Free Translation

They moved to another place. They went. They arrived.

They were hungry, and they went hunting. They ate some small game. They ate.

As they slept, they were howling. They were howler monkeys. They weren't howler monkeys. The howler monkeys were howling.

"Just let him howl."

He went. He pulled out a bunch of blowgun darts, and he was twirling them in his mouth. As he was twirling the darts in his mouth, the howler monkeys were howling. It was a meadow. There was a pond. At the edge of the meadow the howler monkeys were in the trees howling. He was getting ready to kill the howler monkeys. They were rigid as they howled, "Ioioio, oooaaa."

One of them was howling as it sat there, and he hit it with a blowgun dart. It yelled.

He hit them with darts. He was shooting them, and they were falling. When the howler monkeys fell, he carried them off. He carried the howler monkeys off, and piled them up in the meadow. They were in a pile. He shot them all. As they lay on the ground, he lashed them together at their waists. He lashed them together at their waists, and then tied a strap to them.

He lifted the howler monkeys onto his back. He came home, and arrived.

"Wow, look at the one who killed lots of howler monkeys and has come back," they said. They were going to work on the howler monkeys.

They singed the hair off the howler monkeys. They went after the monkeys and cut them up. They roasted them on racks.

His mother cooked food for him so he could eat. "Go and wake up your older brother who is sleeping, so he can eat."

She went. She went after her brother. She shook him. "Brother, Brother, Brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, my mother said for you to eat."

"You eat. I don't want to eat. I don't want to eat because I'm tired. I'm hurting a lot. You eat." He was sleepy, and he went back to sleep. His sister left.

"Well?"

"My brother said for us to eat. My brother has a lot of pain, and he said he is sleepy."

"He should eat and then sleep."

His mother went and shook him. He wouldn't listen to his mother. He went back to sleep.

"Mother, you eat. I don't want to eat. I don't want to eat because I'm tired. I have a lot of pain," he said.

He was the victim of a monster without knowing it. He didn't eat. He slept.

Night fell. He started moaning.

They sucked him to cure him.

He was moaning again the next night. My grandfather wanted to look at him, but his mother wouldn't agree. My grandfather was upset, and he moved away. He moved away the next day, and came over here. He came. He arrived. There is an old village there at the Bote Fa stream, at Momonena. My grandfather arrived.

The others came behind. They came a few at a time. My father and his group came. It got dark on them, and they walked in the night. They arrived. The groups were arriving. The small groups were arriving.

They brought him and he defecated on them during the night. He had diarrhea. He was defecating on them. They cleaned him up. They carried him, and brought him. The place they arrived at with him is the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream. They arrived with him at the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream.

They slept with him. Then a *yasi* bird came, that was not a *yasi* bird. He was sick because of the monster. They slept with him. The *yasi* came. "Yasisi, yasi tebere."

"A yasi bird has come."

"It's not a yasi. It's the voice of a monster," they said.

His voice could be heard during the night. They watched him, and he died. When the *yasi* bird stopped singing, he died, at dawn. He died, and they buried him. His grave is there. The old gardens of Fa Sawa village are there. They took him.

"Mother, you go on ahead. We are going to bury my younger brother," his younger brothers said. His younger brothers went. They carried him. They took him. They buried him in an old garden. They dug a hole for him and buried him.

But his mother went crying. The others were going on by. They came, and arrived.

"Well? What about Kamabira?"

"Kamabira died. They buried Kamabira. They stayed there to bury him. They will come. He had diarrhea, and we stayed with him, helping him during the night. He died because he had diarrhea all night. The *yasi* bird came and took him away," they said.

They went on. He waited for them. My grandfather was upset, but he wouldn't have been upset [if he had helped him]. Neme Wari Na didn't agree, and because of this my grandfather was upset. He sent the spirits [to fight against the monster]. He moved away, and came this way. When he moved away, the others followed him.

The others arrived at Yome Kabe village. They arrived at Yome Kabe, at the Yome Kabe Ye To Fana stream. They arrived, and slept. "Let's go there." They came. Then they lived at Momonena, my father used to say. They arrived.

They cut down trees, my father used to say. They went with their children, my father used to say. They grieved.

"A monster killed Kamabira. You didn't believe me. Kamabira was killed by a monster, because he shot what were not howler monkeys with his blowgun. Howler monkeys are not very good to eat. When he shot the howler monkeys with his blowgun, the howler monkeys hurt him, because he was unwittingly shooting monsters."

His mother was crying. His mother stopped crying.

"Don't cry because of him. Eat."

They came and arrived, and ate. Then they went after white-lipped peccaries, my father used to say. Each of them killed a peccary, and as they were eating them, the others arrived, and they ate. After they ate, they slept. They slept, and woke up. Then there was no spirit.

"Wait, let me take a look." He came and arrived. He arrived at the other village. He stood looking around. "There is no one who came back [that is, Kamabira's spirit didn't come back]. He was killed by a monster."

He came back and arrived.

"Well, is there anyone there?"

"There isn't anyone. A monster killed him. A monster attacked him."

It attacked him. They slept.

Interlinear Presentation

```
1 Me
         bana
                              me
                                      bana
                                                 me
         bana+F
                     me
                              me
                                      bana+F
  3PL.S
         move away
                    3PL.S
                               3PL.S
                                      move away
                                                 3PL.S
                     pron
                               pron
  pron
tokomemetemone
                                 ai
            -ma -hemete -mone
to- ka
```

away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then vi dem

'They moved to another place. They went.'

2 *Me* tokoma kobo me me na me me to- ka -ma+F kobo na+F me me me me me away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S pron pron vi pron pron vi aux pron , me kobo tonama me fimia yama me vete to- na -ma+F fimi+F kobo me me yama me yete na+F arrive away AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S be hungry thing 3PL.S hunt AUX aux pron pron vi nf pron vt me bani biti me me kaba me bani biti me bani biti me me kaba+F me bani biti 3PL.S animal small+M 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal small+M pron nm adj pron pron vt pron nm kabemetemoneke me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke me me 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron pron vt

'They went. They arrived. They were hungry, and they went hunting. They ate some small game.'

3 <i>Ban</i>	i	biti		me	me		kaba	1	ne	,	me	tafa	me
ban	i	biti	Ĺ	me	me		kaba	+F r	ne		me	tafa+F	me
ani	mal	sma]	Ll+M	3PL.O	3PL	.S	eat		BPL.S		3PL.S	eat	3PL.S
nm		adj		pron	pro	n	vt	I	oron		pron	vi	pron
tafa	me	?	amo	na		me		ayaker	netemoi	ne			
tafa+E	' me)	amo	na+	F ´	me		ayaka	a -hen	nete	-mone		
eat	3 F	L.S	slee	xuA q		3P	L.S	sing	FP.N	J+F	REP+F		
vi	pr	on	vi	aux		pr	on	vi					

'They ate some small game. They ate. As they slept, they were howling.'

4	Me	aayal	ka	toa		me	yiko	mati	yiko	
	me	a-	ayaka	to-	ha+F	me	yiko	mati	yiko	
	3PL.S	DUP	sing	СН	AUX	3PL.S	howler monkey	3PL	howler	monkey
	pron	vi		aux		pron	nm	pron	nm	
me	am	arani		m	ati					

meamaranimatimeama -ra -hanimati3PL.SbeNEG IP.N+F3PL.Spronvcpron

'They were howling. They were howler monkeys. They weren't howler monkeys.'

5	Yiko	me	ayakem	ayakemetemoneke					
	yiko	me	ayaka	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi		
	howler monkey	3PL.S	sing	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then		
	nm	pron	vi				dem		

'The howler monkeys were howling.'

6 Yiko me avaka mera Hiwa ati ayaka+F mera viko me hiwa ati howler monkey 3PL.S sing 3PL.O only.M voice vi pron pron pron amane saiba ne -ba ama -ne sai na+M SEC BKG+M be heard without stopping AUX aux sec

'The howler monkeys were howling. "Just let him howl."

7 Tokehimatamona

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

'He went.'

8 Sare sare sare soba sarehe sarehe sarehe soba na+M sarehe blowgun dart blowgun dart pull out AUX blowgun dart nf nf vt aux

sarerofinematamonakasareherofina -himata -mona -kablowgun darttwirl in mouthAUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+Mnfvtaux

'He pulled out a bunch of blowgun darts, and he was twirling them in his mouth.'

9 Sare rofi viko ne me rofi na+M yiko sarehe me blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX 3PL.S howler monkey nf pron 77 T aux nm

ayakemetemoneke

ayaka -hemete -mone -ke sing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'As he was twirling the darts in his mouth, the howler monkeys were howling.'

, yama 10 *Yiko* me ayaka amoamosa me ayaka+F yama amo- amosa place howler monkey 3PL.S sing DUP be good pron vi

'The howler monkeys were howling. It was a meadow.'

11 *Faha* faha ita faha ita faha faha ita.LIST faha ita.LIST water water sit water sit nf nf vi nf 77 i

'There was a pond.'

12 **Yama** amosi ita ya yiko me kawa amosa.NFIN ita+F ya yiko me kawaa+F sit howler monkey 3PL.S COMIT stand 3PL.S place be good ADJU nf vi vi prt nm pron vi

ayakemetemone

ayaka -hemete -mone sing FP.N+F REP+F vi

'At the edge of the meadow the howler monkeys were in the trees howling.'

```
13 Yiko
                   me
                           ayaka
                                    me
                                               viko
                                                                me
   yiko
                   me
                           ayaka+F
                                    me
                                               yiko
                                                                me
   howler monkey
                   3PL.S
                           sing
                                     3PL.S
                                               howler monkey
                                                                3PL.O
                   pron
                                    pron
                                               nm
                                                                pron
wati
               kane
                               ma
wati
               ka-
                     na+M
                               maa
plan against
               COMIT AUX
                               stop
vt
                               vi
               aux
tokanaremetemoneke
                                                       ahi
                                                              ioioio
                                                                       oooaaa
                                                       ahi
to- ka- na -rI
                               -hemete -mone -ke
                                                              ioioio
                                                                       oooaaa
CH COMIT AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                       then
aux
```

'The howler monkeys were howling. He was getting ready to kill the howler monkeys. They were rigid as they howled, "Ioioio, oooaaa."'

hikai	aboematamonal	ka	kiya	kanebana			ahi			
hi-	karaboha		-himata	-mona	-ka	kiya	ka-	na	-hibana	ahi
OC	shoot with	blowgun	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	yell	COMIT	AUX	FUT+M	then
vt						vi	aux			dem

'One of them was howling as it sat there, and he hit it with a blowgun dart. It yelled.'

15 Me	e	fora	hinen		ahi			
me	=	fora	hi-	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi
3 P	PL.O	shoot with blowgun	OC	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
pr	ron	vt	aux					dem

'He hit them with darts.'

16 <i>Me</i>	fora		hina	ı	me	me	fora		
me	fora		hi-	na+F	me	me	fora		
3PL.O	shoot wit	th blowgun	OC	AUX	3PL.O	3PL.	O shoot wi	th blow	gun
pron	vt		aux		pron	pron	vt		
hina	me ,	me j	foro	na	me	, yik	0	me	foro
hi- na+F	me	me i	foro	na+F	me	´ yi	ko	me	foro
OC AUX	3PL.O	3PL.0 1	fall	AUX	3PL.S	ho	wler monkey	7 3PL.S	fall
aux	pron	pron v	vi	aux	pron	nm		pron	vi
ni	ya,	yiko		me	iso		nematamonak	а	
na.NOM+F	ya	yiko		me	iso		na -himat	a -mona	-ka
AUX	ADJU	howler mo	nkey	3PL.O	carry	off	AUX FP.N+N	M REP+M	DECL+M
aux	prt	nm		pron	vt		aux		

'He was shooting them, and they were falling. When the howler monkeys fell, he carried them off.'

1'/ Yiko	me	iso	ne ,	yama	amosi	ya	
yiko	me	iso	na+M ´	yama	amosa.NOM+F	ya	
howler monk	ey 3PL.	O carry off	AUX	place	be good	ADJ	U
nm	pron	vt	aux	nf	vi	prt	
yiko	me	ta	tonihare				me
<i>y</i>		•••	tomme			•	
yiko	me	taa	to- niha-	na -ı	ſI	,	me
•	me		to- niha-		rI aised surface	,	

ta	tore	me	nafi	fora
taa	to- na -rI	me	nafi	fora
be piled up	CH AUX raised surface	3PL.POSS	all	shoot with blowgun
vi	aux	pron	pn	vt
: . .		1	I	

hinemetemoneni

hi- na -hemete -mone -ni OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'He carried the howler monkeys off, and piled up the howler monkeys in the meadow. They were in a pile. He shot them all.'

18 Faya	me	so	tosa			me	me	tosi
faya	me	S00	to-	na	-kosa+F	me	me	tosi
so	3PL.S	lie	СН	AUX	middle	3PL.S	3PL.POSS	waist
conj	pron	vi	aux			pron	pron	pn
hikaraba				me		me	tosi	
hi- ka-	raba+	·F		me	,	me	tosi	
OC COMI	T lash	toget	her	3PL.	.POSS	3PL.POS	SS waist	
vt				pror	า	pron	pn	
hikarabeme	rtemoneke							
	,			,				

hi- ka- raba -hemete -mone -ke
OC COMIT lash together FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'As they lay on the ground, he lashed them together at their waists.'

19	Me	tosi	hikar	aba		me	,	me	,	me
	me	tosi	hi-	ka-	raba+F	me		me	,	me
	3PL.POSS	waist	OC	COMIT	lash together	3PL.POSS		3PL		3PL.O
	pron	pn	vt			pron		pron		pron

himatoemetemoneke

hi- mato -hemete -mone -ke
OC tie FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'He lashed them together at their waists, and then tied a strap to them.'

20 <i>Yiko</i>	me	mato	,	yiko	me	weye	nami	se
yiko	me	mato+M	,	yiko	me	weye	na	-misa+M
howler monkey	3PL.O	tie		howler monkey	3PL.O	carry	AUX	up
nm	pron	vt		nm	pron	vt	aux	
kame ,	kamema	tamonaka						
ka -ma+M	ka	-ma -	him	ata -mona -ka				
go/come back	go/com	e back F	P.N	+M REP+M DECL+	M			
vi	νi							

'He tied a strap to the howling monkeys. He lifted the howler monkeys onto his back. He came home.'

21	Kame			, kamematamonaka								
	ka	-ma+M		ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ka				
	go/come vi	back		go/come vi	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M				
'Ηθ	'He came home.'											

22	. Kame		kobo	name	yiko	me .	Hii
	ka -r	ma+M ´	kobo	na -ma+M	yiko	me	hii
	go/come ba	ack	arrive	AUX back	howler monkey	3PL	wow!
	vi		vi	aux	nm	pron	interj

<pre>yiko yiko howler nm</pre>	monke	ЭY	me me 3PL.O pron	ka	omeno toma ll many	-hino	kame ka I go/com vi		ma+M ack	te tee 2PL.S pron	awa awa see vt	<pre>hari haari that one+M dem</pre>
me me 3PL.S pron	<i>ati</i> ati say vt	na	K FP.N+	te	-mone REP+F	<pre>yiko yiko howler nm</pre>	monkey	me me 3PL pro		<pre>yiko yiko howler nm</pre>	monkey	me me 3PL.O pron
me me 3PL.S pron	<i>ahi</i> ahi work vt	on	hinaba hi- r OC A aux	a	-haba FUT+F	<pre>mati mati 3PL.0 pron</pre>	•					

'He came home, and arrived. "Wow, look at the one who killed lots of howler monkeys and has come back," they said. They were going to work on the howler monkeys.'

23	Yiko	me	me	tokehemetemoneke				ahi
	yiko	me	me	toka	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi
	howler monkey	3PL.O	3PL.S	partially burn	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	nm	pron	pron	vt				dem

'They singed the hair off the howler monkeys.'

24 <i>Yiko</i>		me	e me	toka	ı		me	, 1	riko			
yiko		me	e me	tok	a+F		me		yiko			
howl	er monk	ey 3P	L.O 3PI	L.S par	tiall	y burn	3PL.S	ŀ	nowle	r mon	key	
nm		pr	on pro	on vt			pron	r	nm			
me	me	fito	kana	me	1	ne	wisi	hina		me		me
me	me	fito	ka- n	a+F me	r	ne	wisi	hi-	na+F	me		me
3PL.O	3PL.S	rush	COMIT A	.UX 3P	L.O 3	BPL.S	cut up	OC	AUX	3PL	.0	3PL.S
pron	pron	vi	aux	pr	on p	oron	vt	aux		pro	n	pron
tabasi		hina	m	ie ,	me	me	tabas	i		hii	na	
tabasi		hi-	na+F m		me	me	taba	si		hi	- na	+F
roast o	on grill	OC	AUX 3	PL.O	3PL.	O 3PL.	.S roas	st on	gril	.1 00	: AU	Χ
vt		aux	p	ron	pron	pror	n vt			au	IX	
me	, tafehi	bona	tafeh	ibona	tef	ebona	me	ati				
me	tafa	-hibo	ona tafa	a -hibor	ıa te	fe -k	oona ma	ıti				
3PL.O	eat	INT+M	I eat	INT+M	fo	od+M IN	1T+M 39	G.PO	SS.mc	ther		
pron	vi		vi		pn		nf	-				
hiwasi	,	tafehib	ona	tefebona	!	mati			hiw	asi		
hi- wa:		tafa	-hibona	tefe	-bon	a mati	L		hi-	wasi	+M	
OC co	ok	eat	INT+M	food+M	I INT+	M 3SG.	POSS.mo	ther	OC	cook		
vt		vi		pn		nf			vt			
Ayo			amo	ne	mon	iowa	tinamah	i				
ayo			amo	na+M	mo-	mowa	ti-	to-	na	-ma	-hi	
2SG.POS	SS.older	broth	er slee	ep AUX	DUP	shake	2SG.S	away	AUX	back	IMP+	·F

'They singed the hair off the monkeys. They went after the monkeys and cut them up. They roasted them on racks. His mother cooked food for him so he could eat. "Go and wake up your older brother who is sleeping."

25 <i>Ayo</i>	amo	amo ne momowa		tinamahi				
ayo	amo	na+M	mo- mowa	ti-	to-	na	-ma	-hi
2SG.POSS.older brothe	er sleep	AUX	DUP shake	2SG.S	away	AUX	back	IMP+F
nm	vi	aux	vt	aux				
ayo	tafebonaha							
ayo	tafa -hi	bona - h	na					
2SG.POSS.older brother	eat INT	JU M+	JP					
nm	vi							
"Co and walks up wour brother	who is sloopi	na ao ho	con oot !!!					

"Go and wake up your brother who is sleeping, so he can eat."

26 Tokomemetemoneke

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

```
'She went.'
27 Anoti
                         tonakama
                                                tokoma
                         to- na- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F
  anoti
  3SG.POSS older brother away CAUS go/come back away go/come back
                         vt
                                                vi
anoti
                      momowa
                                      Ayo
                                na
                                                    ayo
                      mo- mowa
anoti
                                na+F ayo
                                                    ayo
3SG.POSS older brother DUP shake AUX older brother older brother
                      vt
                                aux
                                      nm
                                                    nm
ayo
ayo
older brother
'She went after her brother. She shook him. "Brother, Brother, Brother."
28 Haa
  haa
  huh?
  interj
"Huh?"
29 Ayo
                                                        ati
                titafabone
                                   okomi
                                          ka
                ti- tafa -habone o-
                                                ami
                                                        ati
  older brother 2SG.S eat INT+F
                                   1SG.POSS POSS mother say
                vi
                                   nf
                                                        v/t
  nm
narani
na -hara -ni
AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
"Brother, my mother said for you to eat."
  tee tafahi
30 Te
         tafa -hi
  2PL.S eat IMP+F
  pron
         vi
"You eat."
                       okare
31 Tafi
            onofa
  tafa.NFIN o- nofa o- ka -re
  eat
            1SG.S want 1SG.S DECL NEG+F
  πi
            77.
                       prt
"I don't want to eat."
                                      tafi onofarine
32 Ma
          ohi
                               ka
          o- to- ha.NOM+F
                              ka tafa.NFIN o- nofa -ra -ne
  maa
  be tired 1SG.S CH AUX
                              because eat 1SG.S want NEG CONT+F
                                      vi
  vi
           aux
                              prt
                                                 vt
o- ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt
```

"I don't want to eat because I'm tired."

```
33 Oko
                    komene
                             nafike
             ka
                    komene
                             nafi
                                       -ke
   1SG.POSS POSS
                    pain+M
                             be a lot DECL+F
                             vi
"I'm hurting a lot."
34 Oko
                             nafini
                    komene
                             nāfi
   0-
             ka
                    komene
                                       -ni
                             be a lot BKG+F
   1SG.POSS POSS
                    pain+M
   prt
                             vi
                    pn
"I'm hurting a lot."
35 Te
          tafahi
   tee
           tafa -hi
   2PL.S
           eat IMP+F
   pron
           vi
"You eat."
36 Faya
          nokobisa
                               nokobisa
                                                     tokanama
                       awe
                                             amo
          nokobisa
                       awa+M nokobisa
                                             amo
                                                     to- ka-
                                                               na -ma.LIST
   faya
          sleepiness
                       see
                               sleepiness
                                             sleep
                                                     CH COMIT AUX back
                                             vi
   conj
                                                     aux
hinakasima
                            tokoma
                                                     faya
                                                             Faira
                            to- ka
hinaka
          asima
                                          -ma+F
                                                             fahi -ra
                                                     faya
3SG.POSS younger sister
                            away go/come back
                                                      so
                                                             that NPO
                            vi
                                                      conj
                                                             dem
'He was sleepy, and he went back to sleep. His sister left. "Well?"
37 Okovo
                                            tafabone
                                            tafa -habone
             ka
                  ayo
   \circ
                                    ee
   1SG.POSS POSS older brother
                                           eat INT+F
                                   1IN.S
                                   pron
                                            νi
okovo
                                ati
                                      nare
          ka
               ayo
                                ati
                                      na
                                           -hare
```

1SG.POSS POSS older brother say AUX IP.E+M vt aux

"My brother said for us to eat."

38	Okoyo			komene	nafi	nokobisa	noko
	0-	ka	ayo	komene	nafi+M	nokobisa	noko
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older brother	pain+M	be a lot	sleepiness	eye+M
	nm			pn	vi	nf	pn
1.2.							

kiemona ati narene kiha -himona ati na -hare -ne have REP+M say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M vt aux

"My brother has a lot of pain, and he said he is sleepy."

39 Aa	tatafa	namatare	ато	nawahebana						
aa	ta- tafa	na -mata	-ra+M amo	na -waha -hibana						
(pause)	DUP eat	AUX short time	NEG sleep	AUX change FUT+M						
interj	vi	aux	vi	aux						
"He should eat and then sleep."										

```
40 Mati
           tokomatasa
                                          mati
                                                              mowa
   mati
           to- ka
                          -ma -tasa+F
                                          mati
                                                              mowa
           away go/come back again
   3PL.S
                                          3SG.POSS.mother
                                                              shake
   pron
           vi
                                          nf
hiname
                          mati
                                                      hiname
                                              mowa
              -ma+M
                          mati
                                                      hi- to-
hi- to-
        na
                                              mowa
                                                              na
    away AUX back
                          3SG.POSS.mother
                                                      OC
                                              shake
                                                          away AUX back
aux
                          nf
                                              vt
                                                      aux
                      mati
                                          mati
mati
                                                             mowa
mati
                      mati
                                          mati
                                                             mowa
3SG.POSS.mother
                      3SG.POSS.mother
                                          3SG.POSS.mother
                                                             shake
nf
                      nf
                                          nf
hiname
                       mati
                                          ati
                                                  nofare
                                                                    amo
hi- to- na -ma+M
                       mati
                                                  nofa -ra+M
                                          ati
                                                                    amo
OC away AUX back
                       3SG.POSS.mother
                                          voice
                                                  like NEG
                                                                    sleep
aux
                       nf
                                          pn
                                                   v/t
                                                                    vi
                                         titafahi
tonamatasa
                                Ami
to- na -ma -tasa.LIST
                                ami
                                         ti-
                                                tafa -hi
CH AUX back again
                                mother
                                         2SG.S eat IMP+F
                                nf
                                         vi
'His mother went and shook him. He wouldn't listen to his mother. He went back to sleep. "Mother, you eat."'
41 Tafi
               onofari
                      nofa -ra.NOM+F
   tafa.NFIN
               0-
               1SG.S want NEG
   eat
"I don't want to eat."
              ohi
42 Ma
                                                                onofarini
                                      ka
                                                   tafi
              0-
                                                                o- nofa -ra -ni
                     to- ha.NOM+F
                                                   tafa.NFIN
   maa
                                     ka
              1SG.S CH AUX
                                                                1SG.S want NEG BKG+F
   be tired
                                     because
                                                   eat
                                                   vi
              aux
                                                                77±
                                     prt
"I don't want to eat because I'm tired."
43 Oko
                    komene
                             nafini
                                                ati
                                                      nematamona
                                                                               maka
             ka
                    komene
                             nafi
                                        -ni
                                                ati
                                                      na -himata -mona
                                                                               maka
   1SG.POSS POSS
                    pain+M
                                                      AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                             be a lot BKG+F
                                                say
                                                                               monster
   prt
                    pn
                              vi
                                                vt
                                                      aux
                                                                               nm
ehenenoho
                     -ho
             -no
victim of+M IP.N+M DUP
"I have a lot of pain," he said. He was the victim of a monster without knowing it."
44 Maka
             eheneno
                                       tafare
                                                        tafare
                                                                      amo
                                                                              ne
                                       tafa -ra+M
                                                        tafa -ra+M
   maka
             ehene
                           -no
                                                                      amo
                                                                              na+M
             victim of+M IP.N+M
                                                        eat NEG
   monster
                                       eat NEG
                                                                      sleep
                                                                              AUX
   nm
             pn
                                       vi
                                                        77 i
                                                                      vi
                                                                              aux
                                                     yana
me
        kakayoma
                          me
                                     faya
                                             ati
                                                             kane
                                                                              ati
              kayoma+F
me
        ka-
                          me
                                      faya
                                             ati
                                                     yana
                                                             ka-
                                                                    na+M
                                                                              ati
        COMIT darken
                                                             COMIT AUX
3PL.S
                          3PL.S
                                      SO
                                             voice
                                                     start
                                                                              voice
pron
        vi
                          pron
                                      conj
                                             pn
                                                     vi
                                                             aux
                                                                              pn
                                                                hine
        kane
                                     hine
yana
                      me
                              toma
                                                 me
                                                         toma
                                                                            me
               na+M
        ka-
                              toma
                                     hi- na+M
                                                         toma
                                                                hi- na+M
yana
                      me
                                                 me
        COMIT AUX
                      3PL.S
                              suck
                                     OC
                                         AUX
                                                 3PL.S
                                                         suck
                                                                OC
                                                                    AUX
                                                                            3PL.S
start
νi
        aux
                      pron
                              vt
                                     aux
                                                 pron
                                                         vt
                                                                aux
```

```
toma hinematamonaka
toma hi- na -himata -mona -ka
suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt aux
```

'He was the victim of a monster. He didn't eat. He slept. Night fell. He started moaning. They sucked him to cure him.'

```
faya
45 Me
           toma
                  hine
                                               hine
                                                                     ati
                                me
                                        toma
   me
           toma
                 hi- na+M
                                        toma
                                               hi- na+M
                                                                     ati
                                me
                                                              faya
   3PL.S
           suck OC AUX
                                3PL.S
                                        suck
                                               OC
                                                    AUX
                                                                     voice
                                                              SO
   pron
           vt
                                pron
                                        vt
                  aux
                                               aux
                                                              conj
                                                                     pn
saihi
           ati
                   sai
                              nabatase
                                                      faya
sai+M
           ati
                                         -tasa+M
                   sai
                              nahaba
                                                      faya
be heard
           voice be heard
                              at night again
                                                      so
vi
           pn
                   νi
                              prt
                                                      conj
okiti
                                 okiti
                                                                hiwehibona
          ka
               iti
                                           ka
                                                 iti
                                                                hi- awa -hibona
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                                OC
                                                                    see INT+M
                                 nm
                                                                vt
okiti
                              hiwehibona
                                                 okiti
               iti
                              hi- awa -hibona
                                                                 iti
          ka
                                                 0-
                                                            ka
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                              OC see INT+M
                                                 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                              vt
                                                 nm
hine
                                      ati
                   mati
                                              hivara
                                                                 faya
                                                                 .
faya
ati hi- na+M
                   mati
                                      ati
                                              hiya
                                                      -ra+F
say OC AUX
                   3SG.POSS.mother
                                      voice
                                              be bad NEG
                                                                 so
vt
                   nf
                                              77 i
                                                                 conj
                                      pn
okiti
                              yawahi
                                             okiti
                                                       ka
               iti
                              yawa+M
          ka
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                             1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                              be upset
                              vi
                                             nm
yawematamonaka
                                   fahi
          -himata -mona -ka
                                   fahi
be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                   then
                                   dem
```

'They sucked on him to cure him. He was moaning again the next night. My grandfather wanted to look at him, but his mother wouldn't agree. My grandfather was upset.'

46 <i>Okiti</i>				yawe		bana	banamine	
0-		ka	iti	yawa+	M	bana.LIST	bana	-mina+M
1SG	.POSS	POSS	grandfathe	r be up	set	move away	move away	morning
nm				vi		vi	vi	
kamema	tamonal	ka			ahi .			
ka	-ma	-hir	mata -mona	-ka	ahi			
go/com	e baci	k FP.I	N+M REP+M	DECL+M	here			
vi					dem			

'My grandfather was upset, and he moved away. He moved away the next day, and came over here.'

47 <i>Kame</i> ka qo/come l	-ma+M back	okiti o- 1SG.POSS		iti grandfather	<i>kobo</i> kobo arrive							
vi		nm			vi							
namematamona		amak	e	ahi .								
na -ma -h	imata -mo	na ama	-ke	ahi								
AUX back FP	.N+M REP	+M be	DECL+F	then								
aux		VC		dem								
'He came. My grandfather arrived.'												

```
48 Tabora
            bote
                   watineke
                                               haro
                                                               Bote Fa
                  wata
                            -ne
                                                               Bote Faa
   tabora
            bote
                                      -ke
                                               haaro
   village old
                   be located CONT+F DECL+F
                                              that one+F
                                                               (name of stream)
            adi
                   vi
                                                               npropf
         Bote Fa
karo
                                   Momonena
                                                         ahi
                            va
                                                  va
         Bote Faa
                                   Momonena
karo
                            ya
                                                  va
                                                         ahi
LOC
         (name of stream)
                            ADJU (place name)
                                                  ADJU
                                                         there
                                                  prt
prt
         npropm
                            prt
                                   npropf
'There is an old village there at the Bote Fa stream, at Momonena.'
49 Faya
         okiti
                                      kobo
                                               namematamona
                        iti
                                      kobo
                                               na -ma -himata -mona
   faya
         \circ
                   ka
         1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                      arrive
                                               AUX back FP.N+M REP+M
         nm
                                      vi
                                               aux
   coni
amake
ama -ke
be DECL+F
VC
'My grandfather arrived.'
                yotoha
                                           yotobisa
50 Fava
         me
                         me
                                    me
                                                             me
                 yoto+F
                                                   -bisa+F
   faya
         me
                         me
                                    me
                                            yoto
         3PL.S follow
                         3PL.S
                                    3PL.S follow also
         pron
                         pron
                                   pron
   coni
                 vi
                                            vi
                                                             pron
kakamakia
                                   me
                                                kakamakia
                        me
                                        me
                                                                         me
            -makI+F
                                                ka- ka
                                                             -makI+F
ka- ka
                        me
                                                                         me
                                   me
                                        me
                                                DUP go/come following
DUP go/come following
                        3PL.S
                                   3PL 3PL.S
                                                                         3PL.S
77 i
                                   pron pron
                                                77 i
                        pron
                                                                         pron
okobi
                       me
                               kamakia
                                                   me
                                                           okobi
                                       -makI+F
              abi
                                                                     ka
         ka
                       me
                               ka
                                                   me
                                                           \circ
1SG.POSS POSS father
                               go/come following 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father
                       3PL.S
                               vi
nm
                       pron
                                                   pron
                                                           nm
me
       kakayoma
                        me
                                yaka
                                       naba
                                                      me
                                                             kobo
                        me yaka na nahaba+F
3PL.S walk AUX at night
       ka- kayoma+F
                        me
                                                      me
                                                              kobo
3PL.S COMIT darken
                                                      3PL.S
                                                             arrive
pron
       vi
                        pron
                               vi
                                       aux
                                                      pron
namakia
                          kokobo
                                       namakiemetemone
                                                                       fahi
                   me
na -makI+F
                   me
                          ko- kobo
                                       na -makI
                                                      -hemete -mone
                                                                       fahi
AUX following
                   3PL.S DUP arrive AUX following FP.N+F REP+F
                                                                       then
                   pron
aux
                          vi
                                       aux
'The others came behind. They came a few at a time. My father and his group came. It got dark on them, and
they walked in the night. They arrived. The groups were arriving.'
51 Me
                       namakiani
          kokobo
                                               me
                                                         faya
                                                                me
          ko- kobo
                       na -makI
                                      -hani
  me
                                               me
                                                          faya
                                                                me
   3PL.S DUP arrive AUX following IP.N+F
                                               3PL.S
                                                                3PL.S
                                                         so
          77 i
                       aux
                                               pron
                                                         conj
   pron
                                                                pron
hekamaki
                                      mi
                                                    nabe
                               mera
                   -makI+M
hi- ka-
          ka
                               mera
                                      mii
                                                    na nahaba+M
                                                                       me
OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.O defecate on AUX at night
                                                                       3PL.O
                               pron
                                      vt
                                                    aux
                                    vawari
                                                        efe
                                                                 kabi
mi
              nabe
                             mera
                                              vawari
                                                                             ra
mii
             na nahaba+M
                                    yawari yawari
                                                        efe
                                                                 kaba.NFIN
                             mera
                                                                            ra
defecate on AUX at night
                             3PL.O palm sp palm sp leaf+M
                                                                 eat
              aux
                             pron nm
                                              nm
                                                        pn
                                                                 result
```

mi nematamonaka

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

The small groups were arriving. They brought him and he defecated on them during the night. He had diarrhea.'

52 Yawari efe kabi mi mi ne yawari efe kaba.NFIN mii mii na+M palm sp leaf+M eat defecate AUX defecate pn result vt vi nm aux

nematamonaka

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

'He had diarrhea.'

53 *Faya* mi ne mi mera ne me faya mii na+M mera mii na+M me defecate AUX 3PL.O defecate on AUX 3PL.S conj vi aux pron aux pron hikanarife tiwa hikane me me hi- kanarifa+M me hi- ka- na+M tiwa me OC COMIT help 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S vt vt aux pron pron hekamaki me hi- ka--makI+M ka me OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.S

pron

hekamakimatamona

-himata -mona hi- ka- ka -makI OC COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M

'He had diarrhea. He was defecating on them. They cleaned him up. They carried him, and brought him.'

54 *Me* kobo hikamatamona *ya* Fa Sawa kobo hi- ka- na.NOM+M -mata -mona ya Faa Sawa 3PL.S arrive OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M ADJU (name of stream) pron vi aux prt npropf batori amake batori ama -ke junction be DECL+F pn

'The place they arrived at with him is the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream.'

55 Faya	Fa Sa	ıwa	b	atori	ya f	aya me		kobo
faya ´	Faa	Sawa	b	atori	ya f	Taya me	,	kobo
so	(nam	ne of st	ream) j	unction	ADJU s	so 3P	L.S	arrive
conj	npro	pf	p	n	prt c	conj pr	on	vi
hikane		, faya	me	kobo	hikane		Fa Sa	wa
hi- ka-	na+M	faya	a me	kobo	hi- ka	- na+M	I Faa S	Sawa
OC COMIT	AUX	so	3PL.S	arrive	OC CO	MIT AUX	(name	e of stream)
aux		con	pron	vi	aux		nprop	pf
batori	ya	me	kobo	hikane		me	amo	hikane
batori	ya	me	kobo	hi- ka-	na+M	me	amo	hi- ka- na+M
junction	ADJU	3PL.S	arrive	OC COMI	T AUX	3PL.S	sleep	OC COMIT AUX
pn	prt	pron	vi	aux		pron	vi	aux

	faya	!	yasi	yasi kamakiemetemone amake j									ya	si		
,	fay	a	yasi	-	ka	-makI		-hemete	-n	none a	ama	-ke)	Уа	asi	
	so		bird	l sp	go/come	following	g :	FP.N+F	RE	P+F S	SEC	DEC	CL+F	bi	rd s	р
	con	j	nf		vi					5	sec			nf	-	
yası			amar			maka	,	maka		ehenene	oho					
yas	si		ama	-ra	-haaro	maka		maka		ehene			-no		-ho	
bi	rd s	эр	be	NEG	IP.E+F	monster		monste	r	victi	m 0:	f+M	IP.N	+M	DUP	
nf			VC			nm		nm		pn						
		_			_				_	_			_			_

'They arrived with him at the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream. They slept with him. Then a *yasi* bird came, that was not a *yasi* bird. He was sick because of the monster.'

56	Faya	me	•	amo	hikar	1e	yasi				
	faya	me		amo	hi-	ka-	na+M	yasi			
	so	3PL.S		sleep	OC	COMIT	AUX	bird	sp		
	conj	pron		vi	aux			nf			

kamakiemetemone

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

'They slept with him. The yasi came.'

57 Yasisi , yasi tebere .
yasi nm

"Yasisi, yasi tebere."

58 Yasi kamakini

yasi ka -makI -ni bird sp go/come following BKG+F nf vi

"A yasi bird has come."

59 Yasi kamakini

yasi ka -makI -ni bird sp go/come following BKG+F nf vi

"'A yasi bird has come."'

60 Yasi ati ama
yasi ati ama
bird sp voice be
nf pn vc

"'It's not a yasi."'

ati ati 61 *Maka* amaka me nemetemoneke ama -ka ati maka ati na -hemete -mone -ke me say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F be DECL+M 3PL.S monster voice vt pn VC pron aux

"It's the voice of a monster," they said."

62	Faya	ati	sai nabe		me	hekatoma		hinahabe		
	faya	ati	sai	nahaba+M	me	hi- ka-	katoma	hi- nahaba+M		
	so	voice	be heard	at night	3PL.S	OC COMIT	look at	OC at night		
	conj	pn	vi	prt	pron	vt		prt		

ati fawa nematamonaka
ati fawa na -himata -mona -ka
voice disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pn vi aux

'His voice could be heard during the night. They watched him, and he died.'

fawa 63 Yasi boni ati fawa tiwi ati ni ya ati na.NOM+F vasi boni fawa ya tiwi ati fawa disappear bird sp beak+F voice AUX ADJU voice disappear nf vi vi pn pn aux prt pn nematamona fahi yama we kamaki va yama -makI.NOM fahi na -himata -mona wehe ka ya AUX FP.N+M REP+M then thing go/come following light+F ADJU aux dem nf pn vi

'When the yasi bird stopped singing, he died, at dawn.'149

64 Faya ati fawa ati fawa faya ne ne faya ati fawa na+M ati fawa na+M faya me so voice disappear AUX voice disappear AUX so 3PL.S vi aux vi aux conj conj pn pn

hikamomatamona

hi- kamo -himata -mona OC bury FP.N+M REP+M

'He died, and they buried him.'

65 Temene ite awaka hari ita+M -ka haari temene awa grave+M seem+M DECL+M that one+M sit 77 i sec dem

'His grave is there.'

66 Fa Sawa ka fatara bote itabasa awine ahi Faa Sawa ka fatara bote ita -basa+F awine ahi (name of village) of garden old sit edge seem+F there prt nf adj vi sec dem

'The old gardens of Fa Sawa village are there.'

67 *Faya* me hiwake mati Ami tai faya me hi- to- kaka+M mati ami tai so 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come 3SG.POSS.mother mother be ahead conj pron vt vi

tiwamakiya

ti- to- ha -makI -yahi 2SG.S CH AUX following DIST.IMP+F

'They took him. "Mother, you go on ahead."'

68 Okoyo ota kamomate \circ ka ayo otaa kamo -mate 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1EX.S bury short time.IMP+F pron nisori nemetemoneke me ati -hemete -mone -ke me ati na 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F say pron vt

149 The word before ati is unclear.

"We are going to bury my younger brother," his younger brothers said."

```
69 Nisori
                                me
                                        ati
                                              na
   nisori
                                        ati
                                              na+F
                                me
                                                     me
   3SG.POSS.younger brother
                                3PL.S
                                              AUX
                                                     3PL.S
                                        say
                                pron
                                        vt
                                                     pron
nisori
                                     tokomakemete
                             mе
                                                                          ama
nisori
                             me
                                     to- ka
                                                    -makI
                                                               -hemete
                                                                          ama
3SG.POSS.younger brother
                             3PL.S
                                     away go/come following FP.N+F
                                                                          SEC
                             pron
                                     vi
                                                                          sec
'His younger brothers went.'
70 Me
           tiwa
                   hikanematamona
                   hi- ka- na
  me
           tiwa
                                   -himata -mona
   3PL.S
           carry
                   OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
   pron
           vt
                   aux
'They carried him.'
71 Me
          tiwa
                   hikane
                                             hiwake
                                     me
                                                                            fatara
           tiwa
                   hi- ka-
                              na+M
                                             hi- to-
                                                      ka-
                                                              ka+M
                                                                            fatara
                                     me
   3PL.S
           carry
                   OC COMIT AUX
                                     3PL.S
                                             OC away COMIT go/come
                                                                            garden
                   aux
                                     pron
                                             vt
   pron
bote
      ya
                     hikamo
                                      faya
                                             hotone
                                                               wi
                                                                     hine
             me
                                                       me
                                                                                me
                     hi- kamo+M
                                                               wii
                                                                     hi- na+M
bote
      va
             me
                                      faya
                                             hotone
                                                       me
                    OC bury
old
      ADJU
             3PL.S
                                      so
                                             hole+M
                                                       3PL.S
                                                               dia
                                                                     OC
                                                                         AUX
                                                                                3PL.S
adi
                                       conj
                                                               vt
      prt
             pron
                     vt
                                             ng
                                                       pron
                                                                     aux
                                                                                pron
hikamomata
                    ama
hi- kamo -himata
                    ama
OC bury FP.N+M
                    SEC
77 T
                    sec
'They carried him. They took him. They buried him in an old garden. They dug a hole for him and buried
him.'
72 Me
           hikamo
                            me
                                    hikamomatamona
                                    hi- kamo -himata -mona
   me
           hi- kamo+M
                            me
                                       bury FP.N+M REP+M
   3PL.S
          OC
               bury
                            3PL.S
                                    OC
   pron
           vt
                            pron
                                    vt
'They buried him.'
73 Fava
          me
                  hikamo
                               mati
                                                   ta
                                                              ohi
                                                                    ni
   faya
         me
                  hi- kamo+M
                               mati
                                                   taa
                                                              ohi
                                                                    na.NFIN
   so
          3PL.S
                  OC
                      bury
                                3SG.POSS.mother
                                                   contrast
                                                              cry
                                                                    AUX
   conj
         pron
                  vt
                                nf
                                                   prt
                                                              vi
                                                                    aux
tokomake
                              mati
                                                  ohi
                                                       ni
to- ka
              -makI
                              mati
                                                  ohi
                                                       na.NFIN
away go/come following
                              3SG.POSS.mother
                                                 cry
                                                       AUX
                              nf
                                                  τzi
                                                       aux
vi
tokomakehemetemoneke
                                                   ahi
              -makI
                          -hemete -mone -ke
to- ka
                                                   ahi
away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                   then
                                                   dem
'They buried him. But his mother went crying.'
74 Tokomake
                              me
                                      tokomake
                                      to- ka
   to- ka
                  -makI
                              me
   away go/come following
                              3PL.S
                                      away go/come following
```

pron

vi

tokomakekani tokomakekani -makI -kani to- ka to- ka -makI -kani away go/come following one at a time away go/come following one at a time vi nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'The others were going on by.' 75 Kamakia kobo namaklemetemone
na -makI -hemete -mone namakiemetemone amake me -makI+F ama -ke ka me kobo go/come following 3PL.S arrive AUX following FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F vi vi pron aux sec ahi ahi then dem 'They came, and arrived.' 76 *Me* kobo namakia Faira me kobo na -makI+F fahi -ra me 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S that NPQ pron vi aux pron 'They arrived. "Well?" 77 Kamabira e ra Kamabira ee -ra na (man's name) (question) AUX CQ+M npropm 77 i aux "What about Kamabira?" 78 Kamabira abareka ahaba -hare -ka Kamabira die IP.E+M DECL+M (man's name) npropm νi "Kamabira died." 79 Kamabira abarene ahaba -hare -ne Kamabira (man's name) die IP.E+M BKG+M npropm vi "Kamabira died." , me 80 Kamabira hikamoareka Kamabira me hi- kamo -hare -ka (man's name) 3PL.S OC bury IP.E+M DECL+M npropm pron "They buried Kamabira." 81 *Me* kamotibone naoharake me kamo -tee.NOM -bone me me naho -hara -ke

3PL.S

pron

3PL.S bury HAB INT+F

vt

"They stayed there to bury him."

pron

stay IP.E+F DECL+F

vi

```
82 Me
           kamakiaba
                                       me
                                               amake
           ka
                   -makI
                               -haba
                                       me
                                               ama -ke
                                               SEC DECL+F
           go/come following FUT+F
   3PL.S
                                       3PL.S
   pron
           vi
                                               sec
                                       pron
"They will come."
                                  yoto
83 Yoto
                 kitare
                                                 kitare
                                                                  ota
   voto
                 kita
                          -ra+M
                                  yoto
                                                 kita
                                                          -ra+M
                                                                  otaa
   excrement+M
                 be hard NEG
                                  excrement+M
                                                be hard NEG
                                                                  1EX.S
                 vi
                                  pn
                                                 vi
  pn
                                                                  pron
nawaha
                 nabe
                                                naba
                                     mi
                                                                   mi
nawaha
                 na nahaba+M
                                     mii
                                                na nahaba.LIST
                                                                   mii
help patiently AUX at night
                                     defecate
                                               AUX at night
                                                                   defecate
vt
                 aux
                                     77 i
                                                aux
                                                                   vi
                   namako
                                             abareka
na nahaba.LIST
                  na -mako
                                             ahaba -hare -ka
AUX at night
                   AUX for this reason+M
                                             die
                                                  IP.E+M DECL+M
aux
                   aux
                                             vi
"He had diarrhea, and we stayed with him, helping him during the night. He died because he had diarrhea
84 Yasi
             kamakia
                                     vasi
                      -makI+F
   yasi
             ka
                                      yasi
             go/come following
                                     bird sp
   nf
             vi
                                      nf
hitimakeareka
                          -hare -ka
hi- iti
              -makT
OC take out following IP.E+M DECL+M
"The yasi bird came and the yasi took him away."
85 Yasi
             hitimake
                                        vasi
             hi- iti
                           -makI
                                        yasi
                take out following
             OC
   bird sp
                                        bird sp
   nf
             vt
                                        nf
hekamareka
                                                   me
                                                           ati
                                                                 nemetemone
                                       -ka
hi- to- ka-
                ka
                          -ma
                               -hare
                                                   me
                                                            ati
                                                                 na -hemete -mone
    away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M
                                                    3PL.S
                                                            say
                                                                 AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                                   pron
                                                            vt
                                                                 aux
"The yasi came and took him away," they said.'
86 Fava
                     tokomake
                                                           nowati
                                                                    noki
          me
                                                me
                                                                                ne
   faya
                     to- ka
                                   -makI
                                                           nowati
                                                                    noki
                                                                                na+M
         me
                                                me
                     away go/come following
          3PL.S
                                                3PL.POSS
                                                           behind
                                                                    wait for
                                                                                AUX
   SO
         pron
   conj
                     νi
                                                pron
                                                           pn
                                                                    v/t
                                                                                aux
  okiti
                                 okiti
                                                                yawarena
                                           ka
             ka
                  iti
                                 \circ
                                                 iti
                                                                yawa
                                                                          -ra -hina
                                 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
   1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                               be upset NEG IRR+M
                                                                77 i
  nm
okiti
                              yawematamonaka
          ka
               iti
                              yawa
                                        -himata -mona -ka
                              be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
```

'They went on. He waited for them. My grandfather was upset, but he wouldn't have been upset [if he had helped him].'

87 M m	_	,	me me 3PL	Neme Wari Na Neme Wari N (woman's na	-	Neme	<i>Wari Na</i> Wari Na an's nam		i h	<i>iyara</i> iya e bad	-ra+ NEG	ati F ati voice
p.	ron		pron	npropf		nprop	pf	pn	V	i		pn
<pre>ihi ihi beca post</pre>		of+	, -F	Neme Wari No Neme Wari (woman's r npropf	Na	ati ati voice pn	<pre>hiyara hiya be bad vi</pre>	-ra+F NEG	<i>ati</i> ati voice pn	ihi ihi bec pos	ause	of+F
okiti o- 1SG. nm	POSS	ka PC		ti randfather	yawe yawa+ be up vi		mera mera 3PL.O pron	kabanen ka- COMIT vt	<i>natamona</i> habana order			·mona REP+M

'Neme Wari Na didn't agree, and because of this my grandfather was upset. He sent the spirits.'

88	Banahi		kame		bane	me	kiyohemetemone			
	bana	-hi	ka	-ma+M	bana+M	me	kiyo	-hemete	-mone	
	move away	IMP+F	go/come	back	move away	3PL.S	follow	FP.N+F	REP+F	
	vi		vi		vi	pron	vt			

'He moved away, and came this way. When he moved away, the others followed him.'

89 *Me* kobo namakiemetemone one Yome Kabe kobo na -makI -hemete -mone Yome Kabe me one 3PL other+F arrive AUX following FP.N+F (name of village) vi pron adj aux npropm

'The others arrived at Yome Kabe village.'

90 Yome Kabe kobo namakia ya me me Yome Kabe na -makI+F kobo ya me me (name of village) 3PL.S AUX following 3PL.S ADJU arrive npropm vi prt pron aux pron

Yome Kabe Ye To Fana

Yome Kabe Ye To Fana (name of stream) npropf

'They arrived at Yome Kabe, at the Yome Kabe Ye To Fana stream.'

91 Tiwati watarima nahi
ti- ati wata -rima na -hi
2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
pn vi aux
'Be quiet.'

92 *Me* kobo namakia fahi nemetemone me amo me kobo na -makI+F amo na -hemete -mone fahi me 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then pron vi aux pron vi aux dem 'They arrived, and slept.'

93 *Me* Hima amo me hima me amo na+F me ee let's go 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S 1IN.S sleep pron vi aux pron interj pron

tokomakehi

to- ka -makI -hi away go/come following IMP+F vi

'They slept. "Let's go there."

94 <i>Me</i>	tokomake		me	kama	kia		me	hari
me	to- ka	-makI	me	ka	-r	makI+F	me	haari
3PL.S	away go/	come follo	wing 3PI	L.S go/d	come fo	ollowing	3PL.S	that one+M
pron	vi		pro	on vi			pron	dem
, wiwinav	va	toimetemon	e		okob	i		aati
	ina -waha	to- ha.N	OM+F -met	te -mone	e 0-	ka	abi	a- ati
DUP 1	ive change	CH AUX	FP.N	N+F REP+E	' 1SG	.POSS POS	S father	r DUP say
vi		aux			nm			vt
toemari		amake	ahi	Momo	nena	amake		ahi ,
to- ha.N	OM+M -mari	ama -ke	ahi	Momo	nena	ama -	-ke	ahi
CH AUX	FP.E+	M be DEC	L+F the	re (pla	ce nam	e) be I	DECL+F	there
aux		VC	dem	npro	of	VC		dem
Momonena	ya	ahi .						
Momonena	ya	ahi						
(place n								
npropf	prt	dem	0.1					
They came	. Then they li	ved at Momon	ena, my tath	ner used to	say.'			
95 <i>Faya</i>	me ko	bo nama	kia	me	fa	ya awa	me	kaka
faya		bo na	-makI+F	me	, .	aya awa	me	ka- kaa
so	3PL.S ar	rive AUX	following	g 3PL.S	S	-	_	DUP chop
conj	pron vi		-	pron	C	onj nf	pron	vt
toemetemon	e	okobi		-	ati	toemari	-	
to- ha	-hemete -m		ka	abi	ati	to- ha.No	OM+M -ma	ri
CH AUX	FP.N+F RE	P+F 1SG.P	OSS POSS	father	say	CH AUX	FP.	E+M
aux		nm			vt	aux		
amake								
ama -ke								
be DECL	+F							
VC								
They arrive	ed. They cut d	own trees, my	tather used	to say.'				
96 <i>Faya</i>	awa me	ka	na me	1	aya	me ka	matehe	e me
faya	awa me	kaa	na+F me	, .		me ka	mateh	
so	tree 3PL				_	3PL POS		
conj	nf pro	-	aux pr	on (conj	pron prt	nf	pron
yoyobi	-	kana	-	metemone			obi	-
yo- yobi		ka-	na to-	- ha -he	emete	-mone o-	-	ka abi
DUP go b	ack and fo	rth COMIT	AUX CH	AUX FP	N+F	REP+F 19	G.POSS	POSS father
vi		aux	aux	K		nr	n	
aati	toemari		ama .					
a- ati	to- ha.NC	M+M -mari	ama					
DUP say	CH AUX	FP.E+M	I be					
vt	aux		VC					
'They cut d	own trees. Th	ey went with t	heir childrei	n, my fathe	r used to	say.'		
07 Ma	nama	IM O	Kamahi	. Z	amaki	,	aka	
97 <i>Me</i> me	<i>yawa</i> wawa+F	me me	<i>Kamabira</i> Kamabir		K <i>amabira</i> Kamabir		aka aka	
3PL.S	yawa+F be upset	apL.s	(man's		man's		aka onster	
pron	vi vi	pron	npropm		propm	name) m		
ehene	toareka	-		vati	.r. o.b		kasawaria	
enene	warek	ı	0)	vull		ie I	usuwuru	

ehenetoarekaowatitekasawariaeheneto- ha -hare -kao- atiteeka- sawari+Fvictim of+MCHbe IP.E+MDECL+M1SG.POSSvoice2PL.SCOMITfrustrate

pn

pron

vt

pn

```
te
```

tee 2PL.S

pron

'They grieved. "A monster killed Kamabira. You didn't believe me."

98 Kam	abira	maka	ehene	yiko		
Kama	abira	maka	ehene	to- ha	-hare -ka	yiko
(mar	n's name)	monster	victim of+M	CH be	IP.E+M DECL+M	howler monkey
npro	mqc	nm	pn	VC		nm
me	amara	mera	fora		nenoho	
me	ama -ra+F	' mera	fora		na -hino -ho	
3PL.S	be NEG	3PL.O	shoot with bl	Lowgun	AUX IP.N+M DUP	
pron	VC	pron	vt		aux	

"Kamabira was killed by a monster, because he shot what were not howler monkeys with his blowgun."

99	Yiko	me	kabi	yokana	tohai	ihi	
	yiko	me	kaba.NFIN	yokana	to-	ha	-rihi
	howler monkey	3PL.S	eat	true	СН	be	NEG.LIST
	nm	pron	result	adj	VC		

narake

na -hara -ke

AUX IP.E+F DECL+F

aux

"Howler monkeys are not very good to eat."

100 F	aya	yiko			me	fora			neno		yiko	
fa	aya	yiko)		me	fora			na -h	ino	yiko	
SC	Э	howl	er mo	nkey	3PL.O	shoot	with b	lowgun	AUX IE	N+M	howler monkey	У
CC	onj	nm			pron	vt			aux		nm	
me	,	no		hinihe	no			ka	maka	me	ra	
me	,	noho)	hi- t	co- niha-	- na	-hino	ka	maka	me	ra	
3PL.S		be h	nurt	OC C	CH CAUS	AUX	IP.N+M	which	monst	er 3P	L.O	
pron		vi		aux				prt	nm	pr	on	
fora				nenol	ho	,	me	. me	ati	na	me	
fora				na	-hino -	-ho '	me	me	ati	na+F	me	
shoot	with	n blo	wgun	AUX	IP.N+M I	DUP	3PL	3PL.S	say	AUX	3PL.POSS	
vt				aux			pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	
ati	ra		me	ka	ami	ohi	mati		ohi	į		
ati	ra	,	me	ka	ami	ohi	mati		oh	i		
voice	0		3PL	POSS	mother	cry	3SG.P	OSS.moth	er cr	У		
pn	pr	t	pron	prt	nf	vi	nf		vi			
nemete	monek	e										
na -	hemet	te -n	none -	-ke								
AUX F	'P.N+1	F RE	EP+F I	DECL+E	r							
aux												

"When he shot the howler monkeys with his blowgun, the howler monkeys hurt him, because he was unwittingly shooting monsters."

101	Mati		oh	i	na	•	mati	!			ohi	ni	fawa
	mati		oł	ni	na+F	,	mat	i			ohi	na.NFIN	fawa
	3SG.E	POSS.mothe	er ci	ĵУ	AUX		3SG	.POSS.	moth	er	cry	AUX	disappear
	nf		V	Ĺ	aux		nf				vi	aux	vi
na		Tabiyo	ohi	ran	na			tinaho					
na+	F	tabiyo	ohi	na	-ram	a		ti-	na	-ho)		
AUX		absence	cry	AU	X NEG.	IMP	M+c	2SG.S	AUX	IMI	P+M		
aux		pn	vi	au	X			aux					

'His mother was crying. His mother stopped crying. "Don't cry because of him."

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102 Titafahi

ti- tafa -hi
2SG.S eat IMP+F
vi
"'Eat."'

103 Titafahi
ti- tafa -hi
2SG.S eat IMP+F
vi
"'Eat."'

104 Me kamakia
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kobo namakia me me me ka -makI+F me kobo na -makI+F me go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S pron vi pron vi aux pron

tafemetemoneke

tafa -hemete -mone -ke eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

'They came and arrived, and ate.'

105	Me	tafa	me ,	faya	hiyama				me	me	mowa
	me	tafa+F	me	faya	hiyama				me	me	mowa
	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	so	white-	lipp	ed pe	ccary	7 3PL.O	3PL.S	fight
	pron	vi	pron	conj	nm				pron	pron	vt
nem	etemone		okobi			aati		toem	ari		ama
na	-hemet	e -mone	0-	ka	abi	a-	ati	to-	ha.NOM+M	-mari	ama
_	-hemet	e -mone REP+F	o- 1sg.poss	-		a- DUP	ati say	to- CH	ha.NOM+M AUX	-mari FP.E+M	ama be

'They ate. Then they went after white-lipped peccaries, my father used to say.'

106	Hiyan					ne	me		mow		na		ne	,		
	hiya					ne	me		mow		na+F	r	ne			
	whit	e-lip	ped	pecca	ry 3	3PL.C) 3PL	.S	fig	ht	AUX	3	BPL.S			
	nm				I	oron	pro	n	vt		aux	I	oron			
hiya	ma				me	m	ie	nana	ıhari				na	me		me
hiy	ama				me	m	e	na-	na-	- (ohari		na+F	me		me
whi	te-l:	ipped	pecc	ary	3PL.	0 3	PL.S	DUP	CAU	JS }	oe one)	AUX	3PL.	0	3PL.S
nm					pron	р	ron	vt					aux	pror	1	pron
kaba	t	me	ni	ya	me		kobo	1	amai	kia			me	,	kol	bo
kab	a+F	me	ni	ya	me		kobo	r	na	-ma	kI+F		me		ko.	bo
eat		3PL	to	ADJU	3P1	L.S	arriv	e A	XUZ	fol	lowin	g	3PL.S		ar	rive
vt		pron	prt	prt	pro	on	vi	ć	aux				pron		vi	
nam	akia		m	e	tafam	akem	etemone	ke								
na	-mal	kI+F	me	9	tafa	-ma	kI	-h	emet	e -	-mone	-k	е			
AUX	foli	lowing	g 31	PL.S	eat	fol	lowing	g FP	.N+F	' I	REP+F	DE	CL+F			
aux			נמ	ron	vi											

'They went after white-lipped peccaries. Each of them killed a peccary, and as they were eating them, the others arrived, and they ate.'

107	Me	tafamake	faya	me	tafi	ya,	faya	me
	me	tafa -makI	faya	me	tafa.NOM+F	ya	faya	me
	3PL.S	eat following	so	3PL.S	eat	ADJU	so	3PL.S
	pron	vi	conj	pron	vi	prt	conj	pron

amonemetemonefahiamona -hemete -monefahisleepAUX FP.N+F REP+Fthenviauxdem

'They ate. After they ate, they slept.'

108 *Me* amo nemetemone na me me amo me amo na+F me me amo na -hemete -mone sleep 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F REP+F pron pron vi aux pron vi aux

'They slept.'

109 *Fava* tafiha me amo na me me tafi+F faya me amo na+F me me so 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S wake up 3PL.S conj pron νi aux pron νi pron

tafiemetemoneke

tafi -hemete -mone -ke wake up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

'They slept, and woke up.'

110 *Fava* yama honaremetemone amake fahi yama -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke fahi faya vama vama hona have something NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F so thing thing then conj vi sec dem

'Then there was no spirit.'

111 Hiba yama totowama omateya
hiba yama to- to- awa -ma o- na -mate -ya
wait thing DUP away see back 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
interj nf vt aux

"Wait, let me take a look."

112 *Faya* kame kame kobo name tabora -ma+M -ma+M kobo faya ka ka na -ma+M tabora go/come back arrive go/come back AUX back village conj vi vi vi aux yama ki one va kobo name ne Yama we kobo na -ma+M yama kii na+M waa+M ya other+F ADJU arrive AUX back thing look at AUX stand prt adi vi aux vt aux vi nf honakere kakamaki e -ke -re ka- ka -makI ee

hona -ke -re ee ka- ka -makI have something DECL+F NEG+F 1IN.POSS DUP go/come following vi pron pn

'He came and arrived. He arrived at the other village. He stood looking around. "There is no one who came back."'

113 **E** kakamaki yama honakere ka- ka -makI hona -ke -re yama have something DECL+F NEG+F 1IN.POSS DUP go/come following thing vi pn nf

"There is no one who came back."

ehene enene ehene 114 *Maka* toareka to- ha -hare -ka maka monster victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M pn VC "He was killed by a monster." toareka 115 *Maka* ehene ehene to- ha -hare -ka maka monster victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M nm pn VC "He was killed by a monster." 116 *Faya* kame kobo name Fara yama ka faya -ma+M kobo na -ma+M fara yama so go/come back arrive AUX back same+F thing vi conj vi aux dem nf hona -ra.NOM+F have something NEG 'He came back and arrived. "Well, is there anyone there?"" 117 **Yama** honararake -ra -hara -ke vama hona thing have something NEG IP.E+F DECL+F "There isn't anyone." 118 *Maka* amaka ehene ama -ka ehene maka monster victim of+M SEC DECL+M pn sec "A monster killed him." , hikatomahareka 119 *Maka* maka hi- katoma -hare -ka maka maka OC attack IP.E+M DECL+M monster monster nm vt "A monster attacked him." me fahi 120 *Faya* hikatome amo nemetemone faya hi- katoma+M me amo na -hemete -mone fahi OC attack 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then so conj vt pron vi aux 'It attacked him. They slept.' 121 *Hima* abake haro ahaba -ke hima haaro let's go end DECL+F that one+F interj vi dem

'Let's go. That's all.'