Free Translation

It was her future sister-in-law. She called her future sister-in-law to go out. It was *bihi*. It was *bihi* palm leaves, to be weaved [into fans].

"Sister-in-law, let's all go together."

"My mother won't let me."

"Let's go together and play all over. We aren't men. We are all women. When we have gone and picked the *bihi* leaves and brought back the *bihi* leaves, my mother and the others will weave them."

"Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her. Go with your sister-in-law. If you don't go, she won't call you anymore," her mother said.

Her sister-in-law called her, and they went. They went out into the forest. They picked *bihi* leaves. They picked *bihi* leaves as they came back. They came back picking *bihi* leaves. As they were coming back picking *bihi* leaves, she found some *bihi* fruits and cut the bunch off. She cut off the bunch of *bihi* fruits, and was holding it in her hand. She picked *bihi* leaves and carried them on her shoulder. She came holding the bunch of *bihi* fruits in her hand.

"Are you finished?"

"Yes, we are finished. Let's go. Let's not separate the *bihi* leaves into strips, let's take the *bihi* leaves home."

She wanted to give her *bihi* fruits to her mother. Her sisters-in-law played a joke on her and ate the *bihi* fruits.

She was upset because they ate them. "You are eating the bihi fruits that are for my mother."

They didn't pay any attention to what she was saying. They pulled off the *bihi* fruits. They ate the *bihi* fruits, cracking them in their mouths.

"You go ahead and stay here. Go ahead and eat them."

"Go ahead, let her be mad. Hehei. Look at her, she's mad."

She went back mad. She went back. They were left behind running after each other. Their voices came to her and she stopped to listen. Their voices could be heard. She went on.

While the girls were playing, the jaguars were also playing. There were two logs across the trail, and the two jaguars were on top of them playing. "Ooo," the male was playing with its mate.

She saw them and left and came back. She came running back.

"Someone is coming. Someone is coming," they said.

"Don't say 'Someone's coming.' Let's go this way. There are jaguars playing. There are jaguars playing on our trail. Let's go the other way. We will come out on the other side of them."

"She is lying. She's saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said. "She is coming here saying that because she saw her boyfriend who had come after her."

"That's enough talk. I am telling you to come with me, and you aren't listening. There are jaguars playing there. I am not fooling you. There are jaguars playing on the trail. They are playing on top of two logs on the trail."

"She is coming saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said.

They came singing.

"Go ahead back singing."

She was behind them as they went back. As they went, there was noise, "Kisiririri, toko [sounds of moving leaves, and of jaguars' paws hitting flesh]."

"Aya, aya," they said, yelling out. As they were yelling, the jaguar killed them. The jaguar killed them and they screamed.

She came. She was wearing cotton twine adornments, and she undid the cotton and wrapped it around her feet. It was a *baro* tree. She climbed up the *baro*, which was this thick [thick enough to be strong, but thin enough to climb]. She climbed up.

The jaguars ate her sisters-in-law. She looked down as she heard them eating.

"They wouldn't listen to me."

She waited until their stomachs were full, then she called out. The sun went down. She was afraid as the sun went down. "What am I going to do? Where can I go? I'm going to call out," she said. "I think they are full now. I think their stomachs are full."

Her older brother was making arrow poison. He ground the *iha* in the mortar. He stirred the poison. He dried the arrow points. He put more poison on the arrow points. The arrow points were dry. The dart points were dry, too.

The sun was going down. When the sun was going down, he went to urinate. He went, and untied his penis. He stood urinating.

"Heei," someone said. It was her calling. She was calling, and her older brother heard her calling.

"Mother, Mother, someone is calling there, where my sister went with the others," he said. "Go look at my daughter."

"Wait." He went. He put the arrow points in the sheath. He hung up the darts and went.

"I'm going to take a look at them. Let's go together. Come along."

The two of them went.

"Hee," she said.

He called out. "Just let her call," he said, and they went.

They went on. "Someone is calling up there. I think she is standing up there in a tree."

As her calling could be heard, they came. The two jaguars were sitting eating. They were eating the bellies. They were eating their bellies, the girls' bellies. They were sitting eating the girls' bellies. They were full. The had eaten their livers, their intestines, the fat of their intestines.

He came to where they were sitting eating. The jaguar looked. It looked at him as he appeared. It was sitting eating. It got up quickly. He quickly pulled out an arrow. The other one behind him pulled out an arrow, too. They charged them, and they shot them with arrows.

The jaguar was full. It was staggering. It went a ways and collapsed. The other one shot the other one, and it went a ways and collapsed. They each killed one. They died.

"Sister."

"Brother, Brother," she said.

"What?"

"Is it you?"

"Yes, it's me."

"Is it really you?"

"It's really me. Come down."

So his sister came down. She thought her brother was someone else. She looked at her brother, holding on up there. "Oh, it's my brother." She came down.

The one who was with him was standing a ways away, his brother-in-law. She came down.

"Brother, they wouldn't listen to me, and the jaguars ate them."

She cried. She could be heard crying. "I was coming back. I was holding bihi fruits in my

hand for my mother, and they took them from me and made me mad, so I came back. As I was coming back, I came upon the jaguars here. I came upon them playing, their log is across the path here. They are lying there by their log."

Then she cried. She could be heard crying. "I went back there. I wanted for us to go away, but they wouldn't listen to me. They came singing here. They came along singing. Now there is no more work for them to do."

"Come on, you go first."

The two jaguars were lying there. They left them lying on the ground.

"Come on, you two go on first."

So they came back. She was crying for her sisters-in-law along the way. She came back crying. They arrived back. She was crying.

When the mothers heard about their children, they cried, all of them. "Aya, my daughter, my daughter," they said, crying.

"I wanted to spare them. They refused. They almost caused me misfortune. I came upon the jaguars playing," she said, crying. She was crying while she talked. "They said I was fooling them. They said some men were coming after us. I went running. I wanted to take them, but they refused. They passed by me, and the jaguars killed them. I came on behind them, and I climbed a tree. I climbed the tree and heard them eating as I sat there. After the sun was setting I started calling out. I started calling out when the sun was going down."

"Your brother heard you calling when he went to urinate. I sent your brother and he went, and he shot the jaguar with an arrow."

"There were two of them. The two of them shot the two of them with arrows, and they are lying on the ground."

Then they cried. They got up early to go after their bones. They got up early because of them. They carried them in their own hammocks. They buried them, all of them. They cried. One of them remembered her daughter, and she cried, missing her daughter. They cried. They stopped crying, and slept. They remembered them again.

"The women will not go out in the forest anymore."

The girls were true jaguar food.

Interlinear Presentation

```
Nakiribone
nakiri     -bone
3SG.POSS.brother's wife INT+F
nf
fara amake
fara ama -ke
same+F be DECL+F
dem vc
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'It was her future sister-in-law, that's it.'

```
2 Nakiribonehe
                                             nakiribonehe
   nakiri
                             -bone -he
                                             nakiri
                                                                        -bone -he
   3SG.POSS.brother's wife INT+F DUP
                                             3SG.POSS.brother's wife INT+F DUP
hima
             nemetemone
hima
             na -hemete -mone
call to go AUX FP.N+F REP+F
vt.
             aux
'She called her future sister-in-law to go out.'
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3 Nakiribone hima na na+F nakiri -bone hima bihi 3SG.POSS.brother's wife INT+F call to go AUX palm sp nf aux nf bimetemoneke bihi hi kowa kowahabonehe -mete -mone -ke bihi bihi kowa -habone -he kowa palm sp palm sp FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F weave weave INT+F DUP palm sp nf nf nf vt result hi kowahabonehe bihi kowa -habone -he weave INT+F DUP palm sp result nf 'She called her future sister-in-law to go out. It was bihi. It was bihi palm leaves, to be weaved.' 4 Naki naki tabahi -hi naki naki ee ee taba brother's wife brother's wife 1IN 1IN.S be together IMP+F nf pron pron vi "Sister-in-law, let's all go together." 5 **E** tabahi mata taba -hi mata 1IN.S be together IMP+F for now vi pron prt "Let's all go together." 6 **E** tabibeya taba -he -ya 99 be together IMMED+F now 1IN.S pron 77 i "Let's all go together." 7 Okomi owa kayawi nofa yawa nofa+F ka ami owa ka-COMIT be upset 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.O recently pron "My mother won't let me." 8 **E** tabi ya e abe siwa ni ya taba.NOM+F ee abe siwa niha- na 1IN.S be together ADJU 1IN.POSS RECIP play CAUS pron vi prt pron pn vi aux nawahareraba eni na -waharI -ra -haba ee -ni AUX all over NEG FUT+F 1IN.POSS BKG+F pron "Let's go together, we won't play all over." 9 Maki me amakarene ama -ka -re maki me ee -ne 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be DECL NEG+F IRR+F pron pron VC. "We aren't men."

amarini

e

10 *Maki*

me

```
maki
         me
                      ee
                              ama -ra -ni
                              be NEG BKG+F
   male
          3PL.COMPL
                      1IN.S
          pron
                      pron
                              VC
"We aren't men."
11 Fana
            hinama
                             toharawarake
                                                             haro
                     P
                             to- ha -rawa -hara -ke
   fana
            hinama
                     ee
                                                             haaro
                                 be F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
   female
            all
                     1IN.S
                             СН
                                                             that one+F
   nf
            adi
                             VC
                     pron
"We are all women."
12 E
           tokomakeharo
                                                      tokomake
                                              e
           to- ka
                         -makI
                                     -haaro
                                                      to- ka
                                                                     -makI
                                              ee
   1IN.S
           away go/come following PFUT+F
                                              1IN.S
                                                      away go/come following
   pron
           vi
                                              pron
                                                      vi
bi
                  hose
                              naro
                                                                 hose
          e
                                                         e
bihi
          ee
                  hose
                              na
                                  -haaro
                                              bihi
                                                         ee
                                                                 hose
                                                                            na+F
palm sp
          1IN.S
                  pull out
                             AUX PFUT+F
                                              palm sp
                                                        1IN.S
                                                                 pull out
                                                                            AUX
          pron
                              aux
                                                         pron
          kakamaro
                                         bi
                                                   okomi
          ka- ka
                          -ma -haaro
                                         bihi
bihi
                                                   0-
                                                             ka
          COMIT go/come back PFUT+F
                                                   1SG.POSS POSS mother
palm sp
                                         palm sp
          result
                                         nf
                                                   nf
                          hikowarawabanani
hikowarawaba
hi- kowa -rawa -haba
                          hi- kowa -rawa -habana -ni
OC weave F.PL FUT+F
                          OC weave F.PL FUT+F
                                                     BKG+F
77 t
                          77 t
"When we have gone and picked the bihi leaves and brought back the bihi leaves, my mother and the others
will weave them.'
13 Naki
                               tiwa
                                       hima
                                                     na
                                                            ati
                                                                    amani
   naki
                               tiwa
                                       hima
                                                     na+F
                                                            ati
                                                                    ama -ni
   2SG.POSS.brother's wife
                               2SG.O
                                       call to go
                                                     AUX
                                                            voice
                                                                    be
                                                                        BKG+F
                               pron
                                                     aux
                                                            pn
                                                                    VC
"Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her."
14 Naki
                               te
                                       famahi
   naki
                               tee
                                       fama
                                               -hi
   2SG.POSS.brother's wife
                               2PL.S
                                       be two IMP+F
                               pron
                                       vi
"Go with your sister-in-law."
15 Naki
                                       famahi
                               te
   naki
                               tee
                                       fama
                                               -hi
   2SG.POSS.brother's wife
                               2PL.S
                                       be two IMP+F
                                       πi
                               pron
"Go with your sister-in-law."
16 Naki
                                                                       hima
                                  naki
                                                              tiwa
   naki
                                  naki
                                                               tiwa
                                                                      hima
   2SG.POSS.brother's wife
                                  2SG.POSS.brother's wife
                                                              2SG.O
                                                                      call to go
   nf
                                  nf
                                                              pron
na
       ati
               amani
               ama -ni
na+F
       ati
       voice
              be
                   BKG+F
AUX
      pn
               VC
aux
```

nakiri

nakiri

"Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her."

```
17 Ati tinahabihariyahi
ati ti- na- ahaba -ra -yahi
voice 2SG.S CAUS end NEG DIST.IMP+F
pn vt
""If you don't go, she won't call you anymore.""

18 Nakiri
nakiri hima hima hi- na+F
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OC AUX 3SG.POSS.brother's wife call to go 3SG.POSS.brother's wife vt aux nf sawiha sawihemetemoneke me me sawi+F sawi -hemete -mone -ke me me 3PL.S be present 3PL.S be present FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi pron vi

'Her sister-in-law called her, and they went.'

19	Me	toka		me	tokemetemoneke				
	me	to-	ka+F	me	to-	ka	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	3PL.S	away	go/come	3PL.S	away	go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	pron	vi		pron	vi				

'They went out into the forest.'

20 <i>Me</i>	tokon	tokomakemetemoneke									
me	to-	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	-ke					
3PI	.S away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F					
pro	n vi										
'They w	ent.'										

21 Me tokomake		me	, me	tokomo	ake	
me	to- ka -ma	akI me	me	to-	ka	-makI
3PL.S	away go/come fol	llowing 3PL.S	3PL.S	away	go/come	following
pron	vi	pron	pron	vi		
me ,	me tokomake		bihi	me	hose	
me	me to- ka	-makI	bihi	me	hose	
3PL.S	3PL.S away go/	come following	palm sp	3PL.S	pull or	ut
pron	pron vi		nf	pron	vt	

nemetemoneke

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

'They went. They picked bihi leaves.'

22 Bi bihi palm s	me sp 3PL.S	hose pull out 1		hitI long the way	<pre>bi bihi palm sp nf</pre>	me hose me hose 3PL.S pull out pron vt
<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux	kama ka -m go/come ba vi	, bi na+F bil nck pai	me hi me lm sp 3PL pro	-	namakia na -maki AUX follo aux	
<pre>bi bihi palm sp nf</pre>	<pre>boni boni fruit+F pn</pre>	<pre>bi bihi palm sp nf</pre>	boni	watawa bihi fruit	toaha to- ha+F CH be vc	, watawa , watawa bihi fruit nm

watawa wasiha watawa ti watawa wasi+F watawa watawa watawa tii bihi fruit find bihi fruit bihi fruit cut through vt nm nm nakosemetemoneke -kosa -hemete -mone -ke AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'They picked *bihi* leaves as they came back. They came back picking *bihi* leaves. As they were coming back picking *bihi* leaves, she found some *bihi* fruits and cut the bunch off.'

23 Watawa ti nakosa watawa ti watawa na -kosa+F tii. watawa tii AUX middle bihi fruit bihi fruit cut through cut through nm vt aux nm vt nakosa watawa bi hose bi tama na na na -kosa+F watawa tama na+F bihi hose na+F bihi AUX middle bihi fruit hold onto AUX palm sp pull out AUX palm sp aux nm vt aux nf vt aux nf tiwa ni kamakia kana watawa tama me na+F na.NFIN -makI+F tiwa kawatawa tama ka me COMIT AUX bihi fruit hold onto 3PL carry AUX go/come following vi vt aux nm vt aux pron Te tohini hawa tee hawa to- ha -ni 2PL.S be finished away AUX BKG+F allx

'She cut off the bunch of *bihi* fruits, and was holding it in her hand. She picked *bihi* leaves and carried them on her shoulder. She came holding the bunch of *bihi* fruits in her hand. "Are you finished?"'

24	Ee	ota	hawa	toha	otani	
	ee	otaa	hawa	to- ha+F	otaa -	·ni
	yes	1EX.S	be finished	CH AUX	1EX.S E	3KG+F
	interj	pron	vi	aux	pron	
1117.7		C 1 1 1 1	,,			

"Yes, we are finished."

aux

25 *Ota* hawa toha otani otaa hawa to- ha+F otaa -ni 1EX.S be finished CH AUX 1EX.S BKG+F pron vi aux pron

"We are finished."

26 Ota , hima hima hima let's go pron interj

27 **Bi** e sisi namatara bi e bihi bihi ee si- sii na -mata -ra+F ee 1IN.S DUP pull off AUX short time NEG palm sp 1IN.S palm sp pron vt aux nf pron

towakamabanakene

to- ka- ka -ma -habana -ke -ne away COMIT go/come back FUT+F DECL+F IRR+F

[&]quot;Let's not separate the bihi leaves into strips, let's take the bihi leaves home."

```
28 Ee
              hinaka
                         watawa
                                           mati
                                                               ka
                                                                      mati
              hinaka
                         watawa
                                           mati
                                                               ka
                                                                      mati
   (pause)
              3SG.POSS
                         bihi fruit
                                           3SG.POSS.mother
                                                               POSS
                                                                      3SG.POSS.mother
   interj
                                           nf
                                                                      nf
             pron
                         nm
                                                               prt
ka
       watawabonaha
                                    nakiri
                                    nakiri
ka
       watawa
                    -bona -ha
       bihi fruit INT+M DUP
                                    3SG.POSS.brother's wife
prt
       nm
                                    nf
nakiri
                                    hiniharawa
                                                               nakiri
                             siwa
                                    hi- niha- na
                                                               nakiri
nakiri
                             siwa
                                                    -rawa+F
3SG.POSS.brother's wife
                                    OC
                                        CAUS AUX F.PL
                                                                3SG.POSS.brother's wife
                             play
                             vi
                                                               nf
                                    aux
                                              ihi
watawa
              kaba
                           kabarawaha
watawa
              kaba+F
                           kaba -rawa -ha
                                              ihi
bihi fruit
              eat
                           eat F.PL DUP
                                             because of+F
              vt.
                           vt
                                              post
vawehemetemoneni
          -hemete -mone -ni
be upset FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
'She wanted to give her bihi fruits to her mother. Her sisters-in-law played a joke on her and ate the bihi
fruits. She was upset because they ate them.'
29 Okomi
                             ka
                                    okomi
                                                              ka
                                                                     watawahona
              ka
                    ami
                             ka
                                    0-
                                               ka
                                                     ami
                                                              ka
                                                                     watawa
                                                                                  -bona
   1SG.POSS POSS mother
                             POSS
                                    1SG.POSS POSS mother
                                                              POSS
                                                                     bihi fruit INT+M
                             prt
                                    nf
                                                              prt
                                                                     nm
                                                                  kabineni
   okomi
                             ka
                                    watawabona
                                                         te
                                    watawa
                                                 -bona
                                                                  kaba -ne
                                                                                -ni
              ka
                   ami
                             kа
                                                          tee
                                    bihi fruit INT+M
                                                                  eat
   1SG.POSS POSS mother
                             POSS
                                                         2PL.S
                                                                      CONT+F BKG+F
                             prt
                                                          pron
                                                                  v/t
                                    nm
"You are eating the bihi fruits that are for my mother."
30 Okomi
                                okomi
                                                          ati
                                                                  me
                                                                           aima
              ka
                    ami
                                           ka
                                                 ami
                                                          ati
                                                                           aima
   1SG.POSS POSS mother
                                1SG.POSS POSS mother
                                                          voice
                                                                   3PL.S
                                                                           ignore
                                                          pn
                                                                  pron
hine
            watawa
                                watawa
                                                      hose
                          me
                                              me
hi- na+M
            watawa
                          me
                                watawa
                                              me
                                                      hose
OC
    AUX
            bihi fruit
                          3PL
                                bihi fruit
                                              3PL.S
                                                      pull out
                          pron nm
                                              pron
nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'They didn't pay any attention to what she was saying. They pulled off the bihi fruits.'
31 Watawa
                         hose
                                     nemetemoneke
                 me
   watawa
                 me
                         hose
                                     na
                                         -hemete -mone -ke
                 3PL.S
                                     AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
   bihi fruit
                         pull out
                 pron
                         vt
                                     aux
'They pulled off the bihi fruits.'
```

32	Watawa	me	wakara	na	watawa	me
	watawa	me	wakara	na+F	watawa	me
	bihi fruit	3PL.S	eat cracking	AUX	bihi fruit	3PL.S
	nm	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron

kabehemetemoneke

kaba -hemete -mone -ke
eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt

'They ate the bihi fruits, cracking them in their mouths.'

33	Watawa	me	kaba	me ,	Te	nahoyahi	ahi
	watawa	me	kaba+F	me	tee	naho -yahi	ahi
	bihi fruit	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	2PL.S	stand DIST.IMP+F	here
	nm	pron	vt	pron	pron	vi	dem

'They ate the *bihi* fruits. "You go ahead and stay here."

34 Te kabaho

tee kaba -ho
2PL.S eat IMP+M

pron vt

"Go ahead and eat them."

35 Hine yawa na hehei
hine yawa na hehei
only be upset AUX (exclamation of chil

only be upset AUX (exclamation of children playing) pron vi aux interj

"Go ahead, let her be mad. Hehei."

36 *Yama* yawaha te haro awa yawa+F yama tee haaro awa thing be upset 2PL.S that one+F see vi vt pron dem

"Look at her, she's mad."

37 Yawa towakame
yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M
anger away COMIT go/come back anger
nf vt , yawa
anger
nf nf

towakamemetemoneke

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

'She went back mad.'

38 *Yawa* towakama tokoma tokoma yawa to- kaka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F anger away COMIT go/come back away go/come back away go/come back nf vt vi

tokomemetemoneke

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

'She went back mad.'

39 Tokoma tokoma tokoma me to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F away go/come back away go/come back away qo/come back 3PL.POSS vi ahe kivoha me tonokosa ati koro me to- naho -kosa+F abe kivo+F me me ati koro 3PL.S CH stand middle 3PL.POSS be heard RECIP chase voice pron pn vt pron 77 i pn 77 i namakia me ati yama mimita nemetemone na -makI+F ati yama mi- mita na -hemete -mone me 3PL.POSS DUP hear AUX FP.N+F REP+F AUX following voice thing pron pn nf vt aux

'She went back. They were left behind running after each other. Their voices came to her and she stopped to listen.'

40 *Me* ati saiha tokoma tokoma me ati sai+F to- ka -ma+F to- ka 3PL.POSS voice be heard away go/come back away go/come back pron pn νi vi vi

tokomemetemoneke

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

'Their voices could be heard. She went on.'

41 Yama me fanawi siwa narawi siwa me ya me fanawi siwa na -rawa.NOM+F siwa yama ya me play AUX F.PL women ADJU 3PL.S thing play prt nf nf 77 i allx 77 i pron

nemetemoneyomematina -hemete -moneyomeematiAUX FP.N+FREP+Fjaguar3PLauxnmpron

'While the girls were playing, the jaguars were also playing.'

42 Awa awa bere nikima mese va me voro awa awa bere na -kima+F mese ya me yoro tree tree be across AUX two surface ADJU 3PL.S stay nf aux pn prt pron

naremesiwanemetemonenina -rImesiwana -hemete -mone -niAUX raised surface3PL.SplayAUX FP.N+FREP+FBKG+Fauxpronviaux

'There were two logs across the trail, and the two jaguars were on top of them playing.'

43 Ooo , fati siwa siwa (purring of jaguar) 3SG.POSS.wife play of nf vi

"Ooo," the male was playing with its mate.'

fati 44 Fati siwa ni siwa ni niha+M- na fati siwa fati siwa niha+M- na 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife play CAUS AUX plav CAUS AUX nf vi aux nf vi aux awati yana tona me kama awa -tee.NOM -ma+F me yana to- na+F ka see HAB CH AUX 3PL start go/come back vi pron vt vi aux

'It was playing with its mate. She saw them and left and came back.'127

45 Kana kana ni kamemetemoneke ni na.NFIN na.NFIN kana kana ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke AUX go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F run run XIIA vi 77 i aux vi allx

'She came running back.'

46 *Kana* ni kama kana ni kama Hinamati kana na.NFIN ka -ma+Fkana na.NFIN ka -ma+F hinamati run AUX go/come back run AUX go/come back someone vi aux vi vi aux vi kame hinamati kame inamati kame ati me -ma+M -ma+Mhinamati ka inamati ka -ma+Mme ati go/come back go/come back 3PL.S go/come back someone someone say vi pron

nemetemoneke

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

'She came back running. "Someone is coming. Someone is coming," they said.'

47 Hinamati kame tinahi fahi ati tihinamati na -hi -ma+M fahi ka say 2SG.S AUX IMP+F then someone go/come back vi vt. dem

"Don't say 'Someone's coming.""

48 E tokabone ee to- ka -habone ati o- na -hara ahi 1IN.S away go/come INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F here pron vi vt dem

"Let's go this way."

49 Yama siwa narawarani
yama siwa na -rawa -hara -ni
thing play AUX F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F
nf vi aux

"There are jaguars playing."

50 **E** hawine yama siwa narawarani siwa na -rawa -hara -ni ee hawine yama trail AUX F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F 1IN.POSS play thing pron pn nf vi aux "There are jaguars playing on our trail."

¹²⁷ The pronominal me is a false start.

51 **E**

1IN.S

toka

to- ka

away qo/come

ahi

ahi

there

```
pron
           vi
                           dem
"Let's go the other wav."
52 E
           tasi
                    tobe
                                        ahi
                    to- na -be
   ee
           tasi
                                        ahi
   1IN.S
           emerge
                    CH AUX IMMED+F
                                        there
   pron
           vi
                    aux
                                        dem
"We will come out on the other side of them."
53 Keye
          hiri
                 nane
   keye
         hiri
                na -ne
   lie
          say
                 AUX BKG+M
   nf
          vt
                 aux
"She is lying."
54 Keve
          hiri
                 nane
   keye
         hiri
                na -ne
   lie
          say
                 AUX BKG+M
   nf
          vt
                 aux
"She is lying."
55 Ee
                         tabivo
                                                    ehene
                efe
                                    hivawe
                                    hi- yawa+M
                efe
                         tabiyo
                                                    ehene
   ee
                                   OC be upset
   (pause)
                this+M
                         absence
                                                    because of+M
                         pn
   interj
                dem
                                    vi
                                                    post
                                   makibonaha
makibonaha
                                                                   awanihi
                   -bona -ha
                                                                   awa -hani -hi
maki
                                                      -bona -ha
                                   maki
3SG.POSS.husband INT+M DUP
                                                                   see IP.N+F DUP
                                   3SG.POSS.husband INT+M DUP
                                                                   v/t
                                   nm
ati
                       ati
                             narawemetemoneke
                             na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
ati
        ama -ni
                       ati
                             AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
voice
        be BKG+F
                       say
        VC
                       vt
                             aux
"She's saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said."
56 Maki
                       he
                               nakamakenoho
                                                                       awani
   maki
                       hee
                               na- ka
                                              -makI
                                                         -hino -ho
                                                                       awa -hani
   3SG.POSS.husband
                       3SG.O
                               CAUS go/come following IP.N+M DUP
                                                                       see IP.N+F
                       pron
        kakamineni
ati
ati
        ka- ka
                        -ma -ne
                                     -ni
voice
        COMIT go/come back CONT+F BKG+F
"She is coming here saying that because she saw her boyfriend who had come after her."
57 Te
              ati
                      fe
                                    fahi
              ati
   tee
                      fee
                                    fahi
                            na
   2PL.POSS
                      3SG
                                    then
             voice
                            exist
   pron
              pn
                      pron vi
                                    dem
"That's enough talk."
```

58 *Te* ati fe na fahi ati fee na fahi 2PL.POSS voice 3SG exist then pron pn pron vi

"That's enough talk."

owati 59 Tera hima onaha te 0tera hima o- na+F ati tee 2PL.O call to go 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S aux pron pn pron

kasawarineni

ka- sawari -ne -ni COMIT frustrate CONT+F BKG+F

"I am telling you to come with me, and you aren't listening."

60 Yama siwa narawarani

yama siwa na -rawa -hara -ni thing play AUX F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F nf vi aux

"There are jaguars playing there."

61 Yama tera okeyerini

yama tera o- keyeha -ra -ni thing 2PL.O 1SG.S deceive NEG BKG+F nf pron vt

"I am not fooling you."

62 Yama siwa narawarani hawi yama siwa na -rawa -hara -ni hawi thing play AUX F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F trail nf vi aux nf

"There are jaguars playing on the trail."

63 Awa kahoma va yama siwa narawa voro ka- homa+F ya yama siwa na -rawa+F yoro COMIT lie on ground ADJU thing play AUX F.PL stay prt nf vi aux

narerawarani

na -rI -rawa -hara -ni
AUX raised surface F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F

"They are playing on top of two logs on the trail."

atikakaminenikakamineniatika-ka-ma-ne-nika-ka-ma-ne-nivoiceCOMITgo/comebackCONT+FBKG+FCOMITgo/comebackCONT+FBKG+Fpnvtvt

yowiri ni ati nemetemoneni

yowiri na.NFIN ati na -hemete -mone -ni sing woman's song AUX say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F vi aux vt aux

"She is coming saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said."

65 Yowiri yowiri sing woman's song vi 'They came singing.'	ni na.NFIN AUX aux	ka-	metemoneko ka go/come	-ma	-hemete FP.N+F			•
66 Yowiri yowiri sing woman's song vi 'They came singing.'	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux	ka-	<i>metemone</i> ka go/come		-hemete FP.N+F		<i>ahi</i> ahi then dem	
67 Yowiri yowiri sing woman's song vi 'They came singing.'	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux	<i>kakama</i> ka- COMIT vi	ka go/come	-ma+F back				
68 Yowiri yowiri sing woman's song	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux	kakama ka- COMIT vi		-ma+F back		<i>yowiri</i> yowin sing vi		s song
ni kakamemetemon na.NFIN ka- ka AUX COMIT go/cor aux vi 'They came singing.'	eke -ma -h	nemete	-mone -k REP+F DE		ahi . ahi then dem	VΙ		
——————————————————————————————————————	<i>iri</i> iri ig woman's	song	ni na.NFIN AUX aux			-ma e back	fahi fahi then dem	
70 Yotohemetemoneke yoto -hemete -mo follow FP.N+F REF vi 'She was behind.'	ne -ke +F DECL+F							
			_		_			
71 Yotowama yoto -waha -ma+ follow change back vi	4		to- S away	metemo ka go/cor			e -mone REP+F	e -ke DECL+F
ahi ahi then dem 'She was behind, and they w		-						
72 Me tokoma me to- ka 3PL.S away go/com pron vi	-ma+F ne back	me me 3PL.S pron	tokomi to- ka away go vi		-ma.NOM- back	ya +F ya ADo		me me 3PL.S pron

```
tokomi
                                  vama
                                           moni
                                                   vana
                           va
              -ma.NOM+F
to- ka
                           ya
                                  vama
                                          moni
                                                   yana
away go/come back
                           ADJU
                                  thing
                                           sound
                                                  start
vi
                           prt
                                  nf
torawemetemone
                                  amake
                                                ahi
                                                       kisiririri
to- na -rawa -hemete -mone
                                                ahi
                                                       kisiririri
                                  ama -ke
away AUX F.PL FP.N+F
                          REP+F
                                  SEC DECL+F
                                                then
                                                        (sound of leaves)
                                                dem
                                                        sound
aux
                                  sec
toko
toko
(sound of paws grabbing)
sound
"They went back. As they went, there was noise, "Kisiririri, toko."
73 Aya
                            aya
   aya
                            aya
                                                     aya
   (expression of pain)
                            (expression of pain)
                                                     (expression of pain)
   interj
                            interj
                                                     interj
aya
                         aya
                                                  aya
aya
                         aya
                                                  aya
(expression of pain)
                         (expression of pain)
                                                  (expression of pain)
                         interj
                                                  interj
interj
toko
                                                         kivari
                             ava
toko
                             aya
                                                          kiya -ri
(sound of paws grabbing)
                             (expression of pain)
                                                         yell DISTR
sound
                             interj
                                                          vi
nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux
"Aya, aya," they said, yelling out."
74 Me
           kiyari
                         nemetemoneni
   me
           kiya -ri
                         na -hemete -mone -ni
                         AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
   3PL.S
           yell DISTR
   pron
           νi
                         aux
'They were yelling.'
75 Me
           kivari
                                   waka
                                          hirawemetemoneke
                                                                                    ahi
                         na
   me
           kiya -ri
                         na+F
                                   waka
                                          hi- na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
                                                                                    ahi
           yell DISTR
   3PL.S
                         AUX
                                   kill
                                          OC
                                               AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                                                    then
   pron
                         aux
                                          aux
                                                                                    dem
'As they were yelling, the jaguar killed them.'
76 Yome
            waka
                   hirawa
                                          kivari
                   hi- na
            waka
                                          kiya -ri
   vomee
                            -rawa+F
                                          yell DISTR
            kill
                   OC AUX F.PL
   jaguar
            vt
                   aux
                                          vi
   nm
narawemetemoneni
na -rawa -hemete -mone -ni
AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
aux
'The jaguar killed them and they screamed.'
```

77 Kamakia ,	kamakia		ya	wafe	boni	wafe
ka -makI+F	ka	-makI+F	ya	wafe	boni	wafe
go/come following	go/come	following	ADJU	cotton	fruit+F	cotton
vi	vi		prt	nf	pn	nf
sana	hikan	a	katisa		wafe	
sana	hi-	ka- na+F	ka-	tisa+F	wafe	
carry strapped on should	er OC	COMIT AUX	COMIT	undo	cotton	
vt	aux		vt		nf	
katisa , tame	mati	nawata				
ka- tisa+F ´ tame	mati	na- wata+	-F	,		
COMIT undo foot+F	line+F	CAUS be lo	cated			
vt pn	pn	vt				
barometemoneke	bara					
baro -mete -mone -ke	e bar	0				
tree sp FP.N+F REP+F DEC	CL+F tre	ee sp				
nf	nf					

'She came. She was wearing cotton twine adornments, and she undid the cotton and wrapped it around her feet. It was a baro tree.' 128

78	Baro	aya	totoha	na	ya	baro	wa	ya
	baro	aya	to- to- ha	na+F	ya	baro	waa+F	ya
	tree sp	this	DUP CH be	AUX	ADJU	tree sp	stand	ADJU
	nf	dem	VC	aux	prt	nf	vi	prt

tokomisemetemoneke

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

'She climbed up the baro, which was this thick.'

79	Tokom	isa			tokomi					
	to-	ka	-misa+F	,	to-	ka	-misa	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	away	go/come	up		away	go/come	up	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	vi				vi					

'She climbed up.'

80 <i>Nakiri</i> nakiri 3SG.PC nf	SS.brot	her's	wife	<i>yome</i> yomee jaguar nm	<i>hikabarav</i> hi- kak OC eat vt	oa -rawa	me a+F me 3PL.0 pron	<pre>hikaba hi- kaba+F OC eat vt</pre>
me .	me	tafi		moni	kamitani		nokorisa	ma .
me	me	tafa	a.NFIN	moni	ka- m	ita -ha	ni noko	-risa -ma+F '
3PL.O	3PL.S	eat		sound	COMIT h	ear IP.	N+F point	down back
pron	pron	vi		pn	vt		vi	
Owati		me	kasa	wariha		me	akari	forima
0-	ati	me	ka-	sawar	i+F '	me	akara.NFIN	forima
1SG.POSS	voice	3PL.5	S COM	IT frust	rate	3PL.S	be satiate	d do properly
pn		pron	vt			pron	vi	vi
hinihi		ha	ha	nemetemon	e	fahi		
hi- niha-	- na+F	ha	haa	na -hem	nete -mon	e fahi		
OC CAUS	AUX		call	AUX FP.N	I+F REP+	F then	l	
aux			vi	aux		dem		

'The jaguars ate her sisters-in-law. She looked down as she heard them eating. "They wouldn't listen to me." She waited until their stomachs were full, then she called out.'

¹²⁸ Wafe boni is a mistake, it should be just wafe.

81 **Bai bai abematamonaka**bahi bahi ahaba -himata -mona -ka
sun sun end FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm nm vi

'The sun went down.'

ahaba+M , **bai** 82 *Bai* bai abe aawawa bahi bahi bahi ahaba+M a- awa -wa sun end sun sun end DUP see DUP nm vi nm nm vi vt

nemetemoneke

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

'The sun went down. She was afraid as the sun went down.'

83 Himata nima onaba
himata nima o- na -haba
what? like 1SG.S AUX FUT+F
interrog prt aux

"What am I going to do?"

84 Okomaba oniti
o- to- ka -ma -haba ama o- na.NOM -tee.NOM
1SG.S away go/come back FUT+F SEC 1SG.S AUX HAB
vi sec aux

"Where can I go?"

85 Haha onabana oke
ha-haa o- na -habana o- ke
DUP call 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vi aux prt

"I'm going to call out."

86 Haha onabana oke ati nemetemoneni
ha- haa o- na -habana o- ke ati na -hemete -mone -ni
DUP call 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vi aux prt vt aux

"I'm going to call out," she said.'

akara me awinekene 87 *Me* me akara *aкara* akara+F akara+F awine -ke -ne me me me 3PL.S be satiated 3PL.S be satiated 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F IRR+F pron pron vi pron vi sec

"I think they are full now."

88 Me nabati fota awineni
me nabati fota+F awine -ni
3PL.POSS stomach be big seem+F BKG+F
pron pn vi sec

"I think their stomachs are full."

89 Faya anoti anoti iha to
faya anoti anoti iha too
so 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother plant sp foam up
conj nm nm vt

kanematamonaka

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

'Her older brother was making arrow poison.'

90 <i>Iha</i>	to		kane		ia		iha		were	ne	,
iha	to	00	ka-	na+M	iha		iha		were	na+M	,
plant	sp pu	lverize	COMIT	AUX	plan	nt sp	pla	nt sp	stir	AUX	
nm	vt	-	aux		nm		nm		vt	aux	
ia	were	ne	wati	wati	ino		tokan	iayowe			wati
iha	were	na+M	wati	wati	ino		to-	ka-	na-	yowa+M	wati
plant sp	stir	AUX	arrow	arrow	poi	nt+M	CH	COMIT	CAUS	burn	arrow
nm	vt	aux	nm	nm	pn		vt				nm
ino	howe	ne .	wati	ino		howe	nem	atamona	ıka		
ino	howe	na+M	wati	ino		howe	na	-hima	ata -m	nona -ka	
point+M	wipe	AUX	arrow	, poin	t+M	wipe	AUX	FP.N+	-M RE	P+M DEC	L+M
pn	vt	aux	nm	pn		vt	aux				

'He ground the iha in the mortar. He stirred the poison. He dried the arrow points. He put more poison on the arrow points.'

91	<i>Wati</i> wati arrow	<i>ino</i> ino poir	nt+M	howe howe wipe	ne na- AUX	Χ	,	wat wat arr	i	_		hol be	-	-wah chan	-	,
	nm	pn		vt	aux	X		nm		pn		vi				
sar	·e		sare			ini			hoke	owah	а		, j	faya		bai
sa	rehe		sare	he		ini	Ĺ		hok	0	-waha-	+F		faya		bahi
bl	owgun d	lart	blow	gun da:	rt	poi	int-	+F	be	dry	change	9		so		sun
nf			nf			pn			vi					conj		nm
ab	ematamon	aka														
ah	aba -hi	mata	-mon	a -ka		•										

ahaba -himata -mona -ka end FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'He put more poison on the arrow points. The arrow points were dry. The dart points were dry, too. The sun was going down.'

9	92 Bai	abe	ya,	so	nebona ,	so	nebona
	bahi	ahaba.NOM+M	ya	s00	na -hibona ´	S00	na -hibona
	sun	end	ADJU	urinate	AUX INT+M	urinate	AUX INT+M
	nm	vi	prt	vi	aux	vi	aux
			-				

tokomakematamonaka

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

'When the sun was going down, he went to urinate.'

93	Tokom	ake		tokom	ake		•	sowiri	sowiri
	to-	ka	-makI	to-	ka	-makI		sowiri	sowiri
	away	go/come	following	away	go/come	following		penis	penis
	vi			vi				pn	pn

sota tonematamonaka

sota to- na -himata -mona -ka remove CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt aux

'He went, and untied his penis.'

94	Sowiri	sota	tone	so	ne	we,	so
	sowiri	sota	to- na+M	S00	na+M	waa+M ´	S00
	penis	remove	CH AUX	urinate	AUX	stand	urinate
	pn	vt	aux	vi	aux	vi	vi

nematamonaka

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

'He untied his penis, and stood urinating.'

95 **So** Heei inamati ati ha ne na na+M heei SOO inamati ati na+F haa urinate AUX yoohoo someone say call AUX interj nf vi aux vt aux vi nemetemoneke ahi

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

'He was urinating. "Heei," someone said. It was her calling.'

96 Ha nemetemoneke

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

'She was calling.'

97 **Ha** ha na ni anoti na.NFIN anoti na+F haa haa AUX call AUX 3SG.POSS older brother call vi 77 i aux aux nm

himitemetemoneke

hi- mita -hemete -mone -ke
OC hear FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'She was calling, and her older brother heard her calling.'

98 Anoti ha ni himita Ami ami anoti haa na.NFIN hi- mita+F ami ami 3SG.POSS older brother call AUX OC hear mother mother vi aux nf

hinamatihanakaharihinamatihaana.CONT+M -kahaarisomeonecallAUXDECL+Mthat one+Mnmviauxdem

'Her brother heard her calling. "Mother, Mother someone is calling there."

99	Ami	hin	amati	ha	na		hari				
	ami	hir	namati	haa	na	.CONT+M	haari	,			
	mother	son	neone	call	AU:	X	that one+M				
	nf	nm		vi	au:	X	dem				
oka	ısima					me	taba	me	toki		ya
0-		ka	asima			me	taba+F	me	to-	ka.NOM+F	ya
1S	G.POSS	POSS	younger	r siste	er	3PL.S	be together	3PL.S	away	go/come	ADJU
nf						pron	vi	pron	vi		prt

ati

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

```
"Mother, someone is calling there, where my sister went with the others," he said.'
100 Okoto
                 totowamake
                                                       ati
                                           re
                                                              amane
                 to- to- awa -makI
   okoto
                                           na
                                               -ra+M
                                                       ati
                                                              ama -ne
   my daughter
                 DUP away see following AUX NEG
                                                       voice
                                                              be BKG+M
                                                       pn
   nf
                 vt
                                           aux
                                                              VC.
"Go look at my daughter."
101 Hiba
   hiba
   wait
   interj
"Wait."
                                ino
102 Tokome
                         wati
                                         yoko
                                                tokaname
   to- ka -ma+M wati
                                         yoko to- ka-
   away go/come back
                         arrow point+M push away COMIT AUX back
                                          vt
                                                aux
                               pn
              tafowe
                        nawiname
              tafowe
                        na- wina -ma+M
sarehe
blowgun dart wrapped CAUS hang back
              pn
tokomakewematamona
                        -waha -himata -mona
to- ka -makI
away go/come following change FP.N+M REP+M
'He went. He put the arrow points in the sheath. He hung up the darts and went.'
103 Me
           totowamake
                                     omatibe
           to- to- awa -makI
                                                           -be
   me
                                     o- na -mata
   3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
   pron
           vt
                                     aux
"I'm going to take a look at them."
           famahi
104 E
   ee
           fama
                  -hi
   1IN.S be two IMP+F
   pron
           vi
"Let's go together."
105 E
           famibe
           fama
                  -be
   ee
   1IN.S be two IMMED+F
   pron
         vi
"Let's go together."
106 Tikamake
   ti- ka
                  -makI
   2SG.S go/come following
   νi
"Come along."
```

-hemete -mone -ke

-makI

away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

towakamakemetemoneke

to- ka- ka

107 *Me*

3PL.S

```
pron
          vi
'The two of them went.'
108 Me
          towakamakia
                                        me
          to- ka- ka
                             -makI+F
   me
                                        me
          away COMIT go/come following
   3PL.S
                                       3PL.S
          vi
   pron
towakamakemetemone
                          -hemete -mone
                  -makI
to- ka- ka
away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F
vi
'They went.'
109 Hee
          ati
               nemetemoneke
   hee
          ati na -hemete -mone -ke
   hey
          say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
   interj vt
               aux
"Hee," she said.'
110 Ha
         nematamonane
         na -himata -mona -ne
   call AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
         aux
'He called out.'
         ni
111 Ha
                                         ati
                  hine
                        saine
                                               ne
                               -ne
         na.NFIN hine sai
                                         ati na+M
   haa
   call AUX
                 only be heard CONT+F
                                         say AUX
                  pron vi
   vi
         aux
                                         v/t
                                               aux
tokomakematamona
                     -himata -mona
to- ka -makI
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
"Just let her call," he said, and they went.'
          towakamakia
112 Me
                                        me
                                               towakamakia
          to- ka-
                     ka -makI+F
                                        me
                                               to- ka-
                                                         ka -makI+F
   3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S
                                               away COMIT go/come following
                                        pron
   pron
          vi
                                               vi
      , me
                towakamakia
                                               me
                                                      Inamati
                                                               ha
me
me
         me
                to- ka- ka
                                -makI+F
                                               me
                                                      inamati
                                                               haa
3PL.S
         3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S someone call
         pron
pron
                vi
                                               pron
                                                      nm
           hari
                        neme kari
na -haari haari
                       neme kari
AUX look+M that one+M up
                             LOC+M
                       nf
           dem
                              prt
'They went. They went on. "Someone is calling up there."
113 Wareha
                         awineke
                                        neme
                                              ya
   waa -rI+F
                         awine -ke
                                        neme
                                              ya
   stand raised surface seem+F DECL+F
                                              ADJU
                                       up
                                              prt
"I think she is standing up there."
```

114 *Fava* ha ni saia kakamake me me fava haa na.NFIN sai+F me ka- ka -makI me call AUX be heard 3PL.S COMIT go/come following 3PL.S vi vi vi conj aux pron tafa me voro nemetemoneke ahi me me tafa+F me voro na -hemete -mone -ke ahi 3PL.S sit AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S eat there pron pron vi vi aux 'As her calling could be heard, they came. The two jaguars were sitting eating.'

115 **Sobo** kabemetemoneke sobo haro me kaba -hemete -mone -ke sobo me sobo haaro eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F belly bellv 3PL.S that one+F nf pron nf dem

'They were eating the bellies.'

116 *Me* sobori kabehemetemone me fanawi sobori me me sobo -ri me kaba -hemete -mone me fanawi sobo -ri 3PL.POSS belly PN 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F women belly PN nf pn pn

'They were eating their bellies, the girls' bellies.'

117 Me fanawi sobori me kaba me me voro na -ri me fanawi sobo me kaba+F me yoro na+F me women belly PN 3PL.S 3PL.S sit AUX 3PL.S eat pron nf pron vi pron pn vt. aux akara rama ahi wahati yoti me me me akara+F wahati yoti rama ahi me me me be satiated 3PL then 3PL.POSS liver 3PL.POSS unusual intestines+F pron pron πi dem pn prt pron pn voti yehe yoti yehe fat+F intestines+F

'They were sitting eating the girls' bellies. They were full. The had eaten their livers, their intestines, the fat of their intestines.'

118 *Me* tafaha me voro na me ni va tasi tafa+F me me yoro na+F me ni ya tasi 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sit AUX 3PL to ADJU emerge pron vi pron vi aux pron prt prt

namakimatamonaka

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

'He came to where they were sitting eating.'

119 Yama kabote aawa tasi namaki ki ne kii -kabote yama a- awa na+M tasi na -makI+M na DUP see AUX AUX following look at AUX quickly thing emerge aux vi aux vt aux nematamonaka tafahi itahari ahi -himata -mona -ka tafa+M ita -haari ahi eat AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M sit IP.E+M then vi vi

'The jaguar looked. It looked at him as he appeared. It was sitting eating.'

120 **Yana** kahote nematamonaka ahi na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka vana ahi AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then vi aux 'It got up quickly.' 121 *Wati* wati soba kabote nematamona ahi na -kabote wati wati soba na -himata -mona ahi arrow pull out AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then arrow vt aux dem nm aux 'He quickly pulled out an arrow.' 122 *Owa* soba nakebise wati votobise wati wati soba na -kI -bisa+M yoto -bisa+M wati owa other+M arrow pull out AUX coming also follow also arrow nm vt aux νi nm soba nakebisehimatamonaka ahi soba na -kI -bisa -himata -mona -ka ahi pull out AUX coming also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 'The other one behind him pulled out an arrow, too. He pulled out an arrow.' 123 *He* fito kanahabone me me me sa me fito ka- na -habone me me rush COMIT AUX INT+F 3SG.O 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow pron pron vi aux pron pron vt. ahi hikanikimemetemoneke akare ahi rama hi- ka- na -kima -hemete -mone -ke akara+M ahi ahi rama OC COMIT AUX two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then be satiated unusual then vi aux dem prt dem 'They charged them, and they shot them with arrows. It was full.' 124 *Kawa* nawahare toke to- ka+M kawaa na -waharI COMIT stand AUX all over away go/come aux tosawitematamonaka ahi to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 'It was staggering. It went a ways and collapsed.' 125 *Owa* hikabise towake Sa hi- kana -bisa+M to- kaowa saa OC COMIT AUX also away COMIT go/come other+M shoot with arrow vi allx tosawitematamona ahi to- sona -witI -himata -mona ahi

away fall out FP.N+M REP+M then

'The other one shot the other one, and it went a ways and collapsed.'

dem

```
126 Me
                    hinafamemetemoneke
            me
                    hi- na- fama
                                      -hemete -mone -ke
   me
            me
                    OC CAUS be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
    3PL.O
            3PL.S
   pron
            pron
'They each killed one.'
127 Me
                    hinafama
            me
                                                           abemetemone
                                       me
                                                   me
                    hi- na-
                              fama+F
                                                           ahaba -hemete -mone
   me
            me
                                       me
                                                  me
                    OC CAUS be two
                                                                  FP.N+F REP+F
    3PL.O
            3PL.S
                                       3PL.O
                                                   3PL.S
                                                           die
   pron
                                       pron
                                                   pron
            pron
                    vt
                                                           vi
'They each killed one. They died.'
128 Asima
   asima
    younger sister
   nf
"Sister."
129 Haa
   haa
   huh?
    interj
""Huh?""129
130 Ayo
                                         ati
                                               nemetemone
                        ayo
    ayo
                        ayo
                                         ati
                                               na -hemete -mone
    older brother
                        older brother
                                         say
                                               AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                        nm
                                         vt
                                               aux
"Brother, Brother," she said.'
131 Haa
   haa
   huh?
   interj
"What?"
132 Efe
             ama
                   tini
    efe
             ama
                   ti-
                         ni
    this+M
                   2SG.S BKG+F
             be
    dem
             VC
                   prt
"Is it you?"
133 Ee
            efe
                          oke
                     ama
            efe
                          0-
    ee
                     ama
                                  ke
                    be
                           1SG.S DECL+F
   yes
            this+M
   interj dem
                     VC
                          prt
"Yes, it's me."
134 Efe
             ama
                   oni
    efe
             ama
                   0-
                         ni
    this+M
             be
                   1SG.S BKG+F
   dem
                   prt
             VC
"It's me."
```

fahi

fahi

then

dem

¹²⁹ Siko started the girl's quote wrong, and immediately corrected it.

```
yokana
135 Efe
   Efe yokana
efe yokan
this+M true
                    ama
                         tini
                              ni
           yokana
                    ama
                         ti-
                          2SG.S BKG+F
                    be
   dem
            adj
                    VC
                         prt
"Is it really you?"
136 Fe
         ama
              oke
   fee
        ama o-
                   ke
              1SG.S DECL+F
   3SG be
   pron vc
              prt
"It's really me."
137 Tikisamahi
                 -risa -ma -hi
   ti- ka
   2SG.S go/come down back IMP+F
"Come down."
138 Faya
          hinakasima
                                    kisama
   faya hinaka asima
                                            -risa -ma+F
          3SG.POSS younger sister go/come down back
   conj nf
                                    vi
kisamemetemoneke
ka -risa -ma -hemete -mone -ke
go/come down back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'So his sister came down.'
                                                                            ati
139 Faya
                                   anoti
         anoti
                                                            baremona
   faya anoti
                                                            bare -mona
                                   anoti
                                                                            ati
         3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother
                                                           other+M REP+M
                                                                           say
   conj nm
                                                            adj
                                                                            vt
                                   nm
      anoti
                               ki
                                        nemetemoneke
                                        na -hemete -mone -ke
na+F
     anoti
                               kii
      3SG.POSS older brother look at AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
AUX
                               vt
                                        aux
wanaharo
                    ahi
                            neme
                                  ya
            -haaro
                    ahi
                            neme ya
be attached IP.E+F
                    there
                            up
                                  ADJU
                                  prt
                    dem
                            nf
'She thought her brother was someone else. She looked at her brother, holding on up there.'
140 Anoti
                            ki
                                            anoti
                                                                        Haa
                                      na
   anoti
                            kii
                                     na+F
                                            anoti
                                                                        haa
                            look at AUX
   3SG.POSS older brother
                                            3SG.POSS older brother
                                                                        oh
                            vt.
                                      aux
                                            nm
                                                                        interj
                              ama nanoho
okovo
                              ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
         ka ayo
1SG.POSS POSS older brother be AUX
                                            IP.N+M DUP
                                   aux
                              VC
'She looked at her brother. "Oh, it's my brother."
141 Kisamemetemoneke
        -risa -ma -hemete -mone -ke
   go/come down back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
```

'She came down.'

142	Kisama			, hal	hi	he	ya	far	nabise	
	ka	-risa	a -ma+F	ha	ahi	hee	ya	fa	ma	-bisa+M
	go/come	down	back	th	is one+M	3SG	ADJU	be	with	also
	vi			de	m	pron	prt	vi		
40		7				1.21				
towa	mematamo	пака				hike	ya	•	wabori	
to-			-himata	-mona	-ka	<i>nike</i> hike	<i>ya</i> ya	,	wabori wabor	i
to-	waa	-ma			-ka DECL+M	hike	-	,	wabor	i OSS brother-in-law

'She came down. The one who was with him was standing a ways away, his brother-in-law.'

143	Faya	kisama			•	Ayo		, 0	wati		me
	faya	ka	-risa	-ma	a+F ´	ayo		Ć	_	ati	me
	so	go/come	down	bad	ck	older br	rother	1	SG.POSS	voice	3PL.S
	conj	vi				nm		p	n		pron
kasa	waria		me		yome	me	me	kabi	neni		
ka-	saw	ari+F	me		yomee	me	me	kab	a -ne	-ni	
COM	IT fru	strate	3PL.S		jaguar	3PL.O	3PL.S	eat	CONT+	F BKG+F	
vt			pron		nm	pron	pron	vt			

'She came down. "Brother, they wouldn't listen to me, and the jaguars ate them."

```
144 Ohi nemetemoneke
```

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

'She cried.'

145 Ohi ni ati saihemetemoneni
ohi na.NFIN ati sai -hemete -mone -ni
cry AUX voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vi aux pn vi

'She could be heard crying.'

146	Okomi			ama	ahi
	0-	ka	-ma.NOM+F	ama	ahi
	1SG.S	go/come	back	be	here
	vi			VC	dem

"I was coming back."

Okoma			okon	ni			ka ,	watawabona		
0-	ka	-ma+F	0-		ka am:	i	ka	watawa	-bona	
1SG.S	go/come	back	1SG	.POSS	POSS mot	ther	POSS	bihi fruit	INT+M	
vi			nf				prt	nm		
	one		me	owa	me	owa	me	hose	kana	
l	0-	na+M	me	owa	me	owa	me	hose	ka-	na+F
d onto	1SG.S	AUX	3PL	1SG.C	3PL.S	1SG.	O 3PL.S	pull out	COMIT	AUX
	aux		pron	pron	pron	pron	pron	vt	aux	
me	e nay	awa		. 0	komara			oni		
me	na·	- yawa	a+F	´ o	- ka	-	-ma -hai	ra o-	ni	
O 3F	L.S CA	US be ι	upset	1	SG.S go/	come k	back IP.	E+F 1SG.S	BKG+F	
n pr	on vt			V	i			prt		
	o- 1SG.S vi l onto me me O 3P	o- ka 1SG.S go/come vi one o- l onto 1SG.S aux me nay me na O 3PL.S CA	o- ka -ma+F 1SG.S go/come back vi one to- na+M tonto 1SG.S AUX aux me nayawa me na- yawa O 3PL.S CAUS be to	o- ka -ma+F o- 1SG.S go/come back 1SG vi nf	o- ka -ma+F o- 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS vi nf one me owa tonto 1SG.S AUX 3PL 1SG.C aux pron pron me nayawa me na- yawa+F o 0 3PL.S CAUS be upset 1	o- ka -ma+F o- ka am: 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS motor vi nf one me owa me o- na+M me owa me lonto 1SG.S AUX 3PL 1SG.O 3PL.S aux pron pron pron me nayawa me na- yawa+F o- ka O 3PL.S CAUS be upset 1SG.S go/	o- ka -ma+F o- ka ami 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS mother vi nf one me owa me owa o- na+M me owa me owa lonto 1SG.S AUX 3PL 1SG.O 3PL.S 1SG. aux pron pron pron pron me nayawa me na- yawa+F o- ka O 3PL.S CAUS be upset 1SG.S go/come b	o- ka -ma+F o- ka ami ka 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS vi nf prt one me owa me owa me o- na+M me owa me owa me lonto 1SG.S AUX 3PL 1SG.O 3PL.S 1SG.O 3PL.S aux pron pron pron pron pron me nayawa me na- yawa+F o- ka -ma -han O 3PL.S CAUS be upset 1SG.S go/come back IP.E	o- ka -ma+F o- ka ami ka watawa 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS bihi fruit vi nf prt nm one me owa me owa me hose 1 o- na+M me owa me owa me hose 1 onto 1SG.S AUX 3PL 1SG.O 3PL.S 1SG.O 3PL.S pull out aux pron pron pron pron pron vt me nayawa , okomara oni me na- yawa+F o- ka -ma -hara o- O 3PL.S CAUS be upset 1SG.S go/come back IP.E+F 1SG.S	o- ka -ma+F o- ka ami ka watawa -bona 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS bihi fruit INT+M vi nf prt nm one me owa me owa me hose kana o- na+M me owa me owa me hose ka-lonto 1SG.S AUX 3PL 1SG.O 3PL.S 1SG.O 3PL.S pull out COMIT aux pron pron pron pron pron vt aux me nayawa , okomara oni me na- yawa+F o- ka -ma -hara o- ni O 3PL.S CAUS be upset 1SG.S go/come back IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F

"I was coming back. I was holding *bihi* fruits in my hand for my mother, and they took them from me and made me mad, so I came back."

	Okoma ○-	ka	-ma+I	yome yome		me me	owasim 0-		_m a	.NOM+F	<i>ama</i> ama	_	. •
	-	go/come		-			1SG.S				be	he:	
	vi	go, come	Duck	nm		pron	vt	IIIIG	Dac	12	VC	der	
		ning back,	I came								V C	ac.	
49 .	Mρ	owasima			me	siwa	ı nani	•		me	0	iwe	
	me		wasi ·	-ma+F	me	siw		-han		me		awe	
	3PL.O	1SG.S	find 1	oack	3PL.	S pla	y AUX	IP.N	+F	3PL.POS	SS v	wood+	F
	pron	vt			pron		aux			pron	ŗ	on	
ere		nine		haro									
ere	9	na -n	ıe	haaro)								
e a	cross	AUX CC	NT+F		one+E	?							
i		aux		dem									
'I ca	me upor	them pla	ying, th	eir log is	s acros	s the pat	h here."'						
50	Fara	me	(awe	ya	me	,	ta					
	fara	me		awe	ya	me		taa					
	same+F			wood+F				be pi	Lled	up			
	dem •	pron]	on	prt	pro	n	vi					
orine		. .				•							
0-		rı aised su	mfaaa	-ne	-ni								
CH	AUX l'a	aisea su	rrace	CONT+	r bke	7+1							
ux	1 :	., ,	., . ,										
51	Faya		netemoi	neke									
.51	<i>Faya</i> faya so	<i>ohi ner</i> ohi na cry AU	netemoi -hei X FP.1	neke mete -1		-ke DECL+F	•						
51	<i>Faya</i> faya so	ohi nenohi na cry AU	netemoi -hei X FP.1	neke mete -1			•						
51 Ther	Faya faya so conj n she crie	ohi nerohi na cry AU vi au ed.'	netemoi -hei X FP.1	neke mete -: N+F R:		DECL+F	·						
151 Ther	Faya faya so conj n she crie	ohi nerohi na cry AU vi au ed.'	metemon -hen X FP.1 x	neke mete -: N+F R:	EP+F emetem	DECL+F	te -mo:	ne -ke	9				
51 Γher 52	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n	ohi nerohi na cry AU vi au ed.'	netemon -her X FP.1 x	meke mete -1 N+F R. saihe sai	EP+F emetem	DECL+F noneke -heme							
51 Γher 52	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux	metemon -hei X FP.: x ati ati voice pn	meke mete -1 N+F R. saihe sai	EP+F emetem	DECL+F noneke -heme	te -mo:						
51 Γher 52	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX	metemon -hei X FP.: x ati ati voice pn	neke mete -n N+F R: saihe sai	EP+F emetem	DECL+F noneke -heme	te -mo:						
51 Γher 52 She α	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux	metemon -hei X FP.: x ati ati voice pn	meke mete -n N+F Ri saihe sai e be i	EP+F emetem	DECL+F noneke -heme	te -mo:			·		, 6	ota
51 Ther 52 She α	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya	ohi nerohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry	metemon -her X FP.: x ati ati voice pn ing.'	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi	EP+F emetem heard na	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+	te -mo: F REP okoma o-	+F DE(CL+F		na+F	,	otaa
51	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return	ati ati voice pn ing.' oname o- 1SG.:	meke mete -n N+F Ri saihe sai e be i vi	EP+F emetem heard na	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S	+F DE(CL+F	-m come ba		,	otaa LEX
51 52 53 53	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi	metemon -her X FP.: x ati ati voice pn ing.'	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi	emetem heard na AUX	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back	te -mo: F REP okoma o-	+F DE(to- away	ka go/	come ba	ack	,	otaa LEX oron
51 52 53 53 53	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi	ati ati voice pn ing.' oname o- 1SG.:	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi to- S away	emetem heard na AUX owati	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S	to- away <i>me</i>	ka go/	come ba sawariha	ack	, (otaa LEX oron , <i>me</i>
51	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka	metemoi -hei X FP.:x ati ati voice pn ing.' oname o- 1SG.: aux	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi to- S away	emetem heard na AUX owati	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S vi	to- away <i>me</i> me	ka go/ ka	come ba sawariha a- san	ack wari+	, (1 F	otaa LEX oron , <i>me</i> me
51 Γher 52 She σ 53 σ ta ε Ex.	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n s awa	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi	metemoi -hei X FP.:x ati ati voice pn ing.' oname o- 1SG.: aux	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi to- S away	emetem heard na AUX owati	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S vi	to- away me me 3PL.S	ka go/ ka ka	come ba sawariha a- sam DMIT fri	ack wari+	, (1 F	otaa LEX oron , me me 3P:
51 Γher 52 She of tag Ex. or	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n to- S awa n vi	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka	ati ati voice pn ing.' oname o- 1SG.: aux -home IN	meke mete -n N+F R: saihe sai e be : vi to- S away abone T+F	emetem heard na AUX owati o- 1SG. pn	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S vi ati	to- away me me 3PL.S pron	ka go/ ka cc vt	come ba sawariha a- sam DMIT fro	ack wari+	, (1 F	otaa LEX oron , <i>me</i> me
51 Ther 52 She of the state of	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n to- s awa n vi	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka	ati ati voice pn ing.' oname o- 1SG.: aux home IN	meke mete -n N+F R: saihe sai e be : vi to- S away abone T+F	emetem heard na AUX owati o- 1SG. pn kama	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back a .POSS v	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S vi ati roice	to- away me me 3PL.S pron	ka go/ ka ka cc vt ama	come ba sawariha a- sam DMIT fro c ahi	ack wari+	, (1 F	otaa LEX oron , me me 3P:
51 Ther 52 She of the state of	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n to- S awa n vi ii	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka ay go/co	ati ati voice pn ing.' onama o- 1SG.: aux home IN	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi to- S away abone T+F	emetem heard na AUX o- 1SG pn kama	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back i a .POSS v	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S vi ati roice me	to- away me me 3PL.S pron	ka go/ ka cc vt ama ama	sawariha a- sam DMIT from ahi ahi	ack wari+	, (1 F	otaa LEX oron , me me 3P:
51 Ther 52 She of the option o	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n to- S awa n vi ii	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka	metemon — her X FP. X X ati ati voice pn ing.' onama o — 1SG. 3 aux — home IN ni na . AUX	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be i vi to- S away abone T+F	emetem heard na AUX owati o- 1SG. pn kama ka go/co	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back a .POSS v	te -mo: F REP okoma o- 1SG.S vi ati voice me a+F me sk 3P	to-away me me 3PL.S pron	ka go/ ka ka cc vt ama ama SEC	sawariha a- sam DMIT from ahi ahi here	ack wari+	, (1 F	otaa LEX oron , me me 3P:
51 Ther 52 She of tag EX. opening owir owi	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n to- S awa n vi i .ri g woman	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka ay go/co	metemon — her X FP. X x ati ati voice pn ing.' onama o- 1SG.: aux — home IN ni na.: AUX aux	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi to- S away abone T+F	emetem heard na AUX owati o- 1SG. pn kama ka go/cc	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back i a POSS v -ma ome bac	okoma o- 1SG.S vi ati roice me 1+F me ck 3P	to-away me me 3PL.S pron L.S on	ka go/ ka ka CC vt ama ama SEC sec	sawariha a- sam DMIT from ahi ahi here dem	ack wari+ ustra	, (1) F	otaa LEX oron , me me 3P: pro
51 Ther 52 She of tall tall tall tall tall tall tall tal	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n to- S awa n vi i .ri g woman	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka ay go/co	ati ati voice pn ing.' onama o- 1SG.: aux -h ome IN ni na.: AUX aux	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi to- S away abone T+F	emetem heard na AUX owati o- 1SG. pn kama ka go/cc	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back i a POSS v -ma ome bac	okoma o- 1SG.S vi ati roice me 1+F me ck 3P	to-away me me 3PL.S pron L.S on	ka go/ ka ka CC vt ama ama SEC sec	sawariha a- sam DMIT from ahi ahi here dem	ack wari+ ustra	, (1) F	otaa LEX oron , me me 3P: pro
51 Ther 52 She of taa EX. From owir owir 1 We 54	Faya faya so conj n she crie Ohi n ohi n cry A vi a could be Faya faya so conj toka n vi i ri g woman	ohi ner ohi na cry AU vi au ed.' i a.NFIN UX ux heard cry wete wete return vi ubone ka ay go/co	ati ati voice pn ing.' onama o- 1SG.: aux -h ome IN ni na.: AUX aux	meke mete -n N+F R saihe sai e be r vi to- S away abone T+F	emetem heard na AUX owati o- 1SG pn kama ka go/cc vi go away	DECL+F noneke -heme FP.N+ -ma+F back .POSS v -ma ome bac y, but the	okoma o- 1SG.S vi ati roice me 1+F me ck 3P	to-away me me 3PL.S pron L.S on	ka go/ ka cc vt ama ama sec sec n to n	sawariha a- sam DMIT from ahi ahi here dem	ack wari+ ustra	, (1) F	otaa LEX pron , me 3P. pro

3PL.S sing woman's song AUX

pron vi

thing

go/come back 3PL.POSS

pron

vi

aux

ahi nawahineni na -waha -ne -ni ahi 3PL.S work on AUX change CONT+F BKG+F vt aux "They came along singing. Now there is no more work for them to do." 155 *Fava* me Hima tai tiama tito- ha -ma faya me hima tai 3PL let's go be ahead so 2SG.S CH AUX back pron interj vi aux conj "Come on, you go first." 156 *Me* mata nemetemoneke mata na -hemete -mone -ke me 3PL.S lie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi aux 'The two of them were lying there.' 157 *Me* mata na me me mata na+F me 3PL.S lie AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S pron vi aux pron hekanakosemetemoneke hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'They left them lying on the ground.' 158 *Hima* tai tokahama te t.o- kahima tai ha -ma tee CH COMIT AUX back let's go 2PL.S be ahead interj pron vi aux "Come on, you two go on first." oohi 159 *Faya* me kama me faya ka -ma+F me 0-DUP cry 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S conj pron vi pron tosi nemetemoneke to- na -sii na -hemete -mone -ke CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux aux nakiri tabiyorawaha nakiri tabiyo -rawa -ha 3SG.POSS.brother's wife absence F.PL DUP pn 'So they came back. She was crying for her sisters-in-law along the way.' 160 *Fava* ohi ni kama kobo na.NFIN ka -ma+F ohi kobo faya me cry AUX go/come back 3PL.S arrive conj vi aux νi pron 77 i namemetemoneni na -ma -hemete -mone -ni AUX back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'She came back crying. They arrived back.'

161 *Ohi* va ohi nemetemoneke ahi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi ohi ya ohi AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F crying ADJU cry then nf prt vi aux 'She was crying.' , me 162 *Haha* ka ami ka mate tamine me me me ka matehe 3PL POSS children haaha me ka ami tamine me me ka 3PL POSS mother news about 3PL.S pron prt nf pron prt nf pn pron ohi mita nemetemone me me nafi ohi na -hemete -mone nafi mita+F me me 3PL.S cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS all hear vi pron aux pron 'When the mothers heard about their children, they cried, all of them.' 163 *Me* nafi ohi nemetemoneke nafi ohi na -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.POSS all cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi aux pn 'All of them cried.' 164 Ava ati okotora okotora ohi ni okoto -ra okoto -ra ohi na.NFIN ati (expression of pain) my daughter NPQ my daughter NPQ cry AUX say interi nf nf vi aux vt ahi nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke ahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then dem "Aya, my daughter, my daughter," they said, crying." 165 *Me* okayawarani yawa -hara -ni o- ka-3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT be upset IP.E+F BKG+F pron vt "I wanted to spare them." 166 *Me* me ati hiyararake me me ati hiya -ra -hara -ke 3PL 3PL.POSS voice be bad NEG IP.E+F DECL+F pron pron pn vi "They refused." 167 *Owa* yokohene me amani me ama -ni owa me yoko -hene me 1SG.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on IRR+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F pron pron pron sec vt "They almost caused me misfortune." 168 *Owa* vokohene me me yama yama owa me yoko -hene 1SG.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on IRR+F 3PL.S thing play pron pron pron nf vi

narawani na -rawa -hani AUX F.PL IP.N+F		a -rawa -h ck F.PL IP	ani N+F	ohi r	<i>ii</i> na.NFIN AUX	<i>ati</i> ati say	
aux	vt			vi a	aux	vt	
nemetemoneke							
na -hemete -mon AUX FP.N+F REP+ aux	-F DECL+F						
"They almost caused	me misfortune. I cam	e upon the jagu	ars playing,	," she sai	d, crying.'		
169 <i>Ohi</i> ya ohi ya crying ADJU	hiyaremetemoneni hiyara -hemete speak FP.N+F		+F				
nf prt 'She was crying while	vi she talked.'						
			_				
170 Me okeyeho	amone keyeha -hamone	me at	ti na ti na+F	<i>me</i> me	<i>ota</i> otaa	<i>me</i> me	
	, - ,		ay AUX	3PL.S			
pron vt		pron v	=	pron	pron	pron	
nakamakehamone		me ati		me	, oko		
na- ka -ma CAUS go/come fol		me ati 3PL.S say	AUX	me 3PL.S		ka POSS PO	
vt kana ni t	okoma	pron vt me	aux owakabone	pron	prt		
	okomu co- ka -ma		o- to	- ka-	ka	-hab	one
	away go/come bac		1SG.S aw				
vi aux v	7i	pron					
·	, <u> </u>	PLOII	vt				
me ati	hiyara	me o	wa me		ya		
me ati	<i>hiyara</i> hiya -ra+F	me o	wa me	f	iya		
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice	<i>hiyara</i> hiya -ra+F be bad NEG	me ome come spl. POSS 1	owa me owa me .SG.O 3P	f L.S p	iya ass		
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn	<i>hiyara</i> hiya -ra+F be bad NEG	me ome come spl. POSS 1	owa me owa me .SG.O 3P	f	iya ass		
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani	<i>hiyara</i> hiya -ra+F be bad NEG	me ome come spl. POSS 1	owa me owa me .SG.O 3P	f L.S p	iya ass		
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi . nara -ni	me ome come spl. POSS 1	owa me owa me .SG.O 3P	f L.S p	iya ass		
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi . nara -ni P.E+F BKG+F	me ome come compron pron	owa me owa me .SG.O 3P oron pr	f L.S p on v	iya ass t		
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux "They said I was fooli	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi nara -ni P.E+F BKG+F ng them. They said so	me ome come men were come were come men were come	owa me owa me .SG.O 3P oron pr	f L.S p on v	iya ass t	. I wanted	l to take
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi nara -ni P.E+F BKG+F ng them. They said so d. They passed by me. fiya tonama	me ome ome ome ome ome pron pron pron pron pron pron pron pron	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after	f.S pon v	iya ass t nt running <i>me</i>	me	waka
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F ng them. They said so	me ome of 3PL.POSS 1 pron pron pron pron pron pron pron pron	owa me owa me owa me osG.O 3P oron pr coming after	f L.S p on v	iya ass t nt running me me		<i>waka</i> waka
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi nara -ni P.E+F BKG+F Ing them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU	me o me come men were o me me men were o me me men were o me men were o me	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after	f L.S p on v rus.Iwe	iya ass t nt running me me	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi nara -ni P.E+F BKG+F Ing them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU	me o me come men were o me me men were o me me men were o me men were o me	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after	f L.S p on v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux "They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara -	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F ng them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni	me o me come men were o me me men were o me me men were o me men were o me	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after	f L.S p on v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara - OC AUX IP.E+F E	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F ng them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni	me o me come men were o me me men were o me me men were o me men were o me	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after	f L.S p on v rus.Iwe rome rome rome rome rome rome rome rome	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux "They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara -	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi nara -ni P.E+F BKG+F ng them. They said so d. They passed by me. fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni BKG+F	me o me come men were o me	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after	f L.S p on v rus.Iwe rome rome rome rome rome rome rome rome	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara - OC AUX IP.E+F E aux ""They passed by me, a	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F Ing them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni BKG+F and the jaguars killed	me o me come men were come men	wa me wa me sg.O 3P oron pr coming after L.S	f L.S p on v rus.Iwe rome rome rome rome rome rome rome rome	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara - OC AUX IP.E+F E aux ""They passed by me, a	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F Ing them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni BKG+F and the jaguars killed nowati ya	me o me come men were o me men were o me men were o men were o men men were o men	wa me wa me sg.O 3P oron pr coming after L.S	f L.S p on v rus.Iwe	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara - OC AUX IP.E+F E aux ""They passed by me, a	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F Ing them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni BKG+F and the jaguars killed	me ome men were of me me men were of me me men were of me	wa me wa me sg.O 3P oron pr coming after L.S	f L.S p on v rus.Iwe	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara - OC AUX IP.E+F E aux ""They passed by me, and 172 Faya me faya me	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F Ing them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni BKG+F and the jaguars killed nowati ya nowati ya	me o me o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after L.S on	f L.S p on v rus.Iwe	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara - OC AUX IP.E+F F aux ""They passed by me, a 172 Faya me faya me so 3PL.PO conj pron okomisawite	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F Ing them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni BKG+F and the jaguars killed nowati ya nowati ya SS behind ADJ pn prt	me ome come men were come men were come men were come men were come." me —ma+F me me me men me me men me men men men m	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after L.S on r	f L.S p on v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v	iya ass t nt running me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>waka</i> waka kill
me ati me ati 3PL.POSS voice pron pn tonamarani to- na -ma -h away AUX back IF aux ""They said I was fooli them, but they refused 171 Owa me owa me 1SG.O 3PL.S pron pron hinarani hi- na -hara - OC AUX IP.E+F F aux ""They passed by me, a 172 Faya me faya me so 3PL.PO conj pron	hiyara hiya -ra+F be bad NEG vi hara -ni P.E+F BKG+F ng them. They said so d. They passed by me fiya tonama fiya to- na pass away AU vt aux -ni BKG+F and the jaguars killed nowati ya nowati ya SS behind ADJ pn prt -misa -witI	me ome of spring	wa me wa me SG.O 3P oron pr coming after L.S on r	f L.S p on v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v v	iya ass t ntrunning me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron	waka waka kill vt

me

ati

mitaharene

oni

0ni

1SG.S BKG+F

"I came on behind them, and I climbed a tree."

173 Okomisawite

tafi -misa -witI o- toka me tafa.NFIN ati 1SG.S away go/come up out 3PL.S eat voice vi pron pn

vi

owitare bai okomita

mita+F bahi o- ka-0ita -rI 1SG.S COMIT hear 1SG.S sit raised surface sun vi

vt

abamako oko ha ni yana tonahara ahaba -mako 0ka haa na.NFIN yana to- na -hara end for this reason+M 1SG.POSS POSS call AUX start CH AUX IP.E+F vi prt vi aux vi aux

nm

oni

ni

1SG.POSS BKG+F

"I climbed the tree and heard them eating as I sat there. After the sun was setting I started calling out."'

174 *Bai* abe ehene faya oko ha yana ni bahi ahaba+M ehene 0ka haa na.NFIN faya yana because of+M 1SG.POSS POSS call AUX sun end so start vi conj vi post aux 77 i nm prt

na

na+F

AIIX

aux

so

"I started calling out when the sun was going down."

ha

tika haa na.NFIN ayo mita -hare 2SG.POSS POSS call AUX 2SG.POSS.older brother hear IP.E+M BKG+M vi aux

ayo

175 *Tika*

nebona tokomakehari

soo na -hibona to- ka -makI -haari urinate AUX INT+M away go/come following IP.E+M

ni

aux vi

"Your brother heard you calling when he went to urinate."

176 Avo tika mitaharene ha ni tina.NFIN mita -hare -ne ayo ka haa hear IP.E+M BKG+M 2SG.POSS.older brother 2SG.POSS POSS call AUX vi prt aux

"Your brother heard you calling."

177 Ayo

oyosemaki

ayo 0to- yose -makI+M 1SG.S away command following 2SG.POSS.older brother

vt

tokomake vome sa -makI to- ka yomee saa away go/come following jaguar shoot with arrow vi nm kananoho ka- na.NOM+M -no -ho COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP aux "I sent your brother and he went, and he shot the jaguar with an arrow." 178 *Me* famarani fama -hara -ni me 3PL.S be two IP.E+F BKG+F pron vi "There were two of them." 179 *Me* fama hikanikima me me sa me me fama+F me saa hi- kana -kima+F 3PL.S be two 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX two pron vi pron pron vt aux mata narani me mata na -hara -ni me 3PL.S lie AUX IP.E+F BKG+F vi aux pron "The two of them shot the two of them with arrows, and they are lying on the ground." ohi 180 *Faya* nemetemoneke ahi me na -hemete -mone -ke ohi ahi faya me 3PL.S cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F t.hen SO pron vi conj aux dem 'Then they cried.' 181 *Faya* me tone me me tone me bosa faya me tone me me tone me bosa 3PL.POSS bone 3PL 3PL.POSS bone 3PL.S get up early conj pron pn pron pron pn pron νi hikanemetemoneke hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'They got up early to go after their bones.'

182 /	Me	m	e	bosa		hika	na		me	me ,	yifo	ya
r	me	m∈)	bosa		hi-	ka-	na+F	me	me	yifo	ya
(3PL.	O 31	PL.S	get up ea	arly	OC	COMIT	AUX	3PL.0	3PL	hammock	ADJU
I	pron	pı	con	vi		aux			pron	pron	nm	prt
fara		me	ka	yifo	ya	1	me ,	me	me	tiwari		
fara	L	me	ka	yifo	ya	I	me ,	me	me	tiwa	-ri	
same	+F	3PL	POSS	hammock	ADC	JU :	3PL	3PL.C	3PL.S	carry	DISTR	
dem		pron	prt	nm	prt	- 1	pron	pron	pron	vt		
hikan	emete	monek	te									
hi-	ka-	na	-he	mete -mon	e -ke	!	-					
OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F												
aux												
'They	got u	ıp earl	y becau	ise of them. T	They ca	arried	them in	their ow	n hammo	cks.'		

183 Me me me 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron	<i>tiwari</i> tiwa -ri carry DISTR vt	<pre>hikana hi- ka- na+F OC COMIT AUX aux</pre>		etemone mo -hemete -mone ry FP.N+F REP+F						
'They carried them and they buried them.'										
184 Me me me 3PL.0 3PL.S pron pron me nafi 3PL.POSS all pron pn 'They buried them, all	hikamoha hi- kamo+F OC bury vt . of them.'	me me me 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron	hikamometemoneke hi- kamo -heme OC bury FP.N+ vt	ete -mone -ke						
me me 3PL 3PL.S pron pron bite bite 3SG.POSS.daughte nf tabiyo tabiyo absence pn	vi aux pr ohi , oh ohi oh r cry cr vi vi	bite PL.S 3SG.POSS.da con nf i nemetemoneke i na -hemete - ry AUX FP.N+F R	vt bite mone -ke bit EP+F DECL+F 3SC nf	aux ce G.POSS.daughter						
186 Me ohi nemetemoneni . me ohi na -hemete -mone -ni 3PL.S cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F pron vi aux 'They cried.'										
me ohi 3PL.S cry	amo na - sleep AUX H vi aux	aux pron moneke -hemete -mone -ke FP.N+F REP+F DEC	faya me so 3PL.S conj pron <i>fahi</i> fahi	amo na amo na+F sleep AUX vi aux						
188 Me amo me amo 3PL.S sleep pron vi hiwatasa hi- na -waha - OC AUX change a	gain 3F	ya me ADJU 3PL.O prt pron me wati me wati		waha -tasa+F hange again						

¹³⁰ It should be *me me hikamometemone*.

me , Me fanawi tokamarabanake me fanawi to- ka -ma -ra -habana -ke 3PL.0 women away go/come back NEG FUT+F DECL+F pron nf vi

'They slept. They remembered them again. "The women will not go out in the forest anymore."

189 Me fanawi yome tefe yokanamatamona amaka me fanawi yomee tefe yokana -mata -mona ama -ka women jaguar food+M true FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+M nf nm adj pn VC

'The girls were true jaguar food.'