

KAMABIRA

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.

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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.

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Interlinear Presentation

1 *Me bana me , me bana me*
 me bana+F me , me bana+F me
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

tokometemone ai
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They moved to another place. They went.'

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

kobo tonama me , me fimia yama me yete na
 kobo to- na -ma+F me , me fimi+F yama me yete na+F
 arrive away AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S be hungry thing 3PL.S hunt AUX
 vi aux pron pron vi nf pron vt aux

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 adj

me me kabemetemoneke
 me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 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 *Bani biti me me kaba me , me tafa me*
 bani biti me me kaba+F me , me tafa+F me
 animal small+M 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 nm adj pron pron vt pron pron vi pron

tafa me amo na , me ayakemetemone
 tafa+F me amo na+F , me ayaka -hemete -mone
 eat 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron vi aux pron vi

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

4 *Me aayaka toa me yiko mati yiko*
 me a- ayaka to- ha+F me yiko mati yiko
 3PL.S DUP sing CH AUX 3PL.S howler monkey 3PL howler monkey
 pron vi aux pron nm pron nm

me amarani mati
 me ama -ra -hani mati
 3PL.S be NEG IP.N+F 3PL.S
 pron vc pron

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

5 *Yiko me ayakemetemone ahi*
 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.'

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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

hinemetemoneni

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

'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	soo	to- na -kosa+F		me	me	tosi
	3PL.S	lie	CH 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 COMIT lash together			3PL.POSS		3PL.POSS	waist
vt			pron		pron	pn

hikarabemetemoneke

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

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

19 Me	tosi	hikaraba		me		me	me
me	tosi	hi- ka- raba+F		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
 vt

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

20 Yiko	me	mato		yiko	me	weye	namise
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		kamematamonaka
ka -ma+M	,	ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
go/come back		go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi		vi

'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 back		go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi		vi

'He came home.'

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

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yiko		me	katomeno		kame		te	awa	hari
yiko		me	katoma	-hino	ka	-ma+M	tee	awa	haari
howler monkey		3PL.O	kill many	IP.N+M	go/come back		2PL.S	see	that one+M
nm		pron	vt		vi		pron	vt	dem

me	ati	nemetemone		yiko		me	yiko	me
me	ati	na -hemete	-mone	yiko		me	yiko	me
3PL.S	say	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	howler monkey		3PL	howler monkey	3PL.O
pron	vt	aux		nm		pron	nm	pron

me	ahi	hinaba		mati
me	ahi	hi- na -haba		mati
3PL.S	work on	OC AUX FUT+F		3PL.O
pron	vt	aux		pron

'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	Yiko		me	me	toka		me	yiko
	yiko		me	me	toka+F		me	yiko
	howler monkey		3PL.O	3PL.S	partially burn		3PL.S	howler monkey
	nm		pron	pron	vt		pron	nm

me	me	fito	kana	me	me	wisi	hina	me	me
me	me	fito	ka- na+F	me	me	wisi	hi- na+F	me	me
3PL.O	3PL.S	rush	COMIT AUX	3PL.O	3PL.S	cut up	OC AUX	3PL.O	3PL.S
pron	pron	vi	aux	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron

tabasi		hina		me	me	me	tabasi	hina
tabasi		hi- na+F		me	me	me	tabasi	hi- na+F
roast on grill		OC AUX		3PL.O	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill	OC AUX
vt		aux		pron	pron	pron	vt	aux

me	tafehibona	tafehibona	tefebona	mati
me	tafa -hibona	tafa -hibona	tefe -bona	mati
3PL.O	eat INT+M	eat INT+M	food+M INT+M	3SG.POSS.mother
pron	vi	vi	pn	nf

hiwasi	tafehibona	tefebona	mati	hiwasi
hi- wasi+M	tafa -hibona	tefe -bona	mati	hi- wasi+M
OC cook	eat INT+M	food+M INT+M	3SG.POSS.mother	OC cook
vt	vi	pn	nf	vt

Ayo		amo	ne	momowa	tinamahi
ayo		amo	na+M	mo- mowa	ti- to- na -ma -hi
2SG.POSS.older brother		sleep	AUX	DUP shake	2SG.S away AUX back IMP+F
nm		vi	aux	vt	aux

'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	Ayo		amo	ne	momowa	tinamahi
	ayo		amo	na+M	mo- mowa	ti- to- na -ma -hi
	2SG.POSS.older brother		sleep	AUX	DUP shake	2SG.S away AUX back IMP+F
	nm		vi	aux	vt	aux

ayo	tafebonaha
ayo	tafa -hibona -ha
2SG.POSS.older brother	eat INT+M DUP
nm	vi

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

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26 *Tokometemoneke*

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

'She went.'

27 *Anoti*

	tonakama	tokoma
anoti	to- na- ka -ma+F	to- ka -ma+F
3SG.POSS older brother	away CAUS go/come back	away go/come back
nm	vt	vi

anoti

	momowa	na	Ayo	ayo
anoti	mo- mowa	na+F	ayo	ayo
3SG.POSS older brother	DUP shake	AUX	older brother	older brother
nm	vt	aux	nm	nm

ayo

ayo
 older brother
 nm

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

28 *Haa* ?

haa
 huh?
 interj

""Huh?""

29 *Ayo*

	titafabone	okomi	ati
ayo	ti- tafa -habone	o- ka ami	ati
older brother	2SG.S eat INT+F	1SG.POSS POSS mother	say
nm	vi	nf	vt

narani

na -hara -ni
 AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
 aux

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

30 *Te tafahi*

tee tafa -hi
 2PL.S eat IMP+F
 pron vi

""You eat.""

31 *Tafi*

	onofa	okare	
tafa.NFIN	o- nofa	o- ka -re	
eat	1SG.S want	1SG.S DECL NEG+F	
vi	vt	prt	

""I don't want to eat.""

32 *Ma*

	ohi	ka	tafi	onofarine
maa	o- to- ha.NOM+F	ka	tafa.NFIN	o- nofa -ra -ne
be tired	1SG.S CH AUX	because	eat	1SG.S want NEG CONT+F
vi	aux	prt	vi	vt

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

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40	Mati	tokomatas			mati		mowa	
	mati	to- ka	-ma	-tasa+F	mati		mowa	
	3PL.S	away go/come	back	again	3SG.POSS.mother		shake	
	pron	vi			nf		vt	
	hiname				mati		mowa	hiname
	hi- to- na	-ma+M			mati		mowa	hi- to- na
	OC	away AUX	back		3SG.POSS.mother		shake	OC
	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	vt
	hiname				ati	nofare		amo
	hi- to- na	-ma+M			ati	nofa -ra+M		amo
	OC	away AUX	back		voice	like NEG		sleep
	aux				pn	vt		vi
	tonamatas				Ami	titafahi		
	to- na	-ma	-tasa.LIST		ami	ti- tafa -hi		
	CH	AUX	back again		mother	2SG.S eat IMP+F		
	aux				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	
	tafa.NFIN	o-	nofa -ra.NOM+F
	eat	1SG.S	want NEG
	vi	vt	

"I don't want to eat."

42	Ma	ohi		ka		tafi	onofarini
	maa	o-	to- ha.NOM+F	ka		tafa.NFIN	o- nofa -ra -ni
	be tired	1SG.S	CH AUX	because		eat	1SG.S want NEG BKG+F
	vi	aux		prt		vi	vt

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

43	Oko	komene	nafini		ati	nematamona		maka
	o-	ka	komene	nafi -ni	ati	na -himata -mona		maka
	1SG.POSS	POSS	pain+M	be a lot BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M		monster
	prt	pn	vi		vt	aux		nm

ehehenoho
 ehene -no -ho
 victim of+M IP.N+M DUP
 pn

"I have a lot of pain," he said. He was the victim of a monster without knowing it.'

44	Maka	eheheno		tafare		tafare	amo	ne
	maka	ehene	-no	tafa -ra+M		tafa -ra+M	amo	na+M
	monster	victim of+M	IP.N+M	eat NEG		eat NEG	sleep	AUX
	nm	pn		vi		vi	vi	aux

me kakayoma me, **faya ati yana kane**, **ati**
 me ka- kayoma+F me , faya ati yana ka- na+M , ati
 3PL.S COMIT darken 3PL.S so voice start COMIT AUX voice
 pron vi pron conj pn vi aux pn

yana kane me toma hine me toma hine me,
 yana ka- na+M me toma hine na+M me toma hine na+M me ,
 start COMIT AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S
 vi aux pron vt aux pron vt aux pron

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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.'

45 **Me toma hine** , **me toma hine** , **faya ati** ,
me toma hi- na+M , me toma hi- na+M , faya ati ,
3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX so voice
pron vt aux pron vt aux conj pn

saihi ati sai nabatase faya
sai+M ati sai nahaba -tasa+M , faya
be heard voice be heard at night again so
vi pn vi prt conj

okiti , **okiti** **hiwehibona** ,
o- ka iti , o- ka iti hi- awa -hibona ,
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather OC see INT+M
nm vt

okiti **hiwehibona** **okiti**
o- ka iti hi- awa -hibona o- ka iti
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather OC see INT+M 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
nm vt nm

hine , **mati** **ati** **hiyara** , **faya**
ati hi- na+M , mati ati hiya -ra+F , faya
say OC AUX 3SG.POSS.mother voice be bad NEG so
vt nf pn vi conj

okiti **yawahi** , **okiti**
o- ka iti yawa+M , o- ka iti
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
nm vi nm

yawematamonaka **fahi** .
yawa -himata -mona -ka fahi
be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vi 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 **Okiti** **yawe** , **bana** **banamine**
o- ka iti yawa+M , bana.LIST bana -mina+M
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset move away move away morning
nm vi vi vi

kamematamonaka **ahi** .
ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
go/come back FP.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 **Kame** , **okiti** **kobo**
ka -ma+M , o- ka iti kobo
go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather arrive
vi nm vi

namematamona **amake** **ahi** .
na -ma -himata -mona ama -ke ahi
AUX back FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F then
aux vc dem

'He came. My grandfather arrived.'

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48 *Tabora* *bote* *watineke* *haro* , *Bote Fa*
 tabora bote wata -ne -ke haaro Bote Faa
 village old be located CONT+F DECL+F that one+F (name of stream)
 nf adj vi dem npropf

karo , *Bote Fa* *ya* *Momonena* *ya* *ahi* .
 karo Bote Faa ya Momonena ya ahi
 LOC (name of stream) ADJU (place name) ADJU there
 prt npropm prt npropf prt dem

'There is an old village there at the Bote Fa stream, at Momonena.'

49 *Faya* *okiti* *kobo* *namematamona*
 faya o- ka iti kobo na -ma -himata -mona
 so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nm vi aux

amake

ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

'My grandfather arrived.'

50 *Faya* *me* *yotoha* *me* , *me* *yotobisa* *me*
 faya me yoto+F me me yoto -bisa+F me
 so 3PL.S follow 3PL.S 3PL.S follow also 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron vi pron

kakamakia *me* , *me* *me* *kakamakia* *me*
 ka- ka -makI+F me me me ka- ka -makI+F me
 DUP go/come following 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S DUP go/come following 3PL.S
 vi pron pron pron vi pron

okobi *me* *kamakia* *me* *okobi*
 o- ka abi me ka -makI+F me o- ka abi
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm pron vi pron nm

me *kakayoma* *me* *yaka* *naba* *me* *kobo*
 me ka- kayoma+F me yaka na nahaba+F me kobo
 3PL.S COMIT darken 3PL.S walk AUX at night 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi pron vi aux pron vi

namakia , *me* *kokobo* *namakietemone* *fahi* .
 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
 aux pron vi aux dem

'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* *kokobo* *namakiani* *me* , *faya* *me*
 me ko- kobo na -makI -hani me faya me
 3PL.S DUP arrive AUX following IP.N+F 3PL.S so 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron conj pron

hekamaki *mera* *mi* *nabe* , *me*
 hi- ka- ka -makI+M mera mii na nahaba+M me
 OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.O defecate on AUX at night 3PL.O
 vt pron vt aux pron

mi *nabe* *mera* *yawari* *yawari* *efe* *kabi* *ra*
 mii na nahaba+M mera yawari yawari efe kaba.NFIN ra
 defecate on AUX at night 3PL.O palm sp palm sp leaf+M eat O
 vt aux pron nm nm pn result prt

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, *faya yasi kamakietememone amake yasi*
 faya yasi ka -makI -hemete -mone ama -ke yasi
 so bird sp go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F bird sp
 conj nf vi sec nf

yasi amararo maka , maka ehenenoho
 yasi ama -ra -haaro maka , maka ehene -no -ho
 bird sp be NEG IP.E+F monster monster victim of+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 hikane yasi*
 faya me , amo hi- ka- na+M yasi
 so 3PL.S sleep OC COMIT AUX bird sp
 conj pron vi aux nf

kamakietememone
 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*."

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

KAMABIRA

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.'

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

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

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

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

'He died, and they buried him.'

65 **Temene ite awaka hari**
 temene ita+M awa -ka haari
 grave+M sit seem+M DECL+M that one+M
 pn vi 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
 npropf 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- ka- ka+M mati ami tai
 so 3PL.S OC away COMMIT go/come 3SG.POSS.mother mother be ahead
 conj pron vt nf nf vi

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

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

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

¹⁴⁹ The word before *ati* is unclear.

KAMABIRA

tokomakekani

to- ka -makI -kani
away go/come following one at a time
vi

tokomakekani

to- ka -makI -kani
away go/come following one at a time
vi

nemetemoneke

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

"The others were going on by."

75 Kamakia

ka	-makI+F	me	kobo	na -makI	-hemete	-mone	ama -ke
go/come	following	3PL.S	arrive	AUX following	FP.N+F	REP+F	SEC DECL+F
vi		pron	vi	aux			sec

ahi

ahi
then
dem

"They came, and arrived."

76 Me

me	kobo	na -makI+F	me	fahi -ra	?
3PL.S	arrive	AUX following	3PL.S	that NPQ	
pron	vi	aux	pron	dem	

"They arrived. "Well?""

77 Kamabira

Kamabira	ee	na -ra	?
(man's name)	(question)	AUX CQ+M	
npropm	vi	aux	

"What about Kamabira?"

78 Kamabira

Kamabira	ahaba -hare -ka
(man's name)	die IP.E+M DECL+M
npropm	vi

"Kamabira died."

79 Kamabira

Kamabira	ahaba -hare -ne
(man's name)	die IP.E+M BKG+M
npropm	vi

"Kamabira died."

80 Kamabira

Kamabira	me	hi- kamo -hare -ka
(man's name)	3PL.S	OC bury IP.E+M DECL+M
npropm	pron	vt

"They buried Kamabira."

81 Me

me	kamo -tee.NOM -bone	me	naho -hara -ke
3PL.S	bury HAB INT+F	3PL.S	stay IP.E+F DECL+F
pron	vt	pron	vi

"They stayed there to bury him."

KAMABIRA

82 *Me kamakiaba me amake*
 me ka -makI -haba me ama -ke
 3PL.S go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron vi pron sec

"They will come."

83 *Yoto kitare yoto kitare ota*
 yoto kita -ra+M yoto kita -ra+M otaa
 excrement+M be hard NEG excrement+M be hard NEG 1EX.S
 pn vi pn vi pron
nawaha nabe mi naba mi
 nawaha na nahaba+M mii na nahaba.LIST mii
 help patiently AUX at night defecate AUX at night defecate
 vt aux vi aux vi
naba 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 all night."

84 *Yasi kamakia yasi*
 yasi ka -makI+F yasi
 bird sp go/come following bird sp
 nf vi nf

hitimakeareka
 hi- iti -makI -hare -ka
 OC take out following IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt

"The *yasi* bird came and the *yasi* took him away."

85 *Yasi hitimake yasi*
 yasi hi- iti -makI yasi
 bird sp OC take out following bird sp
 nf vt nf

hekamareka me ati nemetemone
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hare -ka me ati na -hemete -mone
 OC away COMMIT go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt pron vt aux

"The *yasi* came and took him away," they said.'

86 *Faya me tokomake me nowati noki ne*
 faya me to- ka -makI me nowati noki na+M
 so 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.POSS behind wait for AUX
 conj pron vi pron pn vt aux

okiti okiti yawarena
 o- ka iti o- ka iti yawa -ra -hina
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset NEG IRR+M
 nm nm vi

okiti yawematamonaka
 o- ka iti yawa -himata -mona -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi

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

KAMABIRA

87 *Me* , *me* *Neme Wari Na* , *Neme Wari Na* *ati* *hiyara* *ati*
 me me Neme Wari Na , Neme Wari Na ati hiya -ra+F ati
 3PL 3PL (woman's name) (woman's name) voice be bad NEG voice
 pron pron npropf npropf pn vi pn

ihi , *Neme Wari Na* *ati* *hiyara* *ati* *ihi*
 ihi , Neme Wari Na ati hiya -ra+F ati ihi
 because of+F (woman's name) voice be bad NEG voice because of+F
 post npropf pn vi pn post

okiti *ka* *iti* *yawe* , *mera* *kabanematamona*
 o- ka iti yawe , mera kabanematamona
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset 3PL.O COMMIT order FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vi pron vt

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

'The others arrived at Yome Kabe village.'

90 *Yome Kabe* *ya* *me* *kobo* *namakia* *me* ,
 Yome Kabe ya me kobo na -makI+F me ,
 (name of village) ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S
 npropm prt pron vi 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 nahi -hi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

'Be quiet.'

92 *Me* *kobo* *namakia* *me* , *amo* *nemetemone* *fahi*
 me kobo na -makI+F me , amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 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* *amo* *na* *me* , *Hima* *e*
 me amo na+F me , hima ee
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S
 pron vi aux pron interj pron

tokomakehi

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

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

KAMABIRA

94 *Me tokomake me kamakia me hari*
 me to- ka -makI me ka -makI+F me haari
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S that one+M
 pron vi pron vi pron dem
 , *wiwinawa toimetemone okobi aati*
 wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone o- ka abi a- ati
 DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 vi aux nm vt
toemari amake ahi Momonena amake ahi ,
 to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke ahi Momonena ama -ke ahi
 CH AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F there (place name) be DECL+F there
 aux vc dem npropf vc dem
Momonena ya ahi
 Momonena ya ahi
 (place name) ADJU there
 npropf prt dem
 'They came. Then they lived at Momonena, my father used to say.'

95 *Faya me kobo namakia me faya awa me kaka*
 faya me kobo na -makI+F me faya awa me ka- kaa
 so 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S so tree 3PL.S DUP chop
 conj pron vi aux pron conj nf pron vt
toemetemone okobi ati toemari
 to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father say CH AUX FP.E+M
 aux nm vt aux
amake
 ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc
 'They arrived. They cut down trees, my father used to say.'

96 *Faya awa me ka na me faya me ka matehe me*
 faya awa me kaa na+F me faya me ka matehe me
 so tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL.S so 3PL POSS children 3PL.S
 conj nf pron vt aux pron conj pron prt nf pron
yoyobi kana toemetemone okobi
 yo- yobi ka- na to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi
 DUP go back and forth COMMIT AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 vi aux aux nm
aati toemari ama
 a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M be
 vt aux vc
 'They cut down trees. They went with their children, my father used to say.'

97 *Me yawa me Kamabira Kamabira maka*
 me yawa+F me Kamabira Kamabira maka
 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S (man's name) (man's name) monster
 pron vi pron npropm npropm nm
ehene toareka owati te kasawaria
 ehene to- ha -hare -ka o- ati tee ka- sawari+F
 victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMMIT frustrate
 pn vc pn pron vt

KAMABIRA

te

tee
2PL.S
pron

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

98 *Kamabira* *maka* *ehene* *toareka* , *yiko*
Kamabira maka ehene to- ha -hare -ka , yiko
(man's name) monster victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M howler monkey
npropm 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 blowgun 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* *toharihi*
yiko me kaba.NFIN yokana to- ha -rihi
howler monkey 3PL.S eat true CH 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 *Faya* *yiko* *me* *fora* *nenoho* *yiko*
faya yiko me fora na -hino yiko
so howler monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M howler monkey
conj nm pron vt aux nm

me , *no* *hiniheno* *ka* *maka* *mera*
me , noho hi- to- niha- na -hino ka maka mera
3PL.S be hurt OC CH CAUS AUX IP.N+M which monster 3PL.O
pron vi aux prt nm pron

fora *nenoho* , *me* , *me* *ati* *na* *me*
fora na -hino -ho , me , me ati na+F me
shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M DUP 3PL 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS
vt aux pron pron vt aux pron

ati *ra* , *me* *ka* *ami* *ohi* *mati* *ohi*
ati ra , me ka ami ohi mati ohi
voice O 3PL POSS mother cry 3SG.POSS.mother cry
pn prt pron prt nf vi nf vi

nemetemoneke

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

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

101 *Mati* *ohi* *na* , *mati* *ohi* *ni* *fawa*
mati ohi na+F , mati ohi na.NFIN fawa
3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX disappear
nf vi aux nf vi aux vi

na , *Tabiyo* *ohi* *rama* *tinaho*
na+F tabiyo ohi na -rama ti- na -ho
AUX absence cry AUX NEG.IMP+M 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
aux pn vi aux aux

KAMABIRA

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

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 me kobo namakia me*
 me ka -makI+F me kobo na -makI+F me
 3PL.S go/come following 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-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight
 pron vi pron conj nm pron pron vt

nemetemone okobi aati toemari ama
 na -hemete -mone o- ka abi a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M be
 aux nm vt aux vc

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

106 *Hiyama me me mowa na me*
 hiyama me me mowa na+F me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

hiyama me me nanahari na me me
 hiyama me me na- na- ohari na+F me me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP CAUS be one AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pron

kaba me ni ya me kobo namakia me kobo
 kaba+F me ni ya me kobo na -makI+F me kobo
 eat 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S arrive
 vt pron prt prt pron vi aux pron vi

namakia me tafamakemetemoneke
 na -makI+F me tafa -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX following 3PL.S eat following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron 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

KAMABIRA

amo nemetemone fahi
 amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi aux dem
 'They ate. After they ate, they slept.'

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

109 **Faya me amo na me tafiha me**
 faya me amo na+F me tafih+F me
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S wake up 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux pron vi pron

tafiemetemoneke
 tafi -hemete -mone -ke
 wake up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi
 'They slept, and woke up.'

110 **Faya yama , yama honaremetemone amake fahi**
 faya yama , yama hona -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke fahi
 so thing thing have something NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
 conj nf nf 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**
 faya ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , tabora
 so go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back village
 conj vi vi vi aux nf

one ya kobo name yama ki ne we , Yama
 one ya kobo na -ma+M yama kii na+M waa+M , yama
 other+F ADJU arrive AUX back thing look at AUX stand thing
 adj prt vi aux aux nf vt aux vi nf

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

'''There is no one who came back.'''

KAMABIRA

114 *Maka ehene toareka*
 maka ehene to- ha -hare -ka
 monster victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm pn vc

"He was killed by a monster."

115 *Maka ehene toareka*
 maka ehene to- ha -hare -ka
 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*
 faya ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M fara yama
 so go/come back arrive AUX back same+F thing
 conj vi vi aux dem nf

honari
 hona -ra.NOM+F ?
 have something NEG
 vi

'He came back and arrived. "Well, is there anyone there?"'

117 *Yama honararake*
 yama hona -ra -hara -ke
 thing have something NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi

"There isn't anyone."

118 *Maka ehene amaka*
 maka ehene ama -ka
 monster victim of+M SEC DECL+M
 nm pn sec

"A monster killed him."

119 *Maka maka hikatamahareka*
 maka maka hi- katoma -hare -ka
 monster monster OC attack IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm nm vt

"A monster attacked him."

120 *Faya hikatome me amo nemetemone fahi*
 faya hi- katoma+M me amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 so OC attack 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj vt pron vi aux dem

'It attacked him. They slept.'

121 *Hima abake haro*
 hima ahaba -ke haaro
 let's go end DECL+F that one+F
 interj vi dem

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