Free Translation

He decided to hunt spider monkeys with his blowgun. "I'm going to shoot spider monkeys with my blowgun." The old man was ready. "I am not going to be a victim of a jaguar. I will shoot the jaguar with bow and arrow. Wait, you will see it dead."

He went out into the forest. He heard something. The voices of spider monkeys started up. "Siya, siya."

"It's the voices of spider monkeys," he said.

The spider monkeys came toward him. The spider monkeys came right to where the old man was standing. He twirled some darts in his mouth. As he was twirling the darts in his mouth, the spider monkeys were coming, swinging back and forth.

A female monkey saw the old man and took a quick look. He hit it with a dart, fai toko.

"Yei," it said. It cried out.

They went away. Another one, her mate, went to her, and he shot him, too. No one said, "The old man killed game." He killed game. He was unsteady. He remained unsteady. The spider monkey fell. He went to pick up the spider monkey that had fallen. He picked it up. He came back dragging the spider monkey.

"There are many spider monkeys, but they saw me and went away. I'm not strong. If I were strong, I would have killed many of them with my blowgun. Let them be two for now."

He got up and tied up the spider monkeys. He put the spider monkeys on his back. He got his blowgun. He put the arrows on his shoulder, and went back.

His son came after him.

"My father went out. The jaguars like my father's group a lot. My father went out, and I remembered him."

He came carrying arrows. He met his father.

"There he is, look at him. He is carrying spider monkeys. I'm going to eat spider monkeys. Father, give them to me. I will carry them."

His father gave them to him. He lifted them onto his back.

"Are there two of them?"

"There are two of them. I would have shot more. They saw me and turned around, so I only shot two. I was unsteady. They saw me because I was unsteady. They went away. The male came. When he saw that his mate had been shot, he came to her, and I shot him."

He came back. He arrived home with his father.

"You two don't sleep," [he said to the women of the house, so they could cut up the monkeys].

He arrived home with his father.

"I'm going to go after my spider monkeys that got away."

"Father, stay here."

"I'm not a woman, to stay at home. I'm not a woman."

"A jaguar ate my father's grandfather."

"I'm strong. I was strong enough to kill spider monkeys with my blowgun."

So he decided to go. His daughter argued with him. He ate manioc mash, and he was ready. He went out into the forest.

He didn't meet up with any game. He only killed two brown capuchins. He met up with some capuchins, and killed the capuchins with his blowgun.

"I came after spider monkeys, but haven't met up with any. I guess they went away."

He came back, and slept at home. They ate the capuchins.

They were going to have a festa, and they got ready to go. They went out into the forest. They found the game for the festa. They came back, and arrived back.

They cooked the meat the next day. They cooked the game.

"There, eat. Ah, do Kani Mete. Eat the game. Kani Mete is the song about the game that is eaten. Do the Kani Mete. Eat," [said the host of the festa].

They ate the game that was lying on the grill, which they had brought back. They ate, all of them, all the women together. They were eating. Some of them wanted to sing, not many of them. There were not many of them. It was him and his brother-in-law. Right where the two of them were sitting eating, they started speaking. The two of them started speaking. The two of them were talking together. One of them had a deep voice, and the other had a high voice. His voice was not deep. They sang Kani Mete. The two of them sang. They sang well. Because of their singing, because of their song the women broke pots. The pots for toasting, the pots for boiling, and the pots for cooking, were destroyed. They broke them. He sang without stopping. Because the song was so good, because of the song they broke pots. He sang Kani Mete.

"Because of her cooking of food she is sweating," he said [singing]. "She is fanning herself."

Then he started a different song. Then all of them sang. My father used to say it was beautiful.

"Because of her cooking of food, she is sweating," he said. They were all singing. "She was fanning herself. She was fanning herself."

His brother-in-law started right after him. His brother-in-law's Kani Mete joined in in a high voice. My father used to say his singing was beautiful. They were all singing together. They were all in a line facing the other way. They were dancing.

"He was carrying a package of blowgun darts, on a strap on one shoulder and across his chest. The cotton heads of the darts were sticking out," he said. "His darts were twirled, and their cotton heads were sticking out," he said. "He was carrying the package of darts," he said.

My father used to say the song was beautiful. My father spoke, and we listened as he spoke. It was what my grandfather said. My father used to say what my grandfather had said.

He said he was going to start singing again, and they were waiting for him. The women were between the men.

"Was he working?"

"He was working. He was cutting the brush. He was clearing the forest for a new garden. He was clearing the brush. He was doing his work. The water of the *matafo* vine that he had cut through was dripping," he said. "The sound of him working could be heard," he said. "The sound of him working was heard as he was hitting," he said.

It was beautiful. They were walking slowly. They were going slowly, as they sang a song about the animals.

"As he was working, he made the *matafo* vine that he cut to drip its water," he said. "The sound of him cutting *mafiko* plants could be heard," he said.

They were all singing. They were holding onto each other in a line. My father used to say it was beautiful, as my grandfather reportedly used to say. My father used to say what my grandfather said.

"The song about the animals is good. The songs about the animals are good," they said. "There aren't any bad songs. All the songs are the same."

He sang songs all night long, my grandfather reportedly used to say. He sang the songs until dawn. They sang songs all night long. The pieces of the pots they broke were scattered all around. They didn't start a different song.

When they were singing the song that they had sung long before, Sikari visited them. Sikari was visiting. He arrived at Boto. Sikari was visiting. He was present when they had a feast.

"Shall we eat fish?" [said the cook].

"Since we are going to sing Kani Mete, let's not eat fish. Let's eat meat."

"Let's eat meat," they said. They ate meat. They are animals, white-lipped peccaries. They fought white-lipped peccaries. They roasted the peccaries on a grill. They are the peccaries. They feasted on the peccaries. They are the peccaries. They are it was noon.

"It started then. It began at noon," they said. "It was not getting dark. When it was noon it started. It will start now. I will go with you. Yes, there were two of them. The two of them started it. They started it. They sang it."

They were going to start it, and the two of them ate where they were sitting on the plaza.

"Do you have snuff in the bag?"

"I have snuff in the bag. There is snuff in here."

He divided the snuff. He put the snuff on his palm, and took the snuff.

Sniff, sniff, "Aa, so the song will be good."

He was about to start the song. He named a song.

"Will it be first, will He Eniya be first?"

"All right, do He Eniya first. We want to sing it. Let's go now."

"She is cooking her yams. She fans the fire. She fans the fire," he said.

He did this. He danced. His brother-in-law came on behind him.

"You dance, too. They will grab our hands again."

They were all together. Sikari was there, too. Sikari was present.

"Sikari."

"Yes?"

"Come here."

Sikari went there.

"He Eniya, He Eniya," he said. "Because of the cooking of her food, she is sweating," he said.

"Sikari sings badly."

"Kani Fese, Kani Fese, Kani Fese."

"Sikari, não like that, it's different," they said. "Say, 'Kani Mete, Kani Mete."

"Kani Mete, right, Kani Mete."

Then Sikari got it right. He got it right after that. That's why they laughed. When he sang "Kani Fese," he made them laugh. They laughed, laughing at Sikari's singing.

"Wait, we are still laughing at Sikari's singing."

"Sayi called the dog," he said. "Sayi went after the dog. Sayi called the dog," he said. "Sayi called the dog," he said. "She went after it. She called it," he said, my father used to say. "Her husband was twirling darts in his mouth. He was carrying a package of darts across his chest," he said. "The bunch of cotton of the darts was protruding," he said.

"Sikari's singing is bad as he is here."

"Kani Fese, Kani Fese, Kani Fese," he said.

"Let him sing. Don't laugh at his singing. Let him sing."

Sikari continued doing Kani Fese.

"Sing the same one again."

The chief sang it. What was the chief's name? Towisawa Rowi was a chief, Towisawa Rowi. Right. I don't know his name.

They sang the song. Sikari continued doing Kani Fese until dawn. They sang until dawn.

"The hitting sound could be heard of him as he cut *mafiko* plants," he said.

This one was after that. "He hurried up his work. Because they surprised him, the cut off *matafo* vine was upright, dripping water."

My father used to say that the cut off vine was upright, dripping water. The old people sang the song. Then they sang songs about fish. They dug up *kona* roots. They put *kona* in the water. They put *kona* root into the water. There were many old people, and they put *kona* root into the water, my father used to say. They were Jamamadis, old Jamamadis, and the people of my father's father. They put *kona* root into the water. They weaved their fish traps. Others weaved the fish wier, so it would stand with the stuck in poles, so that it would block the area around the trap. They also made a wier at another place, where the water was shallow. They stuck the poles in the stream bed. They beat *kona* roots all day. They beat *kona* roots, and then they were done. They went after others. The others went to see them.

"Well, are all the poles stuck in?"

"Yes, the poles are all stuck in already. The fish wier pieces that we weaved are there on the ground. They will be upright. The *sai* for tying them are there on the ground. Yes, the trap is ready. The weaving of the fish trap is already finished. I went over there. Go over there and see them, the ones who are sticking the poles in."

They went after the ones who were sticking the poles in. They came upon them when they were lashing the poles together. They came back.

"Is the *kona* root done?"

"The *kona* is done already. It's because there are many of us. We beat all of it. We beat it, and we have come back. You didn't come back. Because you didn't come back, we came here."

"How many baskets are there?"

"There are five baskets. There is also one small basket with a small amount of *kona* in it, along with the five baskets," they said.

They were ready. They came back.

"Should we sing E Onira?"

"Let's sing E Onira. The women will be muddy. The women are going to eat. Let's make the women dirty."

They broke off saplings. They broke off saplings that had lots of leaves. Their voices could be heard.

"Let's not sing E Onira. I don't know. The burns hurt. I don't want them to burn me. They really burn us a lot. I have a scar because of *kona* root here. I am afraid. They really burned us a lot, I am saying. I don't want them to burn us. Let the *kona* root be by itself."

"Should it be by itself?"

"Kabasi, Kabasi."

"Huh?"

"Should the *kona* root be by itself?"

"Kona has never been by itself. Are you going to make it by itself, you who are many?"

"I will have them burn Kowisi, because he wanted them to sing the kona song."

"Why would you send someone against me? Am I his brother-in-law?"

"I didn't call you brother-in-law." He laughed.

"You are going to call me brother-in-law, since you sent someone against me. People shouldn't question each other. People shouldn't question people from other places. I want the Jamamadis to be burned. I want the women to burn them."

"There aren't any Jamamadis here. It would be good if they came. They are out there. Wait, let's hear what they have to say. Let's go. When we have heard what they have to say, we will come back singing E Onira."

"Right, let's go."

They went.

"It's still daylight. It will be at night. Will they be wiped?"

"We will wipe them."¹³

They laughed. They went.

"We decided there is not going to be E Onira. Aifa, Aifa."

"What?"

"Aifa, we don't want there to be E Onira."

"Sing E Onira. E Onira should be sung. The kona shouldn't be by itself."

"He is right. Aifa is right."

"I don't know. My uncle doesn't agree."

"Didn't he hear when my uncle said he had had sex?"

"I guess he didn't hear him, since he didn't bring the woman home."

"I want to have sex," he said.

He made fun of what his brother-in-law said. "He is having sex with my younger sisters a lot." "Let E Onira be. It will be by itself. E Onira will be at the one that follows. I am going to sing a song about my fish that I saw far away."

Then they slept, after taking snuff. They took snuff.

"Go to sleep right away. Don't talk. You don't want E Onira. Go to sleep right away. Don't talk. I don't want conversation. Don't make me blow snuff into you. Go to sleep quickly."

They took snuff. The old men weaved the fish traps, and the fish wier. Others stuck the poles in the stream bed.

"You will see the poles that we stuck in and lashed together. The fish wier downstream is very tight. The fish won't go downstream. The fish will stop as they go downstream."

The ones who were sleeping got up early. They went out into the forest. They carried the *kona* root on their backs.

"Where will it begin?"

"It will start here. There are many aba fish. Many aba fish will die."

They put it in the water. They put the *kona* in the water. They yelled. "Hioo, hioo, hioo, yee, yee, yee."

The *aba* fish came downstream, my grandfather used to say, my father used to say. There were many *aba* fish. They were coming in front of the *kona*. They went downstream. All of them were coming downstream. They went downstream. They didn't shoot them with arrows. They just went downstream. They were all in the same place downstream. All of them went there.

"Well, have they all passed?"

"Yes, they have all passed already."

"Go after them, the ones that are furthest."

They put the parts of fish wier together. They put the fish trap in place. They tied the open end of the trap in place. They tied the open end of the trap in place, and they put the fish wier in place. They tied the whole thing fast. They tied it fast, and left it.

¹³ That is, we will stroke their vaginas.

"The aba fish are going there. The aba fish are going to go," they said.

My father said that the *aba* fish came back. The *aba* fish came back. The *aba* fish went into the opening of the fish traps, all of them, and they would all be full. Their tails were sticking out of the opening of the fish traps. The fish traps were not empty, because of them. They were shooting them with arrows, and they were dying. The baskets were full. They killed lots of *aba* fish.

They were carrying them off. They dragged them in the traps. They lifted them up tied to poles. They lifted them up, after they tied the traps to poles. They tied all of them. They tied the poles.

They were ready. They carried the *aba* fish. There were many of them at the port, gutting the fish.

"The women are going to eat a lot, even though they didn't have mud. I wanted the women to have mud, but you didn't agree. I wanted the women to have mud on them, but they ate. They are eating a lot. They weren't going to eat, but they ate. They are going to eat again. They will eat for many days, so they will become fat. I'm not going to get fat. I'm not fat. I just stay the same."

They left. "Shall we have a festa?"

"We are not going to sing. Since there is no E Onira, there isn't going to be any singing."

"He won't agree. We are eating."

"Grandpa, Grandpa, Bono Wiyo."

"Huh?"

"Bono Wiyo, the song. Grandpa, sing a little song. Let's sing a little song so we can go to sleep."

"Start the song. I will take it on. You start it."

They sang a song. My grandfather went to where they were singing, my father's father.

"Father, they want you to sing. Sing a song. Let's us sing," my father said that he said.

My grandfather took snuff so he could sing a song. He went there. They were having a dance, but they weren't singing well. My grandfather improved their singing. He sang all night. My grandfather sang all night.

"Grandpa, you sing one night by yourself."

"We will sing it. We have mouths, because we are eaters of howler monkeys. I will call out loudly," he said.

They had armbands. Armbands, and pieces of headdresses were on the ground, my father used to say. They were wearing headdresses of toucan feathers. They had brown capuchin teeth strung across their chests. They were decorated with brown capuchin teeth. Some of them were wearing headdresses of toucan feathers. The others grabbed them. They sang all night, and dawn came.

"The women are going to sing, they have been eating. We already sang. We have already sung all night. We have sung my grandfather's song all night. The women will sing their grandmothers' song. We already sang. As only my grandfather sang, we sang with him all night long. Give food of the feast to the women. Give food of the feast to the women, other *aba* fish."

They cooked *aba* fish for the women. They fed *aba* fish to the women. They put food for the women on leaves, *aba* fish.

"We have decided you are going to sing. Eat. Don't go back and forth. Don't go back and forth to the bunch of young men in their hut. All of you stay there."

They decided to sing, and they sang. The women sang.

"Do just like us and sing your grandmothers' songs. We already sang. We sang my grandfather's songs one whole night."

The women sang. The old women's singing was not good, and the others were laughing at

their singing. Only my grandmother sang. Because my grandmother was still young, my grandmother sang, my grandfather's wife. My grandmother sang. The others sang after her. Her sister-in-law sang all night. The women sang until dawn.

"Do as we did."

The women sang until dawn.

"Look at them. We thought that they would not sing until dawn."

They sang until dawn. The women sang until dawn.

The Jamamadis that were there went home when they heard that the Jarawaras wanted them to sing, so they wouldn't have to sing. The Jamamadis went home.

"They went home because they didn't want the singing, and they don't want to eat."

The old Jamamadis went home, and the others complained because they left.

My father was a teenager. My father said that he was not very old. My father was with his younger brother. My grandfather left to go fishing. My father and his younger brother were in the plaza playing at shooting bow and arrow, my father used to say. My father was the older one. My father was with his younger brother. They were in the plaza playing at shooting bow and arrow. They were in the plaza.

"You two come here," their grandmother said.

They came back and lay in their hammocks.

"Brother, stay in your hammock. Stay in your hammock. Sleep. My father will come back," my father said, he used to say. "My father will come back. It's late in the day. The sun is going down. My father said he would come back late in the afternoon."

My grandfather shot a big *aba* fish with bow and arrow, and carried it, my father used to say. "My grandfather was carrying the *aba* fish that would make my younger brother a victim. My father carried the *aba* fish. The *aba* fish lay on the ground like a *tabaki* fish. He shot it in the bone as it was near the edge of the stream."

He shot it in the bone. The basket was full with just one fish, my father used to say.

"Are they exclaiming about the *aba* fish that he brought back and they exclaimed about long ago?" They were all talking. "Wow, look at that *aba* fish. I didn't know such an *aba* fish existed. Look at the *aba* fish that existed without our knowing it."

They were all talking. They brought misfortune on my father's younger brother. Their talking would bring misfortune to my father's brother. As my grandfather was with them as they were talking, he picked up his son, and then set him down.

"You stay with your younger brother. I'm going to split firewood."

My grandfather set his son down so he could split firewood.

"Brother, come here. I will stay in the hammock with you," my father said.

He got in the hammock with his brother. He lay in the hammock. My grandfather split firewood. They cut the *aba* fish up, and they cooked the pieces, my father used to say. There was never an *aba* fish like that, it was like a *tabaki*. It was there and they didn't know it. My grandfather shot it with bow and arrow.

They ate. As they were eating, the voice of pain of the boy came to them. The boy was yelling.

"What's the matter with my son that he is yelling?"

"My brother started yelling when I was with him in the hammock and set him down on the floor."

He had started to yell because he came under a spell. He came under a spell, and cried out. "Father, Father, Father."

He was a child that had started to talk, as this girl standing here.

"Father, Father," the boy said.

My father was going to eat the *aba* fish but he left the *aba* fish. He went and picked up his younger brother and stood there holding him. My grandfather ate. My grandfather ate a little.

"When I want to eat, my son's crying is upsetting me."

My grandfather went and sucked on his son, to find out what was bothering him.

"My son is a victim of the *aba* fish. My son appears to be a victim of the *aba* fish, the *aba* fish that I brought back. They will not live here, just wait."¹⁴

He sucked on his son. The father sucked on the boy all night. Dawn came. The boy died. "I killed their mother with bow and arrow, and they came after my son."

My grandfather was ready, my father used to say. My grandfather was ready. My grandfather buried his son. He went around crying all day long. He went crying, and came back crying. He passed by the houses crying. He could be heard crying all night long, and he was crying when dawn came. My grandfather was crying when dawn came. He slept during the day. My grandfather slept, he slept during the day.

"Father, Father," my father said. "Father, wake up. My grandmother says you should eat."

The thing that started up to my grandfather when he woke up starts up today. A sound started up to my grandfather when he woke up. The sound came to them, not liking them. My grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish, so they would fight against them. The sound of their killers started up, my father used to say. They would not eat *aba* fish anymore. The sound of them came, ooo, ooo, betebetererere, ooo. There was the sound of the trees. It made the *aba* fish go away. The wind lifted up the thatch of their houses. The wind lifted up the thatch. It made things wet, my father used to say. My grandmother carried her grandson on her back. She carried her grandson. She took his younger brother along. She held his younger brother's arm. There was no one to take care of the children. The wind was taking all the leaves off the trees. It made the *aba* fish go away. The wind came on the ground, my father used to say, and everywhere. There was the sound of trees being knocked down at the edge of the stream. It was the *aba* fish upstream from where the *wene* trees are. The *aba* fish filled the stream. When the rain stopped, the *aba* fish were all gone where they had been.

There were no *aba* fish. He went fishing, but he came back with nothing.

"The *aba* fish are gone. I think the wind took the *aba* fish away, and I am coming back thinking about it. There aren't any *aba* fish at all. It's all empty. Am I lying to you? You will see them. Look at them."

So all of them went there on the next day, and they didn't get anything. They came back with nothing. The stream was empty, my father used to say. The creatures of the stream were gone.

My aunt, when she was small, asked her father. "Father, did you send spirits against the *aba* fish? They said the *aba* fish are gone."

"They are eating the *aba* fish I sent spirits against. Let them eat them, to pay for my son. I have avenged my son."

There weren't any *aba* fish anymore. When they went fishing, they didn't bring back any fish. They kept coming back with nothing. They only ate *sako fana* and *tawi* fish. There weren't even little fish, my father used to say. There weren't any fish. The area where there weren't any fish reached far away. They had filled the streams before, my father used to say. They went fishing and came back.

"There aren't any *aba* fish. The *aba* fish are all gone. Bono Wiyo sent spirits against the *aba* fish."

¹⁴ That is, Bono Wiyo decided to kill all the aba fish.

"My father said he sent spirits against the *aba* fish," my aunt said. "I asked my father, and he said he had sent spirits against the *aba* fish. The *aba* fish were payment for our younger brother. My father said that the *aba* fish disappeared because he sent spirits against them."

The *aba* fish disappeared. They didn't eat them. There weren't any rotten *aba* fish on top of the water. They disappeared. The *aba* fish were gone, and they were upset. They weren't killing *aba* fish with bow and arrow, and they were always hungry. They were eating meat, white-lipped peccaries, collared peccaries, and brown capuchins. Then they were hunting. They killed animals with blowguns, howler monkeys, spider monkeys. They killed brown capuchins, too, and squirrel monkeys. They ate meat, only meat. They were eating only meat.

Then they left, from where my father and the others were living. Bati Sawa's old village is there. My father and the others came this way, and arrived here. They arrived. They met up with some white-lipped peccaries, and went after them, my father used to say, when my father was small. They killed some peccaries, and roasted the peccaries on a grill. They ate the peccaries.

"Is my grandfather coming? My grandfather is coming, but he hasn't come yet. You leave some peccary meat for my grandfather on the grill," my father said. "Leave some peccary meat on the grill for my grandfather, because my grandfather said he is coming. It's the time for my grandfather to arrive. I don't want him to be hungry when he arrives. It's the time for my grandfather to arrive. It's five days. My grandfather is coming. 'I will go there tomorrow. I will go there. When my time comes, I will go there. This is what the time of my going will be,' my grandfather said. I heard him."

Then he came.

"I think that's him. He is coming. My grandfather is coming there. My grandfather is coming there," my father said. "He is coming."

His face was all red. He had spots of annatto on his arms and his wrists. His legs had red spots. "Look at him. Look at the one who painted himself coming."

"Hoo, humph, I'm hungry. I'm hungry as I'm coming."

"Grandpa, there is some peccary meat on the grill for you. Eat some peccary."

"All right, bring it here. I'm going to eat peccary."

"When we arrived, the others had met up with some peccaries and had gone after them, and they are their peccaries. They roasted the peccaries they had killed on a grill. When they ate them, I saved a leg for you."

"Right, I hear you. One of my grandsons died. One was hurt by the *aba* fish; this one is bringing me food."

"There used to be *aba* fish. There aren't any *aba* fish, because he attacked them. I fish, but don't catch anything. I go fishing, but don't catch anything. There aren't even small fish. The stream is empty as it goes downstream. There used to be lots of *aba* fish, but now they have disappeared."

He ate after arriving. He ate.

"Oof, my grandson, bring me some water."

"Grandma, bring water for my grandfather. My grandfather got food stuck in his throat as he is eating peccary."

"Come and get water for your grandfather."

His grandson went and got water and brought it back, and he drank the water.

"Grandpa, suck it hard."

He drank the water. When he was finished drinking the water, he set it on the ground.

"It will sit here for now. Here, my peccary isn't all gone. This will be for your grandmother."

"May my grandmother eat a little of it. I think my grandmother is hungry. May my grandmother eat it, too. Grandpa, what about your older brother?"

"My brother is living there. I think my brother will come. I didn't ask my brother. I think my brother will come. My brother is living there. When his food is all gone, he said he will leave."

"What is he eating?"

"They grated manioc and their manioc mash isn't all gone, they said. 'When the manioc mash is all gone, I will leave,' my brother said."

"Humph, when I have been fishing, I haven't caught anything. I formerly caught many *aba* fish with hook and line. I just sit there on the side of the stream, holding the fishing line. The *aba* fish have disappeared. Bono Wiyo was naughty, bringing the *aba* fish home. He made the *aba* fish go away. Bono Wiyo is perverse, causing us to be hungry. I used to eat *aba* fish, but I don't eat *aba* fish anymore."

"I have been hungry, and now I am eating white-lipped peccary here. I am eating peccary that my grandson had."

"Grandfather, when will the day of your brother be?"

"He will know when his day will be. His manioc mash is up to here. I ate a little of it, and then came here. His daughters grated the manioc mash and squeezed it and brought it. 'Older brother, I will go there. You go on ahead. They are waiting for me. I'm going there.'"

He came with his wife. He was with his wife, and his daughters, and his sons. He came and arrived. He came. He came, and arrived.

"My uncle has come. Grandpa, your brother is coming."

"Yes, he is coming."

He came. He arrived.

"Well, where is the food?"

"There is no food."

"Uncle, there is no food. My father went out in the forest. My father has not come back. I guess my father met up with some white-lipped peccaries. The peccaries went that way. They were after them. I saved some peccary, but my grandfather ate it when he got here. I saved a leg of peccary for a long time. I put it up in the rafters, and my grandfather ate it."

"He is saying I ate the peccary he had saved."

"Meat is really good to eat. I used to eat *aba* fish, but I haven't eaten *aba* fish recently. I just sit on the side of the stream holding the fishing line. I'm angry with Bono Wiyo."

"Uncle, are you angry with my father?"

"Yes, I'm angry with your father, because I haven't been eating *aba* fish. I think they will be eaten again."

"I think they will come back. I will speak to my father. My father said he will go and ask for the *aba* fish."

Then Bono Wiyo came back. He had killed a brown capuchin with his blowgun. He had killed a male and a female brown capuchin, and he came back carrying them on his back.

"He has come back, my father has come back. Uncle, my father has come back. He is carrying brown capuchins, let's roast the capuchins. Uncle, I'm going to ask for one."

"Look at him," [said Bono Wiyo, making fun of his son].

"I'm going to ask for it. Brown capuchins are good to eat."

He threw the monkey down, and went.

My father went there. "Father, my grandfather says he is hungry. He wants to eat the female monkey."

"Take the female monkey for him."

He took the female monkey. He took the female monkey away. He gave the female monkey to his uncle.

"Here, uncle, eat it all quickly. I asked for it. We will eat the male."

He burned the hair off the female monkey. He cut up the female monkey. He lit the fire. He roasted the female monkey, to eat the female monkey. He ate the female monkey.

"Humph, I was really hungry, but now I am eating the female monkey. Bono Wiyo, I have been angry with you, because you didn't give *aba* fish."

He ate some more of the female monkey. The sun was getting low. They cooked the monkey. They served the monkey. They ate the monkey. They were finished. They took snuff.

"Bono Wiyo."

"Huh?"

"What did you do to them that they disappeared?"

"Father, did you hear what they said? They are calling you, asking you to tell about the *aba* fish that disappeared."

"I sent spirits against the *aba* fish, and they disappeared. Because the *aba* fish hurt my son, I sent spirits against the *aba* fish, and they disappeared. They wouldn't have disappeared. They used to eat them, but now they disappeared. The spirits ate them when they fought against them."

"Yes, they didn't come back. Because I want them, I go fishing, but I don't catch anything. When I go fishing, the *aba* fish doesn't hit my fish hook. There isn't a piranha, either. The piranhas used to take the bait, but the piranhas all disappeared. They all disappeared."

They were ready. They took snuff. They stopped talking because of the snuff. They finally slept.

They woke up. They went hunting the next day. Each of them got a small animal. They ate the small animals.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Me	,	biyo			fora		nara	webona		yana
	me		biyo			fora		na	-rawa	-hibona	yana
	3PL		spide	r monke	У	shoot with	blowgun	AUX	F.PL	INT+M	start
	pron		nf			vt		aux			vi
ton	ematamo	ona	!		fak	hi .					
to-	- na	-h	imata	-mona	fa	ıhi					
СН	AUX	FP	N+M.	REP+M	th	ien					
aux	X				de	em					

'He decided to hunt spider monkeys with his blowgun.'

2	Biyo	fora	orawamate					
	biyo	fora	o- na -rawa -mate					
	spider monkey	shoot with blowgun vt	1SG.S AUX F.PL short time.IMP+F aux					

"I'm going to shoot spider monkeys with my blowgun."

3	Biyo	iti		bote	owa	,	i	iti		bote	owa
	biyo	iti		bote	owa	Í		iti		bote	owa
	spider monkey	grar	dfather	old	other	`+M		grandfa	ther	old	other+M
	nf	nm		adj	adj		1	nm		adj	adj
	iti	bote	owa	yana	tone			Ha	owa	yome	
,	iti	bote	owa	yana	to-	na+M		haa	owa	yomee	
	grandfather	old	other+M	start	CH	AUX		DEM	1SG	jaguar	
	nm	adj	adj	vi	aux			dem	pron	nm	

ehene ohiba

pn vo

'This is another old man [i.e. different than the old man in the other story, who was eaten by the jaguar]. This other old man was ready. "I am not going to be a victim of a jaguar."'

4	Ha	owa	yome	sa	okobana	ı			onira	
	haa	owa	yomee	saa	0-	ka-	na.NOM+F	-bana	0-	nira
	DEM	1SG	jaguar	shoot with arrow	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	FUT	1SG.S	?+F
	dem	pron	nm	vt	aux				prt	

[&]quot;I will shoot the jaguar with bow and arrow."

5 Sa okobana ohi
saa o- ka- na -bana ahi
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT then
vt aux dem

"I will shoot it with bow and arrow."

6 Sa okobana

saa o- ka- na -bana shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT vt aux

"I will shoot it with bow and arrow."

7 Ee sa okobanane

ee saa o- ka- na -bana -ne (pause) shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT BKG+M interj vt aux

"I will shoot it with bow and arrow."

8 Hiba te awehibanane abohi
hiba tee awa -hibana -ne abohi
wait 2PL.S see FUT+M BKG+M dead body

interj pron vt pn

"Wait, you will see it dead."

9 Tokematamonaka

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

'He went out into the forest.'

10 Toke toke tokematamona

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

'He went out.'

11	Toke		yama	kamita		ne	yama	kamita		ne
	to-	ka+M	yama	ka-	mita.LIST	na+M	yama	ka-	mita.LIST	na+M
	away	go/come	thing	COMIT	hear	AUX	thing	COMIT	hear	AUX
	vi		nf	vt		aux	nf	vt		aux

```
vama
       kamita
                                bivo
                                                ati
                                                       vana
                         ne
       ka- mita.LIST na+M
vama
                               biyo
                                                ati
                                                       vana
       COMIT hear
thing
                         AUX
                                spider monkey
                                                voice
                                                       start
nf
       vt
                         aux
                                nf
                                                pn
tonematamona
                        siva
                                                   siya
to- na -himata -mona
                        siva
                                                   siya
                                                   (call of spider monkey)
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                        (call of spider monkey)
aux
                        sound
siya
                             siya
                                                       siya
siva
                             siya
                                                       siya
                             (call of spider monkey)
                                                       (call of spider monkey)
(call of spider monkey)
                             sound
                                                       sound
sound
```

'He went out. He heard something. The voices of spider monkeys started up. "Siya, siya."

12 **Biyo** ati amake
biyo ati ama -ke
spider monkey voice be DECL+F
nf pn vc

"It's the voices of spider monkeys."

13 *Bivo* ati amake ati ne bivo biyo ati ama -ke ati na+M biyo spider monkey voice be DECL+F say AUX spider monkey pn VC vt aux nf

biyo kamarawemetemoneke

biyo ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -ke spider monkey go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F $_{\rm nf}$ vi

"It's the voices of spider monkeys," he said. The spider monkeys came toward him.'

14 Biyo kamarawa , biyo biyo spider monkey go/come back F.PL spider monkey nf vi , biyo

kamarawa				iti	bote	wai	yokana	ya
ka	-ma	-rawa+F	,	iti	bote	waa.NOM	yokana	ya
go/come	back	F.PL		grandfather	old	stand	true	ADJU
vi				nm	adi	vt.	adi	prt.

kamarawemetemoneke

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

'The spider monkeys came. The spider monkeys came right to where the old man was standing.'

15 Sare rofi nematamona
sarehe rofi na -himata -mona
blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nf vt aux

'He twirled some darts in his mouth.'

16 *Sare* rofi rofi ne sare sarehe rofi na+M sarehe rofi twirl in mouth twirl in mouth blowgun dart AUX blowgun dart nf vt aux nf vt

```
nematamonaka
```

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

'He twirled darts in his mouth.'

17 *Sare* rofi bivo ne ya rofi ya sarehe na.NOM+M bivo blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX ADJU spider monkey prt vt aux nf kati namemetemoneke kama ahi na -ma -hemete -mone -ke -ma+Fkati ahi go/come back swing AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then vi vi aux dem

'As he was twirling the darts in his mouth, the spider monkeys were coming, swinging back and forth.'

bote awahani ki toba baki iti bote awa -hani kii to- na -baa na+F baki grandfather old see IP.N+F look CH AUX at a distance AUX chest+F adj vi aux aux , fai toko hikaraboa ahi rama hi- karaboha+F ahi fai toko rama OC shoot with blowgun then (sound of blowgun dart) unusual dem prt sound

'It saw the old man and took a quick look. He hit it with a dart, fai toko.'

interj vt aux

"Yei," it said.'

20 Kiya kanemetemoneke

kiya ka- na -hemete -mone -ke yell COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi aux

'It cried out.'

21 Faya tokomemetemoneke

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

'They went away.'

22 *Owa* maki fito tonamake maki fito to- na -makI owa away AUX following other+M 3SG.POSS.husband rush 77 i aux nm

hikaraboatasematamonakaahihi-karaboha-tasa -himata -mona -kaahiOCshoot with blowgun again FP.N+MREP+MDECL+Mthenvtdem

'Another one, her husband, went to her, and he shot it, too.'

23 Maki maki 3SG.POSS.husband nm nm nm nm nm nm , inamati hinahari inamati ati hi- na -haari someone say OC AUX IP.E+M nm vt 'No one said, "The old man killed game."'	bote ehene itika bote ehene iti -ka old victim of+M exist DECL+M adj pn vi
24 Ene itimatamona	
25 Kokofafa nematamonaka ko- kofa -fa na -himata -mona -ka DUP be unsteady DUP AUX FP.N+M REP+M DEG vi aux 'He was unsteady.'	
26 Kofafa nawi ne . kofa -fa na -wi na+M be unsteady DUP AUX steadily AUX vi aux aux 'He remained unsteady.'	
biyo sona+F 'biyo s spider monkey fall spider monkey f	conemetemoneke sona -hemete -mone -ke fall FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
28 Biyo sona totimakehibona biyo sona+F to- iti -makenibona spider monkey fall away take out follow nf vi vt tokomake , tokomake	owing INT+M biyo iti
vi vi	owing spider monkey pick up nf vt
biyo horo ni kame biyo horo na.NFIN ka -ma+M spider monkey drag AUX go/come back nf vt aux vi	, Biyo biyo spider monkey nf
tamarawa tama -rawa+F be many F.PL vi pron tama -rawa+F to- lSG.O see F.PL away vi vi vi	

'He went to pick up the spider monkey that had fallen. He picked up the spider monkey. He came back dragging the spider monkey. "There are many spider monkeys, but they saw me and went away."'

29 Okitarimakoni ama -ra -makoni kita ama 0ke 1SG.S be strong NEG for this reason+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F "I'm not strong." 30 Okitemenehe fora orawene o- kita -hemenehe fora o- na -rawa -hene 1SG.S be strong HYPOTH+F shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX F.PL IRR+F 77 aux amani ama -ni SEC BKG+F sec "If I were strong, I would have killed many of them with my blowgun." 31 Famarawamatahi fama -rawa -mata -hi be two F.PL short time IMP+F "Let them be two for now." 32 Yana bivo bivo ne wete narawe wete vana na+M bivo wete na -rawa+M bivo wete get up AUX spider monkey tie AUX F.PL spider monkey tie vi aux nf nf vt aux biyo biyo biyo narawe wete ne na -rawa+M biyo biyo biyo wete na+M AUX F.PL spider monkey spider monkey tie AUX spider monkey nf nf vt nf aux aux karaboa namisarawe kakitikabote wati tiwa ka- iti na -misa -rawa+M karaboha -kabote wati tiwa AUX up COMIT pick up quickly carry F.PL blowgun arrow carry aux nf kamisakabote tokomematamonaka ka- na -misa -kabote to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka COMIT AUX up quickly away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 'He got up and tied up the spider monkeys. He put the spider monkeys on his back. He got his blowgun. He put the arrows on his shoulder, and went back.' 33 Tokome tokome biti biti to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M biti biti away go/come back away go/come back 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son vi vi nm hinakamakimatamonane hi- na- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne

34	Biti	hinal	kamaki			biti	kamaki	
	biti	hi-	na-	ka	-makI+M	biti	ka	-makI+M
	3SG.POSS.son	OC	CAUS	go/come	following	3SG.POSS.son	go/come	following
	nm	vt				nm	vi	

OC CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

'He went back. His son came after him.'

Okobi	toke	okobi	yome me
o- ka abi	to- ka+M	o- ka abi	yomee me
1SG.POSS POSS father	away go/come	1SG.POSS POSS fath	er jaguar 3PL.O
nm	vi	nm	nm pron
nofanofa raba	hinofara	okobi	
nofa- nofa na -raba	na hi- nofa	-ra+F o-	ka abi
DUP like AUX a bit	AUX OC rece	ently NEG 1SG.POS	S POSS father
vt aux	prt	nm	
toke ya	watore one	oke	
to- ka.NOM+M ya	watore o-	na -ne o-	ke
away go/come ADJU	forget 1SG	.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.	S DECL+F
vi prt	vi aux	prt	
'His son came after him. His s	son came. "My fathe	er went out. The jaguars lik	e my father's group a lot. I

'His son came after him. His son came. "My father went out. The jaguars like my father's group a lot. My father went out, and I remembered him." $^{\prime\prime}$

35	Wati	tama		kani		kamaki			kamaki	
	wati	tama		ka-	na.NFIN	l ka	-makI+	M	ka	-makI+M
	arrow	hold	onto	COMIT	AUX	go/come	follow	ing	go/come	following
	nm	vt		aux		vi			vi	
bati			kobo	ne	Hari		te	awa	ha .	
bat	i		kob	o na+N	M haari	i ´	tee	awa	haa	
3SG	G.POSS.	father	meet	t AUX	that	one+M	2PL.S	see	DEM	
nm			vt	aux	dem		pron	vt	dem	
'He	'He came carrying arrows. He met his father. "There he is, look at him."'									

36	Biyo	weye	kano		
	biyo	weye	ka-	na.NOM+M	-no
	spider monkey	carry	COMIT	AUX	IP.N+M
	nf	vt	aux		
'''H	le is carrying spider r	nonkeys."	•		

37	Biyo	okobaba	ı		ama	oke	
	biyo	0-	kaba	-haba	ama	0-	ke
	spider monkey	1SG.S	eat	FUT+F	SEC	1SG.S	DECL+F
	nf	vt			sec	prt	

"I'm going to eat spider monkeys."

38	Abi	owa	tekawa				
	abi	owa	ti-	ka-	kawa		
	father	1SG.0	2SG.S	COMIT	give	something	to
	nm	pron	vt				
'''F	ather, give	them to m	ie.'''				

39	Weye	obe			ha	owa
	weye	0-	na	-be	haa	owa
	carry	1SG.S	AUX	IMMED+F	DEM	1SG
	vt	aux			dem	pron

"I will carry them."

40	Faya	bati		hiwa	kawe				biyo	weye
	faya	bati		hi-	ka-	kawa-	ͰM		biyo	weye
	so	3SG.POS	SS.fathe	r OC	COMIT	give	something	to	spider monkey	carry
	conj	nm		vt					nf	vt
nam	ise	•	Famarawa	ahani		ama	?			
na	-misa	a+M ′	fama	-rawa -	-hani	ama				
AUX	up		be two	F.PL	IP.N+F	SEC				
aux			vi			sec				

'His father gave them to him. He lifted them onto his back. "Are there two of them?"

41 Famarawaharani

fama -rawa -hara -ni be two F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F vi

"There are two of them."

42 Fora oraweneke

fora o- na -rawa -hene -ke shoot with blowgun $1 \times G.S$ AUX F.PL IRR+F DECL+F vt aux

"I would have shot more."

43	Owa	Owa awarawa		tonamarawa	me
	owa	awa -rawa+F	wete	to- na -ma -rawa+F	me
	1SG.0	see F.PL	return	away AUX back F.PL	3PL.O
	pron	vt	vi	aux	pron

kofafa onafama me nawi ama o- na- fama+F kofa -fa na -wi me ama 1SG.S CAUS be two 3PL.O SEC be unsteady DUP AUX steadily pron sec vi

onimakoni

o- na -makoni 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F

"They saw me and turned around, so I only shot two. I was unsteady."

44	44 Kofafa				onimak	oni				,	owa
	kofa	-fa	na	-wi	0-	na	-mal	koni			owa
	be unsteady	DUP	AUX	steadily	1SG.S	AUX	for	this	reason+F		1SG.0
	vi		aux		aux						pron

awarawarake

awa -rawa -hara -ke
see F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
vt

"They saw me because I was unsteady."

45 Tokomarawarake

to- ka -ma -rawa -hara -ke away go/come back F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F

"They went away."

46	Maki	kamaki		fati	karaboi		
	maki	ka	-makI+M	fati	karaboha.NFIN		
	3SG.POSS.husband	go/come	following	3SG.POSS.wife	shoot with blowgun		
	nm	vi		nf	result		

awe kamaki okarabowe ama hari -makI+M o- karaboha+M haari awa+M ka ama 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC go/come following that one+M see vi vt sec dem

"The male came. When he saw that his mate had been shot, he came to her, and I shot him."

47 *Fava* kame me bati kobo kaname -ma+M me ka- na -ma+M faya ka bati kobo COMIT AUX back so go/come back 3PL 3SG.POSS.father arrive conj vi pron nm vi Te amo kariyahi ka- na -ra -yahi tee amo COMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F 2PL.S sleep pron vi aux

'He came back. He arrived home with his father. "You two don't sleep."'

48 Bati bati kobo
bati bati kobo
3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father arrive
nm nm vi

kanamematamonaka

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

'He arrived home with his father.'

49 *Bati* Oka kobo kaname bivo kobo ka- na -ma+M ka bati 0biyo 3SG.POSS.father arrive COMIT AUX back 1SG.POSS POSS spider monkey vi aux prt

hasi na onakibe
hasi na+F o- to- na- ka -be
escape AUX 1SG.S away CAUS go/come IMMED+F
vi aux vt

'He arrived home with his father. "I'm going to go after my spider monkeys that got away.""

50 Abi tiwitahi
abi ti- ita -hi
father 2SG.S stay IMP+F
nm vi
"Father, stay here."

fanawi 51 *Owita* ama oni ita+F fanawi ama 0ni 1SG.S stay woman be 1SG.S BKG+F adj VC prt

"I'm not a woman, to stay at home."

52 Fanawi ama okere
fanawi ama o- ke -re
woman be 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
adj vc prt
"I'm not a woman."

53 Okobi , hinakiti , yome o- ka abi hinaka iti yomee 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS grandfather jaguar

hikabaranomako

hi- kaba -ra -no -mako
OC eat NEG IP.N+M for this reason+M
vt

"A jaguar ate my father's grandfather."

54 *Kikita* oke

ki- kita o- na -ke

DUP be strong 1SG.S AUX DECL+F

vi prt
"'I'm strong."'

55 Kikita onimakoni yama biyo
ki- kita o- na -makoni yama biyo
DUP be strong 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F thing spider monkey
vi aux nf nf

okaraboara
o- karaboha -hara o- ke
1SG.S shoot with blowgun IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vt prt

"I was strong enough to kill spider monkeys with my blowgun."

56 Faya yana tonematamona
faya yana to- na -himata -mona
so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
conj vi aux
'So he decided to go.'

57 Yana tone
yana to- na+M
start CH AUX
vi aux

bite
hora hine
hora hi- na+M
iyawa
hora hi- na+M
iyawa
nf
vt aux
nf

kabeiyawakabematamonakaba+Miyawakaba -himata -monaeatmanioc masheatFP.N+MREP+Mvtnfvt

'He decided to go. His daughter argued with him. He ate manioc mash.'

58 Iyawa kabe yana tonematamonaka
iyawa kaba+M yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
manioc mash eat start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf vt vi aux

'He ate manioc mash, and he was ready.'

59 Tokematamonaka

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

'He went out into the forest.'

, kobo , faya me 60 *Toke* toke bani re kobo na -ra+M faya to- ka+M to- ka+M bani me away go/come animal 3PL.0 meet AUX NEG away go/come so vi conj vi nm pron vt aux me , yowi me ta me ta me taa me yowi me taa yowi me taa me yowi me taa me brown capuchin 3PL contrast 3PL brown capuchin 3PL contrast 3PL.0 pron prt pron pron prt nm ohari , yowi
na- fama.NFIN ohari+M , yowi
CAUS be two kobo ne me yowi kobo na+M me brown capuchin 3PL.O meet AUX vi nm pron vt

yowi	me	fora		ne	Bi	yo		
yowi	me	fora		na+M	bi	.yo		
brown capuchin	3PL.O	shoot with b	lowgun	AUX	sp	oider	monkey	
nm	pron	vt		aux	nf	.		
onakakerawa			, kobo	orine				0
o- na- ka	-kI	-rawa+F	kobo	0-	na	-ra	-ne	0-
1SG.S CAUS go/c	ome com	ing F.PL	meet	1SG.S	AUX	NEG	CONT+F	1SG.S
vt			vt	aux				prt

'He went out. He didn't meet up with any game. He only killed two brown capuchins. He met up with some capuchins, and killed the capuchins with his blowgun. "I came after spider monkeys, but haven't met up with any."

61 Tokomarawa to- ka -ma -rawa+F awine -ke away go/come back F.PL seem+F DECL+F vi sec

"They seem to have gone away."

62 Tokomarawa to- ka -ma -rawa+F awine -ke away go/come back F.PL seem+F DECL+F vi sec

"They seem to have gone away."

63	Faya	kame		amo	name	?		ya	, J	vowi		me
	faya	ka	-ma+M	amo	na	-ma.NON	M+M	ya	,	yowi		me
	so	go/com	e back	sleep	AUX	back		ADJU]	orown	capuch	in 3PL.S
	conj	vi		vi	aux			prt]	nm		pron
kab	a	, me	, me	mari	na	bone		me	, m	e	mari	
kal	oa+F	me	me	mari	na	-habo	one	me	me	9	mari	
ea	t	3PL	3PL.	.S feas	t AU	X INT+E	7	3PL	31	PL.S	feast	
vt		pron	pror	n vi	au	lX		pron	p	con	vi	
nal	one	m	e yar	na ton	aba		me	ni	ya		me	yana
na	-hab	one me	e ya	na to	- na	-haba	me	ni	ya		me	yana
AU:	X INT+	F 31	PL.S st	art CH	AUX	FUT+F	3PL	to	ADJU	J	3PL.S	start
au	X	p	on vi	au	X		pror	n prt	prt		pron	vi

tonemetemoneke

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

'He came back, and slept at home. They ate the capuchins. They were going to have a festa, and they got ready to go.'

64	Me	m	ari	nabo	ne		me	toka					me	ma	ıri	na		me
	me	ma	ari	na	-habon	е	me	to-		ka+	F		me	ma	ri	na	ı+F	me
	3PL.S	5 f∈	east	AUX	INT+F		3PL.S	away	У	go/	com	.e	3PL.S	fe	ast	ΑU	JΧ	3PL.S
	pron	vi	Ĺ	aux			pron	vi					pron	vi		aυ	lX	pron
•	marina	ı			me	we	asiha	me			me		kama				me	
	marin	na			me	Wa	asi+F	me		,	me		ka		-ma+	F	me	
	food	for	a fea	st	3PL.S	fi	ind	3PL.S	3		3PI	L.S	go/c	ome	back		3PL	.S
	nf				pron	vt	-	pron			pro	on	vi				pro	n
ko	bo	nam	а	m	e .	1	me	kobo		n	ame	mete	moneke					
k	obo	na	-ma+1	F m	e ´]	me	kobo		n	a	-ma	-hem	nete	-mor	ie	-ke	
aı	rive	AUX	back	3	PL.S		3PL.S	arri	ve	Α	UX	bac	k FP.N	1+F	REP+	F	DECI	+F
V	Ĺ	aux		р	ron		pron	vi		а	ux							

'They were going to have a festa, and they went out into the forest. They found the game for the festa. They came back, and arrived back.'

, yama 65 *Me* kobo nama me na -ma+F me me kobo yama arrive AUX back 3PL.S thing 3PL.S vi pron nf pron wareminehemetemoneke ahi -mina -hemete -mone -ke ahi cook raised surface morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'They arrived back. They cooked the meat the next day.' 66 *Bani* waremetemoneni me me bani me me waa -rI -hemete -mone -ni animal 3PL.O 3PL.S cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F pron pron vt 'They cooked the game.' 67 *Bani* me ware bani bani me me me bani me me waa -rI me bani bani me animal 3PL.O 3PL.S cook raised surface 3PL.S animal animal 3PL.O pron pron vt pron Haro ware tafa me te waa -rI haaro tee tafa 3PL.S cook raised surface that one+F 2PL.S eat dem pron 'They cooked the game. "There, eat."' , Kani Mete 68 *Ee* hiri te nibeya Kani Mete tee na -be hiri sing AUX IMMED+F now (name of song) 2PL.S (pause) interj npropf pron vt aux "Ah, do Kani Mete." 69 *Bani* me te kabahi kaba -hi bani me tee 3PL.O 2PL.S eat IMP+F animal pron pron vt "Eat the game." , tahimetemone 70 **Bani** me kabaha me bani me kaba+F me tahi -mete -mone animal 3PL.O eat 3PL.POSS song about FP.N+F REP+F nm pron result pron nq Kani Mete tohineke Kani Mete to- ha -ne -ke (name of song) CH be CONT+F DECL+F VC "Kani Mete is the song about the game that is eaten." 71 Kani Mete te hiri nibeva hiri na -be Kani Mete tee (name of song) 2PL.S sing AUX IMMED+F now npropf pron vt aux "Do the Kani Mete."

```
72 Te
           tafahi
           tafa -hi
   tee
           eat IMP+F
   2PL.S
   pron
           vi
'"Eat."'
73 Bani
                    kaya
                                           me
                                                   kabemetemone
                                                                          ahi
            mρ
                           na
                                  me
                                                   kaba -hemete -mone
                                                                          ahi
   bani
            me
                    kaya
                           na+F
                                  me
                                           me
   animal
            3PL.S
                    lie
                           AUX
                                   3PL.O
                                           3PL.S
                                                   eat FP.N+F REP+F
                                                                          then
                    vi
                                           pron
                                                   vt
                                                                          dem
            pron
                           aux
                                  pron
                hekama
me
        me
                                             mati
                hi- ka-
                                     -ma+F
                                             mati
me
        me
                            ka
        3PL.S
                OC COMIT go/come back
3PL.O
                                             3PL.O
        pron
                vt
                                             pron
'They ate the game that was lying on the grill, which they had brought back.'
             bese
                    ami
                                        ni
                                            ya
   faya
             bese
                    ami
                                        ni
                                            ya
                                                    ti-
                                                           to- ka
                                                                          -ma
                                                                              -hi
   so
             son
                    2SG.POSS.mother
                                        to
                                            ADJU
                                                    2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
   conj
             VOC
                    nf
                                        prt prt
        tibe
amo
        ti-
                   -be
amo
              na
        2SG.S AUX IMMED+F
        aux
'Son, go to your mother, and sleep.'15
           tafemetemoneke
75 Me
                                          ahi
           tafa -hemete -mone -ke
   me
                                          ahi
   3PL.S
           eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                          then
                                          dem
   pron
           77 i
'They ate.'
76 Me
           tafa
                    me
                                me
                                        tafemetemoneke
                                                                       me
                                                                                   nafi
                                        tafa -hemete -mone -ke
   me
           tafa+F
                    me
                                me
                                                                       me
                                                                                   nafi
                                              FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
   3PL.S
           eat
                    3PL.S
                                3PL.S
                                        eat
                                                                       3PL.POSS
                                                                                   all
   pron
           νi
                    pron
                                pron
                                        vi
                                                                       pron
                                                                                   pn
          me fanawi
ahi
                       me
                               yoro
                                              tokana
                                                                 mati
                                                                         me fanawi
ahi
          me fanawi
                       me
                               yoro
                                              to- ka-
                                                         na+F
                                                                 mati
                                                                         me fanawi
then
          women
                       3PL.S
                               be together
                                              CH COMIT AUX
                                                                 3PL.S
                                                                         women
dem
          nf
                       pron
                                              aux
                                                                 pron
ahi
ahi
then
dem
'They ate, all of them, all the women together.'
77 Me
           tafa
                                ayaka
                                                wati
                    me
                                        me
                                                               kana
                                                                             me
           tafa+F
                                ayaka
                                                wati
   me
                    me
                                        me
                                                               ka-
                                                                      na+F
                                                                             me
   3PL.S
                    3PL.S
                                        3PL.S
                                                think about
                                                               COMIT AUX
           eat
                                song
                                                                             3PL.S
                                nf
   pron
           νi
                    pron
                                        pron
                                                vt
                                                               aux
                                                                             pron
        tamaremetemoneke
                 -ra -hemete -mone -ke
        tama
3PL.S
        be many NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
```

'They were eating. Some of them wanted to sing, not many of them.'

¹⁵ Siko was speaking to a child present.

78 N	Ле	tamara		me	,	wabori	ya
n	ne	tama	-ra+F	me	_	wabori	ya
3	BPL.S	be many	NEG	3PL.S		3SG.POSS brother-in-law	ADJU
p	oron	vi		pron		nm	prt
fame	matamoi	na	1	wabori			
fama	a -1	himata -r	mona v	wabori			
be v	with F	P.N+M RI	EP+M :	3SG.POSS	br	other-in-law	
vi			1	nm			
'The	re were i	not many of	them I	t was him a	nd l	nis brother-in-law '	

There were not many of them. It was him and his brother-in-law.

```
79 Fara me fara me tafa me fara me tafa+F me
                                          ni
                                     yoro
                                                  ya
                                                       me
                                                 ya
                                    yoro na.NOM+F
                                                       me
  same+F 3PL same+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sit AUX
                                                  ADJU 3PL.POSS
                              pron vi
  dem pron dem pron vi
                                          aux
                                                  prt
                                                       pron
   yana kanemetemoneke
ati
    yana ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
ati
voice start COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pn vi
           aux
```

'Right where the two of them were sitting eating, they started speaking.'

80 <i>Me</i>	ati	yana	kana		me	,	me	me	ati
me	ati	yana	ka-	na+F	me		me	me	ati
3PL.POSS	voice	start	COMIT	AUX	3PL.PC	SS	3PL	3PL.POSS	voice
pron	pn	vi	aux		pron		pron	pron	pn
fafamawa		nemetemo	neke			ahi			
fa- fama ·	-waha	na -he	mete -	mone	-ke	ahi			
DUP be two	change	AUX FP.	N+F R	EP+F	DECL+F	then			
vi		aux				dem			

'The two of them started speaking.' There were two of them speaking.'

81 <i>Nokobisa</i> nokobisa sleepiness nf	fata	hi- na+M i	itari ita -rI+M sit raised surface vi	<pre>hari haari that one+M dem</pre>
one		oke		
ati o- na	-ne	o- ke		
say 1SG.S AUX	CONT+F	1SG.S DEC	L+F	
vt		prt		

'Sleepiness is pushing him over as he sits there.'16

82	Me		ati	fafan			na	owa	ati	nafi	owa
	me		ati	fa-	fama	-waha	na+F	owa	ati	nafi.LIST	owa
	3PL.	POSS	voice	DUP	be two	change	AUX	one+M	voice	be big	other+M
	pron	1	pn	vi			aux	adj	pn	vi	adj
ati	•	iisi			faya	owa	ati	nafirem	atamonak	a	
at	i	i-	isi.LIST	,	faya	owa	ati	nafi	-ra -	himata -mona	a -ka
VC	ice	DUP	be small		so	other+M	voice	be big	NEG F	P.N+M REP+N	M DECL+M
pn	1	vi			conj	adj	pn	vi			
ah	i.										
ah	ni										
th	ien										
de	m										

'The two of them were talking together. One of them had a deep voice, and the other had a high voice. His voice was not deep.'

¹⁶ Siko was talking about the child that was present.

83 Kani Mete	me hii	ri na	me	ati	fafamawa	
Kani Mete	me hi	ri na+F	me	ati	fa- fama	-waha
(name of song)	3PL.S si	.ng AUX	3PL.POSS	voice	DUP be two	change
npropf	pron vt	aux	pron	pn	vi	
na me ,	ati an	nosarimakoni			me	ati
na+F me	ati am	nosa -ra	-makoni		me	ati
AUX 3PL.POSS	voice be	e good NEG	for this	reason+F	3PL.POSS	voice
aux pron	pn vi	L			pron	pn
ati ihi	. me	ka aya	ka ihi		yiwa wal	ka
ati ihi	me	ka aya	aka ihi		yiwa wal	κa
voice because of+	F 3PL	POSS son	ng becar	use of+F	pot des	stroy
pn post	pron	prt nf	post		nf vi	
nemetemone						
na -hemete -mone	•					
AUX FP.N+F REP+F						
aux						
'They sang Kani Mete. Th	ne two of then	n sang. They s	ang well. Bed	cause of the	ir singing, bec	ause of the

84 <i>Yiwa</i> yiwa pot nf	yiwa tebe yiwaha tebe ceramic pot nf	<i>ahaba</i> ahaba+F end vi	<pre>yiwa boni yiwaha boni ceramic pot nf</pre>	<pre>ahaba ahaba+F end vi</pre>	<i>yiwa</i> yiwa pot nf	<pre>yama yama thing nf</pre>
<i>kakawari</i> ka- ka- DUP COMI pn	waa -rI T cook raised	surface	<pre>ahabarawa ahaba -rawa+ end F.PL vi</pre>	yama Yama thing nf	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>waka</i> waka destroy vt
nemetemon na -hem AUX FP.N aux	ete -mone -ke	ahi ahi L+F then dem				

'The pots for toasting, the pots for boiling, and the pots for cooking, were destroyed. They broke them.'

85	Hiri	naba		nemo	nematamonaka						
	hiri	na	-ba	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi			
	sing	AUX	without stopping	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then			
	antip	aux		aux				dem			

'He sang without stopping.'

86 Aya aya son	ıka '		-ra	-makoni for this	reason+F	ayaka	<pre>ihi ihi because of+F post</pre>	<i>yiwa</i> yiwa pot nf	,
<i>yiwa</i> yiwa	<i>waka</i> waka		etemonen -hemet	<i>i</i> te -mone	-ni		-		
not	destro	XIIA v	FP N+F	REP+F	BKG+F				

'Because the song was so good, because of the song they broke pots.'

aux

87	Kani Mete	nematamonaka	ahi
	Kani Mete	na -himata -mona -ka	ahi
	sing Kani Mete	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	vi	aux	dem

'He sang Kani Mete.'

nf vt

88 <i>Hinaka</i> hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	, hinaka hinaka 3SG.PG pron	<u> </u>		'IN 'hi 3S	naka .naka GG.POSS	yamata yamata food nf	wasi wasi.NFIN find result
ihi	tanata		kainihi	1	ati		
ihi	,	- tanako	na -kai	i -ni	-hi ati		
because of+F		perspire		IP.N+F			
post	vi	rung	aux		vt		
nematamonaka	. –	ahi	0.0.0.0				
	-mona -ka		•				
	REP+M DEC						
aux		dem					
"Because of her	cooking of fo	ood she is swe	ating," he said	d.'			
		yawaya	kainihi		hine	ati	yana
		ya- waya	na -kai	-ni -h		, at	•
3.REFL 3				IP.N+F DU			ice start
	ron vt		aux		pron	pn	
tohiti		rama	ahi		1	F	·
to- na -hit	- T +M	rama	ahi				
	ng the way						
aux	19 0110	prt	dem				
"She is fanning	herself." The	_		σ.'			
2110 10 141111110	11010011, 1110	11 110 5141 154 4		0.			
90 <i>Me</i>	, nafi	tohawa	ran	ia ahi			
me	nafi	to- ha -w	aha+F rar	na ah	i		
3PL.POSS	all	CH be ch	ange uni	isual th	en		
pron	pn	VC	prt	de:	m		
'Then all of then	n sang.'						
91 Amosemetem	one	, oko	obi		na		
amosa -	hemete -m	one o-	ka	abi	ati na		
be good F	P.N+F RE	P+F 1S	G.POSS POS	S father	say AU	X	
vi		nm			vt		
hiahamaro		amani	•				
	-hamaro	ama -ni					
OC CH AUX	FP.E+F	SEC BKG+F					
aux	_	sec					
'My father used	to say it was	beautiful.'					
92 Hinaka	yamata	wasiani	yamata	wasi	h	inaka	yamata
hinaka	•	wasi -hani	•		•	inaka	yamata
3SG.POSS	-	cook IP.N+	-	cook		SG.POSS	food
pron		vt	nf	result		ron	nf
=	hi	tanatana		kainihi	Ρ	_	111
	<i>ni</i> Lhi		tanako		-ni	-hi ati	
	necause of		perspire	AUX ?	IP.N+F		
	ost	vi vi	berabire	aux	TT • IN I L	vt	,
nematamonaka		v ⊥ ahi		uun		٧٤	
	-mona -ka		•				
	REP+M DEC						
aux		dem					
"Because of her	cooking of fo		eating " he cai	d '			
Decause of Hel	COOKING OF IC	ou, sire is swe	ating, ne sai	и.			

93 *Me* kainihi kanisa rama ahi na -kai -ni -hi kana -risa+F rama ahi AUX ? IP.N+F DUP COMIT AUX down 3PL.S unusual then pron aux aux prt dem 'They were all singing.' 94 *Hine* hine keni wayawaya na -ke hine hine waya- waya -ni 3.REFL 3.REFL DUP fan AUX DECL+F IP.N+F pron pron vt aux "She was fanning herself." 95 *Hine* wayawaya hine wayawaya keni na -ke hine waya- waya -ni hine waya- waya 3.REFL DUP fan AUX DECL+F IP.N+F 3.REFL DUP fan pron vt aux pron vt kene wabori ati yotokabote ne -ke -ne wabori ati yoto -kabote na+M AUX DECL+F IRR+F 3SG.POSS brother-in-law voice follow quickly AUX nm vi aux pn rama rama unusual prt "She was fanning herself." His brother-in-law started right after him." 96 Wabori ka Kani Mete iisi kabote wabori Kani Mete ika isi na -kabote (name of song) DUP be small AUX quickly 3SG.POSS brother-in-law POSS prt npropf vi aux na ati fafamawa ne ayaki amosematamona fa- fama ayaka.NFIN na+F ati -waha na+M amosa -himata -mona DUP be two change AUX be good FP.N+M REP+M AUX voice sing aux pn vi aux νi vi okobi okobi na hiehimari ati na ka abi ka abi hi- to- ha -himari 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M vt aux amane nafi tohawa rama ahi ama -ne nafi to- ha -waha+F rama ahi SEC BKG+M all CH be change unusual then pn VC prt dem 'His brother-in-law's Kani Mete joined in in a high voice. My father used to say his singing was beautiful. They were all singing together.' 97 *Bere* nikimemetemoneke ahi me na -kima -hemete -mone -ke bere ahi me AUX spread out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S be across vi dem pron aux tokanoko mati ahi to- kanoko mati ahi CH COMIT point 3PL.S then vi pron dem

'They were all in a line facing the other way.'

ahi

98 *Me*

vavaka

'My father used to say the song was beautiful.'

na

nemetemoneke

```
na -hemete -mone -ke
          ya- yaka
                     na
                                                       ahi
          DUP walk
                         AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
   3PL.S
                     AUX
                                                       then
   pron
          vi
                     aux
                           aux
                                                       dem
'They were dancing.'
99 Sare
                  tafowe
                           sana
                                                          neno
                                                         na -hino
   sarehe
                  tafowe
                           sana
   blowgun dart
                 wrapped
                           carry strapped on shoulder
                                                         AUX IP.N+M
  nf
                  pn
                                                          aux
               tafowe
sare
                        sana
                                                       neno
               tafowe
                                                       na -hino
sarehe
                        sana
                                                                    sarehe
blowgun dart wrapped carry strapped on shoulder AUX IP.N+M blowgun dart
nf
               pn
                        vt
                                                       aux
                                                                    nf
            hinaka
                       sare
                                      tafowe
                                                mowari
                                                         tati
tafowe
            hinaka
                       sarehe
                                      tafowe
                                                mowari
                                                         tati
                                                               taa
wrapped
            3SG.POSS
                      blowgun dart wrapped
                                                cotton
                                                        head protrude
            pron
                       nf
                                                pn
                                                               vi
tonakainihi
                           ati
                                nematamonaka
                                                             ai
to- na -kai -ni -hi
                           ati na -himata -mona -ka
                                                             ahi
CH AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
                           say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                           then
                           vt
                                aux
"He was carrying a package of blowgun darts, on a strap on one shoulder and across his chest. The cotton
heads of the darts were sticking out," he said.'
100 Hinaka
                             rofi
                                                                    tati
              sare
                                               ni
                                                           mowari
                                               na.NFIN
   hinaka
              sarehe
                             rofi
                                                           mowari
                                                                    tati
   3SG.POSS blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX
                                                                    head
                                                            cotton
                                                                    pn
   pron
              nf
                             result
                                               aux
                                                           pn
          tonakainihi
                                           nematamonaka
ta
                                      ati
                                -hi
                                           na -himata -mona -ka
          to- na -kai -ni
                                     ati
protrude CH AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
                                           AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                      say
          aux
                                      vt.
                                           aux
"His darts were twirled, and their cotton heads were sticking out," he said."
101 Sare
                  tafowe
                            sanasana
                   tafowe
                            sana- sana
   blowgun dart
                  wrapped
                            DUP carry strapped on shoulder
   nf
                   pn
                            vt
kainoho
                       ati
                            kabote
                                          nematamonaka
                                                                       ahi
na -kai -no
                 -ho
                      ati
                            na -kabote
                                          na -himata -mona -ka
                                                                       ahi
         IP.N+M DUP
                       say
                            AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                                       then
                       vt
                            aux
                                          aux
"He was carrying the package of darts," he said.'
102 Ayaka
                     amosemetemone
           va
                                              okobi
                                                                      na
                     amosa -hemete -mone
                                                                      ati na
   ayaka
                                              0-
                                                       ka
                                                             abi
           ya
   song
           ADJU
                     be good FP.N+F REP+F
                                              1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                                      say AUX
   nf
                     vi
                                                                      vt
           prt
                                              nm
hiamaroke
hi- to- ha -hamaro -ke
OC CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F
aux
```

103 <i>Oko</i>	pi –			hiyare	hiyari		ota	kamit	ta -	na	,
0-]	ka	abi	hiyara+M	hiyar	a.NFIN	otaa	ka-	mita+	-F na	a+F ´
1SG	.POSS 1	POSS	father	speak	speak		1EX.S	COMI	T hear	JA	JX
nm				vi	vi		pron	vt		aı	ıx
okiti				okiti				atimatar	nonaha		
0-	ka	iti		0-	ka	iti		ati	-mata	-mona	a -ha
1SG.POS	S POSS	gra	ndfather	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfa	ther	voice	FP.N+M	REP+N	1 DUP
nm				nm				pn			

'My father spoke, and we listened as he spoke. It was what my grandfather said.'

104 <i>Okiti</i>			hihiri	hihemetemone	
0-	ka iti		hi- hiri	hi- to- ha	-hemete -mone
1SG.POSS	POSS gra	ndfather	DUP say	OC CH AUX	FP.N+F REP+F
nm			vt	vt	
okobi		na	hiamaro		amani .
o- ka	abi	ati na	hi- to-	ha -hamaro	ama -ni
1SG.POSS POS	S father	say AUX	OC CH	AUX FP.E+F	SEC BKG+F
nm		vt	aux		sec

'My father used to say what my grandfather had said.'

105	05 Ayaki yana			nebon	a		ati	ne	me	
	ayaka.NFIN	yana	to-	na	-ma	-hibona	ati	na+M		me
	sing	start	СН	AUX	back	INT+M	say	AUX		3PL.S
	vi	vi	aux				vt	aux		pron

kawehemetemone

ka- waa -hemete -mone COMIT stand FP.N+F REP+F

'He said he was going to start singing again, and they were waiting for him.'

106	Me fanawi hete			tonanana				kawakani			
	me fanawi	hete	to-	na	-na	-na	ka-	na	-waha	-kani	ahi
	women	stick in	СН	AUX	DUP	DUP	COMIT	AUX	change	?+F	then
	nf	vt	aux				aux				dem

'The women were between the men.'

107	Yama	ahi	neno	?
	yama	ahi	na -hino	
	thing	work on	AUX IP.N+M	
	nf	vt	aux	

"Was he working?"

108	Yama	ahi	nenoho				
	yama	ahi	na	-hino	-ho		
	thing	work on	AUX	IP.N+M	DUP		
	nf	vt	aux				

"He was working."

109	Awa	awa	ti	nenoho				
	awa	awa	tii	na -hino -ho				
	tree	tree	cut through	AUX IP.N+M DUP				
	nf	nf	vt	aux				

"He was cutting the brush."

110 Awa

bore

nenoho

```
na -hino -ho
    awa
          bore
                                       ahi
                    AUX IP.N+M DUP
    tree
          pull out
                                       then
    nf
          vt
                     aux
"He was clearing the forest for a new garden."
111 Awa
          ti
                         neno
          tii
    awa
                         na -hino
    tree
          cut through
                        AUX IP.N+M
   nf
          vt
                         aux
"He was clearing the brush."
112 Awa
          ti
                         nenoka
                        na -hino -ka
    awa
          tii.
                        AUX IP.N+M DECL+M
    tree cut through
    nf
          vt
                         aux
"He was clearing the brush."
                                                           , hinaka
113 Hinaka
                         ahi
                                                 hinaka
                                   neno
                 yama
   hinaka
                         ahi
                                   na -hino
                                                 hinaka
                                                              hinaka
                 yama
    3SG.POSS
                 thing
                         work on AUX IP.N+M 3SG.POSS
                                                               3SG.POSS
                                                                          3SG.POSS
                                   aux
                                                 pron
                                                              pron
                                                         fehene
                      ti
                                     nakosi
                                                                   nowiri
matafo
            matafo
                                     na -kosa.NFIN
matafo
            matafo
                      tii
                                                         fehene
                                                                   nowi -ri
vine sp
            vine sp
                      cut through AUX middle
                                                          juice+M drip DISTR
                      result
                                    aux
                                                                   vi
            nm
                                                          pn
                                   ati
tonakosakainoho
                                         nematamonaka
                             -ho
to- na -kosa -kai -no
                                         na -himata -mona -ka
                                   ati
CH AUX middle ? IP.N+M DUP
                                         AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                   say
                                   vt
                                         aux
aux
"He was doing his work. The water of the matafo vine that he had cut through was dripping," he said.
114 Hinaka
              yama
                      ahi
                                ni
                                          moni
                                                     hinaka
                                                                yama
                                                                        ahi
   hinaka
               yama
                      ahi
                                na.NFIN
                                          moni
                                                     hinaka
                                                                yama
                                                                        ahi
                                                     3SG.POSS
    3SG.POSS thing work on
                                AUX
                                          sound
                                                                thing
                                                                        work on
                                                     pron
              nf
                      result
                                aux
                                          pn
                                                                nf
                                                                        result
ni
          moni
                 amakainihi
                                        kainihi
                                                               ati
na.NFIN
         moni
                 ama -kai -ni
                                  -hi
                                        na -kai -ni
                                                         -hi
                                                               ati
          sound
                 be
                           BKG+F DUP
                                        AUX ?
                                                 IP.N+F DUP
                                                               say
         pn
                 VC
                                        aux
nematamonaka
                            ai
na -himata -mona -ka
                            ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                            then
                            dem
"The sound of him working could be heard," he said."
115 Hinaka
                      ahi
                                                        tonakainihi
              yama
                                ni
                                          moni
                                                  teo
   hinaka
                      ahi
                                na.NFIN
                                                        to- na -kai -ni
              yama
                                          moni
                                                  teo
                                                        CH AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
    3SG.POSS
              thing work on
                                AUX
                                          sound
                                                  hit
              nf
                      result
                                aux
                                          pn
                                                  vt.
                                                        aux
ati
     ne
            rama
                      ahi
ati
    na+M rama
                      ahi
say AUX
            unusual
                      then
                      dem
            prt
"The sound of him working was heard as he was hitting," he said."
```

```
116 Amosakanikima
                          rama
                                     ahi
          -kanikima+F
    amosa
                          rama
                                     ahi
   be good scattered
                          unusual
                                     then
   vi
                           prt
                                     dem
'It was beautiful.'
117 Hine
                  yaka
                              nemetemone
          me
                         ทก
   hine
          me
                  yaka
                         na
                              na -hemete -mone
   only
          3PL.S
                  walk
                         AUX
                              AUX FP.N+F REP+F
   pron pron
                  vi
                         aux
                              aux
'They were walking slowly.'
118 Hine
                    katomaremetemone
                                                       ka
                                                              yama
                                                                     amani
            me
                                                 me
                    katoma -ra -hemete -mone
                                                       ka
                                                              yama
   hine
            me
                                                 me
                                                                     ama -ni
   3.REFL
            3PL.S damage NEG FP.N+F REP+F
                                                 3PL
                                                       POSS
                                                              thing
                                                                     be BKG+F
   pron
            pron
                    vt
                                                 pron prt
                                                              nf
                                                                      VC
bani
                   tani
                                         hiri
                                               na
                                                      mati
        me
                                 me
bani
        me
                    tani
                                 me
                                         hiri
                                               na+F
                                                      mati
animal 3PL.POSS song about
                                 3PL.S
                                         sing
                                               AUX
                                                      3PL.S
        pron
                pn
                                 pron
                                         vt
                                                aux
                                                      pron
'They were going slowly, as they sang a song about the animals.'
              yama
                                             ahi
119 Hinaka
                      ahi
                                ni
                                                                     hinaka
                                                        neno
                                na.NFIN
                                                        na -hino
   hinaka
              vama
                      ahi
                                             ahi
   3SG.POSS thing work on
                                             work on AUX IP.N+M
                                AUX
                                                                     3SG.POSS
              nf
                      result
                                aux
                                                        aux
                                                                     pron
   pron
         ti
                                                       nowiri
matafo
                       nakosi
                                          fehene
                        na -kosa.NFIN
                                         fehene
                                                       nowi
                                                                      -ri
matafo
         tii
vine sp cut through AUX middle
                                          juice+M
                                                       cause to drip DISTR
         result
                        aux
                                                       77+
                                         pn
                                         nematamonane
tonakosakainoho
                                   ati
to- na -kosa -kai -no
                             -ho
                                         na -himata -mona -ne
                                   ati
CH AUX middle ? IP.N+M DUP
                                         AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
                                   say
                                   vt
                                         aux
"As he was working, he made the matafo vine that he cut to drip its water," he said.'
120 Hinaka
              mafiko
                             hinaka
                                        mafiko
                                                   ti
                                                                 nakosi
   hinaka
              mafiko
                             hinaka
                                        mafiko
                                                   tii
                                                                 na -kosa.NFIN
    3SG.POSS
              plant sp
                             3SG.POSS
                                        plant sp
                                                   cut through
                                                                 AUX middle
              nm
                             pron
                                        nm
                                                   result
moni
       teo
             tonakainoho
                                         ati
                                               nematamonaka
                                                                            ahi
             to- na -kai -no
moni
       teo
                                   -ho
                                         ati
                                               na -himata -mona -ka
                                                                            ahi
             CH AUX ? IP.N+M DUP
sound hit
                                         say
                                               AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                                            then
       vt
             aux
                                         vt
                                               aux
"The sound of him cutting mafiko plants could be heard," he said."
121 Faya
                     nafi
                            toha
                                                 ahi
          me
                                       rama
                     nafi
                            to- ha+F
                                       rama
                                                 ahi
   faya
          me
          3PL.POSS
                     all
                            CH be
                                                  then
    so
                                       unusual
    conj
          pron
                                                  dem
                     pn
                            VC
                                       prt
'They were all singing.'
122 Me
                             hina
           wawarari
                                            rama
                                                      ahi
                             na -hina+F
           wa- wara -ri
                                                      ahi
                                            rama
    3PL.S
           DUP grab DISTR
                             AUX can
                                            unusual
                                                      then
                                            prt
```

'They were holding onto each other in a line.'

123 Amosakanikimemetemone okobi na ka abi amosa -kanikima -hemete -mone 0ati na be good scattered FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX nm hiamaro okiti hiri amani hi- to- ha -hamaro iti hiri ama -ni 0ka OC CH AUX FP.E+F SEC BKG+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather sav aux sec nm vt hinaharo hi- na -haaro OC AUX IP.E+F 'My father used to say it was beautiful, as my grandfather reportedly used to say.' 124 *Okiti* hihiri hiemetemone ka iti hi- hiri hi- to- ha -hemete -mone 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP say OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F vt aux okobi hiamaro na amani abi ati na hi- to- ha -hamaro ama -ni ka 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+F SEC BKG+F sec 'My father used to say what my grandfather said.' 125 *Bani* tai amosa tai me bani me amosa+F bani tahi bani tahi me me animal 3PL.POSS song about be good 3PL.POSS animal song about vi nm pron pn nm pron pn amosake -ke amosa be good DECL+F "The song about the animals is good." 126 *Bani* me tai amosini me ati -ni bani me tahi amosa me ati animal 3PL.POSS song about be good BKG+F 3PL.S say nm pron pn vi pron nemetemone na -hemete -mone AUX FP.N+F REP+F

127	Bani	me	tai	amosake			
	bani	me	tahi	amosa	-ke		
	animal	3PL.POSS	song about	be good	DECL+F		
	nm	pron	pn	vi			

"The songs about the animals are good."

"The songs about the animals are good," they said."

128	Bani	me ,	ayaka	hiyara		sawikere sawi -ke -re				
	bani	me	ayaka	hiya	-ra+F	sawi	-ke	-re		
	animal	3PL	song	be bad	NEG	be present	DECL+F	NEG+F		
	nm	pron	nf	vi		vi				

"There aren't any bad songs."

129 Avaka fara hinama tohake to- ha -ke avaka fara hinama CH be DECL+F same+F sona all nf dem adj VC "All the songs are the same."

hiri nematamona 130 Ayaka naba okobi na nahaba+F hiri abi ayaka na -himata -mona 0ka song sina AUX at night AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father nf vt aux aux nm okobi okiti ta aati

abi ka t.aa \circ ka iti a **–** ati 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say contrast nm prt nm vt.

toematamona

to- ha -himata -mona CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M

'He sang songs all night long, my grandfather reportedly used to say.'

131 Hikanawahaba ama nimetemone ahi hi- ka- na- waha -haba na.NOM+F -mete -mone ahi ama OC COMIT CAUS dawn FUT+F AUX FP.N+F REP+F then be aux dem VC

'He sang the songs until dawn.'

hirihiri naba 132 Ayaka hiri me naba me me ayaka hiri- hiri na nahaba+F na nahaba+F hiri me me me sing AUX at night AUX at night song DUP 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.S sing pron pron pron vt. nf vt aux aux waka viwa me yiwa me hina ibe so

hi- na+F ibe SOO yiwa me yiwa me waka OC 3PL 3PL.S AUX lie pot pot destroy piece pron nf nf pron vt. aux pn 77 i

kanikimemetemoneke

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

'They sang songs all night long. The pieces of the pots they broke were scattered all around.'

133 *Faya* ayaka bara me ihawaremetemone iha -waha -ra -hemete -mone faya ayaka bara me put change NEG FP.N+F REP+F so sona other+F 3PL.S pron conj nf adj vt

'They didn't start a different song.'

134 *Afa* hiri hinemetemonehe hiri me ra me na hiri hi- na -hemete -mone -he hiri na+F afa me ra me 3PL.S sing OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP 0 3PL.S this+F sing AUX pron vt aux vt dem prt pron Sikari Sikari yaka Sikari mera ne yaka Sikari yaka mera Sikari yaka na+M Sikari (man's name) AUX (man's name) visit 3PL.O (man's name) visit npropm npropm vt aux npropm pron

```
nematamonaka
```

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

aux

When they were singing the song that they had sung long before, Sikari visited them. Sikari was visiting.

135 Sikari yaka ne kobo namatamona amake Sikari kobo na.NOM+M -mata ama -ke yaka na+M -mona (man's name) visit AUX arrive AUX FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F npropm vi aux vi aux VC

ahi Boto

there (village name)

dem npropf

'Sikari was visiting. He arrived at Boto.'

136 *Faya* Sikari yaka sawihi faya ne me faya Sikari yaka na+M sawi+M faya me mari so (man's name) visit AUX be present so 3PL.S feast conj npropm vi aux vi conj pron vi

nemetemone
na -hemete -mone fahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
aux dem

'Sikari was visiting. He was present when they had a feast.'

137 *Aba* aba me mρ kabibana ekaba+F -bana aha me aha me 9 fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 1IN.S eat TUT pron nm pron pron 77 T

"Shall we eat fish?"

138 *Aba* me eeKani Mete ewati kana Kani Mete na+F aba me ee ee wati ka-(name of song) 1IN.S COMIT AUX fish 3PL (pause) think about pron interj npropf pron vt aux

Kani Mete wati kana aba me e e na+F Kani Mete ee wati kaaba me ee (name of song) 1IN.S think about COMIT AUX fish 3PL.O npropf pron aux pron pron

kabarimanahikaba -rimana -hieat NEG.IMP+FAUX IMP+Fvtaux

"Since we are going to sing Kani Mete, let's not eat fish."

139 *Bani* kabahi me e bani bani kaba -hi bani me ee 3PL.O 1IN.S eat IMP+F animal pron pron vt nm

"Let's eat meat."

140 *Bani* kabahi e me ati nemetemoneke bani kaba -hi ati -hemete -mone -ke ee me na 1IN.S eat IMP+F 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F say pron vt pron aux

"Let's eat meat," they said.'

141	Bani	me	kaba	me	,	banı		me	me			
	bani	me	kaba+F	me		ban		me	me			
	animal	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S				3PL.O	3PL.S pron			
kaha	nm E metemonek	pron	vt	pron <i>hiyama</i>	•	nm		pron <i>m</i>	_			
	a -hemet		-ke	hiyama					u . iti			
eat			DECL+F			ped	pecca					
vt				nm		_	-	-	on			
'The	y ate meat.	They ate	animals, w	hite-lipp	ed pec	cari	es.'					
142	Hiyama			ne	me		mowa	na	hiyam			
	hiyama			ne DT 0	me		mowa	na+F				
	white-li	ippea pe	=	3PL.O	3PL.		fight			e-lippe	a pecca	ary
111.0	nm	tabas	-	oron	pron		vt ma	aux	nm	144.0	111.0	
<i>me</i> me	<i>me</i> me	taba		na na		<i>hiyal</i> hiya				<i>me</i> me	<i>me</i> me	
3PL			t on gri					ped pe	ccarv	3PL.O	3PL.S	
pro			5	au		nm		- F	7	pron	pron	
kaba	=		hiyama				me	me	mari		na	
kab	a+F me	,	hiyama				me	me	mar	i	na+F	
eat	3PL	.S	white-li	pped p	eccar	ĵУ	3PL.O	3PL.	S fea	st on	AUX	
vt	pro	n	nm				pron	pron	vt		aux	
hiya			me	me			metemo					
hiy		1	me	me				nete -r				
	te-lippe	a pecca	=			eat	FP.N	I+F. KI	P+F			
nm 'The	y fought wl	hita linna	pron			vt +ho r	20000000	oc on o c	ill Thou	ata tha na	nagorios	Thou
	ted on the p					uie į	eccarie	s on a g.	ini. They	ate the pe	ccaries.	They
icas	ted on the p	eccurics.	They are th	ic peccai	ics.							
143	Faya m	e ta	fa m	ie.	, ba	i	itema	tamona			amai	ke
	faya m		afa+F m		ba	ahi	ita			ta -mona		-ke
			_	PL.S		ın		ocated	FP.N+I	M REP+I		DECL+F
, .	conj p	ron v	i p	ron	nn	n	vi				VC	
ahi	•											
ahi the												
dem												
	y ate. It wa	s noon '										
1110	y atc. It wa	.5 110011.										
144	Kanawane	metemone		ama	ahi							
	kanawana	a -hemet	te -mone	ama	ahi	-						
	start	FP.N+	F REP+F	SEC	ther	ì						
	vi			sec	dem							
"It s	started ther	า.'''										
145	Kanawane	metemone		ahi	bai		ite		ya	ahi	, me	
	kanawana	a -hemet	te -mone	ahi	bah	ni	ita.N	M+MO	ya	ahi	me	
	start	FP.N+I	REP+F	then	sur	1	be lo	cated	ADJU	there	3P:	L.S
	vi			dem	nm		vi		prt	dem	pr	on
ati	nemetem											
ati		emete -										
say		'.N+F R	EP+F									
vt '''T+ 1	aux	a.a. 11.11										
It l	began at no	on, tney	said.									

```
146 Yama
           kayomaremetemone
           ka- yoma -ra -hemete -mone
                                                ama -ni
    vama
           COMIT be dark NEG FP.N+F REP+F
                                                SEC BKG+F
   nf
           vi
"It was not getting dark."
147 Bai
                              yama
          ite
                                         kanawanemetemone
                                                                    amake
                       ya
   bahi
          ita.NOM+M
                                         kanawana -hemete -mone
                                                                    ama -ke
                       ya
                              yama
                              thing
                                                FP.N+F REP+F
                                                                    SEC DECL+F
   sun
          be located
                       ADJU
                                         start
   nm
          vi
                              nf
                                         vi
                                                                    sec
                       prt
"When it was noon it started."
148 Kanawanabanake
                               ahi
   kanawana -habana -ke
                               ahi
   start
           FUT+F DECL+F
                               here
   vi
                               dem
"It will start now."
149 E
         e
                famahi
         ee
                 fama
                        -hi
   1IN 1IN.S be two IMP+F
   pron pron
                 vi
"I will go with you."
150 Ee
                   famemetemoneke
           me
                   fama -hemete -mone -ke
   ee
           me
           3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
   ves
   interj pron
                   vi
"Yes, there were two of them."
151 Me
                            hikanawanemetemone
           fama
                    me
                                                           amani
                            hi- kanawana -hemete -mone
                                                           ama -ni
           fama+F
   me
                    me
                            OC start FP.N+F REP+F
                                                           SEC BKG+F
   3PL.S
           be two
                    3PL.S
   pron
                            vt
           vi
                    pron
                                                           sec
"The two of them started it."
152 Me
           hikanawana
                             me
                                     hiri
                                            hinemetemone
                                                                        amake
                                            hi- na -hemete -mone
   me
           hi- kanawana+F
                             me
                                     hiri
                                                                        ama -ke
                                            OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
    3PL.S
           OC
               start
                             3PL.S
                                     sing
                                                                        SEC DECL+F
   pron
           vt
                             pron
                                     vt
                                            aux
"They started it. They sang it."
153 Ee
                faya
                                me
                                        hikanawanabone
                                                                        tafa
                       me
                                                                me
                                        hi- kanawana -habone
                faya
                       me
                                me
                                                                me
                                                                        tafa+F
                       3PL
                                3PL.S
                                        OC start
                                                      INT+F
    (pause)
                so
                                                                3PL.S
                                                                        eat
                                pron
   interj
                conj
                       pron
                                        vt
                                                                pron
                                                                        vi
       fara
                        yoro
                               ni
me
                me
                                          ya
                               na.NOM+F
       fara
                me
                        yoro
                                          ya
                                          ADJU
3PL.S same+F
                3PL.S
                       sit
                               AUX
                pron
       dem
                        vi
                               aux
                                          prt
'They were going to start it, and the two of them ate where they were sitting on the plaza.'
154 Sina
    sina
           ti-
                ka-
                        kibI
```

2SG.S COMIT be inside BKG+F

snuff nf

vt.

"Do you have snuff in the bag?"

 155 Sina
 owakibe
 oke

 sina
 o- ka- kibI
 o- ke

 snuff
 1SG.S COMIT be inside
 1SG.S DECL+F

 nf
 vt
 prt

"I have snuff in the bag."

156 **Sina** kafoyineke haro ee ka- foya sina -ne -ke haaro ee snuff COMIT be inside CONT+F DECL+F that one+F yes nf vi dem interj

"There is snuff in here."

157 **Sina** ebe kane sina ebe kane sina na+M sina ebe kasina ebe kana+M sina snuff snuff divide up COMIT AUX divide up COMIT AUX snuff nf aux nf vt aux nf

watarimatamona

'He divided the snuff. He put some snuff on his palm.'

158 **Sina** watari hisi nematamonaka sina wata -rI+M sina sina hisi na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M snuff put raised surface snuff sniff nf vt nf vt aux

ahi

ahi then

dem

'He put the snuff on his palm, and took the snuff.'

159 **Sina** hisi ne sina hisi nematamona ahi sina hisi na+M sina hisi na -himata -mona ahi snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M then nf vt aux nf vt aux dem

'He took the snuff.'

160 **Hiss** hiss hiss hiss hiss sound of sniffing) sound sound sound sound sound sound sound sound hiss

Aa amosibone ayaka karo ee ayaka amosa.NOM+F -bone aa ee karo be good INT+F (expression of pleasure) (pause) song so that nf vi interj prt

'Sniff, sniff, "Aa, so the song will be good."'

161 Ayaka wati kanematamona
ayaka wati ka- na -himata -mona
song think about COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nf vt aux

'He was about to start the song.'

```
iti
162 Ayaka
           wati
                         kane
                                      ayaka
                                                        Himata
                                                                    tai
   луака wati
ayaka wati
                         ka- na+M ayaka
                                              iti+M
                                                        himata
                                                                     tai
           think about COMIT AUX
   sona
                                      sona
                                              say
                                                        what?
                                                                     be ahead
   nf
           vt
                         aux
                                      nf
                                              vt
                                                        interrog
                          , He Eniya
                                                         toibana
toibana
                                              tai
                 PP
                             He Eniya tai to- ha+F -bana (name of song) be ahead CH AUX FUT
to- ha+F -bana
                 ee
CH AUX FUT
                 (pause)
                 interj
                             npropf
                                              vi
                                                          aux
'He was about to start the song. He named a song. "Will it be first, will He Eniya be first?"
163 Ee
           He Eniya
                            tai
                                       tiniha
           He Eniya
                                       ti-
                                             to- niha- ha
   99
                            tai
           (name of song)
                            be ahead 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX
   yes
   interj npropf
                            vi
                                       aux
"All right, do He Eniya first."
164 E
           wati
                         kana
                                      amani
   ee
           wati
                         ka-
                               na+F
                                      ama -ni
   1IN.S think about COMIT AUX
                                      SEC BKG+F
   pron vt
                         aux
                                      sec
"We want to sing it."
165 Ki
             rima
                             tinahi
   kii
             na -rima
                             ti-
                                   na -hi
   look at AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
             aux
                             aux
"Let's go now."
                                          hinaka
166 Hinaka
                                                      hinaka
                                                                 biha
              yama
                      hinaka
                                yama
                                yama
   hinaka
                      hinaka
                                           hinaka
                                                      hinaka
                                                                 hiha
              yama
   3SG.POSS thing 3SG.POSS thing
                                          3SG.POSS
                                                      3SG.POSS
                                                                 yam
              nf
                                nf
                      pron
                                           pron
                                                      pron
                                                                 nf
   pron
hinaka
          bia
                 kawariani
          biha ka- waa -rI
                                             -hani
hinaka
                 COMIT cook raised surface IP.N+F
3SG.POSS yam
          nf
kawariani
                                       bi
                                              wayawaya
                                                           kainihi
                                                           na -kai -ni -hi
ka- waa -rI
                           -hani
                                       bihi
                                              waya- waya
COMIT cook raised surface IP.N+F
                                       fan
                                              DUP
                                                   fan
                                                           AUX ?
                                                                   IP.N+F DUP
                                       nf
                                                           aux
"She is cooking her yams. She fans the fire."
167 Yifo
          wayawaya
                       kainihi
                                              ati
                                                   nematamonaka
                       na -kai -ni -hi
                                                   na -himata -mona -ka
   yifo
          waya- waya
                                              ati
                                                   AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   fire
          DUP fan
                       AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
                                              say
   nf
          vt
                       aux
                                              vt
                                                   aux
ahi
ahi
then
dem
"She fans the fire," he said.'
168 E
                nematamona
                                     ahi
                na -himata -mona
                                     ahi
   be similar AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                                     this
   vi
'He did this.'
```

169 Faya , ayaka ayaka so dance conj nf		fahi . mona -ka fahi EP+M DECL+M then dem		
pron nm	OSS brother-in-law 3SG nm	ori bori G.POSS brother-in-law	he hee 3SG.POSS pron	nowati nowati behind pn
	ata -mona -ne +M REP+M BKG+M			
ya- yaa ti	G.S AUX also IMP+F			
172 Era me , era me 1IN.O 3PL pron pron "They will grab our har	pron pron vt	•		
173 Me nafi me naf 3PL.POSS all pron pn 'They were all together.	CH be FP.N+F REP+1			
174 Sikari Sikari (man's name) npropm 'Sikari was there, too.'	sawi nematamonan sawi.LIST na -himat be present AUX FP.N+N vi aux	ta -mona -ne		
175 Sikari Sikari (man's name) npropm	sawimatamona sawi -himata -mo be present FP.N+M REE vi	ona P+M		
'Sikari was present.' 176 <i>Sikari</i> Sikari (man's name) npropm "'Sikari."'	•			
177 Oo				

yes? interj

-makI -hi

"Yes?"

178 *Tikamakehi* ti- ka

```
2SG.S go/come following IMP+F
"Come here."
179 Sikari
                  tokomakematamonaka
                                                                   ahi
   Sikari
                  to- ka -makI
                                          -himata -mona -ka
                                                                   ahi
   (man's name)
                  away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                                  then
   npropm
                  vi
                                                                   dem
'Sikari went there.'
180 Sikari
                  tokomake
                                               He
                                                   He Eniya
                  to- ka
   Sikari
                                -makI
                                               Не
                                                   He Eniya
   (man's name) away go/come following
                                                    (name of song)
   npropm
                  vi
                                                    npropf
                He Eniya
                                 ati
                                       nematamonaka
He Eniya
He Eniya
                He Eniya
                                 ati na -himata -mona -ka
                                                                   ahi
(name of song) (name of song) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
                npropf
                                  vt
                                       aux
'Sikari went there. "He Eniya, He Eniya, He Eniya," he said.'
181 Hinaka
              hinaka
                                             ihi
                                                               ihi
                         yamata
                                  wasi
   hinaka
              hinaka
                         yamata wasi.NFIN ihi
                                                               ihi
   3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS food
                                 cook
                                             because of+F
                                                               because of+F
              pron
                                             post
                                                               post
                        nf
                                 result
   pron
                                          kainihi
tanatanako
                    kainihi
                                                                 ati
                   na -kai -ni
                                     -hi
                                          na -kai -ni
tana- tanako
                                                           -hi
                                                                 ati
                    AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
                                          AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
DUP
     perspire
                                                                 say
                    aux
                                          aux
nematamonaka
                           ahi
na -himata -mona -ka
                           ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
                           dem
"Because of the cooking of her food, she is sweating," he said."
182 Sikari
                  avaki
                               hiyareba
                                                   sawino
                                                                       va
   Sikari
                  ayaka.NFIN
                               hiya -ra -hiba
                                                   sawi
                                                              -hino
                                                                       ya
    (man's name)
                  sing
                               be bad NEG FUT+M
                                                   be present IP.N+M
                                                                       ADJU
   npropm
                  vi
                                                   vi
                                                                       prt
ahi
ahi
there
dem
"Sikari sings badly."
183 Kani Fese
                                         Kani Fese
   Kani Fese
                                         Kani Fese
    (mispronunciation of Kani Mete)
                                         (mispronunciation of Kani Mete)
   npropf
                                         npropf
Kani Fese
Kani Fese
(mispronunciation of Kani Mete)
"Kani Fese, Kani Fese, Kani Fese."
```

184 Sikari Sikari (man's name) npropm nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux "Sikari, não like that, it	DECL+F	o 'ai o t n	to ree sp	me ne 3PL.S pron	<i>ati</i> ati say vt	
185 Kani Mete Kani Mete (name of song) npropf "Say, 'Kani Mete, Kani l	npropf			-hi IMP+F		
186 Kani Mete Kani Mete (name of song) npropf "Kani Mete, right, Kani	ee F yes interj r	Kani Mete Kani Mete (name of son npropf	g)			
187 <i>Faya Sikari</i> faya Sikari		awaha to- niha- h	na -waha+F	,	awaha to- niha- ha	-waha+F
so (man's r			e change	OC		change
conj npropm	vt			vt		
fara totoniha		iemetemone	1			
fara to-to-n same+F DUP CH C			-hemete -mon			
dem vt		ux	FI.NIF KEI	1 E		
'Then Sikari got it right.						
			etemoneni			
188 Makoni	me					
makoni	me	haahaa na	-hemete -m	-		
makoni for this reaso	me n 3PL.S	haahaa na laugh AUX	-hemete -m	one -n: P+F BK(
makoni	me n 3PL.S pron	haahaa na	-hemete -m	-		
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed	me n 3PL.S pron l.'	haahaa na laugh AUX	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE	P+F BK	G+F	
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed	me n 3PL.S pron l.'	haahaa na laugh AUX	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE	P+F BKC	G+F waka	ne ,
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani F	me n 3PL.S pron l.'	haahaa na laugh AUX vi aux	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE ini ini	P+F BK0 kakay ka-	G+F waka ka- ayaka	na+M ,
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani E same+F (mispr	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese onunciation	haahaa na laugh AUX	-hemete -m K FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H	P+F BK0 kakay ka-	G+F waka	,
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani E same+F (mispr	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese onunciation	haahaa na laugh AUX vi aux	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE ini ini	kakay ka- F DUP	G+F waka ka- ayaka	na+M AUX
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe same+F (mispr dem npropf	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese onunciation	haahaa na laugh AUX vi aux on of Kani M	-hemete -m (FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya	kakay ka- F DUP vt	y aka ka- ayaka COMIT sing	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe same+F (mispr dem npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciation	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese onunciation	haahaa na laugh AUX vi aux on of Kani M ini ini	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+I pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin	kakay ka- F DUP vt	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe same+F (mispr dem npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese onunciation of Kani Me	haahaa na laugh AUX vi auX on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe same+F (mispr dem npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf ni fa	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese onunciation of Kani Me	haahaa na laugh AUX vi auX on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F pn haha na	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt emetemone	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M 1	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi Sikari	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe same+F (mispr dem npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf ni , fa niha+M- na fa	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese conunciation of Kani Me aya me	haahaa na laugh AUX vi auX on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F pn haha na haahaa na	-hemete -m (FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt emetemone a -hemete -	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M n	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi Sikari Sikari	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe cdem npropf Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf ni , fa niha+M- na fa CAUS AUX so	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese conunciation of Kani Me aya me aya me aya me aya me aya me	haahaa na laugh AUX vi aux on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F pn haha na haahaa na laugh A	-hemete -m (FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt emetemone a -hemete -	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M 1	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi Sikari Sikari (man's name)	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe cdem npropf Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf ni , fa niha+M- na fa CAUS AUX so	me n 3PL.S pron l.' se ese onunciation of Kani Me aya me aya me aya me aya me aya pron	haahaa na laugh AUX vi auX on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F pn haha na haahaa na laugh A	-hemete -m (FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt emetemone a -hemete -	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M 1	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi Sikari Sikari	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe same+F (mispr dem npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf ni , fa niha+M- na fa CAUS AUX so aux co	me n 3PL.S pron d.' se ese onunciation of Kani Me aya me aya me aya me aya me aya pron haha	haahaa na laugh AUX vi auX on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F pn haha na haahaa na laugh Ai vi au	-hemete -m (FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt emetemone a -hemete - UX FP.N+F B ux mati mati	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M 1	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi Sikari Sikari (man's name)	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe dem npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf ni , fa niha+M- na fa CAUS AUX sa aux co ayaki me ayaka.NFIN me sing 3PL.S	me n 3PL.S pron d.' se ese onunciation of Kani Me aya me aya me aya me o 3PL.S onj pron haha haahaa laugh	haahaa na laugh AUX vi auX on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F pn haha na haahaa na laugh Ai vi aa kana	-hemete -m FP.N+F RE ini ini ini ete) name+I pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt emetemone a -hemete - UX FP.N+F F ux mati mati 3PL.S	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M 1	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi Sikari Sikari (man's name)	na+M AUX aux
makoni for this reaso conj 'That's why they laughed 189 Fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe fara Kani Fe cdem npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciation npropf ni , fa niha+M- na fa CAUS AUX so aux co ayaki me ayaka.NFIN me	me n 3PL.S pron d.' se ese onunciation of Kani Me aya me aya me aya me aya me aya pron haha haahaa laugh vi	haahaa na laugh AUX vi aux on of Kani M ini ini ete) name+F pn haha na haahaa na laugh Ai vi aa kana ka- na+F COMIT AUX aux	-hemete -m (FP.N+F RE ini ini ete) name+H pn kayake ka- aya COMIT sin vt emetemone a -hemete - UX FP.N+F H ux mati mati 3PL.S pron	kakay ka- F DUP vt ka+M n g -mone REP+F	waka ka- ayaka COMIT sing mera haha mera haahaa 3PL.O laugh pron vi Sikari Sikari (man's name) npropm	na+M AUX aux

```
190 Hibare
             mata
                           Sikari
                                           avaki
                                                         ota
    hibare
             mata
                           Sikari
                                           ayaka.NFIN
                                                         otaa
                                                                 haahaa
                           (man's name)
    wait
             for now
                                           sina
                                                         1EX.S
                                                                 laugh
    interj
             prt
                           npropm
                                           vi
                                                         pron
                                                                 vi
kasa
                   ke
                        -ke
ka-
      na
          -saa
                   na
COMIT AUX still
                   AUX DECL+F
aux
                   prt
"Wait, we are still laughing at Sikari's singing."
191 Sare
                    sare
                                    rofi
                                                      nani
                                                                       yome
                                    rofi
    sarehe
                    sarehe
                                                      na -hani
                                                                        yomee
                                    twirl in mouth
    blowgun dart
                   blowgun dart
                                                      AUX IP.N+F
                                                                        dog
                    nf
                                    777
                                                       allx
                                                                        nm
Savi
                                        Savi
                                                                      Savi
                  ee
                                vome
                                                             vome
Sayi
                  ee
                                yomee
                                        Sayi
                                                              yomee
                                                                      Sayi
(woman's name)
                  (pause)
                                dog
                                        (woman's name)
                                                              dog
                                                                      (woman's name)
npropf
                  interj
                                nm
                                        npropf
                                                              nm
                                                                      npropf
        Sayi
                          toaha
                                      towakani
vome
                                                                     vome
        Sayi
                          to- ha+F
                                      to- ka-
                                                   ka
                                                            -hani
yomee
                                                                     yomee
        (woman's name)
                          СН
                               be
                                      away COMIT go/come IP.N+F
                                                                     dog
dog
        npropf
                                      vt
Savi
                  eheehe
                               kainihi
                                                       ati
                                                             nematamonane
Savi
                  ehe- ehe
                               na
                                   -kai -ni
                                                  -hi
                                                        ati
                                                             na
                                                                 -himata -mona -ne
                               AUX ?
(woman's name)
                  DUP call
                                         IP.N+F DUP
                                                        say
                                                             AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
npropf
                  vt
                               aux
                                                        vt
                                                              aux
"She was twirling darts in her mouth. Sayi went after the dog. Sayi called the dog," he said."
192 Yome
                              eheehe
                                                                    ati
            Savi
                                           kainihi
    yomee
                              ehe- ehe
                                           na -kai -ni
                                                              -hi
                                                                    ati
            Sayi
            (woman's name)
                              DUP call
                                           AUX ?
                                                      IP.N+F DUP
    dog
                                                                    say
            npropf
                              vt
                                           aux
    nm
                                                                    vt
nematamonaka
                              ai
   -himata -mona -ka
                              ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                              then
                              dem
"Sayi called the dog," he said.'
193 Hiwaka
                                hiwakani
                                                                    eheehe
    hi- to- ka-
                   ka+F
                                hi- to- ka-
                                               ka
                                                          -hani
    OC away COMIT go/come
                                OC away COMIT go/come IP.N+F
                                                                    DUP call
    vt.
                                vt
                                                                    vt
kainihi
                        ati
                              nematamona
                                                       okobi
                                                                                 aati
na -kai -ni
                  -hi
                              na -himata -mona
                                                       0-
                                                                  ka
                                                                       abi
                                                                                 a-
                                                                                      ati
                        ati
AUX ?
          IP.N+F DUP
                              AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                                                       1SG.POSS POSS father
                        say
                                                                                 DUP say
aux
                        vt
                              allx
                                                                                 77 t
toemari
                   amane
                   ama -ne
to- ha
         -himari
                   SEC BKG+M
CH AUX FP.E+M
                    sec
"She went after it. She called it," he said, my father used to say."
194 Maki
                        maki
                                             maki
                                                                  sare
    maki
                        maki
                                             maki
                                                                  sarehe
                        3SG.POSS.husband
    3SG.POSS.husband
                                             3SG.POSS.husband
                                                                  blowgun dart
```

nf

<pre>rofi rofi twirl in mouth vt sanasana sana- sana</pre>	neno na -hino AUX IP.N+M aux	sare sarehe blowgun dart nf kainoho na -kai -		ne , na+M
DUP carry str	capped on should	der AUX ? I	<u> </u>	AUX aux
Sare s		owari tabi	ta	
		owari tabi otton cluster+	taa F protrude	
	of pi		vi	
aux '''Her husband was t	P.N+F DUP say vt	aux nouth. He was carryi	P+M BKG+M	cross his chest," he said.
195 <i>Sikari</i>	ayaki	hiyabisare	sawi	ya .
Sikari (man's name	ayaka.NFIN) sing	hiya -bisa -1 be bad also NF		ya ADJU
npropm	vi	vi	vi	prt
'''Sikari's singing is b	oad as he is here."			
npropf Kani Fese Kani Fese (mispronunciati npropf	iation of Kani ion of Kani Metese, Kani Fese, "he sa	npropf ati nematam ati na -h e) say AUX FP vt aux	unciation of Kani <i>onaka</i> imata -mona -ka	<i>ahi</i> ahi
197 <i>Hiwa ayak</i> hiwa aya only.M sin pron vi "Let him sing."	ka.NOM+M na	<pre>bisa bisa also prt</pre>		
198 <i>Ayaki</i>	te haha	karama	naho	
ayaka.NFIN sing vi "'Don't laugh at his s	tee haahaa 2PL.S laugh pron vi singing."'	ka- na -ra COMIT AUX NEG aux		ſ
199 <i>Ayaki</i>	te haha	karama	naho	
ayaka.NFIN sing	tee haahaa 2PL.S laugh	ka- na -rai COMIT AUX NEG		ſ
vi	pron vi	aux	aux	
'"Don't laugh at his s	singing."'			
2	ka -bisa.NOM+M g also	na na AUX aux		

```
"Let him sing."
```

```
201 Sikari Kani Fese nasa
Sikari Kani Fese na -saa
(man's name) (mispronunciation of Kani Mete) AUX still
npropm vi aux
nematamonaka ahi
```

nematamonaka
na -himata -mona -ka ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'Sikari continued doing Kani Fese.'

202 Fara te tonihahi
fara tee to-niha-ha-hi
same+F 2PL.S CH CAUS be IMP+F
dem pron vt
"Sing the same one again."

203 Fara te to

Faratetonihahifarateeto- niha- ha -hisame+F2PL.SCHCAUSbe IMP+Fdempronvt

"Sing the same one again."

204 Towisawa hiri hinemetemone

towisawa hiri hi- na -hemete -mone chief sing OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F nm vt aux

'The chief sang it.'

205 Towisawa towisawa ee towisawa ino na towisawa towisawa towisawa ee ino ee na chief chief (pause) chief (question) AUX name+M interj nm nm nm pn vi aux

toemari to- ha -himari CH AUX FP.E+M

'What was the chief's name?'

206 Towisawa Rowi towisawa tohabisaka hari
Towisawa Rowi towisawa to- ha -bisa -ka haari
(man's name) chief CH be also DECL+M that one+M
npropm nm vc dem

Towisawa Rowi

aux

Towisawa Rowi (man's name) npropm

'Towisawa Rowi was a chief, Towisawa Rowi.'

207 *Ee* ino owato okara ee ino 0wato 0ka -ra 1SG.S know 1SG.S DECL NEG+M interj pn prt

'Right. I don't know his name.'

208 *Fava* avaka me hiri nemetemoneke ahi faya avaka me hiri na -hemete -mone -ke ahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F so sona 3PL.S sina then conj nf pron vt aux dem 'They sang the song.' 209 Sikari Kani Fese ทสรส Sikari Kani Fese na -saa (man's name) (mispronunciation of Kani Mete) AUX still vi npropm aux nabisematamona ati kawahebana ahi ka- waha -hibana na -bisa -himata -mona ati ahi AUX also FP.N+M REP+M COMIT dawn FUT+M t.hen voice pn vi aux dem 'Sikari continued doing Kani Fese until dawn.' 210 *Me* ati kawahemetemoneni me ati ka- waha -hemete -mone -ni 3PL.POSS voice COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F pn vi 'They sang until dawn.' 211 Hinaka fehene mafiko mafiko ti nakosi mafiko mafiko na -kosa.NFIN fehene hinaka tii liquid+M 3SG.POSS plant sp plant sp cut through AUX middle pron nm nm result aux ha ama ha nowiri ee ta nowi -ri haa 99 haa t.aa ama drip DISTR DEM contrast be DEM (pause) dem prt interj dem VC "The water from the *mafiko* plant that he had cut..." no, this is it." ti 212 Mafiko mafiko nakosi moni na -kosa.NFIN mafiko mafiko tii moni plant sp cut through AUX middle plant sp sound nm result aux teo tonakainoho kainoho ati to- na -kai -no -ho na -kai -no ati CH AUX ? IP.N+M DUP (sound of hitting) AUX ? IP.N+M DUP say aux aux nematamona na -himata -mona AUX FP.N+M REP+M "The hitting sound could be heard of him as he cut *mafiko* plants," he said.' 213 *Ee* haha yotohemetemoneni haaha -hemete -mone -ni yoto ee this+F follow FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F (pause) interj dem vi 'This one was after that.' 214 Hinaka ahi kasiro hikanani vama ni na -hani hinaka ahi na.NFIN kasiro hi- kayama 3SG.POSS thing work on AUX hurry up OC COMIT AUX IP.N+F

nf

pron

result

aux

aux

me me bata me me bata 3PL 3PL.S surprise pron pron vt fene nowiri fehene nowi -ri liquid+M drip DISTR pn vi ""He hurried up his work Re	AUX stand FP.N+N aux vi	.N+M because vine sp prt nm . ta -mona
215 Fene nowiri fehene nowi - 1 liquid+M drip Di	<pre>ni wematamor i na.NFIN waa -h</pre>	na okobi nimata -mona o- ka abi
pn vi na hiemari ati na hi- to- ha say AUX OC CH AUX vt aux	aux vi -himari FP.E+M ne cut off vine was upright, drip	nm
216 Faya me bote faya me bote so 3PL old conj pron adj me amani me ama -ni 3PL.S SEC BKG+F pron sec 'The old people sang the sor	me bote ayaka h 3PL old song I pron adj nf v	hihiri toemetemone ni- hiri to- ha -hemete -mone DUP sing CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F vt aux
aba me	ani , aba me sani aba me song about fish 3P	
<pre>hiri nawaha hiri na -waha+F sing AUX change</pre>	abametaniabametanifish3PL.POSSsong	on pn pron pron me hiri nawaha me hiri na -waha+F about 3PL.S sing AUX change pron vt aux
konamewikonamewiiplant sp3PL.Sdignmpronvt	nm pron pn na kona me na+F kona me AUX plant sp 3PL. aux nm pron fish. They dug up kona roots.	sa na mati . saa na+F mati S release AUX 3PL.S vt aux pron
218 Kona me kona me plant sp 3PL.S nm pron	sa na , e ee release AUX 1IN vt aux pron	3 1
tamakosi tama -kosa.NOM+F be many middle vi	ya kona me ya kona me ADJU plant sp 3PL.S prt nm pron	vt aux
okobi o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm	aati toemari a- ati to- ha -hii DUP say CH AUX FP.I vt aux	amake, watimatimariama -kewahatimatiE+MSEC DECL+FJamamadi3PLsecnpropmpron

•	wati		bote	mati	okobi			okobi			me
	wahat:	i	bote	mati	0-	ka	abi	0-	ka	abi	me
	Jamam	adi	old	3PL	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	3PL
	npropi	m	adj	pron	nm			nm			pron
ka	ab	i	mati								
ka	ab	oi	mati								
POS	SS fa	ather	3PL								
pr	t nm	n	pron								

'They put *kona* root into the water. There were many old people, and they put *kona* root into the water, my father used to say. They were Jamamadis, old Jamamadis, and the people of my father's father.'

219	Faya	me ,	kona	me	sa	neme	rtemoneke		
	faya	me	kona	me	saa	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	so	3PL	plant sp	3PL.S	release	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	conj	pron	nm	pron	vt	aux			

'They put kona root into the water.'

220 Kon	a	me	sa	na,	wawasi		wawasi	me
kon	ıa	me	saa	na+F	wa- w	asi	wa- was	i me
pla	nt sp	3PL.S	release	AUX	DUP g	et caugh	t DUP get	caught 3PL.S
nm		pron	vt	aux	nf		nf	pron
kowa	me	ka	wawasi		me (one	serima	kowa
kowa+F	me	ka	wa- wasi	,	me o	one	serima	kowa.LIST
weave	3PL	POSS	DUP get ca	ught	3PL 0	other+F	fish wier	weave
vt	pron	prt	nf		pron a	adj	nf	vt
si	nareboi	nehe			ahi	awa	awa wasa	
sii	na -	rI	-ha	bone -he	ahi	awa	awa wasa	a
stand	AUX r	aised s	surface INT	+F DUP	there	e wood	wood stic	ck in ground
vi	vi				dem	nf	nf resu	ılt
na :	ya	si	narebonehe				wawasi	bari
na+F	ya	sii	na -rI		-habor	ne -he	wa- wasi	bari
AUX .	ADJU	stand	AUX raised	d surface	INT+F	DUP	DUP get	caught impede
aux	prt	vi	vi				nf	vt

kibonehe

ka- na.NOM+F -bone -he COMIT AUX INT+F DUP

aux

'They put the *kona* root in the water. They weaved their fish traps. Others weaved the fish wier, so it would stand with the stuck in poles, so that it would block the area around the trap.'

221	Hikehik	ie.	ka	me	wasa	hine	metem	oneke			ahi	
	hike-	hike	ka	me	wasa.LIST	hi-	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi	
	DUP	far	LOC	3PL.S	enclose	OC	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	there	
	nf		prt	pron	vt	aux					dem	
isaw	ra –	ya										
isa	wa+F	ya										
be	shallo	w ADJ	JU									
vi		prt	-									

'They also made a wier at another place, where the water was shallow.'

222	Awa	me	wasa	na	me ,	kona	me	baro
	awa	me	wasa	na+F	me	kona	me	baro
	wood	3PL.S	stick in ground	AUX	3PL.S	plant sp	3PL.S	beat
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nm	pron	vt

<pre>natia na nahatI+F AUX daytime</pre>	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S	kona kona plant sp	me me 3PL.S	<i>baro</i> baro S beat	<i>na</i> na+F AUX	<i>me</i> me 3PL	<pre>one one other+F</pre>	<i>kona</i> kona plan		
aux	pron	nm	pron		aux	pron		nm	.c op	
baro na i	ne h	awa	toani	i		me				
baro na+F r	ne h	.awa	to-	ha -har	ni	me				
beat AUX	3PL.S b	e finished	CH	AUX IP.	1+F	3PL.S				
vt aux p	oron v	i	aux			pron				
tokomakeni			me	one	, <i>t</i>	owamake		1	Fara	
to- ka	-makI	-hani	me	one	ŕt	to- aw	a -makI	f	faa	-ra
away go/come	following	ng IP.N+F	3PL	other+F	á	away se	e followi	ng t	that	NPQ
vi			pron	adj	7	vt		C	dem	
, awa wasa	ni	abini		?						
´ awa wasa	na na	.NFIN ahak	oa -ni	Ĺ						
wood encl	ose AUX	X end	BKG	G+F						
nf resu	ılt aux	x vi								
ten) . 1 .1	1	. 1 1			11 1	- m1 1			1.1	. 1

'They stuck the poles in the stream bed. They beat kona roots all day. They beat kona roots, and then they were done. They went after others. The others went to see them. "Well, are all the poles stuck in?""

223	Ee	yama	wasa	ni	abarake			hibati
	ee	yama	wasa	na.NFIN	ahaba	-hara	-ke	hibati
	yes	thing	stick in ground	AUX	end	IP.E+F	DECL+F	already
	interj	nf	result	aux	vi			nf
ya								
ya								
ADJ	U							
prt								
"Vo	c the pole	og oro oll g	tuels in already "					

"Yes, the poles are all stuck in already."

224 Serima serima fish wier nf	, ee ee (pause) interi	<pre>serimabone serima fish wier nf</pre>	-bone INT+F	ota otaa 1EX.S pron	kowa kowa+F weave vt	so soo lie vi	
tosine to- na -kosa CH AUX middle aux "The fish wier piece	-ne ha CONT+F th	aro s at one+F s	stand vi	narebone na -rI AUX rais	sed surfa	-habone ace INT+F	<i>ahi</i> ahi then dem

225	Wete	nibone		ka	sai	kawita		hari
	wete	na.NOM+F	-bone	ka	sai	ka-	ita.CONT+M	haari
	tie	AUX	INT+F	which	epiphyte sp	COMIT	sit	that one+M
	result	aux		prt	nm	vi		dem

. ""The *sai* for tying them are there on the ground.""

226	Ee	wawa	asi –		abake								
	ee	wa-	was	i	ahaba	-ke							
	yes	DUP	get	caught	end	DECL+F							
	interj	nf			vi								
'''Ye	"Yes, the trap is ready."												

227	Wawasi	kowi	abarani	hibati	ya
	wa- wasi	kowa.NFIN	ahaba -hara -ni	hibati	ya
	DUP get caught	weave	die IP.E+F BKG+F	already	ADJU
	nf	result	vi	nf	prt

[&]quot;The weaving of the fish trap is already finished."

```
228 Wawasi
                      kowi
                                   abarake
                                                           hibati
                                                                     va
                                   ahaba -hara -ke
    wa- wasi
                      kowa.NFIN
                                                           hibati
                                                                     ya
    DUP get caught
                      weave
                                   end
                                         IP.E+F DECL+F
                                                           already
                                                                     ADJU
                      result
                                   vi
                                                                     prt
"The weaving of the fish trap is already finished."
229 Fava
           okomakehara
                                                     oke
                                                                     hiba
    faya
           0-
                to-
                       ka
                                -makI
                                            -hara
                                                     0-
                                                            ke
                                                                     hiba
    so
           1SG.S away go/come following IP.E+F
                                                     1SG.S DECL+F
                                                                     wait
           vi
                                                     prt
                                                                     interj
    conj
"I went over there."
230 Haha
             me
                     te
                             totowama
                                                      awa
                                                             me
                                                                      wasa
    haaha
                             to- to-
             me
                     tee
                                        awa -ma
                                                      awa
                                                             me
                                                                      wasa
    this+F
             3PL.O 2PL.S
                             DUP away see back
                                                      wood
                                                             3PL.S
                                                                      stick in ground
    dem
             pron
                     pron
                             vt
                                                      nf
                                                             pron
                                                                      vt
       mati
               ahi
na+F
       mati
               ahi
AUX
       3PL.S there
               dem
"Go over there and see them, the ones who are sticking the poles in."
231 Awa
           me
                   wasa
                                             me
                                                     me
                                      na
           me
                   wasa
                                             me
                                                     me
                                      na+F
          3PL.S stick in ground
                                      AUX
                                             3PL.O
                                                     3PL.S
           pron
    nf
                                             pron
                   v/t
                                      aux
                                                     pron
tonakamakia
                                 me
                                            awa
                                                   me
                    -makI+F
to- na- ka
                                 me
                                            awa
                                                   me
away CAUS go/come following
                                 3PL.S
                                            wood
                                                   3PL.S
vt
                                            nf
                                                   pron
                                 pron
karabani
                                me
                                        me
                                                hiwasimakia
      raba
                      -hani
                                me
                                        me
                                                hi- to- wasi -makI+F
                                                OC
                                                   away find following
COMIT lash together IP.N+F
                                3PL.O
                                        3PL.S
                                                                             3PL.S
                                pron
                                        pron
                                                vt
                                                                             pron
kamemetemoneke
         -ma
              -hemete -mone -ke
go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'They went after the ones who were sticking the poles in. They came upon them when they were lashing the
poles together. They came back.'
232 Me
                                        Kona
                                                    abe
                                                              ?
            kama
                             me
    me
            ka
                     -ma+F
                                        kona
                                                    ahaba+M
                             me
    3PL.S
            go/come back
                             3PL.S
                                        plant sp
                                                    end
    pron
            vi
                             pron
                                        nm
                                                    vi
'They came back. "Is the kona root done?"'
233 Kona
               abareka
                                       hibati
               ahaba -hare -ka
                                       hibati
    kona
                                                  ya
```

already

nf

ADJU

prt

IP.E+M DECL+M

end

νi

"The kona is done already."

ota

otaa

amake

1EX.S SEC DECL+F

ama -ke

tamimakoni + :

tama -makoni

1EX.S be many for this reason+F

234 *Ota*

otaa

```
vi
"It's because there are many of us."
235 Ota
         baro
               nareka
                                 nafi
              na -hare -ka
   otaa
         baro
                                 nafi
   1EX.S beat AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
                                all
   pron
         vt
               aux
                                 pn
"We beat all of it."
                           kamawaineke
236 Ota
         baro
                                                            waha
               ne
                     ota
                           ka -ma -waha -ne -ke
   otaa
         baro na+M otaa
                                                            waha
   1EX.S beat AUX 1EX.S
                           go/come back change CONT+F DECL+F
   pron vt
               aux pron
                           vi
"We beat it, and we have come back."
237 Te
         kamara
                            te
                                   kamara
                            tee
         ka -ma -ra+F
                                  ka -ma -ra+F
   2PL.S go/come back NEG
                            2PL.S go/come back NEG
   pron vi
                            pron vi
                   kamakiwahine
            ota
                                                  waha
                   ka -makI
                                   -waha -ne
            otaa
                                                  waha
because of+M 1EX.S go/come following change CONT+F
                                                  now
            pron
                   vi
                                                  prt
"You didn't come back. Because you didn't come back, we came here."
238 Isiri
                     ri
          ee
                     na -ri
   isiri
   basket (question) AUX CQ+F
          vi
                     aux
"How many baskets are there?"
239 Isiri
          ha
               fama
                         ha
                              fama
                                          ee
                                                   ha
   isiri
          haa
               fama.LIST
                         haa
                              fama.LIST
                                           ee
                                                   haa
                                                        ohari.LIST
   basket DEM be two
                         DEM be two
                                           (pause)
                                                    DEM
                                                        be one
          dem vi
                         dem
                             vi
                                           interj
                                                    dem
narake
                 ahi
na -hara -ke
                 ahi
AUX IP.E+F DECL+F here
                 dem
"There are five baskets."
240 One
           iisi
                        kabote
           i- isi
   one
                                                    ee
                                            ADJU
   other+F DUP be small AUX quickly AUX
                                                    1IN.POSS hand
                                                    pron
          vi
                        aux
                                    aux
                                            prt
       ya , e ee
                                            isi ni
oharia
                        ye
                               oharia
                                     ya
                                                        bite
                ee
                         yehe ohari+F ya
ohari+F
                                             isi ni
                                                        bite
               1IN.POSS hand be one ADJU little bit small+F
be one
        ADJU
              pron
        prt
                        pn
                               vi
                                       prt
                                             pn
to- ha.LIST na
                                       ati
                                  me
                                             nemetemone
              na -hara -ke
                                  me
                                         ati na -hemete -mone
              AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
                                  3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                  pron vt
                                              aux
"There is also one small basket with a small amount of kona in it, along with the five baskets," they said."
```

```
241 Me
           vana
                   tonemetemoneke
                   to- na -hemete -mone -ke
   me
           yana
                   CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
    3PL.S
           start
   pron
           vi
                   aux
'They were ready.'
242 Me
           yana
                   tona
                                     kama
                             me
                                                     me
                                                                me
           yana
   me
                   to- na+F me
                                     ka
                                              -ma+F
                                                                me
                                                     me
                                     go/come back
   3PL.S start CH AUX
                              3PL.S
                                                     3PL.S
                                                                3PL.S
                aux
                                                     pron
                              pron
   pron vi
                                     vi
                                                                pron
                          E Onira
                                                   hiri
                                                          nibana
kama
                me
                                            e
        -ma+F
                                                         na+F -bana
                          Ee Onira
ka
                me
                                           ee
                                                   hiri
                3PL.S
                          (name of song) 1IN.S
                                                   sing AUX FUT
go/come back
vi
                pron
                          npropf
                                           pron
                                                   vt
                                                          aux
E Onira
                 ?
Ee Onira
(name of song)
"They were ready. They came back. "Should we sing E Onira?""
243 E Onira
                            hiri
                                   nahi
                     e
   Ee Onira
                            hiri
                                   na -hi
                     ee
    (name of song)
                    1IN.S
                            sing
                                  AUX IMP+F
   npropf
                    pron
                            vt
                                   aux
"Let's sing E Onira."
244 Me fanawi
                       toibeya
               atabo
   me fanawi
                      to- ha -be
               atabo
                                       -va
                       CH be IMMED+F now
   women
               mud
   nf
               nf
                       VC
"The women will be muddy."
245 Me fanawi
               tafaba
                            amani
   me fanawi
               tafa -haba
                            ama -ni
                            SEC BKG+F
   women
               eat FUT+F
   nf
               vi
                            sec
"The women are going to eat."
246 Me fanawi
               tafibeya
   me fanawi
               tafa -be
                             -ya
   women
               eat IMMED+F now
   nf
"The women are going to eat."
247 Me fanawi
               e
                       tonahiyahi
   me fanawi
                       to- na- hiya
                                         -hi
               ee
   women
               1IN.S
                       away CAUS be bad IMP+F
               pron
   nf
                       vt
"Let's make the women dirty."
248 Me fanawi
               e
                       tonahiyahi
   me fanawi
               ee
                       to- na- hiya
                                         -hi
               1IN.S
                       away CAUS be bad IMP+F
   women
   nf
               pron
```

"Let's make the women dirty."

, awa 249 *Yama* me me baka na awa bite afe na+F vama me awa me baka awa bite afe 3PL.S break AUX tree small+F thing 3PL tree leaf+F nf pron nf pron vt aux nf adj , me bayiha baka na me ati saiha me na+F sai+F bayi+F me baka me ati me be thick 3PL.S break AUX 3PL.POSS voice be heard 3PL.POSS pron vt vi vi aux pron pn ati saihemetemoneke me ati sai -hemete -mone -ke me 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron pn vi

They broke off saplings. They broke off saplings that had lots of leaves. Their voices could be heard."

250 *Me* saiha E Onira ati me hiri me ati sai+F me Ee Onira ee hiri 3PL.POSS voice be heard 3PL.POSS (name of song) 1IN.S sing pn vi pron npropf pron vt

nene

na -hene AUX IRR+F

aux

'Their voices could be heard. "Let's not sing E Onira."

251 E awara awineke
ee awa -ra+F awine -ke
1IN.S see NEG seem+F DECL+F
pron vt sec

"I don't know."

252 *Yama* hati koma awineke hati.NFIN awine -ke koma+F yama seem+F DECL+F be burnt hurt thing vi vi nf sec

"The burns hurt."

253 Owa me sari kariyahi
owa me sari ka- na -ra -yahi
1SG.O 3PL.S burn COMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
pron pron vt aux

"I don't want them to burn me."

254 *Yama* nofaraba me sasari tera me -raba yama me sa- sari na nofa na -tee -ra+F me thing 3PL.S DUP burn AUX recently a bit AUX HAB NEG 3PL.S pron vt aux aux pron

amake

ama -ke SEC DECL+F

"They really burn us a lot."

255 Ee kona owa yokomari ka
ee kona owa yoko.NOM -mari ka
(pause) plant sp 1SG.O bring misfortune on FP.E+M because interj nm pron vt prt

```
aux
                                                dem
"I have a scar because of kona root here."
   Owato oke
o- wato o- ke
256 Owato
   1SG.S know 1SG.S DECL+F
               prt
   vt
"I am afraid."
257 Era me sari nofaraba tera me amani
era me sari na nofa -raba na -tee -ra+F me ama -ni
   1IN.O 3PL.S burn AUX recently a bit AUX HAB NEG 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
  pron pron vt aux
                                              aux
                                                              pron sec
one
ati o- na -ne o- ni
say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
                prt
"They really burned us a lot, I am saying."
258 Era
   Era me sari riyahi
era me sari na -ra -yahi
   1IN.O 3PL.S burn AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
   pron pron vt aux
"I don't want them to burn us."
259 Kona
             hinita
                      tohamataho
         hinita tohamatano
hinita to- ha -mata -ho
   kona
   plant sp alone CH be short time IMP+M nm pn vc
"Let the kona root be by itself."
260 Hinita tohabana hinita to- ha+M -bana
           CH be FUT
   alone
   pn
            VC
"Should it be by itself?"
261 Ee ee , Kabasi , Kabasi , Kabasi , Kabasi , (pause) (pause) (man's name) (man's name) interj interj npropm npropm
"Kabasi, Kabasi."
262 Haa ?
   haa
   huh?
   interj
"Huh?"
263 Kona hinita tohabana ahi kona hinita to- ha+M -bana ahi
                                       ahi
   plant sp alone CH be FUT
                                       then
             pn
```

"Should the kona root be by itself?"

264 Kon kor pla	na		to	be HAB			<pre>tonihaba to- niha- ha -haba CH CAUS be FUT+F vt</pre>
	awine	, te te	9	tama+F		?	
2PL.S pron	seem+F	pr 2P		be many vi	2PL.S pron		

"Kona has never been by itself. Are you going to make it by itself, you who are many?"

2	265 Kowisi	me	sari	kanaban	ıake			owati	
	Kowisi	me	sari	ka-	na	-habana	-ke	0-	ati
	(man's name)	3PL.S	burn	COMIT	AUX	FUT+F	DECL+F	1SG.POSS	voice
	npropm	pron	vt	aux				pn	
j	<i>hi</i> , ihi	kona kona	,	<i>tani</i>		<i>ihi</i> ihi	,	ino ino	<i>hiri</i> hiri
ľ	pecause of+F	plant s	р	song ab	out	because post	OI+F	name+M pn	say vt

nari

na -haari AUX IP.E+M

aux

"I will have them burn Kowisi, because he wanted them to sing the kona song."17

266 Owa kahabanaharihe

owa ka- habana -harihe 1SG.O COMIT order someone against ?+M pron vt

"Why would you send someone against me?"

267 Wabori oha owa wabori to- ha+F 0-0owa awine 1SG.S CH be 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S VC pron sec prt

"Am I his brother-in-law?"

268 Tiwa wabo oraha owa tiwa wabo o- na -ra+F owa 2SG.O call brother-in-law 1SG.S AUX NEG 1SG.S pron vt aux pron

"I didn't call you brother-in-law."

269 Haha nematamona

haahaa na -himata -mona laugh AUX FP.N+M REP+M vi aux

'He laughed.'

270 Owa wabo tinabana tike owa
owa wabo ti- na -habana ti- ke owa
1SG.O brother-in-law 2SG.S AUX FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F 1SG.O
pron nm aux prt pron

¹⁷ The second occurrence of *ihi* is a false start.

tihabanatiwati-habana+Ftiwa2SG.Sorder someone against2SG.Svtpron

"You are going to call me brother-in-law, since you sent someone against me."

271 **E** ahe siba tera amake siba ee abe na -tee -ra+F ama -ke 1IN.POSS RECIP examine AUX HAB NEG SEC DECL+F vt sec pron pn aux

"People shouldn't question each other."

272 **E** bara abe siba amake tera ee bara abe siba na -tee -ra+F ama -ke AUX HAB NEG SEC DECL+F 1IN.POSS other+F RECIP examine pron adj pn vt aux sec

"People shouldn't question people from other places."

273 *Wati* hatihabone me me ona me wahati hati -habone ati ome me 3PL.S be burnt INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX pron vi pron

sari me hinabone amani me mati ama -ni me me sari hi- na -habone mati OC AUX INT+F SEC BKG+F 3PL.O 3PL.S burn pron pron vt aux

"I want the Jamamadis to be burned. I want the women to burn them."

274 *Wati* ahi wati sawikere me me wahati sawi -ke -re ahi me wahati me 3PL.S 3PL.S Jamamadi be present DECL+F NEG+F here Jamamadi npropm pron npropm pron vi dem

"There aren't any Jamamadis here."

275 Me sawiemenehe , me nahoarake me sawi -hemenehe , me naho -hara -ke 3PL.S be present HYPOTH+F pron vi , me nahoarake naho -hara -ke pron vi

"It would be good if they came. They are out there."

276 *Hiba* me ati miti forimibeya e. hiba me ati ee mita.NFIN forima -be 3PL.POSS do properly IMMED+F now voice 1IN.S hear interj pron pn pron vt

hima

hima

let's go

interj

"Wait, let's hear what they have to say. Let's go."

277 *Me* ati ati e va me mita.NOM+F me ati ee ati ya 3PL.POSS 1IN.S voice hear ADJU 3PL.POSS voice 1IN.S pron pn pron vt prt pron pn

ya E Onira e kakamabanake ya E Onira e e mita.NOM+F ka- ka -ma -habana -ke ADJU (name of song) 1IN.S COMIT go/come back FUT+F DECL+F prt npropf pron vt "When we have heard what they have to say, we will come back singing E Onira." 278 *Ee* hima hima ee let's go yes interj interj "Right, let's go." 279 *Me* tokomemetemone to- ka -ma -hemete -mone me 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F pron vi 'They went.' 280 *Me* tokoma Yama tonake me wawaha to- ka -ma+F me yama wa- waha to- na -ke 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S thing DUP shine CH AUX DECL+F pron nf vi aux haro haaro that one+F 'They went. "It's still daylight."' 281 *Yama* soki ihabanake yama soki.NFIN iha -habana -ke thing be dark put FUT+F DECL+F nf vi result "It will be at night." 282 *Me* howe nibana na+F -bana me howe AUX FUT 3PL.S wipe result aux pron "Will they be wiped?" 283 *Me* e howe nibeya howe na -be me ee 3PL.O 1IN.S wipe AUX IMMED+F now pron pron vt aux "We will wipe them." 284 *Me* howe nibeya ati eme nemetemone howe na -be -ya me ati na -hemete -mone me ee 3PL.O 1IN.S wipe AUX IMMED+F now 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F pron pron vt aux pron vt aux "We will wipe them." 285 *Me* haha nemetemoneke ahi haahaa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then

aux

'They laughed.'

```
, tokoma
286 Me
          haha
                 na
                        me
                                                       me
                                  to- ka -ma+F
          haahaa na+F me
   me
                                                      me
   3PL.S laugh AUX
                        3PL.S
                                  away go/come back
                                                       3PL.S
                 aux pron
   pron
          vi
                                  vi
                                                       pron
E Onira
                                                     otake
               watarabone
                                   ota
                                         ati
                                               na
Ee Onira
               wata -ra -habone
                                          ati
                                  otaa
                                               na+F otaa -ke
(name of song) exist NEG INT+F
                                   1EX.S say AUX
                                                     1EX.S DECL+F
                                                     pron
               vi
                                   pron vt aux
'They laughed. They went. "We decided there is not going to be E Onira."
287 Aifa
                    Aifa
   Aifa
                    Aifa
                   (man's name)
   (man's name)
   npropm
                    npropm
"Aifa, Aifa."
288 Hoo
   hoo
   huh?
   interj
"What?"
289 Aifa
                 E Onira
                                                            ati
                                watarabone
                                                    ota
                                                                 na
                            wata -ra -habone otaa
                 Ee Onira
                                                            ati
                                                                 na+F
   (man's name) (name of song) exist NEG INT+F
                                                    1EX.S say
                                                                 AUX
   npropm
                 npropf
                                 vi
                                                    pron
                                                           vt
                                                                 aux
otake
otaa -ke
1EX.S DECL+F
"Aifa, we don't want there to be E Onira."
290 E Onira
                          hiri
                   te
                                 nahi
                   tee
   Ee Onira
                                na -hi
                          hiri
                   2PL.S sing
                                AUX IMP+F
   (name of song)
   npropf
                   pron
                          vt
                                 aux
"Sing E Onira."
291 E Onira
                   hiri
                          te
                                    amake
   Ee Onira
                   hiri
                        na -tee
                                    ama -ke
                          AUX HAB
   (name of song) sing
                                    SEC DECL+F
                   result aux
   npropf
                                    sec
"E Onira should be sung."
292 Kona
             hinita
                     toharayaho
   kona
             hinita to- ha -ra -yaho
   plant sp alone
                     CH be NEG DIST.IMP+M
             pn
                     VC
"The kona shouldn't be by itself."
293 Ati
          siba
                        tere
                                         ama
   ati
          siba
                        na -tee -ra+M
                                         ama
                                             faari
   voice be all right AUX HAB NEG
                                         SEC that one+M
   pn
          vi
                        aux
                                         sec dem
```

"He is right."

294 Aifa Aifa Aifa Aifa (man's name) (man npropm npro siba kara siba na ka be all right AUX DECT vi prt "Aifa is right."	's name) true pm adj <i>fari</i> -ra faari	, Aifa Aifa (man's name) npropm .	yokana ati yokana ati true voice adj pn
295 <i>E</i>	-re NEG+F		
296 Okobise o- ka abis 1SG.POSS POSS uncl nm "'My uncle doesn't agree."'		<i>a</i> -ra -hare -ka NEG IP.E+M DECL+	M
297 Okobise o- ka abis 1SG.POSS POSS uncl nm himitare awa	e yama noko e vagina	yori nakata nakata nakata kata nakata na have sex with A'	emona ati a -himona ati JX REP+M voice ux pn
hi- mita -ra+M awa OC hear NEG seem+l vt sec "Didn't he hear when my unc	1	,	
298 Ati himitare ati hi- mita -r voice OC hear NE pn vt		<pre>fari faari M that one+M dem ,</pre>	<pre>fari yama faari yama that one+M thing dem nf</pre>
kakamarahari ka- ka -ma -ra COMIT go/come back NEO vt "I guess he didn't hear him, s		woman home.'''	
299 Yama noko yori yama noko yori vagina have se nm vt	<i>nima</i> na −nima	<i>o ati</i> ○- ati	
nematamonaka na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECI aux "I want to have sex," he said."	u+M		
300 <i>Wabori</i> wabori 3SG.POSS brother-i	ati hani ati haa n-law voice be pn vi		м '

Okasima	mahika	nofarawe_	amane
o- ka asima 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister nf	mahika consume a lot vt	na nofa -rawa- AUX recently F.PL aux	+M ama -ne SEC BKG+M sec
'He made fun of what his brother-in-law	said. "He is having s	sex with my younger sisters	a lot.'''
301 Faya me faya me so 3PL (name of sor opposite to Conira be."	hine nake hine na ng) only exis pron vi	-ke t DECL+F	
302 Hinita toebanaka hinita to- ha -hibana -ka alone CH be FUT+M DE pn vc ""It will be by itself.""	a CL+M		
303 Hahi yotohi ya haahi yoto+M ya this one+M follow ADJU dem vi prt "E Onira will be at the one that follows."	npropf	<pre>yotoabanani yoto -habana ng) follow FUT+F vi</pre>	-ni BKG+F
304 Oko aba me o- ka aba me 1SG.POSS POSS fish 3PL. prt nm pron owabanake o- na -waha -habana -ke 1SG.S AUX change FUT+F DECL aux "I am going to sing a song about my fish	vt hike ka hike ka +F far which nf prt	pron dem	<i>hiri</i> hiri about sing vt
305 Faya me amo nemeter faya me amo na - so 3PL.S sleep AUX F conj pron vi aux	hemete -mone s P.N+F REP+F s	ina me hisi sina me hisi snuff 3PL.S sniff af pron vt	na mati na+F mati AUX 3PL.S aux pron
Then they slept, after taking snuff.'			
306 Sina me hisi na sina me hisi na+F snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX nf pron vt aux They took snuff. "Go to sleep right away	me Te me tee 3PL.S 2PL.S pron pron	<pre>amo nibote amo na -bote sleep AUX quickly vi aux</pre>	nahi na -hi AUX IMP+F aux
307 Te ati watarima tee ati wata -r 2PL.POSS voice exist NE pron pn vi "Don't talk."	nahi ima na -h G.IMP+F AUX IM aux		

```
308 E Onira te nofara te amani
Ee Onira tee nofa -ra+F tee ama -ni
    (name of song) 2PL.S want NEG 2PL.S SEC BKG+F
    npropf
                       pron vt
                                             pron
                                                      sec
"You don't want E Onira."
            amonibotenahiamona -botena -hi
309 Te
    tee
    2PL.S sleep AUX quickly AUX IMP+F
    pron vi aux
                                   aux
"Go to sleep right away."
    Tehiyararimanahiteehiyara -rimana -hi
310 Te
    2PL.S speak NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
    pron vi
                                aux
"Don't talk."
    Hiyara onofa okere
hiyara o- nofa o- ke -re
311 Hiyara
    talk 1SG.S want 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
    nf
            vt
                          prt
"I don't want conversation."
312 Te
            afo
                                 oriyahi
            afo
                                o- na -ra -yahi
    tee
    2PL.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
                                aux
"Don't make me blow snuff into you."
313 Te
    tee
            afo
                                oriyahi
                                o- na -ra -yahi
            afo
    2PL.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
    pron vt
                                aux
"Don't make me blow snuff into you."
    Teamonibotenahiteeamona -botena -hi2PL.SsleepAUX quicklyAUX IMP+F
    tee
314 Te
                                    na -hi
    pron
            vi
                    aux
                                    aux
"Go to sleep quickly."
          mesinamehisinamesinamemesinamehisina+Fmesiname
315 Faya
                                                                           hisi
                                                                                    na
    faya me sina me hisi na+F me sina me hisi na+so 3PL snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX
                                                                                    na+F
    conj pron nf pron vt aux pron nf pron
                                                                           vt
me<br/>mesina<br/>siname<br/>mehisi<br/>hisinemetemoneke<br/>na<br/>hisi<br/>na<br/>hisi<br/>na<br/>hisi<br/>na<br/>hemete<br/>AUX<br/>FP.N+F<br/>auxREP+F<br/>REP+F<br/>DECL+F<br/>DECL+F
'They took snuff.'
    Mebote<br/>mebote<br/>bote, wawasi<br/>wa- wasikowa<br/>kowa.LIST, serima<br/>serima, serima<br/>serima<br/>fish wier3PLold<br/>pron adjDUP get caught<br/>nfweave<br/>vtfish wier<br/>nf
316 Me
```

toha , to- ha.LIST CH be	me me 3PL pron	one one other+F adj	aw aw wo nf	a tood s	vasa wasa.LIS stick in vt	T ground	,	<i>awa</i> awa wood nf	me me 3PL.S pron	
<pre>wasa stick in ground vt</pre>	na na+i AUX aux		,	Awa awa wood nf	ota otaa l 1EX.S pron	wasa wasa stick vt	in	ground	na na+F AUX aux	ota otaa 1EX.S pron
<pre>karaba ka- raba+F COMIT lash toge vt</pre>	ther	tee 2PL.S	<i>awate</i> awa see vt	-tee	-haba FUT+F	<pre>awine awine seem+F sec</pre>				

'The old men weaved the fish traps, and the fish wier. Others stuck the poles in the stream bed. "You will see the poles that we stuck in and lashed together."'

317 Tokowarisa bayibayi narake to- kawaa -risa+F awa bayi- bayi na -hara -ke away COMIT stand down wood DUP be thick AUX IP.E+F DECL+F nf vi aux

"The fish wier downstream is very tight."

318 Aba me tokisibana
aba me to- ka -risa+F-bana
fish 3PL.S away go/come down FUT
nm pron vi

"The fish won't go downstream."

319 *Aba* ma tonisaba fahi me amake me to- na ama -ke fahi aha me -risa -haba maa me away AUX down FUT+F fish 3PL.S 3PL.S SEC DECL+F then stop pron vi dem aux pron sec

"The fish will stop as they go downstream."

320 *Me* bosa nemetemone me amo na mati me bosa na -hemete -mone me amo na+F mati 3PL.S get up early AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

'The ones who were sleeping got up early.'

321 *Me* bosa na me me toka kona me me bosa na+F me me toka+F kona me 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come plant sp 3PL.S pron vi aux pron pron vi nm pron kawahemetemoneke weyeri ahi

weyer kawanemetemoneke
weye -ri ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
carry DISTR COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vt aux dem

'They got up early. They went out into the forest. They carried the kona root on their backs.'

322 *Hibaka* yana raba ?

hibaka yana na -ra -ba
where start AUX CQ+M IMMED+M
interrog vi aux

"Where will it begin?"

```
323 Yana
           na
                ahi
   yana
           na
                ahi
   start AUX here
   vi
           aux
                dem
"It will start here."
324 Aba
             me
                    tamake
                             -ke
   aba
             me
                    tama
   fish sp
            3PL.S be many DECL+F
             pron
   nm
                    vi
"There are many aba fish."
                                       ababanake
325 Aba
             me
                    tama
                              me
                    tama+F
                                        ahaba -habana -ke
   aba
             me
                              me
   fish sp 3PL.S be many 3PL.S
                                        end FUT+F
                                                       DECL+F
             pron
                    vi
                              pron
                                        vi
"Many aba fish will die."
326 Me
                    hinematamonaka
           sa
                    hi- na -himata -mona -ka
           saa
   3PL.S release
                    OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   pron vt
                    aux
'They put it in the water.'
327 Kona
                                               ye
              me
                                                       kawa
                     sa
                               na
                                     me
                                                yee
   kona
                               na+F
                                     me
                                                       ka-
                                                            na -waha
              me
                      saa
                                                      COMIT AUX change
   plant sp 3PL.S
                     release
                              AUX
                                     3PL.S
                                               yell
              pron
                               aux
                                     pron
                                                vi
                     vt.
                                                       aux
                           ahi
                                  Hioo
nemetemoneke
                                                          hioo
na -hemete -mone -ke
                                                          hioo
                                  hioo
                           ahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of yelling)
                                                          (sound of yelling)
aux
                           dem
                                  interj
                                                          interj
hioo
                     hioo
                                          hioo
                                          hioo
hioo
                    hioo
(sound of yelling)
                     (sound of yelling)
                                          (sound of yelling)
                     interj
                                          interj
                     , yee
yee
                                               yee
yee
                       yee
                                               yee
(sound of yelling)
                        (sound of yelling)
                                                (sound of yelling)
interj
                        interj
                                                interj
yee
yee
(sound of yelling)
interj
'They put the kona in the water. They yelled. "Hioo, hioo, hioo, yee, yee, yee,"
328 Aba
                    kisehemetemoneke
             me
                                                           ahi
                          -risa -hemete -mone -ke
   aba
             me
                    ka
                                                           ahi
    fish sp 3PL.S go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                           then
             pron
                    vi
okiti
                            aati
                                      toematamona
0-
         ka
             iti
                            a- ati
                                     to- ha -himata -mona
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP say
                                     CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
```

okobi aati toemari to- ha ka abi a- ati -himari ama -ne DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M 1SG.POSS POSS father vt aux 'The aba fish came downstream, my grandfather used to say, my father used to say.' 329 *Aba* nabihemetemoneke ahi kona vama me na- ahaba -hemete -mone -ke yama aba me ahi kona fish sp thing 3PL.S CAUS die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then plant sp nf vt dem pron nm mati me weye na me weye na+F mati carry AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S pron vt aux 'There were many aba fish. They were coming in front of the kona.' 330 *Me* tokisemetemoneke ahi me to- ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke ahi 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then dem 'They went downstream.' 331 *Me* tokisimetemone -risa.NOM+F -mete -mone to- ka FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S away qo/come down pron vi 'They went downstream.' 332 *Me* tokisamakia nafi me -risa -makI+F to- ka me me nafi 3PL.S away go/come down following 3PL.POSS all 77 i pron pron pn kisamake me -risa -makI me go/come down following 3PL.S tokisamakiemetemoneke ahi -risa -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi away go/come down following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 'They went downstream. All of them were coming downstream. They went downstream.' 333 *Me* tisa hiremetemone me me me tisa hi- na -ra -hemete -mone 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F pron pron vt aux 'They didn't shoot them with arrows.' 334 *Hine* me tokisa towitarisani me me to- ka -risa+F to- ita -risa -hani hine me me me 3PL.S away go/come down 3PL.S away sit down IP.N+F 3PL.S only pron νi vi nafi ahi me tokomakemetemoneke nafi to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi 3PL.POSS all away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then

'They just went downstream. They were all in the same place downstream. All of them went there.'

pn

335 *Fara* me fawa tosini faa -ra me to- na fawa -kosa -ni 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle BKG+F that NPO aux pron vi "Well, have they all passed?" 336 *Ee* fawa tosara hibati me ya fawa to- na -kosa -hara hibati ee me ya yes 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle IP.E+F already ADJU interj pron vi aux "Yes, they have all passed already." 337 *Me* te tonakamakihi hike ka mati to- na- ka -makI -hi hike me tee ka mati 3PL.O 2PL.S away CAUS go/come following IMP+F far which 3PL pron pron vt nf prt pron "Go after them, the ones that are furthest." 338 Serima kanawaremetemone me ka- na- waa -rI -hemete -mone me fish wier 3PL.S COMIT CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F pron 'They put the parts of fish wier together.' 339 Wawasi ahi me kawatemetemoneke wa- wasi ka- wata -hemete -mone -ke me COMIT put FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F DUP get caught 3PL.S then pron vt dem 'They put the fish trap in place.' 340 Wawasi me inohoti me sako nemetemone ahi wa- wasi na -hemete -mone me inohoti me sako DUP get caught 3PL mouth AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S tie then pron pn pron vt aux dem 'They tied the open end of the trap in place.' 341 Wawasi inohoti me sako na me serima me wa- wasi inohoti me sako na+F me serima me DUP get caught mouth 3PL.S tie AUX 3PL.S fish wier 3PL.S nf pn pron vt aux pron nf pron nawariemetemoneke ahi

'They tied the open end of the trap in place, and they put the fish wier in place.'

342	fish wier	me	nawari	ia		me ,	serima	me
	serima	me	na-	waa	-rI+F	me	serima	me
	fish wier	3PL.S	CAUS	stand	raised surface	3PL.S	fish wier	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt			pron	nf	pron

ahi

then

-hemete -mone -ke

nawariemetemoneke

na- waa -rI

na- waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F $\forall t$

CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'They put the fish wier in place.'

343 'The	me 3PL pron		3PL	n vt	to hi-		eke hemete P.N+F		-ke DECL+F	nafi nafi all pn		
344	Me me 3PL.S pron		ako h Le O	ina i- na+F C AUX ux	me me 3PL.S pron	hi-	nakosa ka- COMIT	kana leave	-kosa+F middle	Aba aba fish nm	sp 3	me ne BPL.S pron
awa vi	mi ka y go/	come	-ma.N back	OM+F f	faro Eaaro Lhat+F dem uba fish ar	•	there."'			11111	1	71011
	Aba aba fish nm e aba fi	sp	me me 3PL.S pron e going t	vi		-ma back	-ni BKG+F					
	Aba aba fish nm e aba fi	sp	me me 3PL.S pron e going t	vi			F -bana FUT	•				
nemo na AUX aux	FP.N	sp eke ete : +F]		vi	ka go/come ahi ahi then dem		F -bana FUT	me me 3PL. pron	-			
aati a- DUP vt	Me me 3PL pron ati say	aba aba fish nm toem to- CH aux	n sp :: :::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::	me me 3PL.S pron r -himata	kamemete ka go/come vi -mona	-ma back	-hemet		e 'o-	G.POSS	ka POSS	abi father
<i>aba</i> aba	nm	sp me me	pron tok to .S aw	vi k iyomaraw - ka way go/d	me back vemetemon -yo	F wa DU: nf eke oma	-rawa -	-hemete	wawasi wa- was DUP get nf -mone REP+F	t caugh -ke	in t mo pn me me	POSS

nafi ,	me	mo				toaba	
nafi ´	me	moo	na+F	hinama	me	to- ha -hab	a mati
all	3PL.S	be full	AUX	all	3PL.S	CH be FUT+	F 3PL.S
pn	pron	vi	aux	adj	pron	VC	pron

'The *aba* fish came back. The *aba* fish went into the opening of the fish traps, all of them, and they would all be full.'

350 Wawasi ya inohoti tame ta me wa- wasi inohoti tame taa ya me protrude DUP get caught mouth ADJU 3PL.S tail+F pron nf prt vi pn pn

kanamarawemetemoneni

ka- na -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -ni COMIT AUX back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'Their tails were sticking out of the opening of the fish traps.'

351 Wawasi hinita toatoa remetemone wa- wasi hinita toha- to- ha na -ra -hemete -mone DUP get caught empty DUP CH be AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS pn VC aux pron

ihi

ihi

because of+F

post

'The fish traps were not empty, because of them.'

352 *Me* ahaba tisa hina me me me tisa hi- na+F ahaha+F me me me OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow 3PL.S die 3PL.O pron pron vt pron pron νi aux hisiri mo nemetemone ahi hisiri moona -hemete -mone ahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F basket be full then vi aux dem

'They were shooting them with arrows, and they were dying. The baskets were full.'

353 *Aba* me me katomemetemone ahi aba me me katoma -hemete -mone ahi fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S kill many FP.N+F REP+F then pron pron

'They killed lots of aba fish.'

354 *Me* hinemetemoneke ahi me iso me me iso hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi 3PL.O 3PL.S carry off OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then pron pron vt aux dem

'They were carrying them off.'

355	Wawasi		ka	me	me	hohe	oro	hikanar	na			me
	wa- wa	asi	ka	me	me	ho-	horo	hi- k	a-	na	-ma+F	me
	DUP ge	et caugh	t LOC	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP	pull	OC C	TIMO	AUX	back	3PL.O
	nf		prt	pron	pron	vt		aux				pron
	me	me	titiwa	hika	misemete	mone					awa	awa
	me	me	ti- tiv	va hi-	ka-	na	-misa	-hemet	e -mo	one	awa	awa
	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP car	cry OC	COMIT	AUX	up	FP.N+F	RE!	P+F	wood	wood
	pron	pron	vt	aux							nf	nf

awa ya
awa ya
wood ADJU
nf prt

'They dragged them in the traps. They lifted them up tied to poles.'

356 Wawasi	sosoki	nakeha	ya	me	me	titiwa
wa- wasi	so- soki	na -kI+F	ya	me	me	ti- tiwa
DUP get caught	DUP tie up	AUX coming	ADJU	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP carry
nf	result	aux	prt	pron	pron	vt
hikamisemetemone		, nafi	me	soki	hinal	haro
hi- ka- na -misa	a -hemete -mo		me	soki	hi-	na -haaro
OC COMIT AUX up	FP.N+F REF	P+F all	3PL.S	tie ur	o OC	AUX IP.E+F
aux		pn	pron	vt	aux	

'They lifted them up, after they tied the traps to poles. They tied all of them.'

357	Awa	me	soki	nemetemoneke				
	awa	me	soki	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	
	wood	3PL.S	tie up	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
	nf	pron	vt	aux				

'They tied the poles.'

358	Awa	me	soki	na	me	,	me	yana
	awa	me	soki	na+F	me		me	yana
	wood	3PL.S	tie up	AUX	3PL.S		3PL.S	start
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron		pron	vi

tonemetemoneke

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

'They tied the poles. They were ready.'

359	Aba	me	me	iso	nemetemoneke						
	aba	me	me	iso	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke			
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	carry off	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F			
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux						
'The	'They carried the aba fish.'										

360	Aba	me	me	iso	nemetemone	ahi					
	aba	me	me	iso	na -hemete -mone	ahi					
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	carry off	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then					
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	dem					
'The	'They carried the aba fish.'										

361	Fa kabine	ka	me	tama	aba	me	tori	me
	faha kabine	ka	me	tama.LIST	aba	me	tori	me
	port	LOC	3PL.S	be many	fish	3PL.POSS	guts+F	3PL.S
	nf	prt	pron	vi	nm	pron	pn	pron

itiha mati
iti+F mati
take out 3PL.S
vt pron

'There were many of them at the port, gutting the fish.'

362 Me fanar me fan women nf	awi tafa- tafa DUP eat vi				<i>kiakia</i> kiha- kiha DUP have vt
na -ra -h AUX NEG II aux "The women		, even though tl	hey didn't have mud	1."'	
pron	awi atabo kih mud hav nf vt <i>ati hiyara</i>	a -habone e INT+F teke -ra+F tee UEG 2PL.1 pron	onara ati o- na say 1SG.S AUX vt -ke POSS DECL+F	-hara o- IP.E+F 1SG.S prt	ke -ne DECL+F IRR+F
tee 2PL.PO pron ""You didn't a	ati hiyara ati hiya SS voice be b pn vi	r to to to the total representation of the total represent	eni Lee -ni PPL.POSS BKG+F		
365 Me fana me fan women nf	awi atabo kih		ona ati o- na+H say 1SG.S AUX vt	tafarawibanake Tafa -rawa+l eat F.PL vi	F -bana -ke FUT DECL+F
'''I wanted the	e women to have muc	l on them, but t	they ate."'		
366 Me me 3PL.S pron "They are eat	vi au	-raba na X a bit AU	JX NEG FUT		
367 Me me 3PL.S pron	tafari tafa -ra.NOM+F eat NEG vi t going to eat, but the	me ta 3PL.S ea pron vi	fake . fa -ke at DECL+F		
368 Me me 3PL.S pron	tafatasaba tafa -tasa -ha eat again FUT vi ing to eat again."	me ba me	ama . ama SEC sec		
369 Me me 3PL.S pron	tafa -mina+F eat morning	me tafam me tafa 3PL.S eat pron vi	mina me a -mina+F me morning 3PL pror		

nabamena-habameAUXFUT+F3PL.Sauxpron"They will eat for many	amake ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec days, so they wil	dem pron	<pre>watakiba wataka.NOM+F -b be fatty FU' vi</pre>	
370 <i>Owatakaraba</i> o- wataka 1SG.S be fatty vi	-ra -haba NEG FUT+F	siba be all right	ori o- na -ra.NOM+ lsg.s AUX NEG aux	<pre>haro F haaro that one+F dem</pre>
"I'm not going to get fat	."'			
371 <i>Owataki</i> o- wataka 1SG.S be fatty vi ""I'm not fat.""	onofara o- nofa 1SG.S rece prt		o- ni C 1SG.S BKG+F	
372 Fara owa fara owa same+F 1SG.O dem pron "I just stay the same."	otine o- iti - 1SG.S be o			
373 Faya me , faya me so 3PL.S conj pron	yana na+ start AUX vi aux	K 3PL.S fest	a ee hiri na a 1IN.S make A	ibana ? a+F -bana UX FUT ux
song 1IN.S nf pron watarabanake wata -ra -habana exist NEG FUT+F	vt aux	<pre>E Onira Ee Onira (name of song) npropf</pre>	<pre>watari wata -ra.NOM+F exist NEG vi</pre>	ka ayaka ka ayaka because song prt nf
vi '''We are not going to sir	ng. Since there is	no E Onira, there is	n't going to be any singin	g.'''
375 Ati hiyara ati hiya voice be bad pn vi "He won't agree. We are		<pre>ha , ota haa</pre>	tafarimakoni tafa -ra -makoni eat NEG for this vi	reason+F
376 Iti , iti grandfather nm "Grandpa, Grandpa, Bo	iti iti grandfathe nm no Wiyo."'	, Bono Wiyo Bono Wiyo r (man's na npropm	me)	
377 <i>Hii</i> . hii huh?				

huh? interj

```
""Huh?""
```

```
378 Bono Wiyo ayaka
Bono Wiyo ayaka
(man's name) song
npropm nf
```

"Bono Wiyo, the song."

379 Iti ayaka hiri timatahi
iti ayaka hiri ti- na -mata -hi
grandfather song sing 2SG.S AUX short time IMP+F
nm nf vt aux

"Grandpa, sing a little song."

380	Ayaka	bite	e	hiri	ni	ya	e	amo
	ayaka	bite	ee	hiri	na.NOM+F	ya	ee	amo
	song	small+F	1IN.S	sing	AUX	ADJU	1IN.S	sleep
	nf	adj	pron	vt	aux	prt	pron	vi

nibeya

na -be -ya AUX IMMED+F now

aux

"Let's sing a little song so we can go to sleep."

381 Ayaka te kanawanahi
ayaka tee kanawana -hi
song 2PL.S start IMP+F
nf pron vt

"Start the song."

382 Wara obeya

wara o- to- na -be -ya respond to 1SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F now vt aux

"I will take it on."

383 Wara obeya

wara o- to- na -be -ya respond to 1SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F now vt aux

"I will take it on."

384 Te kanawanahi

tee kanawana -hi 2PL.S start IMP+F pron vt

"You start it."

385 *Faya* ayaka me hiri ayaki na me faya ayaka me hiri na+F me ayaka.NOM+F ya song 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.S sing ADJU pron conj nf pron vt vi aux prt okiti okiti ka iti 0-0ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather

-himata -mona -ka

okobi

ka

abi

0-

tokomakematamonaka

-makI

to- ka

```
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                  1SG.POSS POSS father
vi
okobi
                        bati
               abi
                        bati
0-
          ka
1SG.POSS POSS father
                        3SG.POSS.father
'They sang a song. My grandfather went to where they were singing, my father's father.'
386 Abi
             ayaka
                     hiri
                           tibone
                                                          ati
                                                                ke
                                                  me
                           ti-
                                  na.NOM -bone
    ahi
             ayaka
                     hiri
                                                  me
                                                          ati
                                                                na
                                                                    -ke
                            2SG.S AUX
                                          INT+F
                                                                AUX DECL+F
    father
             song
                     sing
                                                  3PL.S
                                                          say
             nf
    nm
                     vt
                            aux
                                                  pron
                                                          vt
                                                                prt
"Father, they want you to sing."
387 Ayaka
            hiri
                  tinahi
    ayaka
            hiri
                  ti-
                         na -hi
    song
            sing
                  2SG.S AUX IMP+F
    nf
                   aux
"Sing a song."
                                                 okobi
388 Ayaka
                   hiri
                          nibeva
                                                                          ati
            ota
                                                                 abi
    ayaka
            otaa
                   hiri
                          na -be
                                        -va
                                                 0-
                                                           ka
                    sing AUX IMMED+F now
                                                 1SG.POSS POSS father
    sona
            1EX.S
                                                                          sav
    nf
            pron
                    vt
                          aux
                                                 nm
                                                                          νt
nematamona
                     okobi
                                                        toemari
                                              aati
                               ka
                                                        t.o- ha
na -himata -mona
                                     ahi
                                              a –
                                                  ati
                                                                 -himari
                     \circ
                                              DUP say
                                                        CH AUX FP.E+M
AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                    1SG.POSS POSS father
                                              vt
                                                        aux
                     nm
"Let's us sing," my father said that he said."
389 Ayaka
            okiti
                                          hiri
                                                 nebona
                                                                sina
                                                                        hisi
    ayaka
                      ka
                           iti
                                          hiri
                                                 na -hibona
                                                                sina
                                                                        hisi
                                                                                na+M
            1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                 AUX INT+M
    song
                                          sing
                                                                snuff
                                                                        sniff
                                                                               AUX
    nf
                                          vt
                                                 aux
                                                                nf
                                                                        vt
                                                                                aux
tokomake
                              tokomakematamonaka
              -makI
                              to- ka
                                            -makI
                                                        -himata -mona -ka
away go/come following
                              away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
'My grandfather took snuff so he could sing a song. He went there.'
390 Tokomake
                               ayaka
                                               hiri
                                       me
                                                            me
                                                                    ayaki
                                                     na
    to- ka
                  -makI
                               ayaka
                                       me
                                               hiri
                                                     na+F
                                                            me
                                                                    ayaka.NFIN
    away go/come following
                               song
                                       3PL.S
                                               sing
                                                     AUX
                                                             3PL.S
                                                                    sing
                                       pron
                               nf
                                              vt
                                                     aux
                                                            pron
                                                                    vi
vokana
                 tohara
                                            ayaki
                                                         okiti
        me
                                    me
                 to- ha -ra+F
                                            ayaka.NFIN
                                                                         iti
yokana me
                                    me
                                                                   ka
                                                         0-
         3PL.S CH be NEG
                                    3PL.S
                                                         1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
true
                                            sing
                                    pron
adj
         pron
                 VC
                                            vi
                                                         nm
wara
                        ayaka
                                hiri
                                       nabe
                                                          okiti
             tone
             to- na+M
                        ayaka
                                hiri
                                       na nahaba+M
                                                          0-
                                                                    ka
                                                                          iti
                                sing AUX at night
                                                          1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
respond to CH AUX
                         song
                         nf
                                vt
                                       aux
             aux
```

ayaka	hiri	nabe	nabematamonaka						
ayaka	hiri	na	nahaba	-himata	-mona	-ka	fahi		
song	sing	AUX	at night	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then		
nf	vt	aux					dem		

'He went there. They were having a dance, but they weren't singing well. My grandfather improved their singing. He sang all night. My grandfather sang all night.'

391	Iti	tiwahar	iha	ayaka	tinahari	be		
	iti	ti-	ohari+F	ayaka	ti-	na-	ohari	-be
	grandfather	2SG.S	be alone	song	2SG.S	CAUS	be one	IMMED+F
	nm	vi		nf	vt			

"Grandpa, you sing one night by yourself."

392	Ota	hiri	naba		awineke	
	otaa	hiri	na	-haba	awine	-ke
	1EX.S	sing	AUX	FUT+F	seem+F	DECL+F
	pron	vt	aux		sec	
1117 4 7	•11 •	*				

"We will sing it."

393	Ota	hiri	naba		awineke	
	otaa	hiri	na	-haba	awine	-ke
	1EX.S	sing	AUX	FUT+F	seem+F	DECL+F
	pron	vt	aux		sec	

"We will sing it."

394	Ota	inohoti	wata		ota	awin	eni	yiko	me
	otaa	inohoti	wata-	+F	otaa	awir	ne -ni	yiko	me
	1EX.POSS	mouth	be lo	ocated	1EX.PC	SS seer	n+F BKG+F	howler monkey	3PL
	pron	pn	vi		pron	sec		nm	pron
	yiko	me		kakaba	me		ota .		
,	yiko	me		ka- ka	ba me		otaa		
	howler mon	key 3PL.	POSS	DUP ea	t 3PI	L.COMPL	1EX.S		
	nm	pron	Į.	pn	pro	on	pron		

[&]quot;We have mouths, because we are eaters of howler monkeys."

395	Ha	oreba					ama	oke		ahi	•	ati
	haa	0-	na	-rI		-haba	ama	0-	ke	ahi		ati
	call	1SG.S	AUX	raised	surface	FUT+F	SEC	1SG.S	DECL+F	then		say
	vi	aux					sec	prt		dem		vt

nematamonane

na -himata -mona -ne
AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

"I will call out loudly," he said.'

396	Kanamome	etemone	amak	ahi		
	kanamo	-mete	-mone	ama	-ke	ahi
	armband	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DECL+F	then
	nm			VC		dem

'They had armbands.'

397	Kanamo	kanamo	atawa	ahi	atawa	yaka
	kanamo	kanamo	atawa	ahi	atawa	yaka
	armband	armband	feathered ornament	then	feathered ornament	walk
	nf	nf	nm	dem	nm	νi

nematamona	okobi	aati	toemari	amani
na -himata -mona	o- ka abi	a- ati	to- ha -himari	ama -ni
AUX FP.N+M REP+M	1SG.POSS POSS father	DUP say	CH AUX FP.E+M	be BKG+F
aux	nm	vt	aux	VC

'Armbands, and pieces of headdresses were on the ground, my father used to say.'

398 *Yaki* yaki weveri me yaki yaki me weye -ri toucan sp headdress 3PL.S carry DISTR nm pron vt. kawemetemoneke ahi ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then dem

'They were wearing headdresses of toucan feathers.'

399 *Yowi* ini vowi me ini yowi ini yowi me ini tooth+F 3PL.POSS brown capuchin tooth+F brown capuchin 3PL.POSS nm pron pn nm pron pn

fifitokanikimakaniahifi- fitona -kanikima -kaniahiDUP runAUX scattered ?+Fthenviauxdem

'They had brown capuchin teeth strung across their chests.'

400 Fava vowi me ini me yowi faya me ini me brown capuchin 3PL.POSS tooth+F 3PL.S SO conj pron pron nm pn ahi atohemetemoneke

ato -hemete -mone -ke ahi be decorated FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then vi dem

'They were decorated with brown capuchin teeth.'

401 *Yaki* weyeri hiwatarawa me one me me yaki me one weye -ri.LIST me me hi- wata -rawa+F headdress 3PL some+F carry DISTR 3PL.O 3PL.S OC catch F.PL pron adj pron pron vt

me me hiwatarawemetemone
me me hi- wata -rawa -hemete -mone
3PL.O 3PL.S OC catch F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
pron pron vt

'Some of them were wearing headdresses of toucan feathers. The others grabbed them.'

402 *Faya* ayaka hiri naba me me yama faya ayaka hiri na nahaba+F yama wehe me me so 3PL.S sing AUX at night 3PL.S thing light+F song conj nf nf pron vt aux pron pn

kamakiemetemoneamakeka-makI-hemete-moneama -kego/comefollowingFP.N+FREP+FSECDECL+Fvisec

'They sang all night, and dawn came.'

```
403 Yama
           we
                    kamakia
                                            Me fanawi
                             -makI+F
                                                       yowiri
   vama
           wehe
                     ka
                                            me fanawi
          light+F
                     go/come following
                                                        sing woman's song
    thing
                                            women
   nf
           pn
                     vi
                                            nf
                                                        vi
nabanake
                               tafa
                                        mati
                        me
na -habana -ke
                                        mati
                        me
                               tafa+F
AUX FUT+F DECL+F
                        3PL.S
                                        3PL.S
                               eat
                        pron
                               vi
                                        pron
'Dawn came. "The women are going to sing, they have been eating."
                            eke
404 Fe
                ra
   fee
                                   -ke
        66
                na
                    -ra+F
                            66
   3SG 1IN.S AUX NEG
                            1IN.S DECL+F
   pron pron aux
                            pron
"We already sang."
405 E
           ayaka
                  nabake
   ee
           ayaka nahaba
                            -ke
   1IN.S
           sing
                   at night DECL+F
   pron
           vi
                  prt
"We have already sung all night."
406 Okiti
                                ayaki
                                                    hiri
                                                           naba
                                             e
             ka iti
                                avaka.NFIN
                                                    hiri
                                                           na nahaba+F
                                             ee
   1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                           AUX at night
                                sina
                                             1IN.S
                                                    sina
                                             pron
                                vi
                                                    vt
                                                           aux
ereke
      -ke
ere
1IN.S DECL+F
pron
"We have sung my grandfather's song all night."
407 Me fanawi
               me fanawi
                           me
                                ka
                                       aki
                                                     me
                                                            vowiri
   me fanawi
               me fanawi
                           me
                                ka
                                       aki
                                                     me
                                                            yowiri
                           3PL POSS grandmother
                                                            sing woman's song
   women
               women
                                                    3PL.S
   nf
               nf
                           pron prt
                                       nf
                                                     pron
ni
         me
                 hiri
                       nabisabanake
na.NFIN
         me
                 hiri
                       na -bisa -habana -ke
         3PL.S sing
                       AUX also FUT+F
                                          DECL+F
         pron
                 vt
                       aux
"The women will sing their grandmothers' song."
408 Fe
                            eke
         e
                ra
   fee
        ee
                na
                    -ra+F
                            ee
                                   -ke
        1IN.S AUX NEG
                            1IN.S DECL+F
                            pron
   pron pron
                aux
"We already sang."
409 Okiti
                                                              mahika
                                ohari
                                          avaki
                                                      e
             ka iti
                                ohari+M
                                          ayaka.NFIN ee
                                                              mahika
   0-
   1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                      1IN.S
                                be only
                                          sing
                                                              consume a lot
                                vi
                                          vi
                                                      pron
                                                              vt
nababisa
                       eke
na nahaba -bisa+F
                             -ke
                       ee
AUX at night also
                       1IN.S DECL+F
                       pron
```

"As only my grandfather sang, we sang with him all night long."

410 Me fanawi me fanawi women nf nahi na -hi AUX IMP+F aux "Give food of the fe	me fanawi me fanawi women nf	me fanawi me fanawi women nf	me 3PL.O	te tee 2PL.S pron	mari mari offer a vt	. feast t	0
411 <i>Me fanawi</i> me fanawi women nf	me te me tee 3PL.O 2PL pron pro		a feast to	nahi na o AUX aux	-hi IMP+F	<pre>aba aba fish sp nm</pre>	me me 3PL pron
one ya other+F ADJU adj prt "Give food of the fe	east to the wom	en, other <i>aba</i> f	īsh."'				
oc comit cook vt nakabemetemoneke na- kaba -hem caus eat FP.N vt 'They cooked aba fi	sh for the wom	aba rifish sp rim rawaface F.PL aba ke aba ECL+F fish nm en. They fed aba	so co me me h sp 3PI pro ba fish to the	3PL.S pron a me ya me won nj nf ya ya ADJU on prt e women.	fanawi fanawi nen	me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron
413 Me fanawi me fanawi women nf aba mati aba mati fish sp 3PL nm pron 'They put food for t	tafebone tafe -bon food+F INT- pn . he women on le	+F 3PL.S pron	kakibemeter ka- ib COMIT pu vt	I		te -mone F REP+F	-ke DECL+F
414 Hiba te hiba tee wait 2PL interj proportani otaa -ni 1EX.S BKG+F pron ""We have decided to	n vi	man's song	naboneke na -hal AUX INT- aux	oone -k +F DE	e o CL+F 1	ta ati taa at EX.S sa ron vt	i na+F y AUX

tee 2PL.S pron "Eat."	<i>tafatafa</i> tafa- tafa DUP eat vi	<pre>bote na -bote AUX quickly aux</pre>	aux				
tee 2PL.S	vi	-ri forth DISTR	riyahi na -ra -yahi AUX NEG DIST. aux	IMP+F			
Don't go baci	and fortin.						
tee 2PL.S	vi	-ri forth DISTR	riyahi na -ra -yahi AUX NEG DIST. aux	IMP+F	•		
418 <i>Me</i> me 3PL.POS pron	boti boti S bunch+F pn	<pre>homa homa+F lie on groun vi</pre>	me te me tee d 3PL.0 2PL. pron pron		- back and	l forth	
COMIT AUX N aux	ra -yahi NEG DIST.IMP	dem	+F men in their hut.'''				
tee 2PL.POS pron "All of you sta	nafi to S all DU pn vc	<i>itohiro</i> hi- to- ha -1 P CH be wi	ro .thout stopping	niya na - AUX I aux	-yahi DIST.IMP	P+F	
faya m so 3	PL.S sing ron vi	i woman's song	na -habone AUX INT+F	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>yowiri</i> yowiri sing wo	oman's	song
na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux	e -mone -ke REP+F DECL to sing, and they						
421 <i>Me fanaw</i> me fana	•	n	emetemoneni a -hemete -mo: .UX FP.N+F REP	ne -ni +F BKG+			
women nf	sing wor			ir bkgi	Ľ.		
women nf 'The women sa	sing wor vi	=	ux	ir bkgi	r.		

te ka te tee ka tee 2PL POSS 2PL pron prt pron hiri nahi hiri na -hi sing AUX IMP+F vt aux 'The women sang. "D	prt nf	me me dmother 3PL.S pron	vi	ni na.NFII man's song AUX aux	te N tee 2PL.S pron
fee otaa 3SG 1EX.S pron pron ayaki ota ayaka.NFIN ota sing 1EX vi pro "We already sang. W	na -ra+F AUX NEG aux nahari a na- oha .S CAUS be n vt	prt	nm ota otaa 1EX.S pron	ka iti POSS grandfather	
o- ka 1SG.POSS POS nm otake otaa -ke 1EX.S DECL+F pron "We sang my grandf	ati na - say AUX F vt aux	vi monaka himata -mona P.N+M REP+M	otaa 1EX.S pron -ka	nahari naba na- ohari nahab CAUS be one at ni vt prt	-
425 Me fanawi y me fanawi y women s nf hiyarawara	sing woman's vi , <i>yowiri</i>	na+F l song AUX d aux r	old woman nf <i>ni</i>	vi me haha	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux
425 Me fanawi y me fanawi y women s nf y hiyarawara hiya -rawa -r be bad F.PL NE vi hikarawa hi- ka- na - OC COMIT AUX Faux okakiteba	yowiri sing woman's yi a+F yowi G sing vi rawa+F o .PL 1 n	na+F land song AUX of aux resident aux resid	cirabote old woman of ni na.NFIN AUX aux ondmother	yowiri sing woman's song vi	na.NFIN AUX

'The women sang. The old women's singing was not good, and the others were laughing at their singing. Only my grandmother sang.' $\frac{1}{2} \int_{\mathbb{R}^{n}} \frac{1}{2} \int_{\mathbb{R}^{n}} \frac{1$

```
426 Okaki
                            aatona
                                         nimakoni
   o- ka aki
                            a- atona
                                         na -makoni
   1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP maiden AUX for this reason+F
                            vi
                        yowiri
okaki
                                             nemetemone
o- ka aki
                        vowiri
                                            na -hemete -mone
1SG.S POSS grandmother
                        sing woman's song AUX FP.N+F REP+F
okiti
                               okiti
                                                           fati
         ka
              iti
                               0-
                                        ka iti
                                                           fati
0-
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                               1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3SG.POSS.wife
                               nm
'Because my grandmother was still young, my grandmother sang, my grandfather's wife.'
427 Okaki
                            vowiri
                                                nemetemoneke
   0-
         ka
             aki
                            yowiri
                                                na -hemete -mone -ke
   1SG.S POSS grandmother sing woman's song AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                            vi
                                                aux
'My grandmother sang.'
                             , yowiri
428 Yowiri
                                                    ni
                       na
                                                              me
   yowiri
                       na+F
                                yowiri
                                                    na.NFIN me
   sing woman's song AUX
                                sing woman's song AUX
                                                              3PL other+F
                       aux
                                                    aux
                                                              pron adi
            hi- to- na+F , nakiri
                             nakiri
wara
respond to OC CH AUX
                             3SG.POSS.brother's wife
                             nf
            aux
nakiri
                          wara
                                      hinemetemone
nakiri
                                      hi- to- na
                                                  -hemete -mone
                          wara
3SG.POSS.brother's wife respond to OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                          vt
                                      aux
'The others sang after her. Her sister-in-law sang after her.'
429 Nakiri
                             wara
                                          hina
                                                            faya
   nakiri
                             wara
                                          hi- to- na+F
                                                            faya
                             respond to OC CH AUX
   3SG.POSS.brother's wife
                                                            so
                                          aux
                                                            conj
nakiri
                         vowiri
                                             naba
                                                            me fanawi
nakiri
                          yowiri
                                             na nahaba+F
                                                            me fanawi
3SG.POSS.brother's wife
                          sing woman's song AUX at night
                                                            women
                          vi
                                             aux
kawahemetemone
                           fahi
ka- waha -hemete -mone
                           fahi
COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F then
                           dem
'Her sister-in-law sang after her. Her sister-in-law sang all night. The women sang until dawn.'
430 Fara
            ota
                  nima
                       te
                                nahi
                                na -hi
   fara
            otaa nima tee
   same+F 1EX
                  like 2PL.S AUX IMP+F
   dem
            pron prt pron
                                aux
"Do as we did."
```

431 *Fava* me fanawi kawahemetemone fahi ee faya ee me fanawi ka- waha -hemete -mone fahi COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F so ves women then interj nf vi dem conj

'The women sang until dawn.'

432 Me fanawi kawaha Te awa me fanawi kawaha+F tee awa women COMIT dawn 2PL.S see pron nf vi vt

'The women sang until dawn. "Look at them."

433 *Me* kawaharabone ati nahara me ota me ka- waha -ra -habone me otaa ati na -hara 3PL.S AUX IP.E+F COMIT dawn NEG INT+F 3PL.O 1EX.S say pron vi pron pron vt aux

"We thought that they would not sing until dawn."

434 Me kawahemetemone fahi
me ka- waha -hemete -mone fahi
3PL.S COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F then
pron vi dem

'They sang until dawn.'

435 Me fanawi haha wati kawaha wati me me me fanawi kawaha+F haaha wahati wahati me me women COMIT dawn this+F Jamamadi 3PL Jamamadi nf vi dem npropm npropm pron pron sawibisa faya me wati sawibisa me me -bisa+F sawi -bisa+F sawi me faya me wahati me 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S be present also be present also Jamamadi SO pron pron νi conj pron npropm vi me tokomemetemone ayaka ini me mita -hemete -mone me t.o- ka -ma ayaka ini me mita+F away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S song name+F 3PL.S hear pron nf pn pron mati ayaka me hiri rabone mati mati ayaka me hiri na -ra -habone mati 3PL.S song 3PL.S sing AUX NEG INT+F 3PL.S

pron nf pron vt aux pron 'The women sang until dawn. The Jamamadis that were there went home when they heard that the Jarawaras wanted them to sing, so they wouldn't have to sing.'

436 Wati me tokomemetemoneke
wahati me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
Jamamadi 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
npropm pron vi

'The Jamamadis went home.'

437 *Me* avaka me nofara me tokomineke nofa -ra+F -ke me ayaka me me t.o- ka -ma -ne away go/come back CONT+F DECL+F 3PL 3PL.S want NEG 3PL.S song pron nf pron vt pron vi nofara me tafi me mati tafa.NFIN nofa -ra+F mati me 3PL.S want NEG 3PL.S eat pron vi pron vt pron

"They went home because they didn't want the singing, and they don't want to eat."

```
438 Wati
               bote
                                                                 tabivo
                      me
                              tokoma
                                                     me
                                                                           me
    wahati
               bote
                      me
                              to- ka
                                             -ma+F
                                                     me
                                                                 tabiyo
                                                                           me
    Jamamadi
               old
                      3PL.S
                              away go/come back
                                                      3PL.POSS
                                                                 absence
                                                                           3PL.S
    npropm
               adj
                      pron
                              vi
                                                     pron
                                                                 pn
                                                                           pron
hora
                             okobi
                                                       okobi
           na
                  mρ
                                             abi
                                                       0-
hora
           na+F
                  me
                             0-
                                        ka
                                                                 ka
                                                                       abi
                                                       1SG.POSS POSS father
complain
           AUX
                  3PL.S
                             1SG.POSS POSS father
vi
                                                       nm
           aux
                  pron
                             nm
              tohabise
                                 okobi
yetene
                                                          nanafi
               to- ha -bisa+M
yetene
                                 \circ
                                           ka
                                                 abi
                                                          na- nafi
                                                          DUP be big
                   be also
                                 1SG.POSS POSS father
teenage boy
              СН
adj
               VC
                                                          vi
toarematamona
                               okobi
                                                        aati
                                                                   toemari
to- ha
         -ra -himata -mona
                               0-
                                         ka
                                               abi
                                                        a-
                                                             ati
                                                                   to- ha
                                                                            -himari
CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M
                               1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                        DUP say
                                                                   CH AUX FP.E+M
aux
                                                        vt
                                                                   aux
```

'The old Jamamadis went home, and the others complained because they left. My father was a teenager. My father said that he was not very old.'

439 <i>Okobi</i> o- ka abi	, <i>nisori</i> nisori	_	<i>famabise</i> fama −bisa+M	<i>na</i> na+F
1SG.POSS POSS fath	ner 3SG.PC	SS.younger bro	other be with also	AUX
nm	nm		vi	aux
nisori	, aba	me , aba	me	
nisori	aba	me aba	me	
3SG.POSS.younger broth	ner fish	3PL fish	3PL.O	
nm	nm	pron nm	pron	
okiti	ki	nebona	tokome	,
o- ka iti	kii	na -hibona	to- ka -ma+M	
1SG.POSS POSS grandfa	ther look at	AUX INT+M	away go/come back	
nm	vt	aux	vi	
okobi	okobi	nisoi	ri	me
o- ka abi	o- ka	abi nis	ori	me
1SG.POSS POSS father	1SG.POSS POS	S father 3SG	.POSS.younger brother	3PL.S
nm	nm	nm		pron
yoro na me,	yama me	tisa	nemetemone	
yoro na+F me	yama me	tisa	na -hemete -m	one
stand AUX 3PL.S	thing 3PL.	S shoot with	arrow AUX FP.N+F RE	P+F
vi aux pron	nf pron	vt	aux	
okobi	aati toen	nari		
o- ka abi	a- ati to-	ha -himari		
1SG.POSS POSS father	DUP say CH	AUX FP.E+M		
nm	vt aux			

'My father was with his younger brother. My grandfather left to go fishing. My father and his younger brother were in the plaza playing at shooting bow and arrow, my father used to say.'

440	Okobi			hiwa	totoha	ne		okobi				
	0-	ka	abi	hiwa	to- to- 1	ha na+l	M	0-		ka	abi	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	only.M	DUP CH 1	be AUX		1SG.	POSS	POSS	father	
	nm			pron	VC	aux		nm				
niso	ri			fame	nisori				.)	ama	me	
nis	ori			fama+M	nisori					yama	me	
3SG	.POSS.you	nger :	brother	be two	3SG.POSS	.younger	brot	her	t	ching	3PL.S	
nm				vi	nm				1	nf	pron	

tisa tisa shoot with arrow vt 'My father was the older shooting bow and arrow		nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DEC aux younger brother. They were in	L+F
441 <i>Me yoro</i> me yoro 3PL.S stand pron vi aki ati	na , Te kakan na+F tee ka- AUX 2PL.S COMI aux pron vi nemetemone	nini ka -ma -ni T go/come back BKG+F	me ka me ka 3PL POSS pron prt
aki ati grandmother say nf vt 'They were in the plaza.	na -hemete -mone AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux "You two come here," their g	grandmother said.'	
faya me I	ka- ka -ma+F COMIT go/come back vi <i>wiwina</i> wi- wina	me watama me wata 3PL.S lie in hammock pron vi karama na -karahama ammock AUX only do aux	pron <i>tinahi</i>
'They came back and lay 443 <i>Wiwina</i> wi- wina DUP lie in ham vi "Stay in your hammock	aux	tinahi . 2SG.S AUX IMP+F aux	
444 <i>Amo</i> tibeya amo ti- r	na -be -ya AUX IMMED+F now		
	kamaba abi ka -ma. father go/come back vi	nom+m -ba ama -ke FUT be DECL+F vc	,
1SG.POSS POSS fat nm toemari to- ha -himari CH AUX FP.E+M	her say AUX FP.N+M vt aux amake ama -ke	okobi a -mona o- ka REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS nm	

aux sec
"'My father will come back," my father said, he used to say.'

-ma.NOM+M -ba

go/come back FUT

kamaba

ka

446 *Okobi*

0-

ka abi

1SG.POSS POSS father

```
vi
"My father will come back."
447 Bai
         tokaka
                       -ka
         to- ka
   bahi
   sun
         away go/come DECL+M
   nm
         vi
"It's late in the day."
448 Bai
         tokaka
                               hari
   bahi to- ka -ka
                               haari
         away go/come DECL+M that one+M \,
   sun
         vi
                               dem
"The sun is going down."
449 Okobi
                          kamebona
                                                ati
                                                      nare
           ka abi
                          ka -ma -hibona
                                                ati
                                                     na -hare
                                                                  bahi
   1SG.POSS POSS father
                          go/come back INT+M
                                                say
                                                      AUX IP.E+M
                          vi
                                                 vt
                                                      aux
                    ahi
              ya
to- ka+M
                    ahi
              va
away go/come ADJU then
              prt
                    dem
"My father said he would come back late in the afternoon."
450 Aba
                     okiti
            ebote
                                                 sa
                             ka iti
            ehebote o-
   aba
                                                 saa
                     1SG.POSS POSS grandfather shoot with arrow
   fish sp big
            adj
                     nm
                                                 vt
                  , aba
                              ebote
                                       okiti
ka- na -hino
                     aba
                              ehebote o-
                                                 ka iti
                                  nm
COMIT AUX IP.N+M
                                       1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                     fish sp big
                              adj
sa
                  kaneno
                                    aba
                                              weve
                                                     nematamona
                  ka- na -hino
saa
                                    aba
                                              weye
                                                     na -himata -mona
                  COMIT AUX IP.N+M fish sp carry AUX FP.N+M REP+M
shoot with arrow
                  aux
                                    nm
                                              vt
                                                     aux
okobi
                      aati
                               toemari
                                                 amani
        ka abi
                      a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ni
1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
                                                 SEC BKG+F
                      vt
                               aux
                                                 sec
'My grandfather shot a big aba fish with bow and arrow, and carried it, my father used to say.'
451 Aba
                          okaniso
            ene
                                                          toeba
            ehene
                                  ka niso
                                                         to- ha -hiba
   aba
                          0-
   fish sp victim of+M 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother CH be FUT+M
            pn
                          nm
okiti
                              okiti
        ka iti
                              0-
                                       ka
                                            iti
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                              1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
```

kakamemata amaka ama -ka kaka -ma -himata SEC DECL+M COMIT go/come back FP.N+M sec "My grandfather was carrying the aba fish that would make my younger brother a victim." 452 Fava okobi okobi aha weve faya 0ka abi 0ka abi aba weye fish sp so 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father carry conj nm nm vt aba homemari ahi tabaki namata amani na.NOM+M -mata aba homa -himari ama -ni ahi tabaki fish sp lie on ground FP.E+M SEC BKG+F tambaqui FP.N+M AUX then aux nm 77 i sec dem nf nima nima like prt "My father carried the aba fish. The aba fish lay on the ground like a tabaki fish." 453 *Tone* hikanemetemoneke sa -hemete -mone -ke tone saa hi- kana bone OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F shoot with arrow pn aux wabasaharo -basa -haaro be located edge IP.E+F "He shot it in the bone as it was near the edge of the stream." 454 *Tone* hikana sa fara aba oharia tone hi- kaohari+F saa na+F fara aba OC COMIT AUX bone shoot with arrow same+F fish sp be one aux dem nm vi wive nafihemetemone okobi aati wiye nafi -hemete -mone ka abi acontainer+F be big FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say vi toemarine to- ha -himari -ne AUX FP.E+M BKG+M 'He shot it in the bone. The basket was full with just one fish, my father used to say.' 455 *Aba* kakameno aba me hora -hino aba hora aba kaka me -ma fish sp COMIT go/come back IP.N+M fish sp 3PL.S exclaim pron nm kanemetemone afa hora me nofara

me

3PL.S

pron

hora

vi

exclaim about

afa

dem

this+F

na -hemete -mone

COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F

ama

ama

SEC

?

aux

me

me

3PL.S

pron

nofa

AUX recently NEG

na

prt

[&]quot;Are they exclaiming about the aba fish that he brought back and they exclaimed about long ago?"

```
456 Me
               ati
                       itehemetemoneke
    me
               ati
                       ita -hemete -mone -ke
    3PL.POSS
               voice
                       exist FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                       vi
    pron
               pn
'They were all talking.'
457 Aii
            aha
                      tiwahi
                                          aha
                                                    sawitehanihi
    aii
            aba
                      ti-
                             awa -hi
                                          aba
                                                    sawi
                                                                 -tee -hani -hi
            fish sp
                                          fish sp
    wow!
                      2SG.S see IMP+F
                                                    be present HAB IP.N+F DUP
    interj nm
                      vt
                                          nm
                                                    vi
"Wow, look at that aba fish. I didn't know such an aba fish existed."
458 Aba
              sawiteni
                                          te
                                                  awa
                                                        haro
    aba
              sawi
                           -tee -hani
                                                       haaro
                                          tee
                                                  awa
              be present HAB IP.N+F
    fish sp
                                          2PL.S
                                                  see
                                                        that one+F
                                          pron
                                                  vt
                                                        dem
"Look at the aba fish that existed without our knowing it."
459 Me
               ati
                       itehemetemoneke
                                                        okobi
               ati
                       ita
                              -hemete -mone -ke
    3PL.POSS
               voice
                       exist FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                        1SG.POSS POSS father
    pron
               pn
                                                        nm
nisori
                                     vokohaba
                                                                    mati
                             me
                                     voko
                                                            -haba
                                                                    mati
                             me
3SG.POSS.younger brother
                             3PL.S bring misfortune on FUT+F
                                                                    3PL.S
                             pron
                                     vt
                                                                    pron
'They were all talking. They brought misfortune on my father's younger brother.'
460 Okobi
                             nisori
                                                           me
                    abi
                             nisori
              ka
    1SG.POSS POSS father
                             3SG.POSS.younger brother
                                                           3PL.S
    nm
                             nm
                                                           pron
yokohaba
                               me
                                          ati
                                                  ita
                      -haba
                              me
                                          ati
                                                  ita+F
                                                          me
bring misfortune on FUT+F
                               3PL.POSS
                                          voice
                                                  exist
                                                          3PL.POSS
                                                                         3PL.POSS
                              pron
                                          pn
                                                  vi
                                                          pron
                                                                         pron
ati
        ita
                me
                      ni
                          ya
                                  biti
                                                  tiwa
                                                         namise
                                                                        biti
        ita+F
                me
                      ni
                          ya
                                  biti
                                                  tiwa
                                                         na
                                                             -misa+M
        exist
                3PL
                      to
                          ADJU
                                  3SG.POSS.son
                                                 hold
                                                         AUX up
                                                                        3SG.POSS.son
        vi
                pron prt prt
                                  nm
                                                  vt
                                                         aux
                                                                        nm
nawarisame
                              okiti
                                                             biti
na- waa
            -risa -ma+M
                                         ka
                                              it.i
                                                             biti
                              \circ
```

'Their talking would bring misfortune to my father's brother. As my grandfather was with them as they were talking, he picked up his son, and then set him down.'

1SG.POSS POSS grandfather

3SG.POSS.son

461	Okobi			nisori				
	0-	ka	abi	nisori				
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	3SG.POSS.younger brother				
	nm			nm				

na- waa -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka CAUS stand down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

nm

CAUS stand down back

nawarisamematamonaka

vt.

Niso	te fafam	a kar	ama	na .
niso	tee fa-		-karahama	na+F
2SG.POSS.younger brother			K only do	AUX
nm	pron vi	au	ζ	aux
"You stay with your younger brot	ner.			
462 Yifo tafa omato	eva			
yifo tafa o-	na -mate		-ya	
firewood split 1SG.	S AUX short t	time.IMP+F	now	
nf vt aux				
"I'm going to split firewood."				
162 V:Ca Li4		4 6		1.:4:
463 <i>Yifo</i> okiti yifo o- ka	iti	<i>tafa</i> tafa	<pre>nebona na -hibona</pre>	<i>biti</i> biti
-	SS grandfathe		AUX INT+M	3SG.POSS.son
nf nm	9	vt	aux	nm
nawarisame	Niso .	tikama		
na- waa -risa -ma+M	niso	ti-	ka -ma	•
CAUS stand down back	younger broth		go/come back	
-	nm	vi " l"D .		
'My grandfather set his son down	so he could split f	irewood. "Brot	her, come here.	
464 Tiwa otakoribe			okobi	ati
tiwa o- takora	-h	,	o- ka	abi ati
2SG.O 1SG.S be in ha	mmock with IM	MED+F	1SG.POSS POS	SS father say
pron vt			nm	vt
, 1				
nematamonaka	•			
na -himata -mona -ka	•			
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	•			
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux	vou." mv father sa	id.'		
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "I will stay in the hammock with	you," my father sa	id.'		
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori	tal	kore	wine	,
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori	<i>tal</i> ta	kore akora+M	wina	a+M
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge	tal ta r brother be	kore akora+M e in hammoc	wina k with lie	,
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm	tal ta r brother be vt	kore akora+M e in hammoc	wina k with lie vi	a+M
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti	tal ta r brother be vt yifo	kore akora+M e in hammoc ; tafa nema	wina k with lie vi atamona	a+M , in hammock .
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm	tal ta r brother be vt yifo yifo	kore akora+M e in hammoc : tafa nema tafa na	wina k with lie vi	a+M ' in hammock . ona
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather	tal ta r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nema tafa na split AUX vt aux	winak with lie vi utamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF	a+M in hammock ona P+M
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather	tal ta r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nema tafa na split AUX vt aux	winak with lie vi utamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF	a+M in hammock ona P+M
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his h	tale take take take take take take take tak	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nema tafa na split AUX vt aux	wina k with lie vi ntamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather	a+M in hammock ona P+M csplit firewood.'
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his k	r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf brother. He lay in hikanare	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nemo tafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock.	wina k with lie vi ntamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe	a+M in hammock ona P+M rsplit firewood.' me
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his h	tale take take take take take take take tak	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nemo tafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock.	wina k with lie vi ntamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe	a+M in hammock ona P+M resplit firewood.' me me me
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his b 466 Aba me bobi aba me bobi	r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf orother. He lay in hikanare hi- ka- na	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nemo tafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock.	wina k with lie vi ntamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe	a+M in hammock ona P+M resplit firewood.' me me me
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his b 466 Aba me bobi aba me bobi fish sp 3PL.S slit	r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf orother. He lay in hikanare hi-ka-no	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nema tafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock. a -rI UX raised s	wina k with lie vi ntamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe surface pie	a+M in hammock ona P+M resplit firewood.' me me me ace 3PL.S
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his h 466 Aba me bobi aba me bobi fish sp 3PL.S slit nm pron vt hiwarimatamona hi- waa -rI	tal ta r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf orother. He lay in hikanare hi-ka-n OC COMIT Al aux -himata -mona	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nema tafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock. a -rI UX raised s , okobi o-	wina k with lie vi utamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe surface pie pn ka abi	a+M in hammock ona P+M split firewood.' me me sce 3PL.S pron aati a- ati
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his k 466 Aba me bobi aba me bobi fish sp 3PL.S slit nm pron vt hiwarimatamona hi- waa -rI OC cook raised surface	tal ta r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf orother. He lay in hikanare hi-ka-n OC COMIT Al aux -himata -mona	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nematafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock. a -rI UX raised s , okobi o- 1SG.PO	wina k with lie vi utamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe surface pie pn	a+M in hammock ona P+M rsplit firewood.' me me ce 3PL.S pron aati a- ati her DUP say
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his h 466 Aba me bobi aba me bobi fish sp 3PL.S slit nm pron vt hiwarimatamona hi- waa -rI OC cook raised surface by	tal tal tal r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf brother. He lay in hikanare hi-ka- OC COMIT Al aux himata -mona FP.N+M REP+M	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nema tafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock. a -rI UX raised s , okobi o-	wina k with lie vi utamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe surface pie pn ka abi	a+M in hammock ona P+M split firewood.' me me sce 3PL.S pron aati a- ati
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his h 466 Aba me bobi aba me bobi fish sp 3PL.S slit nm pron vt hiwarimatamona hi- waa -rI OC cook raised surface by toemari aba	tal tal tal r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf brother. He lay in hikanare hi-ka- OC COMIT A aux himata -mona FP.N+M REP+M ebote	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nematafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock. a -rI UX raised s , okobi o- 1SG.PO	wina k with lie vi utamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe surface pie pn ka abi	a+M in hammock ona P+M rsplit firewood.' me me ce 3PL.S pron aati a- ati her DUP say
na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux "'I will stay in the hammock with y 465 Faya nisori faya nisori so 3SG.POSS.younge conj nm okiti o- ka iti 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nm 'He got in the hammock with his h 466 Aba me bobi aba me bobi fish sp 3PL.S slit nm pron vt hiwarimatamona hi- waa -rI OC cook raised surface by	tal tal tal r brother be vt yifo yifo firewood nf brother. He lay in hikanare hi-ka- OC COMIT Al aux himata -mona FP.N+M REP+M	kore akora+M e in hammoc tafa nematafa na split AUX vt aux the hammock. a -rI UX raised s , okobi o- 1SG.PO	wina k with lie vi utamona -himata -mc FP.N+M REF My grandfather ebe ebe surface pie pn ka abi	a+M in hammock ona P+M rsplit firewood.' me me ce 3PL.S pron aati a- ati her DUP say

67 Ta	baki	nima	aba	ne	sasawi		tere		aba
	ıbaki	nima	aba	na+M	sa- sa			ee -ra+M	aba
	ımbaqui	like	fish sp			e presen		B NEG	fish
nf •		prt	nm	aux .•	vi		aux		nm
<i>awitene</i> awi		tee -hi:	okii		a it:	:	<i>saka</i> saka		
	esent H <i>I</i>					ndfathe.		repeated	17 .,
i	sselle lik	AD IF.	nm	3.FUSS F	OSS GI	andrache	vt vt	repeated	тту
+ ematai	mona		11111				v C		
	himata -	-mona	•						
		REP+M							
ux									
There v	was never	an aba fi	sh like tha	t, it was lik	e a tabal	ci. It was th	nere and they	didn't knov	w it. My
randfa	ther shot	it with bo	ow and arr	ow.'					
		_	_	_					
68 Fa	_		ehemetemoi		- 1				
	iya me		fa -heme			TO.			
so	o 3PL onj pro		t FP.N+	r Kept.	F DECL+	Т.			
They at		,11 V T							
incy a									
69 M	e taf	a i	me .	me	tafeme	temoneke			
me	ta	ıfa+F r	me ,	me			-mone -ke	9	
3 P	L.S ea	ıt :	3PL.S	3PL.S	eat	FP.N+F	REP+F DE	CL+F	
-	on vi	.]	pron	pron	vi				
They at	te.'								
70 M e	e taf	ea :	ma ni	11/4	hinai	nate ai	ti van	_	
me	.,		<i>me ni</i> me ni	<i>ya</i> ya	,		<i>ti yand</i> ti yan		
	PL.S ea		3PL to	ADJU	chil		oice sta		
	on vi		pron prt		nm	p:			
_	tamonaka			-		_			
a-		imata -	mona -ka	a					
TIMOS	AUX FP	.N+M R	EP+M DEC	CL+M					
ux									
As they	were eati	ing, the vo	oice of pair	n of the bo	y came to	them.'			
71 <i>Hi</i>	namate	ee	kari	•		nematamo	naka		ahi
	namate				-ri		mata -mon	a -ka	ahi
	nild						N+M REP+		
nm	l	vi	aux	:		aux			dem
he bo	y was yelli	ing.'							
			•						
72 <i>Hi</i>		<i>okatao</i> okatao	<i>ebe</i> ebe	<i>ne</i> na+M	<i>ati</i> ati		?		
		my son					Q+M		
	terrog	_	vt	aux	pn	VC	2 111		
			ny son that		-				
in	o mo mall		•	•					
in What'					ati	<i>yana</i> yana	kanareka	la a	1
in 'What' 73 <i>Ok</i>	kaniso	1 '				vana	ka- na	-hare	-ka
in What' 73 <i>Ok</i>	kaniso -		iso	ma+1===	ati			7 TD DIM	DECT 134
in What' 73 <i>Ok</i> o- 18	k aniso - SG.POSS		iso ounger b	rother	voice	start	COMIT AUX	X IP.E+M	DECL+M
in What' 73 <i>Ok</i> o- 1S	k aniso - SG.POSS				voice pn	start vi		X IP.E+M	DECL+M
in What' 73 <i>Ok</i> 0- 1S nm	kaniso SG. POSS	POSS yo	ounger b	one	voice pn awarisam	start vi <i>ari</i>	COMIT AUX		
in What' 73 <i>Ok</i> 0- 18	kaniso SG.POSS I otakore	POSS yo	ounger b M	on.	voice pn awarisam na	start vi ari - waa	COMIT AUX	a -haari	L

"My brother started yelling when I was with him in the hammock and set him down on the floor."

```
474 Fava
                       kari
                                                      hiwa
           ee
                                           ne
           e-
                       ka-
                                   -ri
                                           na+M
                                                      hiwa
    faya
               ee
                              na
           DUP yell
                       COMIT AUX DISTR
                                           AUX
                                                      3SG.REFL.M
    so
    conj
                       aux
                                           aux
                                                      pron
kawasinoho
ka-
       wasi
                   -hino
                           -ho
COMIT make sick IP.N+M DUP
v/t
```

'He had started to yell because he came under a spell.'

```
475 Hiwa
                  kawasino
                                               ati
                                                                    kari
                                                        ee
    hiwa
                  ka-
                         wasi
                                      -hino
                                               ati
                                                                    ka-
                                                                               -ri
                                                        e
                                                            ee
                                                                           na
    3SG.REFL.M
                  COMIT make sick IP.N+M
                                               voice
                                                        DUP yell
                                                                    COMIT AUX DISTR
    pron
                  vt
                                               pn
                                                        vi
                                                                    aux
nematamonaka
                               ahi
                                      Abi
                                                abi
                                                          abi
                                                                   abi
                                                                             abi
    -himata -mona -ka
                               ahi
                                      abi
                                                abi
                                                          abi
                                                                    abi
                                                                             abi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                               then
                                      father
                                                father
                                                          father
                                                                    father
                                                                             father
aux
                               dem
                                                                             nm
                                      nm
                                                nm
                                                          nm
                                                                   nm
                   abi
abi
         abi
                             abi
                                      abi
                                                abi
                                                          abi
                   abi
                                                          abi
abi
         abi
                             abi
                                       abi
                                                abi
                   father
                             father
                                                          father
father
         father
                                       father
                                                father
         nm
                   nm
                             nm
                                      nm
                                                nm
                                                          nm
```

'He came under a spell, and cried out. "Father, Father, Father."

```
476 Afa
                         ati
                                          nofara
             me
                                  wato
                                                                 wareha
                                                                        -rI+F
                                          nofa
                                                     -ra+F
    afa
             me
                         ati
                                  wato
                                                                 waa
    this+F
             3PL.POSS
                         voice
                                          recently NEG
                                                                 stand raised surface
                                  know
             pron
                         pn
    dem
                                  result prt
Abi
         abi
                   abi
                            abi
                                      abi
                                                abi
                                                          hinamate
                                                                     ati
abi
         abi
                   abi
                            abi
                                      abi
                                                abi
                                                         hinamate
                                                                     ati
father
         father
                   father
                             father
                                      father
                                                father
                                                          child
                                                                      say
         nm
                   nm
                            nm
                                      nm
                                                nm
                                                          nm
                                                                      vt
nematamonaka
                               ahi
    -himata
             -mona -ka
                               ahi
AUX FP.N+M
              REP+M DECL+M
                               then
                               dem
```

'He was a child that had started to talk, as this girl standing here. "Father, Father, Father," the boy said.'

477	Okol	bi			,	okob	i				aba		kabeba	ona	
	0-		ka	abi	,	0-		ka	abi		aba		kaba	-hibona	
	1SG	.POSS	POSS	fathe	r	1SG	.POSS	S POSS	father	r	fish	sp	eat	INT+M	
	nm					nm					nm		vt		
aba	S	a	toi	nakose			, 1	isori					,		
aba	S	saa	to	- na	-kosa	a+M	r	nisori					•		
fis	h 1	releas	e CH	XUA X	middl	Le	3	BSG.PO	SS.youn	ige:	r bro	ther			
nm	7	7t	au	X			r	nm							
totin	ıake				niso	ri					tiwa	ni		we	,
to-	it	i	-ma	kΙ	nis	ori					tiwa	na	.NFIN	waa+M	
awa	y ta	ıke ou	t fol	lowing	g 3SG	.POS	S.yc	unger	brothe	r	hold	AU	ΙX	stand	
vt					nm						vt	au	lX	vi	
faya	,	okiti						tafemat	amona						
fay	a ´	0-		ka	iti			tafa ·	-himata	ı —ı	mona				
so		1SG	.POSS	POSS	grand	fath	er	wrap 1	FP.N+M	R.	EP+M				
con	j	nm						vt							

'My father was going to eat the aba fish but he left the aba fish. He went and picked up his younger brother

and stood there holding him. My grandfather ate.'

```
478 Okiti tafi bokato
o- ka iti tafa.NFIN bokato
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather eat fair amount
nm vi adj

toematamonaka
to- ha -himata -mona -ka
```

to- ha -himata -mona -ka
CH be FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
VC

'My grandfather ate a little.'

479 *Otafabone* okatao ati owa owa ati o- tafa -habone okatao owa owa 1SG.S eat INT+F my son 1SG.O voice 1SG.0 vi nm pron pn pron nayawamako oke ama na- yawa -mako ama 0ke CAUS be upset for this reason+M SEC 1SG.O DECL+F sec prt

"When I want to eat, my son's crying is upsetting me."

480	Okiti			tokom	e		biti	toma
	0-	ka	iti	to-	ka	-ma+M	biti	toma
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	away	go/come	back	3SG.POSS.son	suck
	nm			vi			nm	vt.

nematamonaka

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

'My grandfather went and sucked on his son, to find out what was bothering him.'

481	Bit	ti	toma	ne	okiti					biti		toma
	bi	ti.	toma	na+M	0-		ka	iti		biti		toma
	38	G.POSS.sc	n suck	AUX	1SG.PC	DSS	POSS	grand	father	3SG.	POSS.son	suck
	nm	ı	vt	aux	nm					nm		vt
ne		Aba	ene		okatao	toh	arani			ha		
na+	M	aba	ehene		okatao	to	- ha.	M+MON	-rani	haa		
AUX		fish sp	victim	of+M	my son	СН	be		?	DEM		
aux		nm	pn		nm	VC				dem		

'My grandfather sucked on his son. "My son is a victim of the aba fish."'

	hiba ´	fish sp	ehene		okatao okatao my son nm	to-	ha+M	awa	,
aba	owa	kamahari				•			
aba	0-	ka-	ka	-ma	-haari				

aba o- ka- ka -ma -haari fish sp 1SG.S COMIT go/come back IP.E+M nm vt

"My son appears to be a victim of the aba fish, the aba fish that I brought back."

483	Me	winate	rabana	ke			hiba
	me	wina	-tee	-ra	-habana	-ke	hiba
	3PL.S	live	HAB	NEG	FUT+F	DECL+F	wait
	pron	vi					interj

"They will not live here, just wait."

484 *Biti* toma nematamona na -himata -mona biti toma suck AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.son aux vt 'He sucked on his son.' 485 *Biti* biti toma nematamonaka toma ne biti toma na+M biti toma na -himata -mona -ka 3SG.POSS.son suck AUX 3SG.POSS.son suck AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt aux vt aux nm 'He sucked on his son.' 486 Inamatewe bati toma hinabe hinamate yama inamatewe hi- nahaba+M bati toma hinamate vama OC at night 3SG.POSS.father child child suck thing vt prt nm kamakiemetemoneke -hemete -mone -ke wehe ka -makI light+F go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi 'The father sucked on the boy all night. Dawn came.' 487 *Yama* we kamakia hinamate ati fawa yama wehe ka -makI+F hinamate ati fawa thing light+F go/come following child voice stop pn vi pn vi fahi nematamona na -himata -mona fahi AUX FP.N+M REP+M then dem 'Dawn came. The boy died.' 488 Okatao me yokohaba ami me -haba okatao me yoko me me ka ami mother my son 3PL.S bring misfortune on FUT+F 3PL 3PL POSS pron vt pron pron prt okine sa orani 0-0ka- na -ne na.NOM+F -rani shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S AUX "I killed their mother with bow and arrow, and they came after my son." 489 *Okiti* okiti yana ka iti 0ka iti yana 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather start 77 i nm tonematamona okobi toemari aati to- na -himata -mona 0abi a- ati to- ha -himari ka CH AUX FP.E+M CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say vt aux

'My grandfather was ready, my father used to say.'

```
490 Okiti
                             vana
                                    tone
                                              okiti
        ka iti
                                                   ka iti
                                    to- na+M o-
                             yana
   1SG.POSS POSS grandfather start CH AUX
                                              1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                   aux
                                   yobi
                     ohi
                                                     nati
hiti
             kamo
                          ni
                                                                      ohi
                          na.NFIN yobi
biti
             kamo+M
                    ohi
                                                     na nahatI+M
                                                                      ohi
             bury
3SG.POSS.son
                     cry AUX go back and forth AUX daytime
                                                                      cry
                     vi
                                   vi
                                                     prt
                                                                      vi
nm
             vt
                          aux
        yobi
                           natimatamonaka
ni
na.NFIN yobi
                          na nahatI -himata -mona -ka
AUX
        go back and forth AUX daytime FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                           prt
aux
        vi
'My grandfather was ready. My grandfather buried his son. He went around crying all day long.'
```

491	Ohi	ni		yobi				nati			oi	ni	to	ke	
	ohi	na.N	FIN	yobi				na	nahatI	$\mathbb{I}+\mathbb{M}$	ohi	na.NFI	IN to	–	ka+M
	cry	AUX		go b	ack a	and fo	rth	AUX	daytin	ne	cry	AUX	av	ay	go/come
	vi	aux		vi				prt			vi	aux	vi	-	
oi	ni		wete	•	name			faya	oi	ni		wete	nai	ne	
ohi	na	.NFIN	wet	е	na	-ma+M	,	faya	ohi	na.	NFIN	wete	na	-	·ma+M
cry	ΑUΣ	Κ	ret	urn	AUX	back		so	cry	AUX		retur	n AU	x k	ack
vi	aux	Κ	vi		aux			conj	vi	aux		vi	au	X	
kame	e			oi	ni		fiya	ton	akosame				fare	•	
ka		-ma+M	,	ohi	na.	NFIN	fiya	to.	- na	-ko	sa -	ma+M	fai	îe	
go/	come	back		cry	AUX				ay AUX	mid	dle b	ack	sar	ne+1	P
vi				vi	aux		vi	au	X				der	ı	
fare		ohi	ni		sai		nabe			ya					
far	е	ohi	na.N	FIN	sai		naha	aba.N	_	ya	,				
same	e+M	cry	AUX		be h	eard	at 1	night		ADJU					
dem		vi	aux		vi		prt			prt					
okiti						ohi	ni		kawahe	matan	nonaka	!			
0-		ka	iti			ohi	na.N	IFIN	ka-	wah	a -hi	mata -r	mona ·	-ka	•
1SG	.POSS	POSS	gra	ndfat	her	cry	AUX		COMIT	daw	n FP.	N+M RI	EP+M 1	DEC	L+M
nm						vi	aux		vi						

'He went around crying all day long. He went crying, and came back crying. He passed by the houses crying. He could be heard crying all night long, and he was crying when dawn came.'

492	Okiti				oi	ni		kawah	2		amo		
	0-	ka	iti		ohi	na.NF	'IN	ka-	waha+M	1	amo		
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grand	father	cry	AUX		COMIT	dawn		slee	p	
	nm				vi	aux		vi			vi		
nati		,	faya	okiti					amo	ne	?	,	amo
na	nahatI+M		faya	0-	ka	iti			amo	na	a+M	,	amo
AUX	daytime		so	1SG.POS	S POS	S gran	ndfa	ther	sleep	ΑŪ	JX		sleep
prt			conj	nm					vi	aι	lX		vi
nati		oki	ti				amo						
na	nahatI+M	0-		ka it	i		amo						
AUX	daytime	1s	G.POSS	POSS gr	andfa	ther	sle	ер					
prt		nm					vi						
natir	natamonaka												
na	nahatI	-hima	ata -mo	ona -ka									
AUX	daytime	FP.N-	HM RE	P+M DECL	+M								
prt													

'My grandfather was crying when dawn came. He slept during the day. My grandfather slept, he slept during the day. My grandfather slept during the day.'

```
493 Amo
           nati
                              Abi
                                       abi
                                                 abi
                                                             ee
           na nahatI+M ,
    amo
                              abi
                                        abi
                                                 abi
                                                             ee
    sleep
          AUX daytime
                              father
                                       father
                                                 father
                                                             (pause)
   vi
           prt
                                                             interj
                              nm
                                       nm
                                                 nm
                              nematamona
okobi
                        ati
         ka
               abi
                        ati
                              na -himata -mona
1SG.POSS POSS father
                              AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                        sav
                        vt
                              aux
'He slept during the day. "Father, Father, Father," my father said.'
494 Abi
             titafihi
                   tafi
    abi
                            -hi
             ti-
             2SG.S wake up IMP+F
    father
    nm
             77 i
"Father, wake up."
495 Titafabone
                          okaki
                                                     ati
    ti- tafa -habone
                          0-
                                 ka
                                       aki
                                                     ati
                                                           na -hara -ke
    2SG.S eat INT+F
                          1SG.S POSS grandmother
                                                     say
                                                           AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
                                                     vt
                                                           aux
"My grandmother says you should eat."
496 Okiti
                                  tafi
                                            ni
                                                 ya
                                                        vana
                   iti
                                  tafi+M
             ka
                                            ni
                                                 va
                                                        vana
    1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                  wake up
                                            to
                                                ADJU
                                                        start
                                            prt prt
                                  vi
tonemetemone
                             okiti
                                                           tafi
                                                                     ni
                                                                          ya
                                                                                 yana
                                            iti
to- na -hemete -mone
                                       ka
                                                           tafi+M
                             \circ
                                                                     ni
                                                                          ya
                                                                                 yana
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                             1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                           wake up
                                                                          ADJU
                                                                                 start
                                                                     to
                                                           77 i
                                                                     prt prt
aux
                             nm
                                                                                 77 i
tonemetemone
                             yana
                                     tonofa
                                                         amake
                                                                       haro
to- na -hemete -mone
                                     to- na nofa+F
                                                         ama -ke
                                                                       haaro
                             yana
                                     CH AUX recently
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                                         SEC DECL+F
                                                                       that one+F
                             start
                             νi
                                     aux
                                                         sec
                                                                       dem
'The thing that started up to my grandfather when he woke up starts up today.'
497 Yama
           moni
                   vana
                           tonemetemoneke
                                                              ahi
                            to- na -hemete -mone -ke
    yama
           moni
                   yana
                                                              ahi
    thing
           sound
                   start
                            CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                              then
           pn
                   vi
                            aux
                                                              dem
okiti
                              tafi
                                        ni
                                                    ahi
                                             ya
         ka
               iti
                              tafi+M
                                        ni
                                             ya
                                                    ahi
                                            ADJU
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                              wake up
                                        to
                                                    then
                              vi
                                        prt prt
'A sound started up to my grandfather when he woke up.'
498 Yama
                   nokomemetemone
                                                 ahi
           moni
                                                        mera
    yama
                   noko -ma -hemete -mone
           moni
                                                 ahi
                                                        mera
    thing
                   point back FP.N+F REP+F
           sound
                                                 then
                                                        3PL.O
                                                 dem
    nf
           pn
                    vi
                                                        pron
nofarabanihi
nofa -ra -haba -ni
                        -hi
want NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
'The sound came to them, not liking them.'
```

mera

aha

```
ka
                    iti
                                    aba
                                               mera
    1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                    fish sp
                                               3PL.O
                                               pron
kahabaneno
                                             aha
                                                                         mowa
                                                        me
                                                                 mρ
     habana
                                 -hino
                                             aba
                                                        me
                                                                me
                                                                         mowa
COMIT order someone against IP.N+M
                                                        3PL.O
                                              fish sp
                                                                 3PL.S
                                                                         fight
vt
                                             nm
                                                        pron
                                                                 pron
nahone
                     okiti
               me
                                                     me
na
    -habone
                                ka
               me
                     0-
                                      iti
                                                     me
AUX INT+F
                     1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                                     3PL.O
               3PT.
                                                     pron
               pron nm
allx
hikahabanani
                                                  me
                                                              tahi
                                                                        moni
                                                                                yana
hi- ka-
           habana
                                     -hani
                                                  me
                                                              tahi
                                                                        moni
                                                                                yana
                                                  3PL.POSS
OC
    COMIT order someone against IP.N+F
                                                              killer
                                                                        sound
                                                                                start
vt
                                                  pron
                                                              pn
                                                                        pn
                                                                                νi
tonemetemone
                           okobi
                                                     aati
                                                                toemari
to- na
         -hemete -mone
                           0-
                                      ka
                                            abi
                                                          ati
                                                                to- ha
                                                                          -himari
                                                     a-
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                           1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                     DUP say
                                                                CH AUX FP.E+M
aux
                                                                aux
amani
                aba
                           me
                                            kabamateraba
                                                                           mati
                                   me
ama -ni
                                            kaba -ma
                                                       -tee -ra -haba
                aba
                           me
                                   me
                                                                           mati
                fish sp
                                            eat back HAB NEG FUT+F
SEC BKG+F
                           3PL.O
                                   3PL.S
                                                                           3PL.S
sec
                           pron
                                   pron
                                            vt
                                                                           pron
'My grandfather sent spirits against the aba fish. My grandfather sent spirits against the aba fish, so they
would fight against them. The sound of their killers started up, my father used to say. They would not eat aba
fish anymore.'
500 Me
                        nokomemetemoneke
                                                               ahi
                moni
                                                                       000
                        noko -ma -hemete -mone -ke
                moni
                                                               ahi
                                                                       000
                        point back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                               then
                                                                       (sound of wind)
    3PL.POSS
                sound
                        77 1
                                                               dem
                                                                       sound
    pron
                pn
000
                    betebetererere
                                                    000
000
                    betebetererere
                                                    000
(sound of wind)
                    (sound of trees breaking)
                                                    (sound of wind)
                    sound
                                                    sound
'The sound of them came, ooo, ooo, betebetererere, ooo.'
501 Awa
           moni
                    awa
                           moni
                                   itehemetemone
                                                            amake
                                                                           ahi
                                                                                  aba
    awa
           moni
                    awa
                           moni
                                   ita
                                          -hemete -mone
                                                            ama -ke
                                                                           ahi
                                                                                  aba
           sound
                    tree
                           sound
                                   exist FP.N+F
                                                    REP+F
                                                            SEC DECL+F
                                                                           then
                                                                                  fish sp
           pn
                    nf
                           pn
                                   τzi
                                                            sec
                                                                           dem
                     nitehabana
        fawa
me
                     niha- na
        fawa
                                 -tee -habana
me
3PL.O
        disappear
                     CAUS AUX HAB
                     aux
        vi
'There was the sound of the trees. It made the aba fish go away.'
502 Ha
                ka
                       vobe
                                   vobe
                                           yama
                                                    katomemetemoneke
                                                                                      ahi
          me
                       yobe
    haa
          me
                ka
                                   yobe
                                           yama
                                                    katoma -hemete -mone -ke
                                                                                      ahi
    DEM
                POSS
                                            thing
                                                    attack FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                                                                      then
          3PL
                       house
                                   house
    dem
          pron prt
                       nm
                                           nf
                                                                                      dem
```

499 *Okiti*

^{&#}x27;The wind lifted up the thatch of their houses.'

500 W.I				
503 Yobe yama katoma yobe yama katoma	, yama	afi tonih	nemetemone	e -mone
house thing attack		bathe CH		
nm nf vt	nf	vi aux		
okobi ad	iti toemari		amane .	
o- ka abi a-	- ati to-ha	-himari	ama -ne	
1SG.POSS POSS father DI	JP say CH AU	JX FP.E+M	SEC BKG+M	
nm v			sec .	
The wind lifted up the thatch. It	made things wet, i	ny tather used t	to say.'	
504 <i>Okobi</i>	okaki		hinaka not	i
o- ka abi	o- ka	aki	hinaka no	
1SG.POSS POSS father	1SG.S POS	SS grandmoth	ner 3SG.POSS gra	andson
nm	nf		pron nm	
•	nemetemoneke		ahi .	
we- weye na -waha			ahi	
DUP carry AUX change		SP+F DECL+F		
	aux andson on hor book	. •	dem	
'My grandmother carried her gra	muson on her back			
505 Hinaka noti	weye na	, nisori		ihawa
	weye na+F	nisori		iha -waha
3SG.POSS grandson	carry AUX	3SG.POSS.	.younger brother	put change
-	vt aux	nm		result
kanibote nisori		niso		
ka- na -bote niso:		nis		+ la -a -a
COMIT AUX quickly 3SG.1 aux nm	POSS.younger b	rother 35G nm	.Poss.younger pro	ther
tama nawi	nemetemoneke	11111	ahi	
	na -hemete	-mone -ke	ahi	
hold onto AUX steadily	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+	F then	
vt aux	aux		dem	
'She carried her grandson. She to	ook his younger bro	other along. She	e held his younger broth	ier's arm.'
506 Inamate me ii	iha watara	me	yama	yama
		-ra+F me	, .	yama
child 3PL.POSS D	OUP put exist	NEG 3PL	-	thing
nm pron p	on vi	pro		nf
hisiri kanemetemone	ab	a me	fawa	
	mete -mone ak		fawa	
pull off COMIT AUX FP.1		sh sp 3PL.		
vt aux nitebana	nn <i>ahi</i>	n pron	n vi	
niha- na -tee -habana	ahi .			
CAUS AUX HAB FUT+F	then			
aux	dem			
'There was no one to take care of	the children. The	wind was taking	g all the leaves off the tr	ees. It made the
aba fish go away.'				
507 Bafa L	halam dan		.1.1:	
507 Bofe ka yama bofe ka yama	<i>kakemetemone</i> ka –kI	-hemete -	<i>okobi</i> mone o− ka	abi
ground LOC thing	go/come comin		EP+F 1SG.POSS PO	
nf prt nf	vi	J	nm	1001101
aati toemari		ma nafi	nima ahi .	
a- ati to-ha -himar		ma nafi	nima ahi	
DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M		ing all	like then	
vt aux	dem nf	pn	prt dem	

'The wind came on the ground, my father used to say, and everywhere.'

508 <i>Faha</i>	ate	ka	yama	mowa	ni	moni	itemeten	none	
faha	ate	ka	yama	mowa	na.NFIN	moni	ita	-hemete	-mone
stream	bank+F	LOC	thing	fight	AUX	sound	exist	FP.N+F	REP+F
nf	pn	prt	nf	result	aux	pn	vi		
amake	ahi								
ama -ke	ahi								
SEC DECL+F	then								
sec	dem								

'There was the sound of trees being knocked down at the edge of the stream.'

509 Aba	me	yoyowa		toime	rtemone			wene	boni
aba	me	уо- у	owa	to-	ha.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	wene	boni
fish sp	3PL.S	DUP r	each	СН	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	tree sp	fruit+F
nm	pron	vi		aux				nf	pn
watineke			ahi						
wata	-ne	-ke	ahi						
be located	CONT+F	DECL+F	then						
vi			dem						

'It was the aba fish upstream from where the wene trees are.'

510 Ab	ı	me	kitakita		toa		na	toeme	etemoi	ne	
ab	а	me	kita-	kita	to-	ha	na	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone
fi	sh sp	3PL.S	DUP	be hard	СН	AUX	AUX	СН	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F
nm		pron	V		aux		aux	aux			

'The aba fish filled the stream.'

511	Faya	fa	bara	ton	i		ya	•	me		faya	aba		me	
	faya	faha	a bar	a to	- na.NC	M+F	ya		me	,	faya	aba		me	
	so	wate	er sto	р СН	AUX		ADJU		3PL		so	fish	sp	3PL.S	
	conj	nf	vi	au	X		prt		pron		conj	nm		pron	
ahal	oani		me	, a	ba	me	wa	ıtime	temonel	ie					
aha	ba -ha	ani	me	a	ba	me	Wa	ıta.	NOM+F	-n	nete -	-mone	-he		
end	IP.	N+F	3PL.S	f	ish sp	3PL	.S be	e 10	cated	FF	N+F I	REP+F	DUP		
vi			pron	n	m	pro	n vi	_							

'When the rain stopped, the *aba* fish were all gone where they had been.'

512	Aba	me	wataremetemon	<i>ie</i>	me	amani
	aba	me	wata -ra -	-hemete -mone	me	ama -ni
	fish sp	3PL.S	exist NEG I	FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.S	SEC BKG+F
	nm	pron	vi		pron	sec

'There were no aba fish.'

513	Fa	ki		neboi	na		tokom	e		hinita
	faha	kii		na	-hibo	ona	to-	ka	-ma+M	hinita
	stream	look	at	AUX	INT+N	1	away	go/come	back	empty
	nf	vt		aux			vi			pn
kam	а			Aba		me	fe	awa	ni	yama
ka	-ma	.LIST	,	aba		me	f	awa	na.NF	IN yama
go/	come bac	k		fish	n sp	3PL.	.s d	isappear.	AUX	thing
vi				nm		pror	n V	i	aux	nf

'He went fishing, but he came back with nothing. "The aba fish are gone."'

to- ka- ka+F

ama kanani

ama ka- na -hani

514 *Aba*

aba

me

me

yama

yama

towaka

```
3PL.O thing
                           away COMIT go/come SEC COMIT AUX IP.N+F
             pron
                    nf
                            vt
                                                 sec aux
                                               nawaha
                owati
                                 wati
ona
ati o- na+F o- ati
                                 wati
                                               na -waha+F
say 1SG.S AUX
                1SG.POSS voice
                                 think about
                                              AUX change
vt
                pn
okomine
                            oke
o- ka
                            0-
                                 ke
              -ma -ne
1SG.S go/come back CONT+F
                            1SG.S DECL+F
                            prt
"I think the wind took the aba fish away, and I am coming back thinking about it."
515 Aba
                                               biti
             aba
                      me
                              wawa
   aba
             aba
                      me
                              wa- waa
                                               na
                                                  -biti
   fish sp
            fish sp
                      3PL.S
                              DUP be located AUX a little
             nm
                      pron
                              vi
                                               aux
na -ra -hara -ni
AUX NEG IP.E+F BKG+F
"There aren't any aba fish at all."
516 Yama
          fawafawa
                             narake
   yama
                            na -hara -ke
           fawa- fawa
   thing DUP disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
   nf
           vi
                             aux
"It's all empty."
517 Te
           okeve
                          owati
                                            ama
                          0-
                                    ati
           0-
                 keyeha
   tee
                                            ama
   2PL.O 1SG.S deceive 1SG.POSS voice
                                           be
           vt
   pron
                          pn
                                            VC
"Am I lying to you?"
518 Me
           te
                  awabanani
   me
           tee
                  awa -habana -ni
   3PL.O
           2PL.S
                  see FUT+F
                               BKG+F
   pron
           pron
"You will see them."
519 Me
                  kiki
           te
                                na
   me
           tee
                  ki- kii
                                na
   3PL.O 2PL.S
                  DUP look at
                                AUX
   pron
           pron
                  vt.
"Look at them."
520 Faya
                          tokomamina
          me
                    nafi
                                                                     me
                    nafi
                         to- ka
                                        -ma -mina+F
   faya me
                                                       me
                                                                     me
                    all
          3PL.POSS
                           away go/come back morning
                                                       3PL.POSS
                                                                     3PL.POSS
                           vi
   conj pron
                    pn
nafi
      tokomamina
                                          honaraba
                                  me
                                                                     mati
     to- ka
                   -ma -mina+F
                                          hona
                                                          -ra -haba
                                  me
      away go/come back morning 3PL.S
                                          have something NEG FUT+F
                                  pron
                                          vi
                                                                     pron
'So all of them went there on the next day, and they didn't get anything.'
```

```
521 Me
          honara
                                            hinita
                                                    kama
                                                                   fa
                                 me
                  -ra+F
                                                          -ma+F
                                           hinita ka
   me
          hona
                                 me
                                                                   faha
                                           empty
   3PL.S have something NEG
                                 3PL.POSS
                                                    go/come back
                                                    vi
   pron
                                 pron pn
           , nemetemone
kasikasi
                                                 okobi
                                     amani
                                                                        aati
                na -hemete -mone ama -ni
AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
kasi- kasi
                                                                        a- ati
                                                 0-
                                                          ka
                                                              abi
DUP be bald
                                                 1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                                        DUP sav
vi
                  aux
                                      sec
                                                 nm
                 amani
toemari
to- ha -himari ama -ni
CH AUX FP.E+M
                 SEC BKG+F
                 sec
'They didn't get anything. They came back with nothing. The stream was empty, my father used to say.'
522 Fa
           kasikasi
                           nemetemone
                                               amani
           kasi- kasi
   faha
                           na -hemete -mone
                                               ama -ni
   stream DUP be bald AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                               SEC BKG+F
   nf
           vi
                           aux
                                               sec
'The stream was empty.'
523 Abe
               waremetemone
                                              amake
                          -ra -hemete -mone
                waa
                                              ama -ke
   creature+F be located NEG FP.N+F REP+F
               vi
                                               sec
'The creatures of the stream were gone.'
         , okaki
524 Fava
                                            okaki
                  ka
                      aki
                                                  ka
            \circ
                                            \circ
                                                       aki
   faya
            1SG.S POSS father's sister
                                            1SG.S POSS father's sister
            nf
                                            nf
   conj
nafiri
                  ya
                           okaki
                                                        bati
                           0-
      -ra.NOM+F
                                ka
                                     aki
                  ya
                                                        bati
                  ADJU
                           1SG.S POSS father's sister
                                                       3SG.POSS.father
be big NEG
vi
                  prt
                           nf
                                                        nm
                                                                         abi
okaki
                            bati
                                              aate
                                                       na
                                                                Abi
     ka aki
                            bati
                                              a- ate
                                                       na+F
                                                                 abi
1SG.S POSS father's sister 3SG.POSS.father
                                              DUP ask
                                                       AUX
                                                                father
                                                                         father
                            nm
                                              vt.
                                                                nm
              , aba
                          me
aba
         me
                                 tikahabanani
aba
         me
                 aba
                          me
                                  ti- ka-
                                              habana
        3PL
fish sp
                 fish sp 3PL.O 2SG.S COMIT order someone against IP.N+F
                          pron
nm
        pron
                 nm
                                  vt
       awineni
      awine -ni
3PL.O seem+F BKG+F
'My aunt, when she was small, asked her father. "Father, did you send spirits against the aba fish?"'
525 Aba
                    fawa
                               namone
                                                    ati
            me
   aba
            me
                    fawa
                               na -hamone
                                             me
                                                    ati
                                                         na
                                                             -ni
   fish sp
            3PL.S
                    disappear AUX REP+F 3PL.S say AUX BKG+F
            pron
                    vi
                               aux
                                             pron
                                                    vt
                                                         aux
"They said the aba fish are gone."
```

526 Aba me aba me fish sp 3PL.0 nm pron kabineke kaba -ne -ke eat CONT+F DECL+F vt "They are eating the abo	vt	me me one against 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron
		okataomanakoneokataomanakonemy sonpricenmpn	
"Let them eat them, to p	pay for my son."'		
528 Okatao manakon okatao manako my son price nm pn	•	<pre>owara o- awa -hara 1SG.S avenge IP.E+ vt</pre>	
· "I have avenged my son.			
529 Aba me aba me fish sp 3PL.S nm pron 'There weren't any aba fi	DUP exist CH AUX NEG	-hemete -mone FP.N+F REP+F	
faha me faha me stream 3PL.S nf pron kakamara ka- ka -ma COMIT go/come back vt sako fana ta sako fana taa fish sp contras nf prt	kii na+F faha i look at AUX water v vt aux nf p me hinita -ra+F me hinita NEG 3PL.POSS alone pron pn , sako fana ta sako fana taa st fish sp contras	go/come back inte vi me kaba t me kaba+F t t 3PL.S eat	ermittent awi
<u> </u>	, they didn't bring back any fish. T		h nothing. They only ate
nm adj	DUP be located CH AUX vi aux	-ra -himata -mona NEG FP.N+M REP+M	
<pre>okobi o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS fath nm</pre>	<pre>aati toemari a = ati to = ha = h: ner DUP say CH AUX FP</pre>		

hike

hike

va

va

ahi

ahi

532 *Yama*

533 *Me*

me

vama thing nf

fawafawa

vovowa

yo- yowa

vi

'There weren't any fish.'

fawa- fawa DUP disappear

toemetemone

```
to- ha -hemete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
    3PL.S
           DUP reach
                                                 far
                                                        ADJU
                                                               there
    pron
           vi
                        aux
                                                 nf
                                                        prt
'The area where there weren't any fish reached far away.'
534 Fa
            bite
                              howa
                                        toniharihi
                       me
                                        to- niha- na -rihi
    faha
            bite
                      me
                              howa
            small+F
                       3PL.S be open CH CAUS AUX NEG.LIST
    stream
                                                                   AUX
   nf
            adj
                       pron
                              νi
                                         aux
                         okobi
                                                  me
to- ha -hemete -mone
                         0-
                                   ka
                                         abi
                                                  me
                                                          ati na
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                         1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                  3PL.O
                                                          say AUX
aux
hiamaro
                       me
                               ama
hi- to- ha -hamaro
                       me
                               ama
OC CH AUX FP.E+F
                       3PL.O
                               SEC
                       pron
'They had filled the streams before, my father used to say.'
535 Fava
                     fa
                                      ki
          me
                               me
                                                               kama
                me
                                                na
                                                       me
                                      kii
                                                                        -ma+F
    faya me
                me
                     faha
                              me
                                                na+F
                                                       me
                                                               ka
                3PL stream 3PL.S
                                                               go/come back
          3PL
                                                       3PL.S
                                      look at
                                                XIIA
                                      vt
    conj pron pron nf
                                                       pron
                                                               77 i
                              pron
                                                aux
me
       Aba
                 me
                         watararake
                         wata -ra -hara -ke
       aba
                 me
3PL.S fish sp 3PL.S exist NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
                 pron
                         vi
'They went fishing and came back. "There aren't any aba fish."'
536 Aba
              me
                     fawa
                                  narake
              me
                     fawa
                                  na -hara
              3PL.S
                     disappear
                                 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
              pron
                     vi
"The aba fish are all gone."
537 Aba
                     Bono Wiyo
                                     kahabanenoka
              me
    aba
              me
                     Bono Wiyo
                                     ka- habana
                                                                    -hino -ka
    fish sp
              3PL.O
                     (man's name)
                                    COMIT order someone against IP.N+M DECL+M
             pron
                     npropm
"Bono Wiyo sent spirits against the aba fish."
538 Okobi
                            aba
                                      me
                                              kahabanemona
                   abi
                                              ka- habana
                                                                             -himona
             ka
                            aba
                                      me
                                             COMIT order someone against REP+M
    1SG.POSS POSS father
                            fish sp
                                      3PL.O
                            nm
                                      pron
                                                    ati
ati
     narene
                         okaki
                                                          nemetemone
ati
   na -hare -ne
                                ka
                                      aki
                                                    ati na -hemete -mone
                         0-
say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
                        1SG.S POSS grandmother
                                                    say
                                                         AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                          nf
"My father said he sent spirits against the aba fish," my aunt said."
```

39	Okol	bi				а	ate		one				okol	bi				aba	
	0-		ka	а	ıbi	а	_	ate	0-		na+	M	0-		k	a	abi	aba	
	1SG	.POS	S POS	SS f	ather		UP	ask	1SG	G.S	AUX		1SG	.PO	SS P	OSS	father	fisl	h sp
	nm					V	rt		aux	ζ			nm					nm	
ne		kahal	banem	ona								ati	n	arek	а				
ne		ka-	ha	bana	а				-hi	Lmor	na	ati	r	na	-har	e	-ka	•	
BPL.	. 0	COMI	T or	der	some	one	aga	ainst	REE	P+M		say	P	XUA	IP.E	HM	DECL+M		
ror		vt										vt		aux					
		my fa	ther, a	nd h	e said	he ha	ad s	ent spi	irits a	gain	st th	e ab	a fis	sh.'''					
	_							-	_								_	_	
	Ota	k		niso				,	abo			me			,		akone	aba	
	ota		-	nis					ab	-		me					akone	aba	
	1EX	Р	OSS	you	ınger	bro	the	er	fi	sh	sp	3P.	L.P	OSS		pri	.ce	fish	sp
	pro	_	rt	nm					nm			pro	on			pn		nm	
<i>ne</i>		toha		m	e	,	aba	t	ol	kobi						me	?		
ıe		to-	ha+F	m	е		ab		0.			ka		abi		me			
BPL.	. S	СН	be	3	PL.S		fi	sh sp) 1	SG.	POSS	PC	SS	fat	her	3Р	L.O		
ror	ı	VC		p	ron		nm		nı	m						pr	on		
ikal	habar	iamor	ıe								me		far	wa		n	amone		
i-	ka-	h	aban	a				-h	amor	ne	me		fa	ıwa		n	a -har	none	
C	COM	IIT c	order	son	meone	aga	ains	st RE	P+F		3PL	.S	di	sap	pear	A	UX REP-	⊦F	
rt											pro	n	vi			a	ux		
kob	i				at	ti	nai	rene				_							
-		ka	ı al	bi	a ^r	ti	na	-ha	are	-n	е	-							
SG.	.POS	S PO	SS f	athe	er s	ay	ΑU	X IP.	.E+M	ВK	G+M								
m					V.	t	au	X											
'The	e aba	fish v	were p	avm	ent for	our	vou	nger b	rothe	r. M	[v fat]	her s	said	that	the a	ba fi	sh disapp	eared b	ecau
			agains				<i>J</i> - 3	J- ~			, .,				- **				
41	Faya	, ai	ba		me	1	awa		1	ıa	n	ıe		1	ne	i	kabara	i	me
	fasz		ha		me	,	awa Tawa			≀u na+F		<i>-</i>		,	ne ne		kaha -1		me

541	Faya	aba	me	fawa		na	m	e	,	me	kabara	a	me
	faya	aba	me	fawa		na+F	me	9		me	kaba	-ra+F	me
	so	fish sp	3PL.S	disappea	ar	AUX	3 E	PL.O		3PL.S	eat	NEG	3PL.S
	conj	nm	pron	vi		aux	pr	on		pron	vt		pron
	aba	me	babata		ra			me		fawa			
,	aba	me	ba- ba	.ta	na	-ra+	F	me		fawa			
	fish sp	p 3PL.S	DUP be	rotten	AU:	X NEG		3PL.	S	disappe	ar		
	nm	pron	vi		au:	X		pron		vi			

nemetemone

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

aux

'The aba fish disappeared. They didn't eat them. There weren't any rotten aba fish on top of the water. They disappeared.'

542	Otati		kamati	kofari	ka	
	0-	tati	kamati	kofari	na	-ka
	1SG.POSS	head	louse	tickle	AUX	DECL+M
	pn		nm	vt	prt	

'A louse is tickling my head.'

543	Faya	me	aba	me	fawa	na	me	me
	faya	me	aba	me	fawa	na+F	me	me
	so	3PL	fish sp	3PL.S	disappear	AUX	3PL.S	3PL.S
	conj	pron	nm	pron	vi	aux	pron	pron

fahi

vawehemetemoneke

pron

to- ha -hemete -mone -ke

spider monkey F.PL

CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

vt

-rawa -ha.LIST

DUP

aux

nf

biyorawaha

aux

biyo

toemetemoneke

```
vawa
          -hemete -mone -ke
                                    fahi
be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                    then
                                    dem
'The aba fish were gone, and they were upset.'
                                            yawemetemoneni
544 Me
                        me
            vawa
                                    mρ
            yawa+F
    me
                        me
                                    me
                                            vawa
                                                       -hemete -mone -ni
    3PL.S
            be upset
                        3PL.S
                                    3PL.S
                                            be upset FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
    pron
                        pron
            vi
                                            vi
                                    pron
'They were upset.'
545 Me
                                aba
            yawa
                        me
                                           me
                                                   me
                                                            sasa
            yawa+F
    me
                        me
                                aba
                                                   me
                                                            sa- saa
                                           me
    3PL.S
            be upset
                        3PL.S
                                fish sp
                                           3PL.O
                                                    3PL.S
                                                            DUP shoot with arrow
    pron
            vi
                        pron
                                nm
                                           pron
                                                   pron
                                                            vt
kana
                                  fimifakoha
                                                                     bani
             ra
                          me
                                                            me
                                                                              me
ka-
       na
             na
                 -ra+F
                          me
                                  fimi
                                              -fako+F
                                                            me
                                                                     bani
                                                                              me
COMIT AUX
            AUX NEG
                          3PL.S
                                  be hungry constantly
                                                            3PL.S
                                                                     animal
                                                                              3PL
aux
             aux
                          pron
                                  vi
                                                            pron
                                                                              pron
ta
                            kakaba
                                        tohemetemone
                                                                    bani
                                                                             mati
           me
                    me
                                        to- ha
taa
           me
                    me
                            ka- kaba
                                                  -hemete
                                                           -mone
                                                                   bani
                                                                             mati.LIST
           3PL.O
                    3PL.S
                            DUP eat
                                        CH AUX FP.N+F
                                                           REP+F
                                                                             3PL
contrast
                                                                    animal
                    pron
prt
           pron
                            vt
                                        aux
                                                                    nm
                                                                             pron
                                       kobava
hivama
                         mati
                                                            mati
                                                           mati.LIST
hiyama
                         mati.LIST
                                       kobaya
                                       collared peccary
                                                            3PL
white-lipped peccary
                         3PL
                                       nm
                         pron
                                                           pron
yowi fanarawaha
yowi fana
                 -rawa -ha.LIST
brown capuchin F.PL
                        DUP
'They were upset. They weren't killing aba fish with bow and arrow, and they were always hungry. They were
eating meat, white-lipped peccaries, collared peccaries, and brown capuchins.'
546 Faya
           yama
                   me
                            vevete
                                        nawa
                                                      toemetemone
                                                                                 fahi
    faya
           yama
                   me
                            ye- yete
                                        na
                                            -waha
                                                      to- ha
                                                                -hemete -mone
                                                                                  fahi
           thing
                    3PL.S
                            DUP hunt
                                        AUX change
                                                      СН
                                                          AUX FP.N+F
                                                                         REP+F
                                                                                  then
    conj
           nf
                    pron
                            vt
                                        aux
                                                      aux
                                                                                  dem
'Then they were hunting.'
547 Yama
            me
                                   bani
                                            me
                                                     me
                                                             fofora
                     yete
                            na
                     yete
    yama
            me
                            na+F
                                   bani
                                            me
                                                             fo- fora
                                                     me
    thing
            3PL.S
                     hunt
                            AUX
                                   animal
                                             3PL.O
                                                     3PL.S
                                                             DUP shoot with blowgun
```

'They were hunting. They killed animals with blowguns, howler monkeys, spider monkeys.'

nm

viko

nm

yiko

pron

howler monkey

pron

mati

3PL

pron

vt.

mati.LIST

548 *Yowi* me me fora sariwa yowi fora.LIST me me sariwa shoot with blowgun brown capuchin 3PL.O 3PL.S squirrel monkey pron pron vt mati mati.LIST 3PL pron 'They killed brown capuchins, too, and squirrel monkeys.' bani 549 Fava bani kakaba toemetemone me me to- ha -hemete -mone bani ka- kaba bani faya me me 3PL.0 animal so animal 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F pron aux conj nm pron vt nm hinama mati hinama mati all 3PL adj pron 'They ate meat, only meat.' 550 **Bani** hinama me kakaba toa bani faya me me bani hinama ka- kaba to- ha+F bani me me me faya animal all 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat СН animal 3PL AUX so adi pron pron aux pron coni yana wiwina me okobi me na me na+F ka abi wi- wina yana me 0me me AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S DUP live 3PL.S start pron pron 77 i pron 77 i aux nm toimetemone va to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ya CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F ADJU aux prt 'They were eating only meat. Then they left, from where my father and the others were living.' 551 Bati Sawa ka vobe taboro bote wataka hari Bati Sawa ka yobe taboro bote wata -ka haari (man's name) POSS house place+M old stand DECL+M that one+M npropm prt nm adj dem 'Bati Sawa's old village is there.' 552 *Ai* okobi kama me me ahi ka abi me ka -ma+F me 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back then 3PL.S 3PL.S pron nm vi pron

kobo

kobo

vi

arrive

me

me

3PL.S

pron

-ma+F

go/come back

ahi

ahi

here

dem

okobi

namimetemone

AUX back

me

me

3PL.S

pron

-mone

FP.N+F REP+F

'My father and the others came this way, and arrived here.'

abi

ka

1SG.POSS POSS father

na -ma.NOM+F -mete

kama

ka

vi

ama

ama

he

VC

```
553 Me
            kobo
                      nama
                                               kobo
                                                        nama
                                      me
                      na -ma+F
    me
            kobo
                                      me
                                               kobo
                                                        na -ma+F
                      AUX back
                                                        AUX back
    3PL.S
            arrive
                                      3PL.S
                                               arrive
    pron
            vi
                      aux
                                               vi
                                      pron
                                                        aux
hivama
                               hiyama
                                                                          kobo
                          mρ
                                                         mρ
                                                                  mρ
                               hivama
hivama
                          me
                                                         me
                                                                  me
                                                                          kobo
white-lipped peccary
                          3PL
                               white-lipped peccary
                                                          3PL.O
                                                                  3PL.S
                                                                          meet
                          pron nm
                                                         pron
                                                                  pron
                                                                          vt
nani
              hivama
                                           hiyama
                                                                     me
                                                                             me
na -hani
              hiyama
                                           hiyama
                                                                     me
                                                                             me
AUX IP.N+F
                                           white-lipped peccary
              white-lipped peccary
                                                                     3 PT. O
                                                                             3PL S
                                                                             pron
aux
                                           nm
                                                                     pron
mowa
        nemetemone
                               okobi
                                                         aati
                                                                    toemari
            -hemete -mone
                                         ka
                                               abi
                                                                    to- ha
                                                                             -himari
mowa
        na
                               \circ
                                                         a-
                                                             ati
fight
        AUX FP.N+F
                      REP+F
                               1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                         DUP say
                                                                    СН
                                                                        AUX FP.E+M
vt
        aux
                               nm
                                                         vt
                                                                    aux
ama
      okobi
                                nafire
                                                     уa
      0-
                ka
                      abi
                                nafi
                                        -ra.NOM+M
ama
                                                     ya
SEC
      1SG.POSS POSS father
                                be big NEG
                                                     ADJU
sec
                                vi
They arrived. They met up with some white-lipped peccaries, and went after them, my father used to say,
when my father was small.'
554 Fava
           hivama
                                                      mowa
                                                              na
                                     me
                                             me
    faya
           hivama
                                     me
                                                      mowa
                                                              na+F
                                             me
           white-lipped peccary
                                     3PL.O
                                             3PL.S
                                                      fiaht
                                                              AUX
    conj
                                             pron
                                                      77 t
                                                              allx
                                     pron
hiyama
                                             tabasi
                          me
                                  me
                                                                na
                                                                na+F
hiyama
                                              tabasi
                          me
                                  me
                                              roast on grill
white-lipped peccary
                          3PL.O
                                                                AUX
                                  3PL.S
nm
                                                                aux
                          pron
                                  pron
                                              v/t.
hiyama
                          me
                                  me
                                          kaba
                                                    me
                                                               hiyama
hiyama
                          me
                                  me
                                          kaba+F
                                                    me
                                                               hiyama
                                                               white-lipped peccary
white-lipped peccary
                          3PL.O
                                  3PL.S
                                          eat
                                                    3PL.S
nm
                          pron
                                  pron
                                          vt
                                                    pron
                                                               nm
me
        me
                kabemetemone
                                        ahi
                 kaba -hemete -mone
                                        ahi
        3PL.S
                eat FP.N+F REP+F
                                        then
pron
        pron
                vt
'They killed some peccaries, and roasted the peccaries on a grill. They ate the peccaries.'
555 Hiba
            okiti
                                     kamakibona
    hiba
            0-
                       ka
                             iti
                                     ka
                                               -makI
                                                          -hibona
    wait
            1SG.POSS POSS uncle
                                     go/come following INT+M
    interj nm
                                     vi
"Is my grandfather coming?"
556 Okiti
                                    kamakibona
                                             -makI
                                                         -hibona
    0-
              ka
                     iti
                                    ka
    1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                    go/come following INT+M
    nm
                                    νi
kamakiraka
         -makI
                     -ra.CONT+M -ka
go/come following NEG
                                  DECL+M
"My grandfather is coming, but he hasn't come yet."
```

557 <i>Okiti</i>			ok	iti				ka	
0-	ka	iti	0-	-	ka	iti		ka	
1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfa	ther 19	G.POSS	POSS	grandfa	ather	POSS	
nm			nn	n				prt	
hiyamaba			te	ibarihi					
hiyama		-ba	tee	iba	-r	I		-hi	,
white-lipped	pecca	ary FUT	2PL.S	set d	own ra	ised su	rface	IMP+F	
nm			pron	vt					
okobi		,	okobi			ati	nema	tamona	
o- ka	abi	,	0-	ka	abi	ati	na	-himata	-mona
1SG.POSS POS	S fath	ner	1SG.POSS	S POSS	fathe	r say	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M
nm			nm			vt	aux		
"You leave some	peccar	y meat for	my grand	father on	the gril	l," my fatł	ner said	d.'	

558	Okiti					kamak	ibon	a				ati	ne	
	0-		ka	iti		ka		-ma	kΙ	-hibon	a	ati	na.No	M+MC
	1SG.F	OSS	POSS	grand	father	go/co	me	fol	lowing	INT+M		say	AUX	
	nm					vi						vt	aux	
ka		okiti	i				ka		hiyamab	a				te
ka		0-		ka	iti		ka		hiyama	L			-ba	tee
bec	ause	1SG	.POSS	POSS	grandfa	ther	PO	SS	white-	lipped	ре	ccary	FUT	2PL.S
prt		nm					pr	t	nm					pron
ibari	į													
iba		-rI												
set	down	rai	sed s	urface	<u> </u>									
vt														
'''I e	ave son	ne ne	ccary m	eat on t	he grill for	r my gra	ndf	athei	· hecause	my gran	dfa	ther sai	id he is	coming "

^{&#}x27;Leave some peccary meat on the grill for my grandfather, because my grandfather said he is coming.'''

559	Okiti			amo	ni	abaka	
	0-	ka	iti	amo	na.NFIN	ahaba	-ka
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	sleep	AUX	end	DECL+M
	nm			vi	aux	vi	

[&]quot;It's the time for my grandfather to arrive."

560 Fimimakerayaho

fimi -makI -ra -yaho
be hungry following NEG DIST.IMP+M

"I don't want him to be hungry when he arrives."

561	Okiti			amo	ni	ahabe	amo	ni
	0-	ka	iti	amo	na.NFIN	ahaba+M	amo	na.NFIN
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	sleep	AUX	end	sleep	AUX
	nm			vi	aux	vi	vi	aux

ahaba -ka end DECL+M

"It's the time for my grandfather to arrive."

562	\boldsymbol{E}	amo	ni	fama	e	amo	ni	fama	e
	ee	amo	na.NFIN	fama.LIST	ee	amo	na.NFIN	fama.LIST	ee
	1IN.S	sleep	AUX	be two	1IN.S	sleep	AUX	be two	1IN.S
	pron	vi	aux	vi	pron	vi	aux	vi	pron

```
amo
                 ohari
                             nineke
                                                  haro
                                      -ke
               ohari.LIST
       na.NFIN
                             na -ne
                                                  haaro
                             AUX CONT+F DECL+F
sleep
      AUX
                 be one
                                                  that one+F
       aux
                 vi
                             aux
                                                  dem
"It's five days."
563 Okiti
                                kamakiba
                                                            amake
             ka iti
                                         -ma -kI.NOM -ba
                                                            ama -ke
   0-
                                ka
   1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                go/come back coming FUT
                                                            be
                                                               DECL+F
                                vi
                                                            VC
"My grandfather is coming."
564 Okomakeminabana
                                                    oni
   o- to- ka
                       -makI
                                  -mina
                                          -habana
                                                    0-
                                                           пi
                                                    1SG.S BKG+F
   1SG.S away go/come following morning FUT+F
                                                    prt
""I will go there tomorrow.""
565 Okomakebana
                                            0
   o- to- ka
                       -makI
                                  -habana
   1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F
                                            1SG.S
""I will go there.""
566 Oko
                           ni
                                    ahabi
                                                  ya
                   amo
            ka
                   amo
                           na.NFIN
                                    ahaba.NOM+F
                                                  ya
   1SG.POSS POSS sleep
                           AUX
                                    end
                                                  ADJU
   prt
                   vi
                                    vi
                           aux
                                                  prt
okomakebana
                                        oke
                   -makI
                              -habana
o- to- ka
                                        \circ
                                              ke
1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F
                                        1SG.S DECL+F
                                        prt
""When my time comes, I will go there.""
567 Oko
                   amo
                           ni
                                    e
                                                 nabana
                           na.NFIN ee
   0-
             ka
                   amo
                                                 na -habana
                                                               ahi
   1SG.POSS POSS
                                    be similar
                                                 AUX FUT+F
                   sleep
                           AUX
                                                               this
                   vi
                           aux
                                    vi
                                                 aux
                                                               dem
okiti
                            ati
                                  nareka
                                                      ati
                                                             omitari
         ka iti
                            ati
                                  na -hare -ka
                                                      ati
                                                              o- mita -haari
                                  AUX IP.E+M DECL+M voice
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather say
                                                              1SG.S hear IP.E+M
                            vt
                                  aux
                                                      pn
         kamakibano
  faya
  faya
         ka -makI
                            -hiba -no
         go/come following FUT+M IP.N+M
  SO
  conj
         vi
""This is what the time of my going will be,' my grandfather said. I heard him." Then he came.'
568 Efe
            amare
                        kamaki
                                            ha
            ama -ra+M
                                -makI+M
                                            haa
   efe
                       ka
            be NEG
   this+M
                        go/come following
                                            DEM
                        vi
   dem
            VC
                                            dem
```

"I think that's him. He is coming."

569 <i>Okiti</i> o- ka it 1SG.POSS POSS gr nm "'My grandfather is coming	ti ka mandfather go vi	o/come following	hari haari that one+M dem
570 Okiti o- ka it 1SG.POSS POSS gr nm okobi o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm "My grandfather is coming	ti ka randfather go vi ati nemata ati na - r say AUX F vt aux	o/come following i. imona himata -mona PP.N+M REP+M	ha, haa DEM dem
571 Kamakika ka -makI go/come followin vi "'He is coming."'	-ka g DECL+M		
572 Noko mawa noko mawa face+M be red pn vi 'His face was all red.'		naka ima -himata -mona o FP.N+M REP+M	
	bori -ri ka poke DUP CO vi au he ehe natto	unikime a- na -kima+M OMIT AUX two ux	<pre>ahi</pre>
574 Iso iso iso iso leg+M leg+M pn pn ahi ahi then dem 'His legs had red spots.'	mawawawa mawa -wa - be red DUP D vi		nha -himata -mona -ka nnge FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
575 Te awa haa tee awa haa 2PL.S see DEM pron vt dem "Look at him."			

576 Hine nahatoani hine na- ato 3.REFL CAUS be decor pron vt "Look at the one who painted him	vi	<pre>a -makI+F se following</pre>	te awa ha . tee awa haa 2PL.S see DEM pron vt dem
oof hoo o-	SG.S be hungry BKG+1		
578 Ofimiha okomo o- fimi+F o- 1SG.S be hungry 1SG. vi vi ""I'm hungry as I'm coming.""	ka -makI	-ne o- CONT+F 1SG prt	ke .S DECL+F
579 Iti iti iti grandfather grandfat	tika ti- ka her 2SG.POSS POSS prt	hiyamabona hiyama white-lipped	-bona d peccary INT+M
obari o- iba -rI+M 1SG.S set down raised sur vt "Grandpa, there is some peccary r	fore forI here face lie on top I vi	naa .	
580 Hiyama hiyama white-lipped peccary nm "Eat some peccary."	<pre>tikabahi ti- kaba -hi 2SG.S eat IMP+F vt</pre>		
581 Hiya te kakama hiya tee ka- come on 2PL.S COMIT interj pron vt	a . ka -ma go/come back		
582 <i>Hiyama</i> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm "'I'm going to eat peccary."'	<pre>okobibe o- kaba -be 1SG.S eat IMMED+F vt</pre>		
583 <i>Hiyama</i> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	me 'otaa k 3PL.O 1EX.S a pron pron v	rrive AUX ba i aux	na+F ack
hiyama me hiyama me white-lipped peccary 3PI nm pro	me kobo k	obo nanihi obo na -har eet AUX IP.N t aux	

<pre>hiyama hiyama white-lipped peccary</pre>	me me 3PL.O	me me 3PL.S	<i>mowa</i> mowa fight	<i>nani</i> na -hani AUX IP.N+H	me me 3PL	<i>ka</i> ka POSS			
nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	prt			
hiyama	me	amake							
hiyama	me	ama -k	e						
white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	be DE	CL+F						
nm	pron	VC							
"When we arrived, the others had met up with some peccaries and had gone after them, a									

"When we arrived, the others had met up with some peccaries and had gone after them, and they are their peccaries."

```
584 Hiyama
                                  mowa
                                         hinani
                      me
                            me
                                                       me
                                                             me
                            me
                      me
   hiyama
                                  mowa hi- na -hani
                                                       me
                                                             me
   white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
                                  vt aux
                      pron
                            pron
                                                       pron
                            me hikaba
me hi- kaba+F
tabasi
              hina
                      me
                                               tikabona
tabasi
             hi- na+F me
                                               ti- ka
                                                          -bona
roast on grill OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat
                                                2SG.S POSS INT+M
             aux
                      pron pron vt
                                               prt
okayawe
                   ama ha
                            mete
o- ka- yawa+M
                   ama
                       haa
                           mete
1SG.S COMIT be upset
                   SEC
                        DEM rear+M
                   sec
                        dem
                           pn
```

"They roasted the peccaries they had killed on a grill. When they ate them, I saved a leg for you."

585	Ee	,	tiwati		omitima	ıkoni				
	ee		ti-	ati	0-	mita	-mal	koni		
	yes		2SG.POSS	voice	1SG.S	hear	for	this	reason+F	
	interj		pn		vt					
'''Rig	ght, I hear	you	1.'''							

586	6 Oka		noti .		owa	abemari		
	0-	ka	noti	,	owa	ahaba	-himari	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandson		one+M	die	FP.E+M	
	prt		nm		adi	vi		

"One of my grandsons died."

587	Owa	ab				omemari		otefebone		
	owa	ab	a	me	hi-	katoma	-himari	0-	tefe	-bone
	other+M	fi	sh sp	3PL.S	OC	attack	FP.E+M	1SG.POSS	food	INT+F
	adj	nm	l	pron	vt			pn		
tama	ı	nake	no							
tam	a	na	-kI	-hino						
hol	d onto	AUX	coming	IP.N+M						
vt	_	aux								

"One was hurt by the *aba* fish; this one is bringing me food."

588 <i>Aba</i>	me	wati	nofa	me	ama					
aba	me	wata	nofa+F	me	ama					
fish sp	3PL.S	be located	recently	3PL.S	SEC					
nm	pron	vi	prt	pron	sec					
"There used to be <i>aba</i> fish."										

589 *Aba* hikatomemete wati nofara me me me aba hi- katoma -hemete me wata nofa -ra+F me me fish sp 3PL.O OC attack FP.N+F 3PL.S exist recently NEG 3PL.S vi nm pron vt pron prt pron

```
ama
```

ama SEC

"There aren't any *aba* fish, because he attacked them."

590 Faha ki okene

> faha kii na oke -ne AUX 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F water look at nf vt prt

"I fish, but don't catch anything."

okene 591 *Faha* ki

fa ati nofara faha kii ke na nofa na o--ne faha ati -ra+Fwater water look at AUX 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F AUX recently NEG say nf vt prt nf vt prt

amake

ama -ke

SEC DECL+F

"I go fishing, but don't catch anything."

592 *Aba* biti wawa nofare amani aba biti wa- waa na nofa ama -ni -ra+M fish small+M DUP be located AUX recently NEG SEC BKG+F adi vi sec prt

"There aren't even small fish."

593 *Fa* hinita tokisamineni fa hinita faha -risa -ma -ne -ni hinita to- ka faha hinita away go/come down back CONT+F BKG+F water empty water empty pn νi nf pn

"The stream is empty as it goes downstream."

594 *Fa* aba me kayakaya toamaro me me faha aba me kaya- kaya to- ha -hamaro CH AUX FP.E+F water fish sp 3PL.S DUP lie 3PL.S 3PL.S pron νi aux pron pron

fawa nineke

fawa na -ne -ke disappear AUX CONT+F DECL+F

aux

"There used to be lots of aba fish, but now they have disappeared."

595 *Faya* fawa tafamake me nani me faya me fawa na -hani tafa -makI me 3PL.S disappear AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S eat following conj pron vi aux pron vi

tafamakematamonaka

-himata -mona -ka tafa -makI eat following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

"They disappeared." He ate after arriving.'

eat h	Oof , oka oof o- loo 1SG.PG interj prt	ka DSS POSS	noti noti grandson nm	oka o- 1SG.POSS prt	ka POSS	<pre>fabana faha water nf</pre>	-bana FUT
'He ate. "Oof, my gran	ndson, bring me sor	ne water.'''					

okiti 597 *Aki* aki aki aki aki 0ka iti grandmother grandmother grandmother 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nf nf nm ka fabana faha -bana ka

ka fabana ka faha -bana POSS water FUT prt nf

"Grandma, bring water for my grandfather."

598	Okiti			hiyama	kabe	bako
	0-	ka	iti	hiyama	kaba+M	bako
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	white-lipped peccary	eat	chest+M
	nm			nm	vt	pn
towi	to a	waka				

towite awaka
to- ita+M awa -ka
CH stay seem+M DECL+M
vi sec

"My grandfather got food stuck in his throat as he is eating peccary."

599	Iti		ka	faba		tekitima				
	iti		ka	faha	-ba	ti-	ka-	iti		-ma
	2SG.POSS g	randfather	POSS	water	FUT	2SG.S	COMIT	pick 1	up	back
	nm		prt	nf		vt				

haro
haaro
that one+F

"Come and get water for your grandfather."

600	Hinaka	noti	fa	tonaka	ıme				fa
	hinaka	noti	faha	to-	na-	ka	-ma+M	,	faha
	3SG.POSS	grandson	water	away	CAUS	go/come	back		water
	pron	nm	nf	vt					nf
kaka	ıme	fa	fav	vematai	nonaka				
ka-	ka	-ma+M fa	ha fa	wa -	himat	a -mona	-ka		

ka- ka -ma+M faha fawa -himata -mona -ka COMIT go/come back water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt nf vt

'His grandson went and got water and brought it back, and he drank the water.'

601 Faha fawematamona
faha fawa -himata -mona
water drink FP.N+M REP+M
nf vt

'He drank the water.'

602 Iti komikomi tinahi
iti komi-komi ti- na -hi
grandfather DUP suck 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nm vt aux

"Grandpa, suck it hard."

fawe 603 *Fava* fa fa fawematamonaka faya faha fawa+M faha fawa -himata -mona -ka drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M water drink water conj nf nf vt

'He drank the water.'

604 *Fa* fawi kawate hawa toe fa faha faha fawa.NFIN hawa to- ha+M kawata+M COMIT stand water drink be finished СН AUX water nf vt vi aux nf vt

Kawitamata

ka- ita -mata
COMIT sit short time
vi

'When he was finished drinking the water, he set it on the ground. "It will sit here for now."

605 *Hiya* oko hiyama abakara hiya 0ka hiyama ahaba -ka come on 1SG.POSS POSS white-lipped peccary end DECL+M NEG prt vi

"Here, my peccary isn't all gone."

606 Aki kaba hari ama aki ka -ba ama haari your grandmother POSS FUT be that one+M VC dem prt

"This will be for your grandmother."

607 Okaki o- ka aki isi ni hi- kaba -ho
1SG.S POSS grandmother little bit OC eat IMP+M
nf pn vt

"May my grandmother eat a little of it."

608 Okaki o- ka aki fimiha awineke
1SG.S POSS grandmother be hungry seem+F DECL+F

"I think my grandmother is hungry."

609 *Okaki* isi ni hikaba hinaho hi- na 0ka aki isi ni hi- kaba.LIST -ho 1SG.S POSS grandmother little bit OC eat OC AUX IMP+M vt. aux

"May my grandmother eat it, too."

610 Iti iti ayora ?
iti iti ayo -ra
grandfather grandfather older brother NPQ
nm nm nm

"Grandpa, what about your older brother?"

611 *Okovo* winaharene ka ayo wina -hare -ne 0-1SG.POSS POSS older brother live IP.E+M BKG+M vi "My brother is living there." 612 *Okovo* kamakiba awa -makI -hiba 0ka avo ka awa seem+M 1SG.POSS POSS older brother go/come following FUT+M vi "I think my brother will come." 613 *Okoyo* orareka aate a- ate o- na -ra -hare -ka \circ ka ayo 1SG.POSS POSS older brother DUP ask 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+M DECL+M vt aux "I didn't ask my brother." 614 *Okovo* kamakiba awane -makI -hiba ka ayo 1SG.POSS POSS older brother go/come following FUT+M seem+M BKG+M vi "I think my brother will come." 615 *Okoyo* winahare 0ka ayo wina -hare 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live IP.E+M "My brother is living there." 616 *Tefe* abe ya yana tefe abe ya yana ahaba.NOM+M ahaba.NOM+M tefe tefe ya yana ya yana end ADJU start food+M start food+M end ADJU vi prt vi vi prt νi pn pn tonebona ati nare to- na -hibona ati na -hare CH AUX INT+M AUX IP.E+M say vt aux "When his food is all gone, he said he will leave." 617 *Tefe* abe yana tonebona ati nareka ya yana tefe ahaba.NOM+M ya to- na -hibona ati na -hare -ka ADJU CH AUX INT+M AUX IP.E+M DECL+M food+M end start say prt vi aux vt aux "When his food is all gone, he said he will leave." 618 *Himata* kabara himata kaba -ra eat CQ+M what? interrog vt "What is he eating?" fowa

fowa

fowa

nm

manioc

fowa

nm

manioc

me

me

3PL.S

pron

hiti

vt

hiti

grate

na

na+F

AUX

aux

619 *Iyawa*

nf

iyawa

manioc mash

ka

POSS

me

me

3PL

pron prt

iyawaabaramonemeatinaraiyawaahaba -ra -hamonemeatina -haramanioc mashendNEG REP+F3PL.SsayAUX IP.E+Fnfvipronvtaux

"They grated manioc and their manioc mash isn't all gone, they said."

620 Ivawa abi ya yana onabana ahaba.NOM+F iyawa ya yana 0to- na -habana start manioc mash end ADJU 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F vi prt 77 i aux

oke okoyo ati nareka ke ka ayo ati na -hare -ka \circ 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS older brother AUX IP.E+M DECL+M say vt aux

""When the manioc mash is all gone, I will leave,' my brother said.""

621 *Hoo* fa koro ona fa hoo faha koro 0na+F faha owa humph water throw something on 1SG.S AUX water 1SG.0 interj nf vt aux nf

kasawarinofaamakeka-sawarinofa+Fama -keCOMITfrustraterecentlySECDECL+Fvtprtsec

"Humph, when I have been fishing, I haven't caught anything."

622 *Aba* ohimaro me nawanawasi o- to- ha.NOM+F -maro aha nawa- nawasi me fish sp 3PL.O DUP CAUS get caught 1SG.S CH AUX FP.E+F pron vt aux

"I formerly caught many aba fish with hook and line."

623 Owitabasa okani kabikana mati tama ni kabikana ita -basa 0kani mati tama na.NFIN 1SG.S sit edge 1SG.S ?+F fish hook line+F hold onto AUX prt nf pn aux

"I just sit there on the side of the stream, holding the fishing line."

624 *Aba* me fawa nineni aba me fawa na -ne -ni fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F BKG+F pron vi aux

"The aba fish have disappeared."

625 Bono Wiyo kakasi reba aba raba Bono Wiyo ka- kasi na -raba na -ra -hiba aba AUX NEG FUT+M (man's name) DUP be naughty AUX a bit fish sp 77 i aux npropm aux nm

kakamemata

ka- ka -ma -himata COMIT go/come back FP.N+M

"Bono Wiyo was naughty, bringing the aba fish home."

626 *Aba* me fawa nika niha- na aba me fawa -ka CAUS AUX DECL+M fish sp 3PL.O disappear pron vi "He made the aba fish go away." amaka 627 Bono Wivo kasiro nofe otara Bono Wiyo kasiro nofa+M ama -ka otara (man's name) be perverse recently SEC DECL+M 1EX.O vi sec npropm prt pron nafimihari na- fimi -haari CAUS be hungry IP.E+M "Bono Wiyo is perverse, causing us to be hungry." 628 Aba me okobate aba okobi me aba me 0kaba -tee aba me 0kaba fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S eat HAB fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S eat pron pron oke ama nofa -ra+F ama 0ke 1SG.S recently NEG SEC 1SG.S DECL+F sec prt "I used to eat aba fish, but I don't eat aba fish anymore." 629 *Fara* ofimi hiyama onofi ya hiyama fara \circ fimi \circ nofa.NOM+F ya 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S recently white-lipped peccary same+F ADJU dem 77 i prt prt okobamakine oke o- kaba -makI -ne \circ ke 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.S eat following CONT+F prt "I have been hungry, and now I am eating white-lipped peccary here." 630 Hiyama okobamakine 0 hiyama kaba -makI -ne 0white-lipped peccary 1SG.S eat following CONT+F 1SG.S prt "I am eating peccary here." 631 Hiyama oka noti hineno tama hiyama ka noti t.ama hi- na -hino 0white-lipped peccary 1SG.POSS POSS grandson hold onto OC AUX IP.N+M prt nm vt aux okobine oni kaba -ne ni 0-1SG.S eat CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F prt "I am eating peccary that my grandson had." 632 *Fava* Iti iti iti okiti iti iti iti 0ka faya grandfather grandfather grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather SO conj nm nm nm nm

```
iti
                 oka
                                   okiti
                  0-
                           ka
                                   0-
                                             ka
                                                   iti
                                   1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
grandfather
                 1SG.POSS POSS
nm
                 prt
okiti
                              avo
                                                          avo
                                                                           amo
               iti
          ka
                              ayo
                                                          ayo
                                                                           amo
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                              2SG.POSS.older brother
                                                         older brother
                                                                           sleep
                                                                           vi
nm
                              nm
ni
                       ra
          e
na.NFIN
          ee
                       na
                            -ra
                       AUX CQ+M
AUX
          (question)
aux
          vi
                        aux
"Grandfather, when will the day of your brother be?"
633 Amo
            ni
                      amo
                              ni
                                         watohiba
                                                      awaka
    amo
            na.NFIN
                      amo
                              na.NFIN
                                        wato -hiba
                                                      awa
                                                               -ka
    sleep
            AUX
                      sleep
                              AUX
                                         know FUT+M
                                                      seem+M DECL+M
            aux
                      vi
                              aux
                                        vt
                                                      sec
"He will know when his day will be."
634 Hinaka
               iyawa
                              yowahara
                                              ahi
   hinaka
                              yowa -hara
                                              ahi
               iyawa
    3SG.POSS
               manioc mash
                              reach IP.E+F
                                              here
"His manioc mash is up to here."
635 Iyawa
                  yowara
                         -hara
   iyawa
                  yowa
                  reach IP.E+F
   manioc mash
                  77 i
"The manioc mash is up to here."
636 Isi ni
                 okoba
                                 okomakewaine
                                                                              0
                                  o- ka
    isi ni
                 0-
                        kaba+F
                                                 -makI
                                                            -waha
                                                                    -ne
                                                                              0-
    little bit
                 1SG.S eat
                                  1SG.S go/come following change CONT+F
                                                                              1SG.S
                 vt
                                                                              prt
"I ate a little of it, and then came here."
637 Iyawa
                  bite
                                        me
                                                hiti
                                                        hinani
                                                                           me
    iyawa
                  bite
                                        me
                                                hiti
                                                        hi- na
                                                                 -hani
                                                                           me
                  3SG.POSS.daughter
   manioc mash
                                        3PL.S
                                                grate
                                                        OC
                                                             AUX IP.N+F
                                                                           3PL.S
                  nf
                                        pron
                                                vt
                                                        aux
                                                                           pron
                                                             Ayo
nano
          hina
                             hiwakama
                     me
nano
          hi- na+F
                             hi- ka-
                                         ka
                                                  -ma+F
                     me
                                                              ayo
          OC AUX
                     3PL.S
                             OC COMIT go/come back
                                                              2SG.POSS.older brother
          aux
                     pron
                             vt
okomakibone
                     -makI.NOM -bone
o- to- ka
1SG.S away go/come following INT+F
"His daughters grated the manioc mash and squeezed it and brought it. 'Older brother, I will go there.""
638 Tai
               tiamake
               ti-
                     to- ha -makI
               2SG.S CH AUX following
```

""You go on ahead.""

awineke

639 *Owa*

me

noki

na

me

owa 1SG.O pron	me 3PL.S pron	noki wait for	na+F AUX aux	me 3PL.S pron	seem+F I	-ke DECL+F		
""They are w			aux	pron	560			
640 <i>Owa</i> owa 1SG.0 pron ""They are w	pron	noki noki wait for vt ne.""	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron		-ni BKG+F		
641 Okomak o- 1SG.S vi ""I'm going t	to- ka away go,	-mak /come foll	I.NOM - owing I		•			
	vi naka himata - P.N+M R	-makI+M following mona -ka EP+M DECL+	, ka go vi <i>fahi</i> fah	o/come : i i	-makI+M following	fati fati 3SG.POSS. nf	wife	
nf biti biti 3SG.POSS. nm	mati mat son 3PL pro	i.LIST	nf	ce G.POSS.c	daughter	<pre>biterawa bite 3SG.POSS.d nf</pre>		-rawa.LIST F.PL
644 <i>Faya</i> faya so coni	kamaki ka	-makI+M following	<i>kobo</i> kobo	<i>nam</i> na	-makI+M followin	, <i>faya</i> faya so conj	me , me 3PL	
kamakino	makI ollowing	-hino k IP.N+M c	a makima ta	<i>tamonaka</i> -makI	-hima	ata -mona -: +M REP+M D:	ka	
kobo n	-makI ne follow amaki	,	, f M s co bo	aya ka so go conj vi <i>namakin</i>	o/come fo i natamonaka	_	vi	-makI+M following
arrive A	a -makI UX follo ux	wing a	obo rrive ri			-himata -mo: FP.N+M REP		1

'He came, and arrived.'

646 Okiti kamakikeno

o- ka iti ka -makI -ke -no 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather go/come following DECL IP.N+M nm vi

"My uncle has come."

647 Iti ayo kamaki ha
iti ayo ka -makI.CONT+M haa
grandfather 2SG.POSS.older brother go/come following DEM
nm nm vi dem

"Grandpa, your brother is coming."

648 Ee kamaki kamakika

ee ka -makI+M ka -makI -ka yes go/come following go/come following DECL+M interj vi vi

"Yes, he is coming."

649 Kamaki kobo namaki Fara yamatara ka -makI+Mkobo na -makI+M faa -ra yamata -ra go/come following meet AUX following that NPQ food vt aux

yamata ?

yamata food

'He came. He arrived. "Well, where is the food?"

650 Yamata wati

yamata wata.NOM+F food exist nf vi

"There is no food."

651 Iti yamata watakere

iti yamata wata -ke -re grandfather food exist DECL+F NEG+F nm nf vi

"Grandpa, there is no food."

652 Okobi tokareka ahi
o- ka abi to- ka -hare -ka ahi
1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come IP.E+M DECL+M there

"My father went out in the forest."

653 Okobi toke okobi kamare -ma -ra+Mka abi toka+M 0kaba ka 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.S eat away go/come go/come back NEG

nm vi vt vi

okobi hiyama kobo me ne ka abi hiyama kobo na+M -ka white-lipped peccary seem+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.O meet AUX pron vt aux

"My father went out. My father has not come back. I guess my father met up with some white-lipped peccaries."

654	Hiy	ama			me	tokom	i		ama	ahi	me
	hiy	ama			me	to-	ka	-ma.NOM+F	ama	ahi	me
	whi	te-lipp	ed pecc	ary	3PL.S	away	go/come	back	be	there	3PL
	nm				pron	vi			VC	dem	pron
me		me	mowa	hina		mati					
me		me	mowa	hi-	na+F	mati					
3PL	.0	3PL.S	fight	OC	AUX	3PL.0					

pron pron vt aux pron "The peccaries went that way. They were after them."

655 *Oof* hiyama owefi okiti hiyama 0wefi+M oof 0ka iti white-lipped peccary hoo 1SG.S store 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather interj vt nm

kabamakeamaharikaba -makIamahaarieat followingSECthat one+Mvtsecdem

"I saved some peccary, but my grandfather ate it when he got here."

656 Hiyama		mete	tama	nawi		one		mete
hiyama		mete	tama	na -w	i	0-	na+M	mete
white-lipp	ed peccary	rear+M	hold onto	AUX st	eadily	1SG.S	AUX	rear+M
nm		pn	vt	aux		aux		pn
obarimise				mete	okiti			
o- to- ib	a -rI		-misa+M	mete	0-	ka	iti	
1SG.S away se	t down raise	ed surfac	ce up	rear+M	1SG.POS	SS POSS	grand	dfather
vt				pn	nm			

kabeamakeahikaba.NOM+Mama -keahieatbeDECL+Fthenvtvcdem

"I saved a leg of peccary for a long time. I put it up in the rafters, and my grandfather ate it."

657	Hiyama	tama	neno	ka	hiyama
	hiyama	tama	na -hino	ka	hiyama
	white-lipped peccary	hold onto	AUX IP.N+M	which	white-lipped peccary
	nm	vt	aux	prt	nm

okobeatiamaneo-kaba+Matiama -ne1SG.SeatvoicebeBKG+Mvtpnvc

"He is saying I ate the peccary he had saved."

658	Hiba	bani	me	yokana	me	kabi	eto	nofa	me
	hiba	bani	me	yokana	me	kaba.NFIN	eheto	nofa+F	me
	wait	animal	3PL	true	3PL.S	eat	be good	recently	3PL.POSS
	interj	nm	pron	adj	pron	result	vi	prt	pron

amake

ama -ke SEC DECL+F

"Meat is really good to eat."

659 *Hoo*

aba

me

okobate

```
o- kaba -tee
   hoo
           aba
                     me
          fish sp
   humph
                     3PL.O
                             1SG.S eat HAB
   interj nm
                     pron
""I used to eat aba fish.""
660 Aba
                                     aba
                     okoba
                                                      okobi
             me
                                               me
                                                      0-
                            kaba+F
                                                                     abi
   aba
             me
                     0-
                                     aba
                                               me
                                                                ka
   fish sp
                     1SG.S eat
             3PL.O
                                     fish sp
                                               3PL.O
                                                      1SG.POSS POSS father
             pron
   nm
                     vt
                                     nm
                                                       nm
                                               pron
                       fa
o- nofa
                -ra+F
                        faa
1SG.S recently NEG
                        t.hat.
                        dem
"I used to eat aba fish, but I haven't eaten aba fish recently."
661 Kabikana
               mati
                        tama
                                                                 onofa
   kabikana
               mati
                         tama
                                     na.NFIN
                                             o- ita -basa
                                                                 0-
                                                                        nofa+F
   fish hook
               line+F
                        hold onto
                                    AUX
                                              1SG.S sit edge
                                                                 1SG.S recently
                        vt
                                     aux
                                               vi
ama oni
    0-
          ni
ama
SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
sec prt
"I just sit on the side of the stream holding the fishing line."
662 Aba
                   Bono Wiyo
                                     okako
             me
                                                             onofa
                                                                              ama
                   Bono Wiyo
                                     0-
                                            kaako
                                                             0-
   aha
                                                                   nofa+F
                                                                              ama
             me
   fish sp
             3PL
                   (man's name)
                                     1SG.S be angry with
                                                            1SG.S recently
                                                                              SEC
             pron npropm
                                     vt
                                                                              sec
                                                             prt
oke
\circ
      ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt
"I'm angry with Bono Wiyo."
663 Ee
           iti
                         okobi
                                                 okobi
           iti
                         0-
                                   ka
                                        abi
                                                           ka
           grandfather
                         1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                 1SG.POSS POSS father
   interj nm
                         nm
                                                 nm
tikako
                       tinofani
                                                ama
                                                     tini
ti- kaako
                       ti- nofa
                                       -hani
                                                ama
                                                     ti-
                                                            ni
                       2SG.S recently IP.N+F
2SG.S be angry with
                                                SEC
                                                     2SG.S BKG+F
                       prt
                                                sec
"Grandfather, are you angry with my father?"
664 Ee
              abi
                                 okako
                                                        onofa
                                                                          ama
              abi
                                                              nofa+F
   ee
                                 0-
                                       kaako
                                                       0-
                                                                          ama
              2SG.POSS.father
                                 1SG.S be angry with 1SG.S recently
                                                                          SEC
   interj
              nm
                                 vt
                                                        prt
oni
              aba
                                okobara
                        me
                                                    owa
    ni
              aba
                        me
                                o- kaba -ra+F
                                                    owa
1SG.S BKG+F
                        3PL.O
                                1SG.S eat NEG
              fish sp
                                                    1SG.S
                        pron
                                vt
"Yes, I'm angry with your father, because I haven't been eating aba fish."
```

awineke

665 Me

kabahaba

me

```
me
            kaba -haba
                         me
                                 awine
                                         -ke
            eat FUT+F
                                 seem+F DECL+F
    3PL.S
                         3PL.S
    pron
            result
                         pron
"I think they will be eaten again."
666 Me
            kamaba
                                          awineke
                                  mρ
    me
            ka
                     -ma
                         -haba
                                  me
                                          awine -ke
    3PL.S
            go/come back FUT+F
                                  3PL.S
                                          seem+F DECL+F
    pron
            vi
                                  pron
                                          sec
"I think they will come back."
667 Me
            kamaba
                                          awineni
                                  me
    me
            ka
                     -ma
                          -haba
                                  me
                                          awine
                                                  -ni
    3PL.S
            go/come back FUT+F
                                  3PL.S
                                          seem+F BKG+F
    pron
            vi
                                  pron
                                          sec
"I think they will come back."
668 Okobi
                            narabo
                                      nima
                                                       obe
    0-
              ka
                   abi
                            narabo
                                     nima
                                                       0-
                                                              na -be
    1SG.POSS POSS father
                            ear+M
                                      communicate to
                                                       1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
"I will speak to my father."
669 Aba
                      tokanikamakeba
              me
                                                      -hiba
    aba
                      to- ka- nika
                                           -makI
              me
    fish sp
                      away COMIT ask for following FUT+M
              3PL.O
              pron
                        ati
okobi
                              nematamona
               abi
                              na -himata -mona
          ka
                        ati
                              AUX FP.N+M REP+M
1SG.POSS POSS father
                        say
                        vt
                              aux
"My father said he will go and ask for the aba fish."
670 Faya
              Bono Wiyo
                             kamematamona
                                                             amaka
    faya
              Bono Wiyo
                             ka
                                 -ma
                                            -himata -mona
                                                             ama -ka
              (man's name)
                             go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
                                                             SEC DECL+M
    conj
              npropm
                             vi
                                                             sec
'Then Bono Wiyo came back.'
671 Yowi
                      karaboeno
                                                    vowi
    yowi
                      karaboha
                                           -hino
                                                    yowi
                      shoot with blowgun IP.N+M
    brown capuchin
                                                    brown capuchin
    nm
                      vt
yowi fana
                                          nafameno
                        yowi
                                                                 yowi
                 ya
yowi fana
                        yowi
                                          na- fama
                                                        -hino
                                                                 yowi
                 ya
brown capuchin
                 ADJU brown capuchin
                                          CAUS be two IP.N+M
                                                                 brown capuchin
nf
                 prt
                        nm
                                          vt
                                                                 nm
me
        weye
                ni
                          kame
                                              Kame
                                                               okobi
me
        weye
                na.NFIN
                          ka
                                   -ma+M
                                              ka
                                                       -ma+M
                                                               0-
                                                                         ka
                                                                               abi
                                                               1SG.POSS POSS father
                          go/come back
3PL.O
        carry
                AUX
                                              go/come back
pron
                aux
                          77 i
                                              77 i
                                                               nm
kame
        -ma+M
go/come back
```

'He had killed a brown capuchin with his blowgun. He had killed a male and a female brown capuchin, and

he came back carrying them on his back. "He has come back, my father has come back."

672	Iti	iti	okobi			kame	
	iti	iti	0-	ka	abi	ka	-ma+M
	grandfather	grandfather	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	go/come	back
	nm	nm	nm			vi	

"Grandpa, my father has come back."

673	Yowi	fana	weye	neno	yowi	fana	e
	yowi	fana	weye	na -hino	yowi	fana	ee
	brown capuchin	female	carry	AUX IP.N+M	brown capuchin	female	1IN.S
	nm	nf	vt	aux	nm	nf	pron

yokibe

yoka -be roast on coals IMMED+F

"He is carrying brown capuchins, let's roast the capuchins."

674 Iti one okanikabanake
iti one o- ka- nika -habana -ke
grandfather one+F 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT+F DECL+F
nm adj vt

"Grandpa, I'm going to ask for one."

675 Te awa hari
tee awa haari
2PL.S see that one+M
pron vt dem

"Look at him."

676 Okanikabanake

o- ka- nika -habana -ke 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT+F DECL+F vt

"I'm going to ask for it."

677 *Yowi* fana vowi fana kabi eto yowi fana yowi fana kaba.NFIN eheto brown capuchin female brown capuchin female eat be good nf result

nofa
nofa+F
recently
prt

amake
ama -ke
recently
sec
DECL+F
sec

"Brown capuchins are good to eat."

678 Yowi fana koro name
yowi fana koro na -ma+M
brown capuchin female throw AUX back
nm nf vt aux

tokomematamonaka

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

'He threw the monkey down, and went.'

679 <i>Okobi</i> o- ka 1SG.POSS PO		a -ma+M go/come back	Abi abi abi father nm nm	r
okiti o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS onm fana kabebona fana kaba - female eat I nf vt	fimimo iti fimi grandfather be hu vi a ati nareko hibona ati na	-himona ungry REP+M a -hare -ka IP.E+M DECL+M	ati ne, ati na+M say AUX vt aux yowi yowi brown capuchi	nf
hinaka y 3SG.POSS k	yowi fa	male FUT 2SG	to- ka- 1	ka -ma -hi go/come back IMP+F
"Take the female m	onkey for him."'			
681 Yowi yowi brown capuc nm . 'He took the female	fana itikab fana iti chin female pick nf vt monkey.'	-kabote : up quickly :	nematamonaka na -himata -mo AUX FP.N+M REI aux	
682 <i>Yowi</i> yowi brown capuc		a me ka- ka COMIT go/come	hinakiti -ma+M hinaka e back 3SG.PG	
ka yowi ka yowi POSS brown cap prt nm kakawematamonaka ka- kawa COMIT give some vt	fanabone fana -bo puchin female INI nf	nm -mona -ka REP+M DECL+M	iti grandfather	
683 <i>Haro</i> haaro that one+F dem	<pre>iti kaba iti kab grandfather DUP nm vt</pre>	akaba tikawa ba-kaba ti-	ıhi	aha -hi
"Here, Grandpa, ea 684 <i>Okanikarani</i> o- ka- 1SG.S COMIT	nika -hara -ni	·		

vt '''I asked for it.'''

685 *Maki* okobi ota kababisebanaka kaba -bisa -hibana -ka maki 0ka abi otaa eat also FUT+M 1SG.POSS POSS father male 1EX.S DECL+M nm pron vt "We will eat the male." 686 *Maki* ota kababisebana kaba -bisa -hibana maki otaa male 1EX.S eat also FUT+M nm pron v/t "We will eat the male." 687 Yowi fana tokematamona yowi fana t.oka -himata -mona partially burn FP.N+M REP+M brown capuchin female nf vt 'He burned the hair off the female monkey.' 688 Yowi bobi fana toke vowi fana yowi fana toka+M yowi fana bobi brown capuchin female partially burn brown capuchin female slit nf vt nf vt yowi fana yifo afo yowi kane ne vifo afo na+M vowi fana kana+M vowi fire AUX brown capuchin female light COMIT AUX brown capuchin aux nf vt aux nm ahi fana yokematamonaka fana yowi -himata -mona -ka vowi fana fana yoka ahi roast on coals FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M female female then brown capuchin dem nf nm nf kabebana kaba -hibana eat FUT+M 'He burned the hair off the female monkey. He cut up the female monkey. He lit the fire. He roasted the female monkey, to eat the female monkey.' 689 Yowi fana kabematamonaka ahi fana kaba -himata -mona -ka ahi brown capuchin female eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then nf vt dem 'He ate the female monkey.' 690 *Hoo* hiba fimi okarimi onofa hoo hiba fimi o- karima nofa+F 0humph wait hunger 1SG.S suffer from 1SG.S recently interj nf vt prt interj vowi fana okobawahine waha kaba -waha waha yowi fana 0--ne 0-1SG.S eat change CONT+F brown capuchin female 1SG.S now nf vt. prt "Humph, I was really hungry, but now I am eating the female monkey." 691 Bono Wivo tiwa okako onofa ama

Bono Wiyo

npropm

(man's name)

tiwa

pron

2SG.S

0-

vt

kaako

1SG.S be angry with

0-

prt

nofa+F

1SG.S recently

ama

SEC

sec

oke			aba	me	ta	tira			tiwa
0-	ke		aba	me	taa	ti-	na	-ra+F	tiwa
1SG.S	DECL+F		fish sp	3PL.O	give	2SG.S	AUX	NEG	2SG.0
prt			nm	pron	vt	aux			pron
"Bono Wiyo, I have been angry with you, because you didn't give aba fish."									

yowi fana 692 *Fava* kabakaba kawe fana kaba- kaba -waha+M faya yowi kana so brown capuchin female DUP eat COMIT AUX change nf conj v/t aux

kabakaba fana kawe bai fawa yowi yowi kaba- kaba -waha+M bahi fawa fana kana female DUP eat COMIT AUX change sun brown capuchin disappear nf vi vt aux nm

nisematamonaka

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

'He ate some more of the female monkey. The sun was getting low.'

693 *Bai* yowi fawa nise me bahi fawa -risa+M yowi na me disappear AUX down brown capuchin 3PL.S sun aux pron

kawaria vowi me me sawa na waa -rI+F yowi na+F me me sawa COMIT cook raised surface brown capuchin 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S serve pron nm pron vt aux

yowimekabemeteyowimekaba -hemetebrown capuchin3PL.SeatFP.N+Fnmpronvt

'The sun was getting low. They cooked the monkey. They served the monkey. They ate the monkey.'

694 *Faya* vowi me kaba me ni va me me faya yowi kaba+F me ni ya me brown capuchin 3PL.S eat 3PL to ADJU 3PL 3PL.S conj pron pron prt prt pron pron

hawa toemetemoneke

hawa to- ha -hemete -mone -ke be finished CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

vi aux

'They ate the monkey. They were finished.'

695 **Sina** sina hisi hisi me na me na me sina hisi na+F sina hisi me me na+F me snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S pron nf vt aux nf pron vt aux pron

Bono Wiyo
Bono Wiyo
(man's name)
npropm

, Bono Wiyo
(man's name)
npropm
npropm

'They took snuff. "Bono Wiyo."'

696 *Haa*

```
haa
   huh?
   interj
"'Huh?"'
697 Himata
             nima
                    me
                            tinihemete
                                                           fawa
                                                   me
                            ti- niha- -hemete
   himata
             nima
                    me
                                                   me
                                                           fawa
                            2SG.S CAUS FP.N+F
   what?
             like 3PL.0
                                                   3PL.O
                                                           disappear
                            aux
   interrog prt
                    pron
                                                           vi
                                                   pron
nineriya
           -ri -ya
na -ne
AUX CONT+F CQ+F now
"What did you do to them that they disappeared?"
698 Abi
            abi
                     me
                                ati
                                        timitini
   abi
            abi
                     me
                                ati
                                        ti- mita -ni
   father
            father
                     3PL.POSS
                                voice
                                        2SG.S hear BKG+F
            nm
                     pron
                                pn
"Father, did you hear what they said?"
699 Aba
             me
                     fawa
                                 nofaha
                                                 me
                                                         tikaminibone
                                 na nofa+F
                                                         ti- kamina.NOM+F -bone
   aba
             me
                     fawa
                                                 me
   fish sp
             3PL.S disappear AUX recently
                                                 3PL.O 2SG.S tell
             pron
                     vi
                                 aux
                                                         vt
                                                 pron
       ati
                                   ha
             na
                   tiwa
                                          nineke
me
                           me
             na+F
                                                      -ke
       ati
                                          na -ne
                   tiwa
                           me
                                   haa
                           3PL.S call AUX CONT+F DECL+F
                    2SG.0
3PL.S
       say
             AUX
                   pron pron
                                   vt
       vt
                                          aux
             aux
"They are calling you, asking you to tell about the aba fish that disappeared."
700 Aba
             me
                        aba
                                  me
   aba
             me
                        aba
                        fish sp
                                  3PL.O
    fish sp
             3PL.O
             pron
                        nm
                                  pron
okahabanamaro
                                               me
                                                      fawa
o- ka-
            habana
                                     -hamaro
                                               me
1SG.S COMIT order someone against FP.E+F
                                               3PL.S
                                                      disappear
                                               pron
nineke
na -ne
           -ke
AUX CONT+F DECL+F
"I sent spirits against the aba fish, and they disappeared."
701 Aba
                     okatao
             me
                              me
                                         no
                     okatao
                                         noho
   aba
             me
                              me
                              3PL.S
             3PL.S my son
                                         be hurt
             pron
                     nm
tonihimakoni
                                    aba
                                              me
to- niha- na -makoni
                                    aba
CH CAUS AUX for this reason+F fish sp
                                             3PL.O
```

okahabanamaro,mefawao-ka-habana-hamaromefawa1SG.S COMIT order someone against FP.E+F3PL disappearvtpron vi

na -ne -ni AUX CONT+F BKG+F

aux

"Because the aba fish hurt my son, I sent spirits against the aba fish, and they disappeared."

702 *Me* fawa amake rene me ama -ke me fawa na -ra -hene me AUX NEG IRR+F 3PL.S 3PL.S SEC DECL+F disappear vi pron aux pron sec

"They wouldn't have disappeared."

703 *Me* me me hikabamaro fawa me me me me me hi- kaba -hamaro me fawa 3PL 3PL 3PL.0 3PL.S OC eat FP.E+F 3PL.S disappear pron pron pron pron vt pron vi

nineke

na -ne -ke AUX CONT+F DECL+F

aux

"They used to eat them, but now they disappeared."

704 *Me* hikabamaroke hina me me me mowa hi- kaba -hamaro -ke hi- na+F mowa me me me me fight 3PL.S OC eat FP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC 3PL.O XIIA pron pron vt pron pron vt aux

mati

mati

3PL.O

pron

"They ate them when they fought against them."

705 *Ee* me kami nofahara me kami me ka -ma nofa -ra+F me ka 3PL.S go/come back recently NEG 3PL.S go/come back interj pron vi prt pron

nofarameamakenofa-ra+Fmeama -kerecentlyNEG3PL.SSECDECL+Fprtpronsec

"Yes, they didn't come back."

706 *Me* okene tabiyo fa koro faha koro me tabiyo na oke -ne 3PL.POSS water AUX 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F absence throw something on nf pn vt. prt

"Because I want them, I go fishing, but I don't catch anything."

707 **Fa** koro koro ona fa na+F faha koro 0faha koro throw something on 1SG.S AUX water throw something on nf aux

ona	fa	oko		kabikana			iiti			
o- na+F	faha	0-	ka	kabika				iti		
1SG.S AUX	water	1SG.POS	S POSS	fish h		h sp	DUP 1	pick	up	
aux	nf	prt		nf	nm		vt			
nofara	. —	amani								
na nofa	-ra+F									
AUX recentl	y NEG		G+F							
prt ''''Mhon I ao fal	ing the c	VC	an't hit no	fiah haal	- 111					
"When I go fisl	iing, the a	<i>ioa</i> iisii doe	SII t IIIt III	iy iisii iiooi	X.					
708 Oma	watarihi	į	oma	,	oma	watar	ihi			
oma		-rihi	oma		oma	wata				
piranha	exist	NEG.LIST	' pira	nha	piranha	exis	t NEG	.LIST	1	
nm	vi		nm		nm	vi				
nofe	aman	i .								
na nofa+M	ama									
AUX recentl	y SEC	BKG+F								
aux	sec									
"There isn't a p	iranha, ei	ther."'								
709 Oma	kabikan	a tafe	ke	abate	. ome	ı	oma		me	
oma	kabika	.,		aba -tee	,		oma		me	
piranha	fish h	nook foc	od+F e	at HAB	pir	anha	pira	nha	3PL.	POSS
nm	nf	pn	7.7	t	nm		nm		pron	L
11111	111	PII	•							
		me		ıwineke						
nafi toemete		me	a		ke .					
<i>nafi toemete</i> nafi to-h	!	me te me	a ā							
<i>nafi toemete</i> nafi to-h	a -heme	me te me	POSS s	awine -						
nafi toemete nafi to-h all CH b	a -heme e FP.N+	me te me F 3PL. pron	POSS S	awine - seem+F D sec	ECL+F	ed.'''				
nafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas	a -heme e FP.N+	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait,	POSS S	awine - seem+F D sec iranhas all	ECL+F disappear					
nafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc ""The piranhas	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait,	POSS s but the p	awine - seem+F D sec iranhas all	ECL+F disappeare <i>awi</i>	ineke	-ke			
nafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b on vc ""The piranhas 710 Me me	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha	POSS s but the p	awine - seem+F D sec iranhas all me e me	ECL+F disappeare <i>aw</i> i aw	ineke ine -	-ke DECL+F			
nafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc ""The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi all	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha	POSS s but the p	awine - seem+F D sec iranhas all me e me 3PL.E	ecl+f disappeare awa awa POSS see	<i>ineke</i> ine - em+F I	-ke DECL+F			
nafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b on vc ""The piranhas 710 Me me	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi all pn	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be	POSS s but the p	awine - seem+F D sec iranhas all me e me	ECL+F disappeare <i>aw</i> i aw	<i>ineke</i> ine - em+F I				
nafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap	a -heme e FP.N+ used to tal nafi nafi all pn peared."	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	awine - seem+F D sec iranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron	disappeare awi aw POSS seesees	<i>ineke</i> ine - em+F I	DECL+F			
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi all pn peared."	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	awine - seem+F D sec iranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron	disappeard awite eoss seessee	<i>ineke</i> ine - em+F I	DECL+F	me		hisi
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi all pn peared."	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+	disappeard awa awa POSS seesee me The me	ineke ine - em+F I	SECL+F sina sina	<i>me</i> me		hisi
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi all pn peared."	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	me e me 3PL.I pron tona tona CH AUX	disappeare awa awa POSS see see me F me 3 PL.3	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	Sina sina sina snuff	me me 3PI	ı.s	hisi sniff
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi all pn peared."	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+	disappeard awa awa POSS seesee me The me	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	SECL+F sina sina	<i>me</i> me		hisi
mafi toemete nafi to- h nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi all pn peared."' e ,	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	me e me 3PL.I pron tona tona CH AUX	disappeare awa awa POSS see see me F me 3 PL.3	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	Sina sina sina snuff	me me 3PI		hisi sniff
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me	a -heme e FP.N+ used to tal nafi nafi all pn peared."' e PL.S con -mone	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	me e me 3PL.I pron tona tona CH AUX	disappeare awa awa POSS see see me F me 3 PL.3	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	Sina sina sina snuff	me me 3PI		hisi sniff
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F	a -heme e FP.N+ used to tal nafi nafi all pn peared."' e PL.S con -mone	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	me e me 3PL.I pron tona tona CH AUX	disappeare awa awa POSS see see me F me 3 PL.3	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	Sina sina sina snuff	me me 3PI		hisi sniff
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux	a -heme e FP.N+ used to tal nafi nafi all pn peared."' e , e PL.S con -mone REP+F	me te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron .	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	me e me 3PL.I pron tona tona CH AUX	disappeare awa awa POSS see see me F me 3 PL.3	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	Sina sina sina snuff	me me 3PI		hisi sniff
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F	a -heme e FP.N+ used to tal nafi nafi all pn peared."' e , e PL.S con -mone REP+F	me te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron .	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F	me e me 3PL.I pron tona tona CH AUX	disappeare awa awa POSS see see me F me 3 PL.3	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	Sina sina sina snuff	me me 3PI		hisi sniff
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux They were reac	a -heme e FP.N+ used to tal nafi nafi all pn peared." e PL.S con -mone REP+F	me te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron .	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F yana yana start vi	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+ CH AUX aux	disappeare awa awa POSS see see me F me 3 PL.3	ineke ine - em+F I C ,	sina sina sina snuff nf	me me 3PI	on	hisi sniff
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux They were reac	a -heme e FP.N+ used to tal nafi nafi all pn peared."' e PL.S con -mone REP+F	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron . book snuff.'	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F yana yana start vi	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+ CH AUX aux	disappeare awa awa eoss see me F me 3PL.3 pron	ineke ine - em+F I	sina sina sina snuff nf	me me 3PI pro	on	hisi sniff vt fawa
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux They were reac	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi nafi all pn peared."' e PL.S con -mone REP+F ly. They to	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron . book snuff.'	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F yana yana start vi	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+ CH AUX aux	disappeare awa awa eoss see me F me 3PL.3 pron	ineke ine - em+F I c ,	sina sina sina snuff nf	me me 3PI pro	on t i	hisi sniff vt fawa fawa
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux They were read 712 Sina sina snuff	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi nafi all pn peared."' e PL.S con -mone REP+F dy. They to	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron . book snuff.'	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F yana yana start vi	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+ CH AUX aux	disappeare awa awa eoss see me F me 3PL.: pron	ineke ine - em+F I	sina sina sina snuff nf	me me 3PI pro	on ti ti oice	hisi sniff vt fawa fawa
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux They were read 712 Sina sina snuff	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi nafi all pn peared."' e PL.S con -mone REP+F dy. They to	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron . book snuff.'	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F yana yana start vi sin a+F si JX sn	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+ CH AUX aux	disappeare awa awa eoss see me F me 3PL.: pron	ineke ine - em+F I	sina sina sina snuff nf	me me 3PI pro	on ti ti oice	hisi sniff vt fawa fawa stop
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux They were read 712 Sina sina snuff nf	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi nafi all pn peared."' e , e PL.S con -mone REP+F dy. They to	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron . book snuff.'	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F yana yana start vi sin a+F si JX sn ux nf	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+ CH AUX aux	disappeare awa awa eoss see me F me 3PL.: pron	ineke ine - em+F I	sina sina sina snuff nf e e PL.POS ron fahi	me me 3PI pro	on ti ti oice	hisi sniff vt fawa fawa stop
mafi toemete nafi to- h all CH b pn vc "The piranhas 710 Me me 3PL.POSS pron "They all disap 711 Faya m faya me so 31 conj pi memetemone na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux They were read 712 Sina sina snuff nf nf kana	a -heme e FP.N+ used to ta nafi nafi nafi all pn peared."' e , PL.S con -mone REP+F dy. They to	te me F 3PL. pron ke the bait, toemete to- ha CH be vc me me 3PL.S pron . book snuff.' hisi na sniff Au vt au , faya	POSS s but the p -hemet FP.N+F yana yana start vi sin a+F si JX sn ax nf me	awine - seem+F D sec siranhas all me e me 3PL.F pron tona to- na+ CH AUX aux	disappeare awa awa eoss see me F me 3PL.3 pron	mmeke ineke ine - em+F I c , s mme +F 31 p: emete	sina sina sina snuff nf e e PL.POS ron fahi	me me 3PI pro	on ti ti oice	hisi sniff vt fawa fawa stop

713 A	Me	amo	na	me	me	tafiha	me	yama	me	yete
n	ne	amo	na+F	me	me	tafi+F	me	yama	me	yete
3	3PL.S	sleep	AUX	3PL.S	3PL.S	wake up	3PL.S	thing	3PL.S	hunt
F	pron	vi	aux	pron	pron	vi	pron	nf	pron	vt
namin	ıa	me	yan	ıa ,	bani	biti	me	me	nanahar	i
na	-mina+	F me	yan	na	bani	biti	me	me	na- na	- ohari
AUX :	mornin	g 3PL.	S thi	ing	animal	small+M	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP CA	.US be one
aux		pron	nf		nm	adj	pron	pron	vt	
na	bani	biti		me	me	kaba .				
na+F	bani	bit	i	me	me	kaba+F				
AUX	anim	al sma	11+M	3PL.O	3PL.S	eat				
aux	nm	adj		pron	pron	vt				

'They slept. They woke up. They went hunting the next day. Each of them got a small animal. They ate the small animals.'