

EYIYI

Free Translation

Eyiyi was hungry, and he called his mother. "Mother, I'm hungry."

"Go hunting and kill a tapir with an arrow."

He went out hunting, but didn't see any game. He came back.

"Mother, I'm hungry."

"Be hungry. You haven't gone out hunting. Go hunting."

"I didn't see a tapir. Just a minute, I will toast some manioc mash."

He toasted some manioc mash. "Mother, can I eat you?"

"He's not going to eat me. Go ahead and eat me. I'm not a tapir."

He grabbed his mother's throat with his hands. He strangled her, and she died. His older brothers didn't see what he did. They were out in the forest. He killed his mother and cut her up and ate her. He ate one leg, and left the other leg on the roasting grate.

He ate his mother, but afterwards he was to turn into an animal. He is the one who became the ocelot. He ate his mother.

His older brothers came back. "Oof," they said.

"Where is it?" one of them said. "Where is the tapir?"

"I didn't see any tapir. I have eaten, and I am in my hammock."

"What did you eat? I stayed here waiting for you, so I could eat some tapir. Then I went out, too, so I didn't see when you arrived back, and here you are in your hammock."

"I ate my mother."

"He says he ate my mother. Why did you eat my mother?"

"I ate my mother because I was hungry. Don't be mad at me."

His older brother didn't say anything more. When the others were sleeping, the older brother took his mother's leg off the roasting grate, and took it away.

He came back, and they took snuff and went to sleep. "He ate my mother, and he is sleeping. He is sleeping with a full stomach. I'm going to tell him to go out hunting tomorrow."

When morning came, he got up and spoke. "Eyiyi, Eyiyi."

"Huh?"

"Go kill a tapir."

"All right, in a little while I will kill a tapir."

"Go right now. Don't eat. You have already eaten."

He got ready, and went. He found a tapir. He attacked it. He went to grab the tapir around the neck, and it threw him over to the other side, and he fell to the ground. He went after the tapir. He jumped on top of the tapir and sat on top of it, and rode on it. A tree caught him, and he fell on the ground. He went with the tapir again, and the tapir took him. He couldn't kill the tapir. The tapir didn't die, and he was tired out.

He got lost out there, far away. He started back. He slept in the forest. He got up early and searched all day for the way back. He slept again, and didn't come home. He was out two nights. After searching some more, he found the trail, and came home.

"I told Eyiyi to kill a tapir. I sent him out and he went, and he is taking a long time to come

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back. He ate my mother."

He wasn't coming back. Then he appeared. "Whew, I'm hungry. I got hungry and came back. The tapir threw me off its trail."

"I told you to kill a tapir."

"The tapir got away. It got me lost. I got lost. I searched for the trail and found it, and have come back. I was out for two nights. I searched for the trail in the morning, and found it, and have come back."

He was hungry, but they didn't give him any food. He was hungry, so he got ready in the morning.

"Eyiya, go hunting in the morning. You ate my mother. I want to eat tapir, to pay for the eating of my mother."

"I went hunting for tapir, but I couldn't kill a tapir."

He went. His older brother ordered him, and he went. He disappeared into the forest. They waited for him, but he didn't come back. He turned into an animal. He is the one who is now the margay, the ocelot. He got lost, and turned into an animal. He turned into an animal, and went up in a tree, the place that became his home. He sat on a limb. It got dark, and he slept. He didn't come back.

"Eyiya ate my mother. I wanted to eat something he killed, so I ordered him, but he has not come back."

He didn't come back. Ten days later he came back. He arrived, and he was angry at them. He wanted to kill one of them, and he circled around them.

They ordered him. "Go away. You turned into an animal." They sent him back, and he went away. He disappeared. "You turned yourself into an animal, and you are alone now." He turned into an animal, and he didn't come back.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Eyiya*
Eyiya
(man's name)
npropm
'Eyiya.'

2	<i>Eyiya</i> Eyiya (man's name) npropm	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	,	<i>fimihi</i> fimi+M be hungry vi	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<i>ha</i> haa call vt	<i>ne</i> na+M AUX aux
	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	,	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<i>ha</i> haa call vt	<i>nematamonaka</i> na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux		

'Eyiya was hungry, and he called his mother.'

3	<i>Mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<i>ha</i> haa call vt	<i>ne</i> na+M AUX aux	,	<i>Ami</i> ami mother nf	<i>ofimi</i> o- fimi 1SG.S be hungry vi	<i>oke</i> o- ke 1SG.S DECL+F prt
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'He called his mother. "Mother, I'm hungry."'

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- 4 **Yama yete tinahi**
 yama yete ti- na -hi
 thing hunt 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux
 "Go hunting."
- 5 **Awi sa tikibeya**
 awi saa ti- ka- na -be -ya
 tapir shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F now
 nm vt aux
 "Kill a tapir with an arrow."
- 6 **Eyiyi toke tokematamonaka**
 Eyiyi to- ka+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 (man's name) away go/come away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm vi vi
 'Eyiyi went out.'
- 7 **Toke toke noko honare kame**
 to- ka+M to- ka+M noko hona -ra+M ka -ma+M
 away go/come away go/come eye+M have something NEG go/come back
 vi vi pn vi vi
 , **kamematamonaka**
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'He went out, but didn't see anything. He came back.'
- 8 **Kame Ami ofimi oke**
 ka -ma+M ami o- fimi o- ke
 go/come back mother 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi nf vi prt
 'He came back. "Mother, I'm hungry."
- 9 **Tifimihi**
 ti- fimi -hi
 2SG.S be hungry IMP+F
 vi
 "Be hungry."
- 10 **Yama yete tira ama tini**
 yama yete ti- na -ra+F ama ti- ni
 thing hunt 2SG.S AUX NEG SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux sec prt
 "You haven't gone out hunting."
- 11 **Yama yete tina**
 yama yete ti- na
 thing hunt 2SG.S AUX
 nf vt aux
 "Go hunting."
- 12 **Awi kobo orahara oke**
 awi kobo o- na -ra -hara o- ke
 tapir meet 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm vt aux prt
 "I didn't see a tapir."

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13 **Hiba** , **iyawa** **osiramate**
 hiba , iyawa o- sira -mate
 wait manioc mash 1SG.S toast short time.IMP+F
 interj nf vt

"Just a minute, I will toast some manioc mash."

14 **Iyawa** **sirematamonaka**
 iyawa sira -himata -mona -ka
 manioc mash toast FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt

'He toasted some manioc mash.'

15 **Iyawa** **sire** , **iyawa** **siri** **hawa** **toe**
 iyawa sira+M , iyawa sira.NFIN hawa to- ha+M
 manioc mash toast manioc mash toast be finished CH AUX
 nf vt nf vt vi aux

Ami , **ami** **tiwa** **okobibana** ?
 ami , ami tiwa o- kaba+F -bana
 mother mother 2SG.O 1SG.S eat FUT
 nf nf pron vt

'He toasted some manioc mash. He finished toasting the manioc mash. "Mother, can I eat you?"'

16 **Owa** **kabahari** **he**
 owa kaba -haari haa+M
 1SG.O eat look+M DEM
 pron vt dem

"He's not going to eat me."

17 **Owa** **tikabahi**
 owa ti- kaba -hi
 1SG.O 2SG.S eat IMP+F
 pron vt

"Eat me."

18 **Awi** **ama** **oni**
 awi ama o- ni
 tapir be 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vc prt

"I'm not a tapir."

19 **Mati** , **mati** **namiti** **wara** **tonematamona**
 mati , mati namiti wara to- na -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.mother 3SG.POSS.mother throat grab CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf nf pn vt aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He grabbed his mother's throat with his hands.'

20 **Namiti** **niki** **hikana** **ahabemetemoneke** **fahi**
 namiti niki hi- ka- na+F ahaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 throat press on OC COMIT AUX die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn vt aux vi dem

'He strangled her, and she died.'

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21 *Anoti* *me* *hiwarematamonane*
 anoti me hi- awa -ra -himata -mona -ne
 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S OC see NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm pron vt

'His older brothers didn't see him.'

22 *Anoti* *me* *tokemetemoneke*
 anoti me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi

'His older brothers were in the forest.'

23 *Anoti* *me* *hiware* , *mati*
 anoti me hi- awa -ra+M , mati
 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S OC see NEG 3SG.POSS.mother
 nm pron vt nf

nabowe *mati* *bobi* *ne* *mati* *kabe* ,
 na- aboha+M mati bobi na+M mati kaba+M ,
 CAUS die 3SG.POSS.mother slit AUX 3SG.POSS.mother eat
 vt nf vt aux nf vt

mati *mate* *tone* , *haha* *kanawa*
 mati mate tone , haaha ka- na- waa.LIST ,
 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone this+F COMIT CAUS stand
 nf pn pn dem vt

mati *mate* *tone* *kanawematamonaka*
 mati mate tone ka- na- waa -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone COMIT CAUS stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pn pn vt

'His older brothers had not seen him. He killed his mother and cut her up and ate her. He ate one leg, and left the other leg on the roasting grate.'

24 *Tafematamonaka* *ahi* , *mati* *kabahari* *ahi* ,
 tafa -himata -mona -ka ahi , mati kabahari ahi ,
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3SG.POSS.mother eat IP.E+M then
 vi dem nf vt dem

nabati , *toiyatehibana* , *toiyatehibana*
 nabati to- hiya -tee -hibana , to- hiya -tee -hibana
 stomach CH be different HAB FUT+M CH be different HAB FUT+M
 pn vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He ate, eating his mother. His stomach was to turn into the stomach of an animal.'

25 *Efe* *efematamona* *amaka* *hari* *yome* ,
 efe efe -mata -mona ama -ka haari yomee ,
 this+M this+M FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+M that one+M jaguar
 dem dem vc dem nm

yome wikiraba , *marakasa* , *marakasa* *toatehibana*
 yome wikiraba , marakasa , marakasa to- ha -tee -hibana
 ocelot ocelot ocelot CH be HAB FUT+M
 nm nm nm vc

'He is the one who became the ocelot.'

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26 *Marakasa toateba* , *mati* *kabematamonane*
 marakasa to- ha -tee -hiba , mati kaba -himata -mona -ne
 ocelot CH be HAB FUT+M 3SG.POSS.mother eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm vc nf vt

'He was to become the ocelot. He ate his mother.'

27 *Mati kabe* , *faya anoti* *me*
 mati kaba+M , faya anoti me
 3SG.POSS.mother eat so 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S
 nf vt conj nm pron

kama me , *Oof* , *anoti* *owa kobo*
 ka -ma+F me , oof , anoti owa kobo
 go/come back 3PL.S hoo 3SG.POSS older brother one+M arrive
 vi pron interj nm adj vi

name , *kobo namematamonaka*
 na -ma+M , kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 AUX back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi aux

'He ate his mother. His older brothers came back. "Oof," they said. One of his other older brothers arrived back.'

28 *Fera* ?
 fee -ra
 that+M NPQ
 dem

""Where is it?""

29 *Awira* ?
 awi -ra
 tapir NPQ
 nm

""Where is the tapir?""

30 *Aw* *me* *kobo* *rarake*
 awi me kobo na -ra -hara -ke
 tapir 3PL.S meet AUX NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nm pron result aux

""The tapirs weren't met.""

31 *Otafa* *owinine* *oni*
 o- tafa+F o- wina -ne o- ni
 1SG.S eat 1SG.S lie in hammock CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi vi prt

""I have eaten, and I am in my hammock.""

32 *Otafara* *oke*
 o- tafa -hara o- ke
 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

""I ate.""

33 *Himata tikabari* ?
 himata ti- kaba -ri
 what? 2SG.S eat CQ+F
 interrog vt

""What did you eat?""

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34 *Awi okobabone ona tiwa noki ona*
 awi o- kaba -habone ati o- na+F , tiwa noki o- na+F
 tapir 1SG.S eat INT+F say 1SG.S AUX 2SG.O wait for 1SG.S AUX
 nm vt vt pron vt aux
okawa owa ni tiwinamine
 o- to- ka -waha+F , owa ni ti- wina -ma -ne
 1SG.S away go/come change 1SG to 2SG.S lie in hammock back CONT+F
 vi pron prt vi

tiwenihi

ti- we -ni -hi
 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP
 prt

"I waited for you, so I could eat some tapir. I went out, so I didn't see when you arrived back, and here you are in your hammock."

35 *Okomi okobara oke*
 o- ka ami o- kaba -hara o- ke
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt prt

"I ate my mother."

36 *Okomi kabehino ati ama hari*
 o- ka ami kaba -hino ati ama haari
 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M voice be that one+M
 nf vt pn vc dem

"He says he ate my mother."

37 *Himatabiyo okomi tikabarini* ?
 himatabiyo o- ka ami ti- kaba -ri -ni
 why 1SG.POSS POSS mother 2SG.S eat CQ+F IP.N+F
 interrog nf vt

"Why did you eat my mother?"

38 *Aa okomi okobara*
 aa o- ka ami o- kaba -hara
 (clearing throat) 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.S eat IP.E+F
 sound nf vt

oke ofimimakoni
 o- ke o- fimi -makoni
 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.S be hungry for this reason+F
 prt vi

"I ate my mother because I was hungry."

39 *Owa kakorima tinahi*
 owa kaako -rima ti- na -hi
 1SG.O be angry with NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Don't be mad at me."

40 *Owa kakorima tinahi*
 owa kaako -rima ti- na -hi
 1SG.O be angry with NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Don't be mad at me."

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41 *Hine* , *hine* *okomi* *okoba* *oke*
 hine , hine o- ka ami o- kaba o- ke
 only only 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.S eat 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron pron nf vt prt

"Just let me eat my mother."

42 *Faya* *ati* *fawa* *nematamona* *fahi*
 faya ati fawa na -himata -mona fahi
 so voice stop AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pn vi aux dem

'He stopped talking.'

43 *Anoti* *ati* *fawa* *ne* , *ati* *fawa*
 anoti ati fawa na+M , ati fawa
 3SG.POSS older brother voice stop AUX voice stop
 nm pn vi aux pn vi

nematamonaka

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

'His older brother stopped talking.'

44 *Ati* *fawa* *ne* , *faya* *me* *amo* *ni* *ya* ,
 ati fawa na+M , faya me amo na.NOM+F ya ,
 voice stop AUX so 3PL.S sleep AUX ADJU
 pn vi aux conj pron vi aux prt
mati *mate* *tone* *kawa* *mate* *tone* *kakiti*
 mati mate tone ka- waa+F mate tone ka- iti+M
 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone COMIT stand rear+F bone COMIT take out
 nf pn pn vi pn pn vt

mate *tone* *towakematamona*
 mate tone to- ka- ka -himata -mona
 rear+F bone away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M
 pn pn vt

'He stopped talking. When they were sleeping, he took his mother's leg off the roasting grate, and took it away.'

45 *Faya* *mati* *mate* *tone* *towake* , *kame*
 faya mati mate tone to- ka- ka+M , ka -ma+M
 so 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone away COMIT go/come go/come back
 conj nf pn pn vt vi

sina *me* *hisi* *na* *me* *amo* *nemetemoneke*
 sina me hisi na+F me amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt aux pron vi aux

'He took away his mother's leg. He came back, and they took snuff and slept.'

46 *Me* *amo* *na* *me* *Okomi* *kabehino* *amo*
 me amo na+F me o- ka ami kaba -hino amo
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M sleep
 pron vi aux pron nf vt vi

nane

na.CONT+M -ne
 AUX BKG+M
 aux

"They slept. "He ate my mother, and he is sleeping."

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47 *Nabati amo kanane*

nabati amo ka- na.CONT+M -ne
stomach sleep COMIT AUX BKG+M
pn vi aux

"He is sleeping with a (full) stomach."

48 *Okomi kabehino nabati amo kanaka*

o- ka ami kaba -hino nabati amo ka- na -ka
1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M stomach sleep COMIT AUX DECL+M
nf vt pn vi aux

"He ate my mother, and he is sleeping with a (full) stomach."

49 *Tokaminabanahareka*

to- ka -mina+M -bana -hare -ka owati ihi
away go/come morning FUT IP.E+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS voice because of+F
vi pn post

"I'm going to tell him to go out hunting tomorrow."

50 *Faya ati yana ne , yama we*

faya ati yana na+M , yama wehe
so voice start AUX thing light+F
conj pn vi aux nf pn

kamakiemetemoneke

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

'He spoke. Morning came.'

51 *Yama we kamakia , faya yana tonematamona*

yama wehe ka -makI+F , faya yana to- na -himata -mona
thing light+F go/come following so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nf pn vi conj vi aux

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'Morning came, and he got up.'

52 *Eyiyi , Eyiyi*

Eyiyi Eyiyi
(man's name) (man's name)
npropm npropm

"Eyiyi, Eyiyi."

53 *Haa*

haa
huh?
interj

"Huh?"

54 *Awi tinabohahi*

awi ti- na- aboha -hi
tapir 2SG.S CAUS die IMP+F
nm vt

"Kill a tapir."

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55 **Hiba** , **awi** **onabohehiba** **awaka**
 hiba , awi o- na- aboha -hiba awa -ka
 wait tapir 1SG.S CAUS die FUT+M seem+M DECL+M
 interj nm vt sec

"Wait, I will kill a tapir."

56 **Tokakabote** **tinahi**
 to- ka -kabote ti- na -hi
 away go/come quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

"Go quickly."

57 **Tafarima** **tinahi**
 tafa -rima ti- na -hi
 eat NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

"Don't eat."

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

"You have already eaten."

59 **Faya yana tonematamona fahi**
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona fahi
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi aux dem

'He got ready.'

60 **Yana tone tokematamonaka**
 yana to- na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 start CH AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi

'He got ready, and went.'

61 **Toke awi wasi awi wasimatamona fahi**
 to- ka+M , awi wasi+M , awi wasi -himata -mona fahi
 away go/come tapir find tapir find FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi nm vt nm vt dem

'He went. He found a tapir.'

62 **AwI wasi awi fito kane awi fito kane awi**
 awi wasi+M awi fito ka- na+M , awi fito ka- na+M awi
 tapir find tapir rush COMIT AUX tapir rush COMIT AUX tapir
 nm vt nm vi aux nm vi aux nm

awi namiti wara tonehibona ati ne awi weye
 awi namiti wara to- na -hibona ati na+M , awi weye
 tapir neck grab CH AUX INT+M say AUX tapir carry
 nm pn vt aux vt aux nm vt

hiriwe bao nise awi
 hi- na -riwaha+M bao na -risa+M , awi
 OC AUX across come down AUX down tapir
 aux vi aux nm

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kiyomatamonaka **ahi** .
 kiyō -himata -mona -ka ahi
 chase FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'He found a tapir, and attacked it. He went to grab the tapir around the neck, and it threw him over to the other side, and he fell on the ground. He went after the tapir.'

63 **Kiyo** , **awi** **mese** **ya** **yora** **tomise** **awi** **mese**
 kiyō+M , awi mese ya yora to- na -misa+M awi mese
 chase tapir surface ADJU jump away AUX up tapir surface
 vt nm pn prt vi aux nm pn

ya **itari** , **awi** **kana** **hikane** **awa**
 ya ita -rI+M , awi kana hi- ka- na+M awa
 ADJU sit raised surface tapir run OC COMMIT AUX tree
 prt vi nm vi aux nf

hitibase **bao** **nisematamonaka** **fahi** .
 hi- iti -basa+M bao na -risa -himata -mona -ka fahi
 OC pick up edge come down AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt vi aux dem

'He went after it. He jumped on top of the tapir and sat on top of it, and rode on it. A tree caught him and he fell on the ground.'⁵³

64 **Awi** **towakamatase** , **awi**
 awi to- ka- ka -ma -tasa+M , awi
 tapir away COMMIT go/come back again tapir
 nm vt nm

hiwakame **awi** **nabowi** **watore** , **awi**
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M awi na- aboha.NFIN wato -ra+M , awi
 OC away COMMIT go/come back tapir CAUS die know NEG tapir
 vt nm vt vt nm

nabowi **watore** , **awi** **nabowi**
 na- aboha.NFIN wato -ra+M , awi na- aboha.NFIN
 CAUS die know NEG tapir CAUS die
 vt vt nm vt

watorematamonaka .
 wato -ra -himata -mona -ka
 know NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He went with the tapir again, and the tapir took him. He couldn't kill the tapir.'

65 **Awi** **nabowi** **watore** , **awi** **nabowi**
 awi na- aboha.NFIN wato -ra+M , awi na- aboha.NFIN
 tapir CAUS die know NEG tapir CAUS die
 nm vt vt nm vt

watorematamonane .
 wato -ra -himata -mona -ne
 know NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'He couldn't kill the tapir.'

66 **Awi** **ahabare** **ehene** **ma** **tohe** , **hike** **hike** **ya**
 awi ahaba -ra+M ehene maa to- ha+M , hike hike ya
 tapir die NEG because of+M be tired CH AUX far far ADJU
 nm vi post vi aux nf nf prt

53 The object NP *awi* 'tapir' is missing in the first clause.

EYIYI

tosawari , **kame** , **kamematamonaka**
 to- sawari , ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 CH get lost go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi vi

'The tapir didn't die, and he was tired out. He got lost out there, far away. He came back.'

67 **Kame** , **kamematamonaka** **ahi**
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi vi dem

'He came back.'

68 **Faya yama kabani ya amo nematamona fahi**
 faya yama kabani ya amo na -himata -mona fahi
 so forest ADJU sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj nf prt vi aux dem

'He slept in the forest.'

69 **Yama kabani ya amo ne bosa ne yama siba**
 yama kabani ya amo na+M , bosa na+M yama siba
 forest ADJU sleep AUX get up early AUX thing look for
 nf prt vi aux vi aux nf vt

nati , **amo namatasa**
 na nahatI+M , amo na -ma -tasa.LIST ,
 AUX daytime sleep AUX back again
 prt vi aux

kamarematamonane
 ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ne
 go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'He slept in the forest. He got up early and searched all day (for the way back). He slept again, and didn't come home.'

70 **Amo ni famematamonaka**
 amo na.NFIN fama -himata -mona -ka
 sleep AUX be two FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi

'He was out two nights.'

71 **Faya yama siba ne hawi wasi kamematamona**
 faya yama siba na+M hawi wasi+M , ka -ma -himata -mona
 so thing look for AUX trail find go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nf vt aux nf vt vi

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'He searched and found the trail, and came home.'

72 **Kame Eyiyi awi nabowehibona one**
 ka -ma+M , Eyiyi awi na- aboha -hibona ati o- na+M
 go/come back (man's name) tapir CAUS die INT+M say 1SG.S AUX
 vi npropm nm vt vt

oyosewiti toke kakama ra
 o- to- yose -witI+M to- ka+M ka- ka -ma na -ra.CONT+M ,
 1SG.S away command out away go/come DUP go/come back AUX NEG
 vt vi vi aux

EYIYI

okomi **kabeinoho**
 o- ka ami kaba -hino -ho
 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M DUP
 nf vt

'He came home. "I told Eyiya to kill a tapir. I sent him out and he went, and he is taking a long time to come back. He ate my mother.'"

73 **Okomi** **kabehino** **na** **oyosewiti**
 o- ka ami kaba -hino na o- to- yose -witI+M
 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M AUX 1SG.S away command out
 nf vt aux vt

kakama **rane**
 ka- ka -ma na -ra.CONT+M -ne
 DUP go/come back AUX NEG BKG+M
 vi aux

"He ate my mother. I sent him out, and he is taking a long time to come back."

74 **Faya** **kamare** **tasi** **namematamona** **fahi**
 faya ka -ma -ra+M tasi na -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so go/come back NEG emerge AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi vi aux dem

'He wasn't coming back. Then he appeared.'

75 **Hoo** , **ofimi** **oke**
 hoo , o- fimi o- ke
 whew 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vi prt

"Whew, I'm hungry."

76 **Ofimi** , **ofimia** **okomine**
 o- fimi , o- fimi+F o- ka -ma -ne
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F
 vi vi vi

oni
 o- ni
 1SG.S BKG+F
 prt

"I got hungry and came back."

77 **Awi** **owa** **koro** **tose**
 awi owa koro to- na -kosa+M
 tapir 1SG.O throw CH AUX middle
 nm pron vt aux

"The tapir threw me off the trail."

78 **Awi** **tinabowabone** **oriya**
 awi ti- na- aboha -habone ati o- na -ra+F -ya
 tapir 2SG.S CAUS die INT+F say 1SG.S AUX NEG now
 nm vt vt

"I told you to kill a tapir."

79 **Awi** **tokomaka** **ahi** **owa** **tonasawarihari**
 awi to- ka -ma -ka ahi owa to- na- sawari -haari
 tapir away go/come back DECL+M there 1SG.O CH CAUS get lost IP.E+M
 nm vi dem pron vt

"The tapir went away. It got me lost."

EYIYI

80 *Osawariha* , *hawi siba ona* , *hawi owasia*
 o- to- sawari+F , hawi siba o- na+F , hawi o- wasi+F
 1SG.S CH get lost trail look for 1SG.S AUX trail 1SG.S find
 vi nf vt aux nf vt

okomawahine *o waha*
 o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- waha
 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S now
 vi prt prt

"I got lost. I searched for the trail and found the trail, and have come back."

81 *Oko* *amo ni famara oke*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN fama -hara o- ke
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be two IP.E+F 1SG.POSS DECL+F
 prt vi aux vi prt

"I was out for two nights."

82 *Oko* *amo ni famara oni*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN fama -hara o- ni
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be two IP.E+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 prt vi aux vi prt

"I was out for two nights."

83 *Faya hawi siba onamina* , *faya hawi owasia*
 faya hawi siba o- na -mina+F , faya hawi o- wasi+F
 so trail look for 1SG.S AUX morning so trail 1SG.S find
 conj nf vt aux conj nf vt

okomawahine *oke waha*
 o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- ke waha
 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F now
 vi prt prt

"I searched for the trail in the morning, and found the trail, and have come back."

84 *Faya fimi tefeba me*
 faya fimi+M tefe -ba me
 so be hungry food FUT 3PL.S
 conj vi pn pron

hekawarematamonane

hi- ka- kawa -ra -himata -mona -ne
 OC COMIT give something to NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'He was hungry, but they didn't give him any food.'

85 *Fimi* , *faya yana tonaminabisebanoho*
 fimi+M , faya yana to- na -mina -bisa -hiba -no -ho
 be hungry so start CH AUX morning also FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi conj vi aux

'He was hungry, and he got ready in the morning.'

86 *Eyiyi* *yama yeyete tinaminahi*
 Eyiyi yama ye- yete ti- na -mina -hi
 (man's name) thing DUP hunt 2SG.S AUX morning IMP+F
 npropm nf vt aux

"Eyiyi, go hunting in the morning."

EYIYI

87	Okomi		tikabani		ama	tini	
	o-	ka	ami	ti-	kaba	-hani	ama ti- ni
	1SG.POSS	POSS	mother	2SG.S	eat	IP.N+F	SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
	nf			vt			sec prt

"You ate my mother."

88	Okomi		tikabani		okomi		kabi
	o-	ka	ami	ti-	kaba	-hani	o- ka ami kaba.NFIN
	1SG.POSS	POSS	mother	2SG.S	eat	IP.N+F	1SG.POSS POSS mother eat
	nf			vt			nf result

manakone	awi	okobabone	ona
manakone	awi	o-	kaba -habone
price	tapir	1SG.S	eat INT+F
pn	nm	vt	vt
			ati o- na+F
			say 1SG.S AUX

"You ate my mother, and I want to eat tapir, to pay for the eating of my mother."

89	Awi	yama	yete	ona		awi	nabowi
	awi	yama	yete	o-	na+F	awi	na- aboha.NFIN
	tapir	thing	hunt	1SG.S	AUX	tapir	CAUS die
	nm	nf	vt	aux		nm	vt

owatorahara	oke
o-	wato -ra -hara o- ke
1SG.S	know NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vt	prt

"I went hunting, but I couldn't kill a tapir."

90	Faya	toke		anoti		me	hiyose
	faya	to-	ka+M	anoti		me	hi- yose
	so	away	go/come	3SG.POSS	older brother	3PL.S	OC command
	conj	vi		nm		pron	vt

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

'He went. His older brothers ordered him, and he went.'

91	Toke		toke		fawa	tosawite		me
	to-	ka+M	to-	ka+M	fawa	to-	na -kosa -witI	me
	away	go/come	away	go/come	disappear	away	AUX middle out	3PL
	vi		vi		vi	aux		pron

	me	noki	hine		kamarematamona		fahi
	me	noki	hi-	na+M	ka	-ma -ra -himata -mona	fahi
	3PL.S	wait for	OC	AUX	go/come back	NEG FP.N+M REP+M	then
	pron	vt	aux		vi		dem

'He went, and disappeared into the forest. They waited for him, but he didn't come back.'

92	Faya		faya	tohiyematamonaka		fahi
	faya		faya	to-	hiya	-himata -mona -ka fahi
	so		so	CH	be different	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
	conj		conj	vi		dem

'He turned into an animal.'

93	Tohiyematamonane				
	to-	hiya	-himata	-mona	-ne
	CH	be different	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M
	vi				

'He turned into an animal.'

EYIYI

94 *Efematamona* *yome wakasi* *amaka* , *yome* *yome wikiraba* .
 efe -mata -mona yome wakasi ama -ka , yomee yome wikiraba
 this+M FP.N+M REP+M margay be DECL+M jaguar ocelot
 dem nm vc nm nm

'He is the one who is now the margay, the ocelot.'

95 *Faya tosawari* , *faya tohiye* ,
 faya to- sawari+M , faya to- hiya+M ,
 so CH get lost so CH be different
 conj vi conj vi

tohiyematamona *fahi* .
 to- hiya -himata -mona fahi
 CH be different FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'He got lost, and turned into an animal.'

96 *Faya tohiye* *ya tokomisematamonaka*
 faya to- hiya.NOM+M ya to- ka -misa -himata -mona -ka
 so CH be different ADJU away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi prt vi

awa ya .
 awa ya
 tree ADJU
 nf prt

'He turned into an animal, and went up in a tree.'

97 *Tokomisawitematamonaka* *fare* *taboroteba*
 to- ka -misa -witI -himata -mona -ka fare taboro -tee -ba
 away go/come up out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+M place+M HAB FUT
 vi dem pn

ya .
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

'He went up into the place that became his home.'

98 *Fare taboroteba* *ya tokomisawite* ,
 fare taboro -tee -ba ya to- ka -misa -witI ,
 same+M place+M HAB FUT ADJU away go/come up out
 dem pn prt vi

itari *kakayome* *amo* *ne* ,
 ita -rI+M ka- kayoma+M amo na+M
 sit raised surface COMMIT darken sleep AUX
 vi vi vi aux

kakayomematamona *fahi* , *faya kamarebanoho*
 ka- kayoma -himata -mona fahi , faya ka -ma -ra -hiba -no -ho
 COMMIT darken FP.N+M REP+M then so go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi dem conj vi

'He went up into the place that became his home. He sat on a limb. Darkness came on him, and he slept. Darkness came on him. He didn't come back.'

99 *Eyiyi* , *okomi* *kabehino* *na* , *ehene*
 Eyiyi o- ka ami kaba -hino na , ehene
 (man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M AUX victim of+M
 npropm nf vt aux pn

EYIYI

okobebona *oyose* *kakama* *nati* *ra*
 o- kaba -hibona o- yose+M ka- ka -ma nahatI na -ra.CONT+M
 1SG.S eat INT+M 1SG.S command DUP go/come back daytime AUX NEG
 vt vt vi prt aux

"Eyiyi ate my mother. I wanted to eat what he killed, so I ordered him, but he has not come back."⁵⁴

100 *Faya kamare* , *faya* ,
 faya ka -ma -ra+M , faya ,
 so go/come back NEG so
 conj vi conj

kamarematamonaka
 ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'He didn't come back.'

101 *Kamare* *ha* *yama* *we* *one* *ya* , *amo* *ni*
 ka -ma -ra+M haa yama wehe one ya , amo na.NFIN
 go/come back NEG DEM thing light+F other+F ADJU sleep AUX
 vi dem nf pn adj prt vi aux
 , *e* *ye* *kafami* *nima* *nemata* *ahi*
 ee yehe ka- fama.NFIN nima na -himata ahi
 1IN.POSS hand COMIT be two like AUX FP.N+M then
 pron pn vi prt aux dem

'He didn't come back. Another day, ten days later (he came back).'

102 *Yiya tei* *nemetemoneke*
 yiya tei na -hemete -mone -ke
 day be ten AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux

'It was ten days later.'

103 *Faya kame* , *kobo* *name* *mera*
 faya ka -ma+M , kobo na -ma+M mera
 so go/come back arrive AUX back 3PL.O
 conj vi vi aux pron

kakomatamonane
 kaako -himata -mona -ne
 be angry with FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'He came back. He arrived, and he was angry with them.'

104 *Mera kako* , *me* *ka* *owa* *nabowebona* *mera*
 mera kaako+M , me ka owa na- aboha -hibona mera
 3PL.O be angry with 3PL POSS man CAUS die INT+M 3PL.O
 pron vt pron prt nm vt pron

kakaraka *ne* , *me* *hiyosematamonane*
 kakaraka na+M , me hi- yose -himata -mona -ne
 circle around AUX 3PL.S OC command FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt aux pron vt

'He was angry with them. He wanted to kill one of them, and he circled around them. They ordered him.'

54 I am uncertain of the function of *na* after *kabehino*, today people would not include this.

EYIYI

105 *Tikamahi*

ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi

"Go away."

106 *Tihiyani*

ti- to- hiya -hani ama tini
 2SG.S CH be bad IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 vi sec prt

"You turned into an animal."

107 *Tiwa*

tiwa owa oke
 tiwa o- awa o- ke
 2SG.O 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt

"I see you."

108 *Faya*

me hiyoseme
 faya me hi- to- yose -ma+M
 so 3PL.S OC away command back
 conj pron vt

tokomematamonaka

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

'They sent him back, and he went away.'

109 *Tokome*

to- ka -ma+M , tokomematamona fahi
 away go/come back away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi vi dem

'He went away.'

110 *Faya*

fafawa toematamona fahi
 faya fa- fawa to- ha -himata -mona fahi
 so DUP disappear CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi aux dem

'He disappeared.'

111 *Tiwahari*

tinofa tiwa tinahiyine
 ti- ohari ti- nofa+F tiwa ti- to- na- hiya -ne
 2SG.S be alone 2SG.S recently 2SG.O 2SG.S CH CAUS be different CONT+F
 vi prt pron vt

tiwenihi

ti- we -ni -hi
 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP
 prt

"You turned yourself into an animal, and you are alone now."

112 *Faya*

tohiye , kamarematamona fahi
 faya to- hiya+M ka -ma -ra -himata -mona fahi
 so CH be different go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi vi dem

'He turned into an animal, and he didn't come back.'