit quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M vi aux

'He sat down quickly.'

46 Tokome tokome tokome fara me to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M fara me away go/come back away go/come back away go/come back same+F 3PL vi vi dem pron

ni ya tokomematamonaka ni ya to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka other+F to ADJU away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M adj prt prt vi

'He went. He went to where the others of his group were.'

47 Tokome me one narabi nima toname to- ka -ma+M me one narabi nima to- na -ma+M away qo/come back 3PL other+F ear+F communicate to away AUX back pron adj pn vt aux

me one narabi nima fahi nematamona me one narabi nima na -himata -mona fahi 3PL other+F ear+F communicate to AUX FP.N+M REP+M then pron adj pn vt aux dem

'He went. He spoke to the others there. He spoke to the others.'

48 *Me* amo naboneni

> na -habone -ni me amo 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F BKG+F pron vi aux

"They are going to sleep."

49 Okeveharene

o- keyeha -hare -ne 1SG.S deceive IP.E+M CONT+F

"I deceived him."

50 *Abi* onarene

abi o- na -hare -ne call father 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M BKG+M aux

"I called him 'father.""

51 Kamematamona

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

'He came back.'

52 Tokiyomamematamona

to- ka -yoma -ma -himata -mona away go/come through back FP.N+M REP+M vi

'He went in.'

53 Te nafi banahi
tee nafi bana -hi
2PL.POSS all move away IMP+F
pron pn vi

"All of you leave."

54 Te nafi banahi
tee nafi bana -hi
2PL.POSS all move away IMP+F
pron pn vi
"'All of you leave."'

55 Yifo te tisahi
yifo tee tisa -hi
hammock 2PL.S undo IMP+F
nm pron vt

"Take down the hammocks."

56 Inamati me amani inamati me ama -ni someone 3PL.S be BKG+F nm pron vc

"They are other people."

57 Yima me amani
yima me ama -ni
Yima 3PL.S be BKG+F
npropm pron vc

"They are Yimas."

58 Yima me amani
yima me ama -ni
Yima 3PL.S be BKG+F
npropm pron vc

"They are Yimas."

59 *Hima* hima me fanawi nafi banahi hima me fanawi nafi bana -hi hima let's go let's go all women move away IMP+F interj interj nf pn vi

"Come on, all the women leave."

60 Me fand me far		<i>yifo</i> yifo		<i>taboha</i> tabo+F	,	<i>me fan</i> me fa		<i>yifo</i> yifo		<i>taboha</i> tabo+F	<i>nokobi</i> nokobi
women		hammoc	k	roll up		womer	ì	hammo	ck	roll up	door
nf		nm		vt		nf		nm		vt	nf
one	ka	ya	,	nokobi	one		ka	ya	me		
one	ka	ya		nokobi	one	3	ka	ya	me		
other+F	LOC	ADJU		door	oth	er+F	LOC	ADJU	3PI	L.S	
adj	prt	prt		nf	adj		prt	prt	pro	on	

tokemetemonekeahito-ka-hemete-mone-keahiawaygo/comeFP.N+FREP+FDECL+Fthenvidem

'The women rolled up the hammocks. They left through the other door.'

toka me me ka+F me tome me nafi fawa 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.POSS all disappear pn pron vi pron vi pron

nemetemonekeahina -hemete -mone -keahiAUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thenthenauxdem

'They went. They all disappeared.'

62 *Me* tokomake tokomaki me ya me to- ka -makI me to- ka -makI.NOM ya yama 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S away go/come following ADJU thing vi nf pron

me sari nemetemoneke
me sari na -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S burn AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vt aux

'They went to the other village. As they went they burned something.'

63 Yama hiri ni sari na wami me me ya na+F na.NOM+F sari hiri yama me me wami ya 3PL.S 3PL.S tree sp thing burn XIIA catch fire XIIX ADJU pron nf 77 i vt. aux pron aux prt

me yaka naba me kamimetemone -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone yaka na nahaba+F me ka FP.N+F REP+F go/come back 3PL.S walk AUX at night 3PL.S pron vi aux pron vi

amake ahi
ama -ke ahi
be DECL+F then
vc dem

'They burned something. They walked during the night with resin torches. They came.'

64 *Me* kobo namimetemone ama me kobo na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F be pron vi aux VC 'They arrived.'

65 Faimetemone amake ahi
fahi -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
there FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there
dem vc dem

'It was there.'

66 Ayawa Homabase amake
Ayawa Homabase ama -ke
(name of village) be DECL+F
npropf vc

'It was Ayawa Homabase.'

67 Faimetemone ahi ama fahi -mete -mone ama ahi there FP.N+F REP+F be there dem dem VC. 'It was there.' 68 *Me* kamimetemone amake ahi ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi me 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then pron vi dem VC. 'They came.' 69 *Me* winabisa kobo kama me me ni *ya* wina -bisa+F kobo me ka -ma+F me me ni ya me 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S live also 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S arrive pron vi pron vi pron prt prt pron vi namimetemone amake ahi yama na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi yama wehe FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then thing light+F dem VC kamaki ya -makI.NOM ya go/come following ADJU prt 'They came. They arrived to where the others lived, at dawn.' 70 **Wami** hiri ni me vaka naba ya me na.NOM+F hiri na nahaba+F wami ya me yaka me AUX at night catch fire AUX ADJU 3PL.S walk 3PL.S tree sp 77 i aux prt νi pron aux pron yaka nabemetemoneke -hemete -mone -ke na nahaba yaka 3PL.S walk AUX at night FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi aux 'They walked during the night with resin torches. They walked during the night.' 71 *Me* yaka naba me faya nebona SO yaka na nahaba+F me faya soo na -hibona 3PL.S walk AUX at night 3PL.S so urinate AUX INT+M pron pron vi aux conj vi aux kamabise yama hiri ni awematamona -ma -bisa+M yama hiri na.NFIN awa -himata -mona go/come back also thing catch fire AUX see FP.N+M REP+M vi nf vi aux 'They walked during the night. One of them came out to urinate. He saw a torch.' 72 Inamati hiri ni kamaki hari awa witi na.NFIN inamati hiri -makI+M ka haari awa witi someone catch fire AUX go/come following that one+M edge garden vi dem vi aux nf pn

ya ya ADJU

[&]quot;Someone is coming with a torch at the edge of the garden."

73 **Yama**

yama

hiri

'There were many torches in a line.'

vi

hiri

ni vaka nemetemoneke *hiri* hiri na.NFIN yaka na -hemete -mone -ke vama move AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F AUX thing catch fire nf vi aux vi aux 'There were lots of torches in a line.' 74 Inamati wami tama kane kamaki hari wami inamati ka- na+M -makI+M haari tama ka someone tree sp hold onto COMIT AUX go/come following that one+M nm nf vt aux vi kamaki yama we ya -makI.NOM ya wehe ka yama thing light+F go/come following ADJU vi nf pn "Someone is coming holding a torch, at dawn." 75 *Faya* me kamakiya haro -makI -ya haaro faya me ka so 3PL.S go/come following now that one+F conj pron vi "They are coming here." 76 *Me* horo me tiwa haro na tihoro na+F me awa haaro 3PL.S be in a line AUX 3PL.O 2SG.S see that one+F pron vi aux pron vt "Look at them all in a line." 77 **Me** ati noki awani amarini me me awa -hani ama -ra -ni noki me me me ati eye+F see IP.N+F 3PL.S be NEG BKG+F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS say pron vi pron VC. pron pn vt nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F "They must have seen some enemies," they said.' 78 *Me* noki awani me amani me noki awa -hani me ama -ni 3PL.POSS eye+F see IP.N+F 3PL.POSS SEC BKG+F pron pn vi pron sec "They saw some enemies." 79 *Me* kamakiemetemone ahi -makI me ka -hemete -mone ahi then 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F pron vi 'They came.' 80 Yama hiri ni yaka nemetemoneke ahi

na.NFIN yaka na -hemete -mone -ke

aux

thing catch fire AUX move AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

aux

vi

ahi

then

```
81 Yama
                     kamaki
                                                  vama
                                                          hiri
           we
                                           va
   vama
           wehe
                     ka
                              -makI.NOM
                                           ya
                                                  vama
                                                          hiri
                                                                        na.NFIN
                                                                                  vaka
   thing
           light+F
                     go/come following
                                           ADJU
                                                  thing
                                                          catch fire
                                                                        AUX
                                                                                  move
   nf
                     vi
                                           prt
                                                  nf
                                                                                  vi
           pn
               vaka
                      na
                                        kobo
                                                 namakia
na
       mρ
                                mρ
                                                                  me
                                                                           mρ
                      na+F
                                                 na -makI+F
na+F
       me
               yaka
                                me
                                        kobo
                                                                  me
               walk
                      AUX
                                3PL.S
                                                 AUX following
AUX
       3PL.S
                                        arrive
                                                                  3PL.S
                                pron
aux
       pron
               vi
                      aux
                                        vi
                                                 aux
                                                                  pron
                                                                           pron
                           Himata
kobo
         na
                me
                                     te
                                              ebe
                                                               te
                                                        na
         na+F
                           himata
                                              ebe
                                                        na+F
kobo
               me
                                     tee
                                                               tee
         AUX
                3PL.S
                           what?
                                     2PL.S
                                                        AUX
arrive
                                             purpose
                                                               2PL S
                pron
                           interrog pron
                                                               pron
vi
         aux
                                             vt
                                                        aux
kamaki
         -makI.NOM
ka
go/come following
νi
'There were many torches in a line at dawn. They walked. They arrived. "Why did you come?"
82 Oof
           himata
                             ebe
                                                       kamaki
                     ota
                                       na
                                              ota
                                                                            ?
   oof
           himata
                     otaa
                             ebe
                                       na+F
                                               otaa
                                                                -makI.NOM
                                                       ka
           what?
                     1EX.S
                                               1EX.S
                                                       go/come following
                             purpose
                                       AUX
   interj interrog pron
                             vt
                                       aux
                                              pron
                                                       vi
"Why did we come?"
83 Yima
                                                            yima
           me
                   kamakike
                                                    ahi
                                                                    mati
                            -makI
                                       -ke
                                                    ahi
                                                            vima
                                                                    mati
   yima
           me
                   ka
   Yima
           3PL.S
                   go/come following DECL+F
                                                    there
                                                            Yima
                                                                    3PL
                   vi
   npropm pron
                                                    dem
                                                            npropm pron
"The Yimas came."
84 Yima
              Yima
                      me
                              amake
                              ama -ke
              yima
   yima
                      me
              Yima
                                  DECL+F
   Yima
                      3PL.S
                              be
   npropm
              npropm pron
                              VC
"They were Yimas."
85 Yana
           tone
                      weno
                                       owasime
                                                                       one
                                                                 me
   yana
           to- na+M
                      waa
                             -hino
                                       o- to- wasi -ma+M
                                                                 me
   start
           СН
               AUX
                       stand IP.N+M
                                      1SG.S away find back
                                                                 3PL
                                                                       other+F
           aux
                      vi
                                                                 pron adj
tonakame
                            tokome
                                                   ota
                                                               kemowareka
to- na-
           ka
                    -ma+M
                            to- ka
                                           -ma+M
                                                   otaa
                                                               kehemo -hare -ka
away CAUS go/come back
                            away go/come back
                                                   1EX.S
                                                              hide
                                                                      IP.E+M DECL+M
                            vi
                                                   pron
                                                               vt
                            fahi
ota
        bana
                    ota
                                   yama
                                            soki
                                                       уa
        bana+F
                            fahi
                                            soki.NOM
otaa
                    otaa
                                   yama
                                                       ya
1EX.S move away
                    1EX.S
                            then
                                   thing
                                           be dark
                                                       ADJU
                    pron
                            dem
                                   nf
                                            vi
                                                       prt
"I came upon him as he was standing, about to leave. He went after the others. He went. We hid from him
and left in the night."
86 Tokome
                          mowi
                                 tonamaiti
   to- ka
                  -ma+M
                          mowi
                                 to- na
                                           -ma
                                                -hitI+M
```

away AUX back along the way

away go/come back

vi

bend

aux

vi

tokom	asa			nare		hawi	ya	ahi
to-	ka	-ma	-saa	na	-hare	hawi	ya	ahi
away	go/come	back	still	AUX	IP.E+M	trail	ADJU	there
vi				aux		nf	prt	dem

"He went. He went along bent over. He is still going on the trail."

87 *Ota* kakosare

ka- kana -kosa -hare otaa COMIT leave middle IP.E+M 1EX.S pron vt

"We left him behind."

88 *Faya* ota kakosarake fahi me me ka- kana -kosa -hara -ke fahi faya otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S COMIT leave middle IP.E+F DECL+F then conj pron pron vt dem

"We left them behind."

, bana 89 *Faya* ota yaka nabineke ota otaa yaka na nahaba -ne -ke otaa bana+F faya move away 1EX.S walk AUX at night CONT+F DECL+F 1EX.S conj pron vi pron vi aux

"We left. We walked in the night."

90 **Yama** te totowama nahi yama tee to- to- awa -ma na -hi thing 2PL.S DUP away see back AUX IMP+F pron vt aux

"You go and look.""

91 *Wati* te bokori kanahi wati

tee bokori ka- na -hi arrow 2PL.S COMIT AUX IMP+F hold nm pron vt aux

"Take arrows."

92 Itakabote tiyahi

ti- na -yahi ita -kabote sit quickly 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F aux

"Duck."

93 Wabise kariwabanake

wabise ka -riwaha -habana -ke spear go/come across FUT+F DECL+F nf vi

"The spear will go past."

94 Wati kobo nebanaka ta

wati taa kobo na -hibana -ka arrow contrast arrive AUX FUT+M DECL+M aux

vi prt

"But an arrow will hit."

95 Te tee 2PL.S pron	totokoma to- to- ka -ma DUP away go/come back vi	<pre>tosi to- na -sii CH AUX slowly along the way aux</pre>	<pre>niya na -yahi AUX DIST.IMP+F aux</pre>
'''You go alo	ng the trail slowly."'		
96 <i>Me</i> me	tokomimetemone to- ka -ma.NOM+F	amakemete -mone ama -ke	

be

VC

DECL+F

pron
'They went.'

vi

97	Me	tokom	tokoma to- ka -ma+F			me	wati	me	bokori	kana	
	me	to-	ka	-ma+F	me	me	wati	me	bokori	ka-	na+F
	3PL.S	away	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL	arrow	3PL.S	hold	COMIT	AUX
	pron	vi			pron	pron	nm	pron	vt	aux	
mo	tok	oma		ma	,	mo					

metokomame, memeto- ka -ma+F mememe3PL.S away go/come back3PL.S 3PL.S pron3PL.S pron

away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F

tokomemetemoneke

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

'They went. They took arrows. They went.'

98 *Me* tonama tokoma kobo me to- ka -ma+F kobo to- na -ma+F me me away AUX back 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S arrive 3PL.S pron vi pron vi aux pron

tabora tokoma me yama me yete kana me -ma+F to- ka tabora yama me yete ka- na+F me me thing 3PL.S hunt COMIT AUX village 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S vi nf pron nf pron vt vi pron

Foye awane foya+M awa -ne be inside seem+M BKG+M

vi sec

"They went. They arrived. They arrived at the village. They looked around. "There must be someone inside."

99 Yama noki bori me nawaha tame se me noki bori me na -waha+F me vama see tame thing lid+F 3PL.POSS 3PL.S open AUX change footprint+F pron pron nf vt aux pn pn

yobiri nemetemoneke me siba yama -ri na -hemete -mone -ke me siba yama go back and forth DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing 3PL.S look for vi aux nf pron vt

aux pron

'They opened the door. There were footprints all over of the enemies who had been looking for them.'

100 Me me 3PL.P pron	t	ame ame ootprint+F n	<i>yobiri</i> yobi go bac vi	ck and f	-ri orth DIS	_	X thin	
siba	na	me ,	yama	me	siba	nani		me .
siba	na+F	me	yama	me	siba	na	-hani	me
look for	AUX	3PL.S	thing	3PL.S	look fo	r AUX	IP.N+F	3PL.S
vt	aux	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux		pron
yifo	, me	amo	nasa	ni		ya	me	
yifo	me	amo	na -s	aa na	.NOM+F	ya	me	
hammock	3PL	.S sleep	AUX st	ill AU	X	ADJU	3PL.S	
nm	pro	n vi	aux	au	X	prt	pron	
abenemetem	oneke							
ahaba -he	ene -me	te -mone	-ke	•				
die IR	R+F FP.	N+F REP+F	DECL+F					
vi								
'Their footn	rints wer	e all over Th	ev had look	zed for the	m They ha	d looked	for them I	f they had ke

'Their footprints were all over. They had looked for them. They had looked for them. If they had kept sleeping, they would have died.'

1	01	Me	abene		me		me	•	hine	me
		me	ahaba	-hene	me	,	me		hine	me
		3PL.S	die	IRR+F	3PL.S		3PL		3.REFL	3PL.S
		pron	vi		pron		pron		pron	pron

kasomemetemoneke

ka- soma -hemete -mone -ke COMIT help FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vt

'They would have died. They had escaped.'

102	Faya	hine	me	kason	ıa	me	•	na	
	faya	hine	me	ka-	soma+	·F me		na	
	so	3.REFI	3PL.9	S COMI	T help	3PL.S	3	lie in	wait
	conj	pron	pron	vt		pron		vi	
nematamonaha				okomini	ne		oni		
na	-hima	ita -moi	na -ha	0-	kamina	-ne	0-	ni	
AUX	FP.N+	M REP	+M DUP	1SG.S	tell	CONT+F	1SG.	S BKG+F	1
aux				vt			prt		

'They had escaped. He lay in wait, and I am telling about him.'

103	Hoo	wamako)	watari	ama	nanoho		
	hoo	waa	-mako	wata -ri	ama	na.NOM+M	-no	-ho
	humph	stand	for this reason+M	dream PN	be	AUX	IP.N+M	DUP
	interj	vi		pn	VC	aux		

"You are standing there, and I dreamed about you."

104	Wamak)		watari		ama	nanoho				
	waa	-mako		wata	-ri	ama	na.NOM+M	-no	-ho		
	stand	for this	reason+M	dream	PN	be	AUX	IP.N+M	DUP		
	vi			pn		VC	aux				

"You are standing there, and I dreamed about you."

105	Okatao	watari	owara	oke		
	okatao	wata -ri	o- awa -hara	o- ke		
	my son	dream PN	1SG.S see IP.E+F	1SG.S DECL+F		
	nm	pn	vt	prt		

"I dreamed about my son."

```
, abi
106 Abi
                      owini
   abi
              abi
                      0-
                            waa -ni
              father 1SG.S stand BKG+F
   father
              nm
                      vi
"Father, it is me standing here."
107 Abi
           owini
                               ati
                                    nematamona
           o- waa -ni
                               ati
                                    na -himata -mona
   abi
   father
           1SG.S stand BKG+F
                               say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                               vt
           vi
                                    aux
"Father, it is me standing here," he said.'
108 Owa
                oko
                                watari
                                           tiwine
   o- waa+F o- ka
                                          ti- awa -ne
                                wata -ri
                                           2SG.S see CONT+F
   1SG.S stand 1SG.POSS POSS dream PN
                prt
                                pn
                                           vt
ti- na.NOM+F -ni -hi
2SG.S AUX IP.N+F DUP
"You dreamed about me as I stood here."
109 Abi
           tikamahi
           ti- to- ka -ma -hi
   abi
           2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
   father
           vi
"Father, go back."
110 Amo
          tinamibeya
          ti- to- na -ma -be
   amo
          2SG.S away AUX back IMMED+F now
   sleep
          77 i
"Go back and sleep."
111 Yama
          owakatomabone
                                        owine
                                                            oni
                                              waa -ne
          o- ka- katoma -habone
                                        0-
                                                             0-
         1SG.S COMIT look at INT+F
   thing
                                        1SG.S stand CONT+F
                                                            1SG.S BKG+F
   nf
          vt
                                        vi
                                                            prt
"I'm going to stay here watching."
          , yima
112 Yima
                    owahara
                                       oni
                                                    ati
                    o- awa -hara
   yima
             yima
                                       0-
                                           ni
                                                    ati
             Yima
                    1SG.S see IP.E+F
                                       1SG.S BKG+F
   Yima
                                                    say
   npropm
            npropm vt
                                       prt
nematamonaka
                          ahi
na -himata -mona -ka
                          ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
"I saw a Yima," he thought.'
113 Tiwa
          owahara
          o- awa -hara
                             0-
                                   ni
   2SG.O 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
   pron
                             prt
"I saw you."
```

114 *Hiwa*

hiwa

kevehematamonane

3SG.REFL.M deceive FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

keyeha -himata -mona -ne

```
pron
'He deceived him.'
115 Abi
           tikamahi
           ti- to- ka
                         -ma -hi
   father 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
   nm
           vi
"Father, go back."
116 Amo
          tinamibeya
          ti- to- na -ma -be -ya
   amo
   sleep
          2SG.S away AUX back IMMED+F now
   vi
          vi
"Go back and sleep."
117 Yama
          owakatomabone
                                                           oni
                                       owine
   yama o- ka- katoma -habone o- waa -ne
                                                           o- ni
                                                                        ahi
   thing 1SG.S COMIT look at INT+F
                                       1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
                                                                        here
 yama
         abe
                     tabiyo
                              inamati
                                       tabiyo
         abe
                     tabivo
                              inamati
                                       tabivo
  vama
  thing creature+F wanting spirit
                                       wanting
                              nm
         pn
                     pn
                                       pn
"I'm going to stand here watching for dangerous animals or spirits."
118 Tikamahi
                                       tiwa
                                  ha
   ti- to- ka -ma -hi
                                  haa
                                       tiwa
   2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
                                  DEM
                                       2SG
                                  dem
                                       pron
"You leave."
119 Amo
          onabone
                             owa
                                    tikawariyahi
          o- na -habone
                                    ti- ka-
                                                waa -ra -yahi
                             owa
                             1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT stand NEG DIST.IMP+F
   sleep 1SG.S AUX INT+F
          aux
                             pron
                                    vt
"I'm going to sleep, you don't wait for me."
120 Tikamahi
   ti- to- ka
                 -ma -hi
   2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
"You leave."
121 Abi
           okomibana
   abi
           o- to- ka -ma+F -bana
   father
           1SG.S away go/come back FUT
           vi
   nm
"Father, I'm leaving."
122 Okomibeya
   o- to- ka -ma -be
   1SG.S away go/come back IMMED+F now
"I'm going."
```

```
, awa
123 Awa
         ini
                            ini
                                      vome
                                                te
                                                       awaterini
                                      yome
         ini
   awa
                     awa
                            ini
                                                tee
                                                       awa -tee -ra -ni
                                     yome shadow+F 2PL.S
   tree branch+F
                                                       see HAB NEG BKG+F
                     tree branch+F
                                           pron
   nf
                     nf
                            pn
                                     pn
                    , awa
                                              yome
haro
              awa
                            waha
                                    ini
                                                        va
                                              yome
haaro
                             waa+F
                                                        ya
              awa
                       awa
                                    ini
                                                       ĀDJU
                       tree stand branch+F shadow+F
that one+F
              tree
                                   pn
                                              pn
              nf
                       nf
                             vi
                                                       prt
tokomematamonaka
to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
'In the shade of a tree, you have seen it...he went to the shade of the tree.'
124 Tokome
                          tokome
                                                 Abi
                                   -ma+M
   to- ka
                -ma+M
                          to- ka
                                                 abi
   away go/come back
                          away go/come back
                                                 father
   vi
                          vi
'He went. "Father."
125 Haa
   haa
   huh?
   interj
"What?"
126 Tiwa
                               oke
          owakatoma
          o- ka- katoma
                               0-
                                    ke
   tiwa
   2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT look at 1SG.S DECL+F
   pron
          vt
                               prt
"I see you."
127 Abi
           okomini
           o- to- ka
                              -ma -ni
   abi
   father
           1SG.S away go/come back BKG+F
   nm
           vi
"Father, I'm leaving."
128 Fowi
   (sound of whistling)
   sound
"Fowi."
129 Itakabote
                      mowi tonamaiti
                                                         tokome
                ne
   ita -kabote na+M mowi to- na -ma -hitI+M
                                                         to- ka
   sit quickly AUX bend away AUX back along the way
                                                         away go/come back
                aux vi aux
   vi
                                                          νi
              tokome
vaka
    ni
                                   hinamati
                                             ama kanenoho
yaka na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M hinamati
                                             ama ka- na -hino -ho
walk AUX
                                                  COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP
               away go/come back
                                   someone
                                             be
νi
      aux
               vi
                                   nm
                                             VC
                                                  aux
'He sat down quickly. He went along stooped over. He went. He went walking, "He's a stranger."
```

130 Yima me amani
yima me ama -ni
Yima 3PL.S be BKG+F
npropm pron vc
"They are Yimas."

, faya yama Te tafihi 131 Kivomame ka -yoma -ma+M yama tafi -hi faya tee go/come through back thing so 2PL.S wake up IMP+F vi nf conj pron vi

'He came back in. "Wake up."'

132 *Te* tafihi
tee tafi -hi
2PL.S wake up IMP+F
pron vi
"'Wake up."'

133 Te tafihi te nafi
tee tafi -hi tee nafi
2PL.S wake up IMP+F 2PL.POSS all
pron vi pron pn

"All of you wake up."

134 Te tafihi te nafi
tee tafi -hi tee nafi
2PL.S wake up IMP+F 2PL.POSS all
pron vi pron pn

"All of you wake up."

135 *Ee*yaka nabibeya
ee yaka na nahaba -be -ya
1IN.S walk AUX at night IMMED+F now
pron vi aux

"Let's walk in the night."

, yifo 136 *Faya* me me tabohemetemone ahi yifo faya me me tabo -hemete -mone ahi 3PL hammock 3PL.S roll up FP.N+F REP+F then pron conj pron nm vt

'So they rolled their hammocks up.'

tasi tonemetemoneke 137 Nokobi one ka *ya* ya me to- na -hemete -mone -ke nokobi one ka me other+F LOC ADJU 3PL.S emerge CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron nf adj prt prt vi aux

ahi

ahi then dem

'They went out the other door.'

138 *Me* tasi tona toka hawi me me va to- na+F me to- ka+F me me tasi hawi ya 3PL.S emerge CH AUX 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.POSS trail ADJU pron vi aux pron vi pron nf

me	moto	nawa		towitia				n	ne		tasi	tona		me
me	moto	na	-waha	to-	na	-w	itI+F	m	ne		tasi	to-	na+F	me
3PL.S	loop	AUX	change	away	AUX	ou	t	3	BPL.S	3	emerge	СН	AUX	3PL.S
pron	vi	aux		aux				р	ron		vi	aux		pron
kamimete	mone				am	ıa	ha	ya		ah	i.			
ka	-ma.N	IOM+F	-mete	-mone	am	ıa	haa	ya		ah	i			
go/come	back		FP.N+F	REP+F	be		DEM	ΑD	JU	th	en			
vi					VC		dem	pr	t	de	m			

'They went out. They went around and around on their trail. They came out. The came out far away.'

, yaka 139 *Me* kama nabemetemoneke me me -ma+F yaka na nahaba me ka -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S walk AUX at night FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi pron vi aux ahi ahi then dem

'They came out. They walked at night.'

140 *Yima* yama siba me me nani tame na -hani me me yima yama siba tame Yima thing 3PL.S look for AUX IP.N+F 3PL.POSS footprint+F npropm nf pron vt aux pron pn yobiri ahi nemetemoneke -ri na -hemete -mone -ke ahi yobi go back and forth DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there dem aux

'The footprints of the Yimas looking for them were all over.'

141	Yama	<i>me</i> me	<i>siba</i> siba	<i>nani</i> na	-hani	<i>me</i> me		tan	ne ime
	yama +hin~		look for		_		DOGG		
	_	3PL.S			IP.N+F		.POSS		otprint+F
	nf	pron	vt	aux		pro	n	pn	1
yobi	ri		n	ıa	me	,	me	n	ne
yob	i		-ri n	na+F	me		me	m	ne
go	back an	d forth	DISTR A	XUX	3PL.POSS		3PL.	0 3	PL.S
vi			а	ux	pron		pron	р	ron
hina	kama			me	e me				
hi-	to- n	a- ka	-ma+	-F me	e me				
OC	away C	AUS go/	come back	3 E	L.O 3PI	.S			
vt				pr	on pro	n			
hiwa	isimareme	temoneke					,	me	me
hi-	to- w	asi -ma	-ra -he	emete	-mone -k	e	,	me	me
OC	away f	ind bac	k NEG FP.	.N+F	REP+F DE	CL+F		3PL.	O 3PL.S
vt								pron	pron
sa			hinabone		mati				
saa			hi- na	-habo	ne mati				
sho	ot with	arrow	OC AUX	INT+F	3PL.	0			
vt			aux		pron				

'The footprints of the Yimas looking for them were all over. They went after them. They didn't find anyone to shoot.'

142	Faya	me	-	okomani			1	me		tame
	faya	. me	τ	to- ka		-ma	-hani	me		tame
	so	3PL.	S a	away go,	come'	back	IP.N+F	3PL.POS	SS	footprint+F
	conj	pron	ı v	7i				pron		pn
toko	ma			me		ihi		me	hiv	vamake
to-	ka	-	-ma+I	E me		ihi		me	hi	- to- awa -makI
awa	y go/	/come l	back	3PL.	POSS	resu	lt of+F	3PL.S	OC	away see following
vi				pron		pn		pron	vt	
Me	1	tokotokoi	ma			rab	a	rini		
me	1	toko-	to-	ka	-ma	na	-raba	na -r	a -	ni
3PL	.S I	DUP 8	away	go/com	e bacl	c AU	X a bit	AUX NE	G E	KG+F
pro	n v	vi				au:	X	aux		
_	•	gone. Th away!"'	iere w	ere their	footprir	nts of tl	nem going	away. The	ey sa	w the evidence of them. "Wow, they

143	Inamati	sa	hikai	ahi				
	inamati	saa	hi-	ka-	na	-ra.NOM+M	-no	ahi
	someone	shoot with arrow	OC	COMIT	AUX	NEG	IP.N+M	there
	nm	vt	aux					dem
itaka	abote	nari .						
ita	-kabote	na -haari						

ita -kabote na -haari
sit quickly AUX IP.E+M
vi aux

"Why didn't he shoot, he was sitting right there."

144 *Hibaka* tiharinihi . hibaka ti- to- ha -ri -ni -hi where 2SG.S CH be CQ+F IP.N+F DUP interrog vc

"Where are you?"

145	Sa	okarenaha	okarenaha								
	saa	o- ka-	na	-ra	-hina	-ha					
	shoot with arrow	1SG.S COM	IT AUX	NEG	IRR+M	DUP					
	vt	aux									

"I almost shot him."

146	Sa			okanenaka								
	saa			0-	ka-	na	-hina	-ka				
	shoot	with	arrow	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	IRR+M	DECL+M				
	vt			aux								

"I would have shot him with an arrow."

147	Oko		wati	tekamak	i		
	0-	ka	wati	ti-	ka-	ka	-makI
	1SG.POSS	POSS	arrow	2SG.S	COMIT	go/come	following
	prt		nm	vt			
orar	а			oke			
ati	o- na	a -ra	-hara	0-	ke		
say	1SG.S A	JX NEG	IP.E+F	1SG.S	DECL+	F	
vt				prt			
'''I t	old you to b	ring my a	rrows."'				

148	Wati	weye	ni	tokome	enaha				me	one	ni
	wati	weye	na.NFIN	to-	ka	-ma	-hina	-ha	me	one	ni
	arrow	carry	AUX	away	go/come	back	IRR+M	DUP	3PL	other+F	to
	nm	vt	aux	vi					pron	adj	prt

```
ya
ya
ADJU
```

"He would go to the others with arrows in his back."

```
149 Me
                                         nani
                                                     Me
        me
                me
                       me
                              siba
   me
                       me
                              siba
                                        na -hani
        me
                me
                                                     me
                3PL.O
                       3PL.S
   3PL
        3PL
                              look for AUX IP.N+F
                                                     3PL.S
   pron pron
                       pron
                                                     pron
                pron
                              vt
                                        aux
```

tokomanike

to- ka -ma -hani -ke away go/come back IP.N+F DECL+F vi

'They looked for them. "They left."

150	Me	nowati	tokomo	ara			ahi
	me	nowati	to-	ka	-ma	-hara	ahi
	3PL.POSS	behind	away	go/come	back	IP.E+F	there
	pron	pn	vi				dem

"They went away."

151	Atabo	me	tai	nani	me	tame	yabobo
	atabo	me	tai	na -hani	me	tame	yabo -bo
	mud	3PL.S	step on	AUX IP.N+F	3PL.POSS	footprint+F	be long DUP
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pn	vi

ati nematamonaka

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

"You can see how long their feet are by their footprints in the mud," he said."

152	Faya	me	tokomo	ากเ				me		ota
	faya	me	to-	ka	-ma	-hani	,	me	,	otaa
	so	3PL.S	away	go/come	back	IP.N+F		3PL.S		1EX.O
	conj	pron	vi					pron		pron

kabaraweneamakekaba -rawa -heneama -keeat F.PL IRR+F SEC DECL+Fvtsec

"They went away. They would have eaten us."

153	Amo	onamab	onamabone				tikamah	i			ha	
	amo	0-	to-	na	-ma	-habone	ti-	to-	ka	-ma	-hi	haa
	sleep	1SG.S	away	AUX	back	INT+F	2SG.S	away	go/come	back	IMP+F	DEM
	vi	aux					vi					dem

tiwa tiwa , ona tokomareka tiwa ati o- na+F to- ka -ma -hare -ka 2SG say 1SG.S AUX away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M pron vt vi

""I'm going to go back and sleep, so you leave,' I said. He left.""

154	Tokom	ie		itaka	nare		
	to-	ka	-ma+M	ita	-kabote	na	-hare
	away	go/come	back	sit	quickly	AUX	IP.E+M
	vi			vi		aux	

"He left. He sat down quickly."

155 Itakabote wamise mowi tonamaiti ne ita -kabote na+M waa -misa+M mowi to- na -ma -hitI+M sit quickly AUX stand up bend away AUX back along the way vi vi aux aux tokome owakatome fawa katoma+M to- ka -ma+M 0kafawa away go/come back 1SG.S COMIT look at disappear vi vi vt. tonakosame okiyomamara ya -ma.NOM+M 0to- na -kosa ya ka -yoma -ma -hara ADJU 1SG.S go/come through back IP.E+F away AUX middle back aux prt vi oke \circ ke 1SG.S DECL+F

"He sat down quickly. He got up. He went on, stooping. I watched him. He went into the forest, and I came back in."

156 Okiyomama bana otake faya ota -yoma -ma+F -ke faya otaa bana+F otaa 1SG.S go/come through back 1EX.S 1EX.S DECL+F so move away vi conj pron pron

"I came back into the house. Then we moved to another place."

157 *Ota* hana yaka naba tasi ota ota bana+F na nahaba+F otaa tasi otaa otaa yaka 1EX.S move away 1EX.S AUX at night 1EX.S walk emerge vi pron 77 i pron aux pron vi

namineni

na -ma -ne -ni AUX back CONT+F BKG+F aux

"We moved to another place. We walked through the night. We arrived at the other village."

158 *Ota* siwa rene ota amake ama -ke otaa siwa na -ra -hene otaa 1EX.S die AUX NEG IRR+F 1EX.S SEC DECL+F pron vi aux pron

"We almost all died."

159 *Yima* waka otara nene ota amani me yima otara waka na -hene otaa ama -ni me Yima 1EX.O 3PL.S kill AUX IRR+F 1EX.O SEC BKG+F npropm pron pron vt aux pron sec

"The Yimas almost killed us."

160 *Fava* tokoma me abene amake to- ka -ma+F ama -ke faya me me ahaba -hene me away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S die IRR+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F SO conj pron νi pron vi pron sec

[&]quot;They went away. I wish they would have died."

161 *Me* , $\begin{array}{ccc} \textit{me} & \textit{e} \\ \textit{me} & \textit{ee} \end{array}$ totonakamaki ra to- to- na- ka -makI na -ra+F me 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP away CAUS go/come following 3PL AUX NEG pron pron pron vt "Let's go after them." 162 *Hiba* ihi me itimatahi mata iti -mata -hi ihi hiba me mata wait 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist short time IMP+F for now vi interj pron pn prt "Wait until they kill someone." omatibe 163 *Oko* watiba wari o- ka wati -ba wari o- na -mata -be 1SG.POSS POSS arrow FUT turn 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F prt nm vt aux "I'm going to get my arrows ready." 164 *Me* niba sa narake na -baha.LIST na -hara -ke waha me 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX before AUX IP.E+F DECL+F pron result aux aux "I'm going to shoot them." 165 *Tasi* namakiba amane na -makI -hiba ama -ne tasi emerge AUX following FUT+M SEC BKG+M aux sec "He's going to come again." 166 *Tasi* namakiba amane namakiba na -makI -hiba ama -ne tasi emerge AUX following FUT+M SEC BKG+M aux sec "He's going to come again." Wati me
arrow 3PL.S
pron , wati 167 *Wati* me wati arrow 3PL.S nm pron nawariemetemoneke na- waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'They got arrows ready.' 168 *Wati* faya wari na me me me arrow 3PL.S turn AUX 3PL.S so arrow 3PL.S arrow nm pron vt aux pron 2000. wari na+F me arrow 3PL.S nm pron vt aux pron conj nm pron nm pron

werenawatimewerename,meme,Hibarematawerena+Fwatimena+FmememehibarematacoatAUXarrow3PL.ScoatAUX3PL.S3PL3PLwaitfor nowvtauxnmpronvtauxpronpronproninterjprt

[&]quot;They put points on their arrows. They put poison on the arrows. "Wait a minute.""

awaraba **namaταπι** na -mata 169 *Te* -hi tee awaraba 2PL.S leave alone AUX short time IMP+F pron vi aux "Don't do anything yet." ama -ni 170 *Me* kamakiaba me ati mρ ka -makI -haba me me me ati 3PL.S go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F 3PL.S sav pron vi sec pron pron v/t nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux "They are going to come here," they said.' 171 *Hine* me kabanamake hine me ka- habana -makI 3.REFL 3PL.S COMIT order someone against following 3PL.S thing pron tekitikosawiti ya tika kana ti- to- ka- iti -kosa -witI.NOM kana ya t.ika killer 2SG.S away COMIT pick up middle out ADJU 2SG.POSS POSS prt prt ahi tokiva ha ahi va na.NFIN to- ka -vahi ahi ahi haa ya away go/come DIST.IMP+F there DEM ADJU there dem dem prt dem aux "We will be ready for them. Go get the arrows and run over there." 172 Titikosawawitibe ti- to- iti -kosa -waha -witI -be 2SG.S away take out middle change out IMMED+F "Go ambush them." 173 Kameba amane -ma -hiba ka ama -ne go/come back FUT+M SEC BKG+M vi sec "He will come." 174 *Kame* bako sa tikabaya ti- ka- na -ba -ya ka -ma+M bako saa 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+M now go/come back chest+M shoot with arrow pn vt aux "When he comes, you shoot him in the chest." 175 *Te* te watovahi tee wato -yahi tee

2PL.O 2PL.S know DIST.IMP+F

vt

pron

pron

"Be careful."

	Me me 3PL.S pron they com	vi	namaki na -ma a AUX following aux ey will die."	akI.NOM Llowing	ADJU	me me 3PL.S pron		-haban	a -ke DECL+F	<i>bisa</i> bisa also prt
177	Faya	me	me no	onoki	hic	\boldsymbol{q}		me	me	me
-,,	faya	me		o- noki		- to-		me	, me	me
	so	3PL.0		JP wait f				3PL.O	3PL.O	3PL.S
			pron vi		au	_		pron	pron	pron
non	_	-	metemoneke					_	1	1
no-	noki		- to- ha	-hemete	-mone	-ke	•			
DUP	wait	for OC	CH AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+E	יי			
vt		au	X							
'The	ey waited	for them	a long time.'							
178	Me	me	nonoki	hia	\boldsymbol{r}		me	, me	me	
	me	me	no- nok		- to-		me	me	me	
	3PL.0	3PL.S	DUP wait	for OC	CH	AUX	3PL.0	3PL	.0 3PL.S	
	pron	pron	vt	au	lΧ		pron	pro	n pron	
non		hia		me	,	maki			vatora	
_	noki		- to- ha+		ka		-makI.		ato -ra+E	1
_	' wait	for OC					follow	=	now NEG	
vt		au		pron	V			V	rt	
me		, me	kamaki			wawato				
me		me	ka	111011111		wa- wa				
	.POSS	3PL.		ne follow	_		WO			
pro		pror	n vi			vt				
	emetemo			,	•					
			ete -mone							
СН		EG FP.N	+F KEP+F	DECL+F						
aux										

'They waited for them a long time. They waited for them, but they didn't come. They never came back.'

179	Me				toaremetemoneke							
	me	ka-	ka	-makI	to-	ha	-ra	-hemete	-mone	-ke		
	3PL.S	DUP	go/come	following	СН	AUX	NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F		
	pron	vi			aux							

'They never came back.'

180 <i>Me</i> me 3PI pro	 me me 3PL.S pron	nonoki no- noki DUP wait vt	to- ha+l	me F me 3PL.S pron	<i>kamakira</i> ka go/come vi	-makI following	-ra+F NEG
me me 3PL.S pron kakatome	ng .	yama hiwe yama hiwe dry season nf	me me 3PL.S pron	natafa na- taf CAUS eat vt			te tee 2PL.S pron

ka- katoma
COMIT look at

7.7

'They waited for them a long time. They didn't come. In the dry season they planted gardens. "Be vigilant." 1156

¹⁵⁶ There is a word after yama hiwe that is unclear.

```
181 Yama
            te
                    kakatomibe
    vama
            tee
                    ka-
                         katoma
                                    -be
                    COMIT look at IMMED+F
    thing
            2PL.S
    nf
            pron
'"Be vigilant."'
182 Te
            totokomahi
            to- to- ka
    tee
                                -ma
                                     -hi
    2PL.S
            DUP away go/come back IMP+F
    pron
            vi
"When one goes, another take his place."
183 Tinarabo
                       hawi
                                          tiwariyahi
                                   ya
                       hawi.NOM
    ti-
              narabo
                                   ya
                                          ti-
                                                        -ra -yahi
                                                 waa
    2SG.POSS ear
                       work
                                   ADJU
                                          2SG.S stand NEG DIST.IMP+F
                       vi
                                   prt
                                          vi
"When you hear something, don't stay standing."
184 Tika
                     kana
                            ni
                                       kamiyahi
    ti-
              ka
                     kana
                            na.NFIN
                                                -ma -yahi
                                       ka
    2SG.POSS POSS
                     run
                            AUX
                                       go/come back DIST.IMP+F
                     vi
                            aux
                                       vi
"Come running."
185 Me
            tiwi
                                                              ka
                               ya
                                          tinowati
                                                                   ya
            ti-
                   awa.NOM+F
                                          ti-
                                                    nowati
                                                              ka
   me
                                                                    ya
                                va
                                          2SG.POSS behind
    3PL.O
            2SG.S see
                               ADJU
                                                              LOC
                                                                   ADJU
   pron
                                                                   prt
            v/t
                                prt
                                                              prt
                                          pn
tinokosi
                                        kami
                                                             tiwi
                         ya
                                me
                                                                                 ya
                                                  -ma.NFIN
          nokosi
                                                                    awa.NOM+F
t i -
                                                             ti-
                                                                                 ya
                         ya
                                me
                                        ka
                                                             2SG.S see
2SG.POSS in front of
                         ADJU
                                3PL.S
                                        go/come back
                                                                                 ADJU
                                                             vt
                         prt
                                pron
                                        νi
                                                                                 prt
waha
      tina
waha
      ti-
              to- na
      2SG.S CH AUX
turn
      aux
"If you see them in back of you or in front of you, go off the trail."
186 Tika
                     kana
                            ni
                                       tokiya
                                                                    ha
                                                                          ya
    ti-
              ka
                     kana
                            na.NFIN
                                       to- ka
                                                      -yahi
                                                                    haa
                                                                          ya
    2SG.POSS POSS
                     run
                            AUX
                                       away go/come DIST.IMP+F
                                                                    DEM
                                                                          ADJU
   prt
                     vi
                            aux
                                                                    dem
                                                                          prt
"Run away."157
187 Fa
             witi
                                 tika
                                                          ni
                    ka
                                                   kana
                          ya
    faha
             witi
                    ka
                                 ti-
                                           ka
                                                   kana
                                                          na.NFIN
                          ya
                    LOC
    stream
             edge
                          ADJU
                                 2SG.POSS POSS
                                                   run
                                                          AUX
                                 prt
                                                   vi
             pn
                    prt
                          prt
                                                          aux
kabasawamibeya
                                             ahi
        -basa -waha -ma -be
                                             ahi
go/come edge change back IMMED+F now
                                             then
```

"Run along the stream back to the village."

dem

¹⁵⁷ There is a phrase in Portuguese at the beginning, that means, "Go off into the forest, run along the stream, arrive at the village."

188 *Hawi* homabasi nofa amake hawi homa -basa nofa+F ama -ke SEC DECL+F trail lie on ground edge recently nf vi sec "There is a trail along the stream." 189 *Me* omatibe totowama to- to- awa -ma me o- na -mata -be 3PL.O DUP away see back 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F pron vt aux "I'm going to look at them." 190 *Tokome* tokome ma -ma+Mto- ka to- ka -ma+Mmaa away go/come back away go/come back stop vi vi vi tonamamatamona amake hike to- na -ma.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke hike ya away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F far ADJU nf prt 'He went. He went. He stopped out a ways.' 191 Base Kabi amake ahi Base Kabi ama -ke ahi (name of stream) be DECL+F there npropf dem VC "It's the Base Kabi stream." 192 Base Kabi Me toname ya ma Base Kabi to- na -ma+M maa me ya (name of stream) away AUX back 3PL.S ADJU stop npropf vi prt aux pron kamakira me awineke -makI -ra+F me awine -ke go/come following NEG seem+F DECL+F 3PL.S pron sec 'He stopped at the Base Kabi stream. "I guess they didn't come." 193 **Yama** kakakatoma kawahe ya yana tone yama ka- kakatoma kana -waha.NOM+M ya yana tona+M thing DUP COMIT look at COMIT AUX change ADJU start away AUX aux prt vi Totokoma kame tosi to- to- ka ka -ma+M -ma to- na -sii go/come back DUP away go/come back CH AUX slowly along the way vi vi aux obe na -be 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F 'He looked for a while and then left. He came back. "I'll go back slowly." 194 Kakama kiki tosi ne ka- ka to- na -sii na+M ki- kii -ma

CH AUX slowly along the way

AUX

DUP look

vi

DUP go/come back

tosi nematamonaka na -waha to- na -sii na -himata -mona -ka AUX change CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux 'He came slowly back. He was looking back along the way.' 195 *Kame* kamematamonaka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ka go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M go/come back vi vi 'He came back.' 196 *Kame* bai toke kobo Fa ya name -ma+M bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya faa ka kobo na -ma+M go/come back sun away go/come ADJU arrive AUX back that vi nm vi prt vi aux dem me -ra 3PL.S NPQ 'He came back. He arrived back late in the afternoon. "Where are they?" 197 *Me* kamakirarake ka -makI -ra -hara -ke me 3PL.S go/come following NEG IP.E+F DECL+F pron "They didn't come." 198 *Me* watomisarini wato -misa -ra -ni me 3PL.S be afraid up NEG BKG+F pron vi "Could they be afraid?" 199 *Me* watomisa me awineke awine -ke -misa+F me me wato 3PL.S be afraid up 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F pron vi pron "They must be afraid." , yama 200 **E** awakere watowato awa -ke -re ee yama wato- wato like this see DECL+F NEG+F DUP be afraid thing result teraro na -tee -ra -haaro AUX HAB NEG IP.E+F "I don't think they are afraid." 201 *Wato* tonihe wato.NFIN to- niha- ha+M be afraid CH CAUS be

vt

"You said they are afraid."

me me 202 Titati afone vome nawahabanani ti- tati afone yome yome na -waha -habana -ni 3PL.S swallow AUX change FUT+F BKG+F 2SG.POSS head soft core pn pron vt aux "They are going to eat your brains." yima watoterawara 203 Yama amake mati wato -tee -rawa -ra+F ama -ke vama yima mati thing be afraid HAB F.PL NEG SEC DECL+F Yima 3PL nf vi sec npropm pron "The Yimas aren't afraid." , me 204 *Me* nowati nowati bote tokoma me me bote to- ka -ma+F nowati me nowati me old away go/come back 3PL.POSS after 3PL.POSS after 3PL.POSS pron pn pron pn adj νi pron tokomasa me awineke na to- ka -ma -saa t.ame na+F me awine -ke footprint+F away go/come back still AUX 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F vi pron "The footprints of them going away are still there." 205 *Me* tame tokomarake -ma -hara -ke to- ka me tame 3PL.POSS footprint+F away go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F nq "There are footprints of them going away." 206 *Atabo* tai nisararake na -risa -ra -hara -ke atabo tai step on AUX down NEG IP.E+F DECL+F mud nf result aux "No one made new footprints." 207 *Yama* ka ya ookahara oke ahi to- ka -hara yama ka ya 0- 0-0ke ahi forest LOC ADJU DUP 1SG.S away go/come IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F there prt prt vi prt fa tori karo faha tori karo stream bed+F LOC prt pn "I go in the forest, near a stream." 208 *Atabo* onisara tai atabo tai o- na -risa -ra+F mud step on 1SG.S AUX down NEG nf vt. aux "I don't walk in the mud."

te

pron

owa tokomatasa

owa to- ka

νi

then 2PL.POSS man away go/come back again

nm

manakobisa

conj

manakobisa tee

209 *Te*

tee

owa

owa

2PL.POSS man

pron nm

-ma -tasa.LIST

```
manakobisa tee
  manakobisa te
                        owa
                              tokomatasa
                                        -ma -tasa.LIST ,
                             to- ka
                        owa
              2PL.POSS
                        man
                              away go/come back again
  conj
             pron
                        nm
                              vi
nebanaka
na -hibana -ka
AUX FUT+M DECL+M
aux
"You take turns going."
          , ha
210 Ee
                  owabanake
             haa owa -bana -ke
   ee
            DEM 1SG FUT DECL+F
   yes
   interj
           dem pron
"All right, I will go."
211 Ha
        owabanani
   haa owa -bana -ni
   DEM 1SG.O FUT IP.N+F
   dem pron
"I will be the one."
212 Sa
                     okanibote
                                              onebanaka
                     o- ka- na -bote
                                              o- na -hibana -ka
   shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 1SG.S AUX FUT+M DECL+M
                     aux
                                              aux
kana onaba
                       owa
kana o- na -haba
                      OWA
run 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S
                       pron
     aux
"I will shoot him quickly, and run."
213 Sa
                     okanibote
                                              onebanaka
                     o- ka- na -bote
                                                        -hibana -ka
                                              o- na
   saa
   shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 1SG.S AUX FUT+M DECL+M
                     aux
                                              aux
       kana ni
                      wete
                              tonamaba
                                                    mati
me
                              to- na -ma -haba
       kana na.NFIN
                      wete
                                                   mati
3PL.S run
            AUX
                      return away AUX back FUT+F
                                                    3PL.POSS
       vi
             aux
                      vi
                              aux
"I will shoot him quickly, and they will go running back."
214 Faya
        tokome
                                                    yama
                                tokome
   faya to- ka -ma+M
                                to- ka
                                             -ma+M yama
   SO
         away go/come back
                                away go/come back
                                                     thing
   conj
        vi
                                vi
towamatase
                          Timete
                                         ka
                                               waso
to- awa -ma -tasa+M ' ti- mete ka waso away see back again 2SG.POSS rear POSS leaf
                          pn
                                         prt
kafoririyahi
            -ra -yahi
ka- forI
COMIT lie on top NEG DIST.IMP+F
'He went again. He went. He went and looked. "Don't leave the leaves of your rear end on the log."
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215 Waso koro tikawitiyahi ti- to- ka- na -witI -yahi waso koro leaf throw 2SG.S away COMIT AUX out DIST.IMP+F nf vt aux tiwitari karo ti- ita -rI.NOM karo 2SG.S sit raised surface which ""Throw the leaves that you sit on away." 216 *Titeme* tinawatarihi ti- na- wata -rihi + i teme 2SG.POSS footprint 2SG.S CAUS be located NEG.LIST "Don't leave footprints." 217 *Oteme* onawatarara 0teme o- na- wata -ra -hara 0ke 1SG.POSS footprint 1SG.S CAUS be located NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F "I didn't leave footprints." 218 *Fava* tokome tokome yama noki ne to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M faya vama noki na+M away go/come back so away qo/come back thina wait for AUX conj vi vi nf vt aux towitareme iitari to- ita -rI -ma+M i- ita -rI DUP sit raised surface away sit raised surface back vi ya yana ne kame ka- na -waha.NOM+M na+M ka -ma+M ya yana COMIT AUX change ADJU get up AUX go/come back prt vi aux vi kamematamonaka ka -ma -himata -mona -ka go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 'He went. He went. He sat waiting. After sitting for a while, he got up. He came back.' 219 *Kame* yama yama ka -ma+M yama yama go/come back thing thing nf honatasaremetemoneke -tasa -ra -hemete -mone -ke have something again NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'He came back. There wasn't anyone there.' 220 *Faya* yama honatasara kobo kame faya yama hona -tasa -ra+F ka -ma+M kobo

thing have something again NEG

vi

conj

go/come back

vi

arrive

name na -ma.NOM+M AUX back aux	ya ADJU	me me 3PL.S pron	<pre>amo amo sleep vi</pre>	<i>tasa</i> na AUX aux	-tasa+F again	,	manakobis manakob then conj		1
tokomatasa			, <i>n</i>	ne	me	yobi			
to- ka -:	ma -ta	sa.LIST	n	ne	me	yobi	-		
away go/come b	ack aga	in	3	BPL.O	3PL.S	go k	back and	forth	
vi			p	oron	pron	vi			
hikana	me	, me	. 1	kakamak	i				
hi- ka- na+F	me	me]	ka- ka	— ₁	makI			
OC COMIT AUX	3PL.O	3P	L.S I	DUP go	/come f	ollov	ving		
aux	pron	pr	on v	vi					
toaremetemone		n	ne	amake					
to- ha -ra -h	emete -	mone m	ne	ama -	·ke				
CH AUX NEG FP	.N+F R	EP+F 3	PL.S	SEC I	ECL+F				
aux		n	ron	sec					

'There wasn't anyone there again. He came back. He got back, and they slept. Then another one went. They kept going after them. They didn't ever come.'

221 Me kamakira me

me ka -makI -ra+F me

3PL.S go/come following NEG 3PL.S

pron vi pron

'They didn't come.'